

THE ST. EDMUND MEMORIAL COINAGE

by C. E. BLUNT, O.B.E., F.B.A., F.S.A.

A substantial series of coins, of which something approaching 2,000 specimens survive today, is known bearing the name of the canonized king Edmund, all of the same general type with the letter A in the centre on one side surrounded by the inscription *Sce Eadmund Rex* in various forms, often blundered, between two circles; and on the other a cross in the centre surrounded by an inscription, usually a moneyer's name, similarly between two circles (Plate XXXI).

By some curious chance this series has never been the subject of a detailed study. Extensive lists of the varieties are given by E. Hawkins in his report on the Cuerdale hoard¹ and again, in more detail, in C. F. Keary's *Catalogue of the Anglo-Saxon Coins in the British Museum*² and there is a general discussion by the latter on pp. xxix-xxx.

D. H. Haigh however, for reasons given later, does not include them in his pioneer work *An Essay on the Numismatic History of the Ancient Kingdom of the East Angles* (1845).

The present article does not pretend to offer solutions of all the many problems that this coinage presents, one of the reasons perhaps why more has not been published on it. What will be attempted is to offer evidence for a fairly precise dating, particularly as to its inception, and to bring out some of the problems in the belief that this may help in their ultimate solution.

It may be useful first to review briefly the background against which the St. Edmund coins must be placed.

By the time of Alfred's accession to the throne of Wessex in 871 coinage in southern England was confined to issues in his own name and to those in the name of the Mercian king Burgred and (on a small scale) of Æthelred, archbishop of Canterbury. In East Anglia there had been a substantial issue by Edmund (during his lifetime) but there is no evidence of any East Anglian coinage between the date of his death in 869 and the accession of Guthrum-Athelstan in 880.

Burgred's successor on the Mercian throne Ceolwulf II had a coinage of which few specimens survive, but there is evidence to suggest that part of the substantial issues in Alfred's name may have been struck in Mercia.

Æthelred's successor at Canterbury, archbishop Plegmund,

¹ *NC*, v, 1842-3, pp. 23-38.

² *BMC*, I, 1887, pp. 97-137.

issued coins of which (largely thanks to the great Cuerdale hoard) a reasonable number has survived. His issues were interrupted at one point but emerged again in the reign of Edward the Elder, and continued until the death of the archbishop in 914.

In Northumbria the copper coinage of the English kings and of the archbishop of York gave way to a coinage of silver pennies (and, in small quantities, of halfpence) in the names of two kings, Siefred and Cnut, inaugurated in the last years of the ninth century. This was followed by an anonymous issue, bearing the name of St. Peter and the mint name of York, which continued for the rest of the reign of Edward the Elder, and perhaps a few years thereafter.

At Lincoln, which produced an apparently limited coinage for the Danes in the time of Alfred, a small issue occurred later, bearing on the one side the mint name and on the other the name of St. Martin. The precise date of these issues has been much discussed but it can hardly be earlier than 915 and may be as much as 15 years later.³

The bulk of the coinage circulating in the country in the reigns of Alfred and Edward the Elder was however that issued in their respective names, though it must be made clear that there are many pieces of irregular workmanship bearing their names which are likely to have been issued by the Danes as a matter of convenience. No coins are known bearing the name of Guthrum-Athelstan's successor on the East Anglian throne, Eohric, who possibly became king in 890 and was killed at the battle of Holme in 902,⁴ but in the latter part of Edward's reign it is clear that a coinage in Edward's name was being issued in East Anglia.⁵ There is thus a gap, between 890 and the introduction of the East Anglian coinage in Edward's own name into which, always assuming that an East Anglian origin may be claimed for part at any rate of this coinage, the St. Edmund issue may be fitted.

It is against this background that the coinage bearing the name of St. Edmund must be viewed and it will be noticed that it is one of three issues, made within a period of at most 40 years, that substitute the name of a saint for that of the temporal or ecclesiastical authority responsible for the issue. All three moreover emanate from areas under Danish control.

Though the St. Edmund coins are all of the same general type,

³ For a summary of the discussion and for arguments favouring the later dating see B. H. I. H. Stewart in *BNJ*, xxxvi, 1967, pp. 46-54.

⁴ *Handbook of British Chronology*, 2nd edn., R.Hist. Soc., 1961.

⁵ This has long been surmised and has now been confirmed by the discovery of a hoard of 883 coins at Morley St. Peter in Norfolk. 763 were of Edward the Elder and of these 665 were of the type previously associated with East Anglia. A summary report by R. H. M. Dolley appeared in *Spink's Numismatic Circular*, May 1958 and by R. Rainbird Clarke and him in *Antiquity*, xxxii, 1958, pp. 100-103. He is now preparing a full report.

they vary considerably in detail. It has been found convenient to divide them into two main groups (a) those that occur in the Cuerdale hoard, deposited *c.* 903 and discussed below; (b) those not recorded in that hoard. This seemingly rough-and-ready division has in fact much to commend it in practice. While the coins found at Cuerdale show a wide variety of styles (Pl. XXXI, 1-7) they form a group quite distinct from the latest coins which are struck on smaller flans and have much abbreviated legends. (Pl. XXXI, 10). There are a few coins, not found at Cuerdale, that bridge the gap between these and the latest coins and which may be regarded as transitional (Pl. XXXI, 9).

The king's title is normally simply RE(X), but there are occasional variations that deserve mention. Keary points out that varieties exist such as REXP (e.g. *BMC* 149, 281, 294-5), REXIP (180, 290, 293), REXINR (e.g. 318, 321), REXI (e.g. 350), RI (e.g. 195, 483), REXNP (289). These, he considers, may in some cases be derived from REXIMP found on the Carolingian coinage.⁶ While this is possible these endings could equally well be related to endings such as INR and EAP found, occasionally, in reverse legends. (See p. 252 below). *BMC* 564 provides an exceptional reading, REST after the king's name. The reverse is however somewhat blundered and it would not be wise to attach too much significance to this reading.

THE EVIDENCE OF HOARDS AND OF ISOLATED FINDS

In a note the brevity of which disguises at first glance its importance, Mr. S. E. Rigold, reporting on the Anglo-Saxon coins from the excavations at Thetford, lists the hoards in which St. Edmund coins have been found and the find-spots of isolated examples. The hoards he divides into loot hoards of miscellaneous composition and currency hoards, and he notes that all the latter are late.⁷

Although loot hoards must, by their nature, be of less value than currency hoards as a reflection of the coinage circulating in the area of their discovery, the Cuerdale hoard, the largest by far of those loot hoards, is the source of over 90% of the St. Edmund coins known today and so is vital to any study of this coinage. The date of the deposit is now generally accepted as *c.* 903 and it contained something over 1,800 coins in the name of St. Edmund. Precision as to the exact number is not easy. Hawkins, in his scholarly account of the find, says 'the coins' of this type numbered about 1,770.⁸ Slightly later (on p. 37) he lists eleven halfpennies and, lower down on the same page, speaks of 'about 1,800 coins'. To these may in

⁶ *BMC*, I, p. 101n.

⁷ *BNJ*, xxix, 1958, pp. 189-90 (referred to in future as Rigold 1958).

⁸ *NC*, v, 1842-3, p. 23.

any case be added the '45 additional specimens all similar to those already described' to which he refers in his supplementary report on the hoard.⁹ The total must lie therefore between 1,800 and 1,850 and have included at least eleven halfpennies,¹⁰ a denomination previously unknown in this series. The British Museum was fortunately able to make a very full selection from this hoard and, of the 592 coins in this series listed in the 1887 catalogue,¹¹ only eleven were earlier acquisitions.

Rigold lists three other loot hoards containing St. Edmund coins: Harkirke, Lancs., a much smaller and slightly later hoard comparable to Cuerdale, deposited *c.* 915,¹² three Cuerdale-type, though one reading IOMAM ME FECIT is not recorded in that hoard, and one late; Dean, Cumberland, deposited *c.* 920,¹³ three pennies, two of them late; Lugga, Co. Meath, deposited *c.* 920,¹⁴ one penny, late. To these may be added Glasnevin, Co. Dublin, deposited *c.* 927.¹⁵ The printed accounts do not include any reference to coins of St. Edmund, but Mr. Dolley has kindly drawn my attention to an entry in the manuscript catalogue of Dean Dawson's coin collection in which a Glasnevin provenance is given for a St. Edmund penny said to read +HVNDRETRMO.^{15a} This is, no doubt, lot 217 in the sale of the Dean's collection^{15b} where the reading is given as GANDBERHTMO and one may surmise that the coin was of the Cuerdale group (cf. *BMC* 422-3).

The currency hoards Rigold divides geographically, two from the northern Danelaw: York, Walmgate, deposited *c.* 910,¹⁶ two pennies and one halfpenny, in a hoard consisting otherwise of 92 St. Peter coins; Chester (1862) deposited *c.* 920,¹⁷ one penny, late;

⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 103.

¹⁰ In fact there were twelve.

¹¹ *BMC*, I, pp. 97-137.

¹² M. Dolley, *Sylloge of Coins of the British Isles, the Hiberno-Norse coins in the British Museum* no. 60 (referred to in future as Dolley 1966). I am adopting generally the dates of deposit suggested in the invaluable coin hoard lists on pp. 47-54 of that work. For some reason Rigold appears to regard the presence of St. Edmund coins in this hoard as open to question (Rigold 1958, p. 189). Four are in fact engraved on pl. iii of Dr. John Spelman's *Ælfredi magni . . . vita . . .*, Oxford, 1678, and there specifically stated to be from the Harkirke find, a fact confirmed by the drawings made by William Blundell on whose land the coins were found in 1611 (*NC*, 1955, pp. 190-3).

¹³ Dolley 1966, no. 63. The coins are illustrated from a late 18th century engraving in *BNJ*, xxviii, 1955-7, p. 178. It is possible that two of them are *BMC* 311 and 415 for which there is no recorded provenance.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, no. 65. The coin is now in the National Museum of Ireland, Dublin.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, no. 72.

^{15a} Royal Irish Academy manuscript (RIA MS. 24 H31, fo. 30r., no. 358 and f. 29 v opposite).

^{15b} Sotheby, 30 June 1842 and six following days.

¹⁶ Dolley 1966, no. 59.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, no. 62. Since Dolley wrote, the coins, missing for many years, have turned up. The St. Edmund penny is illustrated in *BNJ*, xxxvi, 1967, pl. i, 9.

one from East Anglia, Morley St. Peter, Norfolk, deposited *c.* 925 (or perhaps later)¹⁸ nineteen pennies, two of which are comparable to coins found at Cuerdale, the remainder not. In addition to these there are three pennies, none of them comparable to Cuerdale coins, from Northampton Castle, deposited *c.* 905 which Rigold treats as isolated finds but Dolley regards as a hoard.¹⁹ These include a remarkable piece reading NORDVIC which is discussed later.

A few examples have turned up in foreign hoards:—Rennes, France, deposited 920–3, three pennies, one of them late;²⁰ Rome, Vatican, deposited *c.* 928, one penny, late;²¹ Over Randlev, Jutland, in a hoard consisting almost entirely of Kufic coins, one penny, late.²²

The single finds Rigold also lists geographically. Two are recorded from English territory, from Long Wittenham and Cholsey respectively, both in Berkshire.²³ The remainder are all from the Danelaw: Norwich, from a Ministry of Works excavation, found in a later medieval pit, pierced and illegible;²⁴ East Kirby, Lincs., said to read BOLETI MO in which case it was not represented at Cuerdale;²⁴ Bowbeck Heath, Bardwell, Suffolk, said to read AD. LANTO;²⁵ Narford, Norfolk;²⁶ Thetford, in the course of Ministry of Works excavations, three pennies, late, and two halfpennies, one of them said to be late (but see p. 248).²⁷

A number of interesting points emerge from this review of the evidence of hoards and single finds. First, the remarkable degree of isolation of the great parcel from Cuerdale. It will be noted how

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, no. 69. A full report on this hoard is now being prepared by Mr. Dolley and Miss M. A. O'Donovan.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, no. 58 and Rigold 1958, p. 189.

²⁰ *Revue Numismatique*, 1965, pp. 262 f.

²¹ *BNJ*, xxxiii, 1964, pp. 7–29.

²² *SCBI* Copenhagen, I, p. 25, ill. no. 153.

²³ W. Rusher Davies sale, Sotheby, 24 Feb. 1893, lot 55. This is a curious sale containing an unexpected number of Anglo-Saxon coins identified as having been found in the vicinity of the collector's home at Wallingford. There seems a possibility that a local dealer may have attached alleged find-spots to coins to make them more acceptable to the collector. One must therefore treat the two St. Edmund provenances, which would be important if substantiated, with some reserve. Details of the coins are unfortunately not given in the sale catalogue.

²⁴ Rigold 1958, p. 189.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 190 where he says 'two or three, possibly part of a hoard'. But the references he gives seem to indicate that this was a single find. Mr. D. Sherlock has kindly called my attention to an earlier reference to this in *Proc. Suff. Inst. Arch., Stat. and Nat. Hist.*, II, 1859, pp. 209–10, 'Quarterly Meeting 4 Jan. 1855' where Mr. Warren exhibited the single coin of AD LANTO. The suggestion that there were three coins appears to arise from a misreading of the Warren sale catalogue.

²⁶ Rigold 1958, p. 190. Miss Green, of the City of Norwich Museums, kindly tells me that no details of this coin are available beyond the fact that it was found near Narford Hall in 1959.

²⁷ These are described in detail in Rigold 1958, p. 190.

infrequently comparable coins have been found elsewhere and, as will be seen later, the records of such St. Edmund coins as were known prior to the discovery at Cuerdale continue to bear this out. The fact, however, that so great a preponderance of coins of this group has been found in Lancashire should not be taken as indicating that it was the region either of their origin or of their circulation. Both Cuerdale and Harkirke are clearly Scandinavian loot, collected over a wide area.

Currency hoards and isolated finds provide of course the most valuable evidence as to the areas where the coins circulated and from which it is likely that they originated. Here the evidence is distinctly satisfactory: isolated finds from Norwich and Narford in Norfolk, from Bardwell in Suffolk, from Thetford on the borders of the two counties (five instances at this last) and from East Kirby in Lincolnshire combine with the major Norfolk find from Morley St. Peter, and a lesser one at Northampton; and another from York, consisting entirely of coins issued by the Danes. Against this substantial group from territory under Danish control, we have only two coins doubtfully from Berkshire and the single specimen in the Chester (1862) hoard, a hoard with a distinctly Danish flavour.

The hoard evidence thus points fairly conclusively to the St. Edmund coins having circulated in East Anglia and the Northern Danelaw. Where they were issued will be discussed later in the light of the evidence provided by the coins themselves.

Today St. Edmund coins are among the most plentiful of early Anglo-Saxon coins in both public and private cabinets. But this was not always the case. Prior to the discovery at Cuerdale they were distinctly rare. There was, for instance, none in the Ashmolean or Bodleian collections at Oxford, the 18th century Pembroke collection²⁸ or in the important and representative collection of Thomas Dimsdale.²⁹ On the other hand Samuel Tyssen, a Norfolk squire, had at least four.³⁰ These should have passed to the British Museum which bought his entire Anglo-Saxon collection in 1804.³¹ The Devonshire collection, also formed in the 18th century, contained

²⁸ Sold by S. Leigh Sotheby & Co., 31 July 1848 and eleven following days.

²⁹ Sold as the property of a 'Late highly respected collector', Sotheby, 6 July 1824 and 14 following days.

³⁰ Ruding, II, p. 284.

³¹ A manuscript note by Sir Henry Ellis records that on 'July 10 1804 the Trustees of the British Museum paid £661.10.0 for Coins which had belonged to Mr. Saml Tyssen's Collection: namely £620 for his Anglo-Saxon Coins, and £41.10 for a gold Penny of Henry III'. (In a volume of tracts compiled by Ellis and now in the possession of the writer). Two of Tyssen's coins are identified as *BMC* 384 and 421 by Mr. Dolley and Mrs. Strudwick in *BNJ*, xxviii, 1955-7, p. 42. No. 385, there stated to be from the Cotton collection, is similar to another which, Ruding says, belonged to Tyssen. There is nothing in *BMC* similar to the fourth specimen that Ruding says belonged to Tyssen.

no less than nine³² some of which may have come from the collection of Sir Andrew Fountaine, another Norfolk squire, as the Duke was one of the purchasers of his collection.³³

From such evidence as we have, either from illustration or description, it is apparent that, with the exception of the Harkirke coins, the greater part of those known before Cuerdale were varieties not found there.³⁴ Exceptions there are, such as the Hunter coin,³⁵ Rebello's³⁶ and Cuff's,³⁷ but the majority point the other way.

THE CUERDALE GROUP

The general type of the coins has been described. The best executed have on the obverse SCEADMVNDREX (or a very slight variant of it) and on the reverse the moneyer's name, correctly spelt, and followed by the word MONETA or some abbreviation of it. A typical example, by the moneyer Degemund is illustrated (Pl. XXXI, 3). Occasionally the name is followed by the words ME FECIT. No mint name is given, save possibly on a very few isolated coins that are discussed later, and in this respect the issue followed the general pattern of the coinage of the rest of the country at this time, where the use of mint names was exceptional. These are probably amongst the earliest coins of the series and are to be compared in style with some rare coins which, in place of the moneyer's name on the reverse, have that of king Alfred (Pl. XXXI, 1). These last are discussed in more detail below.

Degeneration of the legends soon sets in however, one of the first signs of it being the placing sideways of the initial letter of the obverse, S (Pl. XXXI, 4). By the time the Cuerdale hoard was lost, most legends had become badly blundered, some to an extent that makes it hard to see any trace of the name of either saint or moneyer. In the British Museum *Catalogue* there are 25 coins from

³² Sold by Christie & Manson, 18 March 1844 and six following days; 26 March 1844 and four following days. The St. Edmund coins are in lots 151-3 in the second portion. Regrettably no details are given and the coins cannot be identified today.

³³ The other two were Lord Pembroke and Cornaro, the Venetian ambassador (*DNB*, vii, p. 516). The English coins would no doubt have been divided between the two English collectors.

³⁴ The principal sources are: the pre-Cuerdale coins in the British Museum; Ruding, pl. 12, 1-6 and pl. D,23; Fountaine, pl. vi, 24-7 and pl. ix, *Incerta* 1-2; Spelman, pl. iii, 26-9 and pl. iv, 4; and a note among Browne Willis' papers at Oxford of a specimen (this time of the Cuerdale group) in the possession of a Mr. Bolton, *c.* 1745. I have to thank Mr. H. E. Pagan for this last reference.

³⁵ *SCBI* Glasgow, no. 427=Ruding pl. 12,5.

³⁶ Ruding, pl. 12,6.

³⁷ *Ibid.*, pl. D,23.

this hoard (nos. 668–92) on which the reverse legends are described as totally unintelligible.

Though by far the majority of the coins have moneyers' names on the reverse, there are rare exceptions. What appears to be a very early coin of good style has the name of the saint on both sides (Pl. XXXI, 2, *BMC* 106). Hardy's list³⁸ records that there were three specimens from Cuerdale, presumably duplicates as the British Museum retained only one. There was also a single specimen with the name in blundered forms (*BMC* 109) and this variant is found more frequently in the later group. Other possibly significant variants from the normal are discussed under separate headings below.

Many coins of the Cuerdale group have one or more pellets distributed in or around the central A on the obverse. These are sometimes single pellets or may be in groups of three or four (Pl. XXXI, 3). This might suggest an attempt to control the coinage by a system comparable to the later 'privy marks', but this would be unexpected at the turn of the ninth century. At present their significance, if any, must remain obscure, but several catalogues of these coins have arranged them according to the placing of the pellets³⁹ and this has provided a convenient means of identifying die-links between moneyers. While no comprehensive search has yet been made—such a task will be greatly facilitated when the series in the British Museum has been published in *Sylloge* format—die-links have been noted between Adradus (*SCBI* Copenhagen 111) and Bosecin (*SCBI* Oxford 98; *ibid.* Copenhagen 130; *ibid.* Glasgow 439; three different reverse dies); and between Sten (*ibid.* Copenhagen 173 and Glasgow 435) and Reart (*ibid.* Copenhagen 165 and 166; *ibid.* Glasgow 433).⁴⁰

Another die-link must surely dispose of the unwarranted claim that is made from time to time that coins such as *BMC* 386 combine an obverse of St. Edmund with a reverse of king Alfred's. The obverse die is found also used with reverses that are completely blundered (e.g. *SCBI* Oxford 106 and *BMC* 387).

A glance at the British Museum *Catalogue* will show how difficult it is in many cases to identify the names of the moneyers intended to be placed on the coins. But a number are quite distinct and the student should turn to the British Museum *Catalogue* for details. A number are illustrated there, but a better selection will be found in the various volumes of the *Sylloge of British Coins*, especially those

³⁸ A detailed list of the hoard in manuscript made by W. Hardy and preserved in the Duchy of Lancaster office. A photostat copy is now in the British Museum Coin Room.

³⁹ E.g. *SCBI* Cambridge and Oxford.

⁴⁰ I am very much indebted to Mr. H. E. Pagan for calling my attention to these die-links.

devoted to the collections at Oxford, Cambridge, Glasgow and Copenhagen.

The names themselves need to be the study of a qualified philologist. Here it must suffice to point out the marked Continental-Germanic flavour of the list and to note that a moneyer signing himself Abenel on coins of Guthrum-Athelstan (*BMC* 90) is to be compared with one signing himself Abonel (and a number of variants of it) on the St. Edmund coins (*BMC* 117f.). The same name is also found on mint-signed coins of Athelstan of Hertford and Maldon struck in the 930's.^{40a} This is the only possible link between the two coinages.

Coins with the name of king Alfred

One of the most interesting varieties of the St. Edmund coinage, represented by no more than three specimens, all found at Cuerdale and all from the same dies, combines the normal St. Edmund inscription on the obverse with a reverse reading AELFRED REX DO (Pl. XXXI, 1). On his regular coinage Alfred on occasions uses the style REX DORO,⁴¹ and DORO in that case may confidently be interpreted as an abbreviation of *Dorovernia*, the Ancient British name for Canterbury which, for some reason as yet unexplained, persisted on the coins down to the reign of Athelstan. That the DO on the St. Edmund coins is an abbreviation of the same name is confirmed by the form of the letter O, a lozenge with a wedge at each corner, a form that is characteristic of products of the Canterbury mint.

The coins are of excellent workmanship and are clearly an official issue, in marked contrast to a very blundered piece (also from Cuerdale) which seems to be essaying the same reverse inscription.⁴² In this latter case it is retrograde as well as blundered and it must be regarded as no more than a rather rude imitation of the fine original.⁴³

Coins with the names of two moneyers

Occasionally, in place of the St. Edmund legend on the obverse, the name of a moneyer is found. One can cite *BMC* 371 where the same moneyer's name (though differently blundered) is found on both sides; 604, where the same moneyer's name occurs on the obverse coupled with another name, WIEDULE, on the reverse; 470 where the name on the obverse is WIEDULE, specifically called *Monet*, and that on the reverse ODULBNR, also described

^{40a} *SCBI* Copenhagen 694 (Hertford) and Forum (Rome) hoard 245 (Maldon).

⁴¹ E.g. on *BMC*, II, nos. 3-27.

⁴² *BMC*, II, no. 189.

⁴³ Another coin with allegedly the name of king Alfred on the reverse has been discussed above under the die-links.

as *Mon*; and 456 which reads on the obverse MILO ME ECTS (presumably for *Milo me fecit*) and a name that is spelt OANDDERT, followed by *Me*, on the reverse.

Other cases of double moneyers' names are found later in the Anglo-Saxon series. Some are used to distinguish two individuals of the same name working at the same mint, but in one or two cases the practice suggests some form of partnership, as for instance in the reign of Athelstan where the name of Fastolf is found linked to three others, Boiga, Oda and Rafn. But these are all cases where the two names are found on the reverse of the coin; what is unusual (though not completely unparalleled) is to find the king's name on the obverse replaced by that of a moneyer, and, as has been seen, not always a different one.

The 'Heming' group

Various speculative attributions of some of the St. Edmund coins have, from time to time, been made, but most are now forgotten and need no refuting. A curious little group, however, which has been the subject of discussion in the past merits some consideration. These coins combine the normal St. Edmund obverse, with somewhat blundered inscription, with a reverse on which there appears to be the name Heming. But instead of this being followed by some abbreviation of *Moneta* or by *Me fecit*, it is in this instance followed by *Rex E.* (Pl. XXXI, 5). At least seven specimens are known of which five had the Cuerdale provenance.⁴⁴ Hardy recorded seven, so that it is most probable that the remaining two are from the same source. Three obverse and two reverse dies have been noted.

Haigh first identified this Heming as a Danish sea-king⁴⁵ and in this is followed by Kenyon in the second edition of Hawkins' *Silver Coins of England* (1876).⁴⁶ Here Kenyon is likely to be reflecting the views of Hawkins: Haigh's identification was published almost immediately after Hawkins' full report on the Cuerdale hoard and so would certainly have been considered by Hawkins. Kenyon expressly says that some of the material added to the new edition had been sanctioned by Hawkins. Later writers have been more doubtful. Keary, a highly-esteemed Anglo-Saxon numismatist, dismisses the attribution on the grounds that the coins 'are much too blundered to allow us to draw any conclusions from their legends, and it is probable that the REX on the reverse has simply been transposed from the obverse. The final letters of the obverse are some blundered form of the word "monetarius".'⁴⁷ Among still later writers Brooke, Oman and Dolley do not mention the attribu-

⁴⁴ The seven specimens noted are: *BMC* 428-9 and 659; *SCBI* Oxford 108-9; *SBCI* Copenhagen 148; Blunt *ex* Grantley 921.

⁴⁵ *NC*, v, 1842-3, p. 116.

⁴⁶ *Op. cit.* p. 98.

⁴⁷ *BMC*, I, p. 119n.

tion and may be presumed to be at best doubtful as to its validity.⁴⁸

While the attribution must still remain a matter of opinion, it is not entirely easy to see the force of Keary's arguments. The three obverse dies read as follows:—

1. †SCEGADI'VNRI (*SCBI* Oxford 108–9, etc.)
2. †SCEGAD†[-]RI (*SCBI* Copenhagen 148)
3. †SCEGADMVIIRE (*BMC* 659, pl. xix, 13)

On the first the reading is clearly *See Eadmun Ri*; on the second it may be slightly shortened (a portion is not clear); the third reads *See Eadmun Re*. These readings are sufficiently near the normal to justify hesitation in accepting Keary's argument that the *Rex* on the reverse got transferred from the obverse or that the final letters on the obverse are a blundering of *monetarius*.

The reverse reading has also been questioned. *SCBI* Oxford 108 shows the initial letter to be barred—either N or H; on the others it appears to be unbarred. The second letter E is undoubted. *BMC* 428 shows the third and fourth letters clearly: one is drawn like two Ns joined together, a recognized form of M at this time; the other, damaged on some other specimens, can be seen to be a reverse-bared N. The remaining letters are also clear, C (of the square form) XREXE. The inscription may thus be read HEMNCXREXE.⁴⁹ This is found on six of the seven specimens, all of which are from the same die. The seventh (*BMC* 659, ill.) has a more blundered inscription ending REXI.

Alfred, on his St. Edmund coins, placed his name on what one assumes to be the reverse and one must not be too ready to reject entirely the possibility that we have here the name of a Danish ruler. As Haigh remarked, the name was common among the Danish sea-kings.

The 'Danac' group

A small group with an irregular obverse inscription which may possibly prove to have some significance also deserves mention. It is the work of a single moneyer, Ersalt, who also produced a coin with more or less regular inscriptions, *BMC* 396. But the rest of his products, nos. 397–401, all have an obverse inscription which reads some variant of EDRENIDANAC. The actual forms are:— EDREI IDAN (397); EDRENIDANAC (398); IDREHIDANAC (399); EDRENIDANC (400); EDREIDAAC (401). 29 specimens are recorded in Hardy's list. The same moneyer was also responsible for a halfpenny (BM *ex* Cuerdale 1039, but not in *Catalogue*) the obverse of which reads †EDRENIDANE (Pl. XXXI, 12).

⁴⁸ In *English Coins*, 1932; *The Coinage of England*, 1931; and *Viking Coins of the Danelaw*, 1965, respectively.

⁴⁹ Compare the curious *obverse* reading on Alfred *BMC* 412.

It is difficult to see in these various readings any blundering of the St. Edmund inscription. Equally will be noted the persistence of the final element DAN, DANC, DAAC, DANAC. I am not proposing any solution of the question, but draw attention to this little group as bearing an inscription of possible significance.

The 'York' group

The British Museum *Catalogue* identifies the mint of York in the reverse inscription of two of the coins found at Cuerdale.⁵⁰ The obverses are slightly blundered and the reverses read ERIAICECIV (Pl. XXXI, 7) and ERIACECIV respectively. Although the most regular reading on the York coins of Siefried and Cnut embodies B as the second letter—the best form is EBRAICE CIVITAS—there are several instances where this letter is omitted⁵¹ and a large number where the R is omitted.⁵² The normally resultant reading in the latter case is EBIAICE and it is difficult not to identify this with the reading on the St. Edmund coins.

There is also a late halfpenny reading on the reverse ERCRCI (Pl. XXXI, 14) but though the interpretation is obscure there are less good grounds for seeing in it, as has been suggested, an attempt at the York mint signature.⁵³

The Nordvic coin

One of the coins found at Northampton, to which Miss Archibald has very kindly drawn my attention, combines a blundered reverse which appears to read IMSCRO- (the M broken into three elements thus IVI) with an obverse legend the first eight letters of which read clearly NORDVICO, followed by two or three uncertain letters (Pl. XXXI, 8). Mint names in this series are, as has been remarked, quite exceptional, but in this case where the reading, so far as it goes, is undoubted and bears no relation to any recorded moneyer's name, it is hard not to interpret it as Norwich, the only identifiable mint in East Anglia in the reign of Athelstan when the use of mint names had become more widespread. On these latter coins the forms found are generally NORÐPIC or NORPIC.

But if Norwich is accepted as the correct interpretation, it raises almost as many questions as it solves. Why, for instance, should the name of this mint, which bids fair on other grounds to be one of the places likely to have been responsible for at any rate a

⁵⁰ *BMC* 650-1. Another is *SCBI* Copenhagen 139. Hardy's list records only two found at Cuerdale.

⁵¹ E.g. *BMC* 881 and 902.

⁵² E.g. *ibid.* 876-9. 883 f., etc.

⁵³ The attribution to York is made in the catalogue, prepared by Mr. P. W. Carlyon-Britton for the sale of his collection, Sotheby, 1913, lot 320.

part of the St. Edmund coinage, appear on no more than one coin among the great number that have survived? Were it an early coin one might expect it to have occurred among those found at Cuerdale; stylistically it is not characteristically late and, if its absence from Cuerdale suggests that it is not early, one must place it in the intermediate group which, while having features of the earlier one, was not found in that hoard.

The 'Lincoln' group

Less probable, in the opinion of the present writer, is the tentative attribution to the mint of Lincoln of a small number of coins with the name MARTINUS (variously blundered) on the reverse.⁵⁴ This is, of course, suggested on account of the somewhat later mint-signed coins bearing the name of St. Martin coupled with the Lincoln mint-signature,⁵⁵ but, of the seven coins listed in *BMC*, on none is the name preceded by *Sanctus* and on only two, where the name is much blundered, are there letters following the name which might, with some imagination, be so interpreted. The name moreover is a common one in Frankish parts.

THE POST-CUERDALE GROUP

The general types remain the same as in the Cuerdale group, but there is a growing tendency for the flans to become smaller and for the space for the legends, which are nearly always blundered in varying degrees, to become increasingly restricted and the legends themselves correspondingly curtailed. On what appear to be the earlier coins of this group this contraction is less marked (Pl. XXXI, 9) but it is well demonstrated on many of the later coins (e.g. Pl. XXXI, 10). Pellets are no longer found by the central A on the obverse.

So blundered are many of the reverse legends that it is often not possible to be certain whether a moneyer's name is being essayed or not, much less to identify it. It appears however that there are more coins in this group on which it is the intention to show the Saint's name on both sides than in the earlier one.⁵⁶ What is clear is that, as this coinage draws to its close, such central control as there seems initially to have been, requiring the moneyer to put his name identifiably on the coins for which he was responsible, had largely lapsed.

There are several links between the two groups which suggests, despite the distinction that may for the most part be drawn between them, that there was no very material break in time between them.

⁵⁴ *BMC* 652-8.

⁵⁵ Above p. 235.

⁵⁶ E.g. *BMC* 107-8; *SCBI* Copenhagen 106, 151; Ruding, pl. 12,1; two from Morley St. Peter; one from Thetford; Carlyon-Britton sale 315(d).

The name BADI is found on four coins of the later group⁵⁷ and this may be compared with the form BADO found on *BMC* 268-72 *ex* Cuerdale. The name BOSECIN, frequently found on Cuerdale coins (e.g. *BMC* 281-302) occurs on a coin from Morley St. Peter of late style, with the obverse legend curtailed to SCEADI. AOARERT and AORER on coins in Mr. Assheton's collection and at Morley St. Peter respectively may be compared with AOABERTI on *BMC* 172; and IOAhNON on *SCBI* Copenhagen 153 with IOHANNEM on *BMC* 445-6, as may be GISNELR on *BMC* 415 with GISLER on *BMC* 414.

But as a general rule the names of the moneyers on the post-Cuerdale group appear to have no affinities with those found on the earlier group. A list of the reverse legends which seem to contain recognisable elements of possible names is set out below:—

Adelar	Morley St. Peter
Adlanto	Warren sale 47
Aoarert	Hon. R. Assheton
Badi	<i>SCBI</i> Copenhagen 123; Cambridge 458; Dublin; Harkirke
Berenc	<i>SCBI</i> Copenhagen 125
Berner	<i>BMA</i> 274
Bosecin	Morley St. Peter
Cipici	<i>BNJ</i> , xxxvi (1967), pl. i,9
Cirvino	Fountaine, pl. ix,2
Culcreo (or Gulcreo)	Seaby, <i>Bulletin</i> , May 1967, H1223; <i>BMC</i> 421
Eldecar	<i>BMC</i> 384
Elismus	<i>BMC</i> 385
Espertel	Morley St. Peter
Estale	<i>BMC</i> 403
Ewram	<i>BMC</i> 404
Gisnelr	<i>BMC</i> 415
Gotolbert	Blunt
Ioahn	<i>SCBI</i> Copenhagen 153
Oalicia	Lockett sale 421b
Pancred	Private collection
Rodul	Vatican hoard 27
Walucus	Blunt

In addition there are a number of legends so blundered that one hesitates to try and identify a name in them.

I have collected records of 69 coins which belong to this group

⁵⁷ *SCBI* Copenhagen 123; *ibid.* Cambridge 458; Dublin; Spelman, pl. iii, 29.

and the remarkable thing is that, save in two cases,⁵⁸ there appear to be no near duplicates. This is in marked contrast to the Cuerdale group where duplicates abound and must surely reflect the incompleteness of our knowledge of this later series which, in fact, may well have been issued on a scale comparable to the earlier one. The full list would be difficult to record here and in any case might be felt more appropriate in a numismatic publication. But I would particularly welcome hearing of any specimens of this later group in public or private collections: since the two groups have only lately been distinguished, it is more than likely that my list could be substantially extended and it would be of particular value to see if further duplicates are found.

THE HALFPENNIES

Prior to the discovery at Cuerdale the round halfpenny was a denomination unknown in this series. In his original report on the hoard, Hawkins lists eleven varieties found there, and Hardy's manuscript list shows that one was duplicated, thus making twelve.

The British Museum *Catalogue* lists no more than five, a matter of some surprise in view of the care taken to make a full selection. In point of fact this proves to be one of the relatively few cases in which the *Catalogue* has slipped. There are now (and have been since the Cuerdale discovery) eleven halfpennies in the collection, those originally listed by Hawkins. There are also two cut halves which the *Catalogue* does not record. The twelfth specimen in the Cuerdale report is likely to be *SCBI* Glasgow 443, but there are records of five more which, though without specific hoard provenance, are likely to have come from Cuerdale.⁵⁹ Evidence has been accumulating that a portion at least of this hoard was subjected to some fairly discriminating selection before it reached the authorities and the smaller denomination would stand out among the rest as something exceptional.

Two further halfpennies were found in excavations carried out by the Ministry of Works at Thetford (isolated finds). Though neither is actually comparable to any found at Cuerdale, the style of one, with the reverse reading +ADMVIVTDNVE, clearly marks it as an early variety; and the second, though more doubtful, is probably so as well. It reads on the reverse +OTBRMON (Pl. XXXI, 13), a reading which may be compared with that on the Cuerdale penny *BMC* 496, there identified as by the moneyer Otbert.

⁵⁸ *BMC* 572 appears to be similar to Carlyon-Britton 315(d), though as the latter coin is not illustrated and I have not been able to trace it, one cannot say with certainty. *BMC* 421 is very similar to Seaby's *Bulletin*, May 1967, H1223.

⁵⁹ Grantley sale 931 and 932; *SCBI* Copenhagen 164 (=Murdoch sale 48?) and 177; Lockett sale 422.

There was also a single halfpenny in a hoard found in York (Walmgate) in 1856. I have been unable to trace this coin or to get details of it.

The following moneyers may be identified on these half-pennies:—

Dagemund	Reads DAIC cf. penny <i>BMC</i> 341. BM <i>ex</i> Cuerdale 1038 (not in catalogue)
Ersalt (Pl. XXXI, 12) (see p. 244)	BM <i>ex</i> Cuerdale 1039 (not in catalogue); also (varying) Grantley sale 931
Gilenart	<i>BMC</i> 693 (Pl. XXXI, 11) and <i>SCBI</i> Glasgow 443. Same dies. Also <i>BMC</i> 694 (varying)
Oduf	<i>BMC</i> 695 and (more doubtfully) 696
Otbert	Reads OTBR. Norwich Museum (Pl. XXXI, 13)
Otibuinc	<i>SCBI</i> Copenhagen 164 and Grantley sale 932. Same dies. Cf. penny <i>BMC</i> 497f.
Risleca	Reads RISLEF. Cf. penny <i>BMC</i> 532f. Lockett sale 422
Winiger	<i>BMC</i> 697 and <i>SCBI</i> Copenhagen 177. Same dies. There was one in the Cuff sale, 385, which may be the Copenhagen specimen.

With the exception of Gilenart, all the moneyers' names are found on pennies.

In addition there are five halfpennies with legends so blundered or obscure as to make identification of the moneyers seemingly impossible:—Norwich Museum *ex* Thetford excavations; and four Cuerdale coins in the British Museum not in the catalogue, but with Cuerdale reference numbers 1040–3.

Of the later issues I have a record of only one specimen (Pl. XXXI, 14). The provenance of this coin is unknown. The earliest record of it that I have found is in the 1904 volume of the *British Numismatic Journal* (Vol. 1) where it is illustrated. It was then in the collection of Mr. P. W. Carlyon-Britton.

WEIGHTS

An analysis of the weights of the St. Edmund pennies from Cuerdale in the British Museum *Catalogue* is given below. This is in two sections, the first covering all the coins, the second only those of good style. The selection of the latter has necessarily been somewhat arbitrary, but all coins starting the obverse legend with S sideways or backwards have been omitted as have a few with normal S but with obviously corrupt legends. The third section of

the table summarizes the weights available for coins not found at Cuerdale.

	<i>Cuerdale coins</i>				<i>Not found at Cuerdale</i>	
	<i>All</i>		<i>Good style</i>		<i>No.</i>	<i>%</i>
	<i>No.</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>No.</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>No.</i>	<i>%</i>
Under 17 gr.	15	2·8	nil		7	15·6
17—17·9	23	4·2	nil		5	11·1
18—18·9	57	10·6	7	7·5	5	11·1
19—19·9	70	12·9	11	11·8	12	26·7
20—20·9	115	21·3	23	24·7	8	17·8
21—21·9	150	27·8	28	30·1	5	11·1
22—22·9	76	14·1	16	17·3	1	2·2
23 and over	34	6·3	8	8·6	2	4·4
	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>
	540	100·0	93	100·0	45	100·0

The heaviest coin weighed 25·9gr. (*BMC 304 ex Cuerdale*); the lightest 14·4, one each in the Cuerdale and the post-Cuerdale groups.

In considering the figures one may reasonably assume that we have a fair proportion of the Cuerdale group. The same cannot be said of the later group. Here we have the weight of no more than 45 coins, some of which approach Cuerdale coins in style and may almost be regarded as transitional types early/late. With these reservations in mind, it may nonetheless be possible to draw certain conclusions from the figures.

With the elimination of the blundered coins in the Cuerdale group the lowest weight becomes 18gr. The peak remains in the 21gr. bracket and the top weight is unchanged.

The weights that predominate in the Cuerdale group conform in general to those found on the contemporary Northumbrian issues in the names of Siefred and Cnut⁶⁰ but are noticeably lighter than those of contemporary coins in the name of Alfred where weights of 23—24gr. are commonplace.

There is a distinct lowering of weight in the post-Cuerdale group which is emphasized if 'transitional' coins are eliminated. This is in even more marked contrast to the Wessex coinage where, under Edward the Elder, the weight is not merely maintained but actually increased. It reflects, however, a corresponding trend in the Northumbrian coinage, by this time the anonymous issue bearing the name of St. Peter.

For the halfpennies one would expect, on the basis of the pennies, a weight of 10gr. and more. In fact none has so far been

⁶⁰ *BMC*, I, pp. 201—29.

recorded weighing more than 9·3gr. The weights available for halfpennies of the Cuerdale group may be summarized as follows:—

Under 7gr.	2
7—7·4	3
7·5—7·9	2
8—8·4	2
8·5—8·9	4
9—9·5	4

Mr. P. Grierson in a paper on the Halfpennies and Third-pennies of King Alfred⁶¹ remarked that the fractional coins from the Stamford hoard, largely imitative pieces produced presumably by the Danes, fell considerably short of what might be expected for the halfpenny and deduced that they might be third-pennies for the existence of which he offered some documentary evidence. Regardless of the validity of this argument (which has been challenged) it is clear that the St. Edmund coins, though short in weight for halfpennies would, except for the first two which are extremely blundered, be too heavy for third-pennies. Rather does their shortfall confirm the suggestion already made that there was a lack of effective control of this Danelaw coinage.

CONCLUSIONS

Place(s) of issue

Where the St. Edmund coins were struck is still very much an open question. Haigh wrote that the coinage was, in his view, not peculiarly East Anglian,⁶² though in another place he says 'I believe it was begun in the dominion of the martyred king whose name it bears'.⁶³ Rashleigh takes the view that 'there can be little question' that they 'came from the Danish mints at York' and were 'probably intended for circulation in those parts of the late East Anglian kingdom which were under Dano-Northumbrian rule'; slightly later he writes 'Although the place of mintage of the coins of St. Edmund is not inscribed on them, yet there can be no doubt about their Dano-Northumbrian origin'. He excepts the rare coins with the name of Alfred which he considers were issued 'for circulation in that part of East Anglia which owned his rule'.⁶⁴

Keary, on the other hand, writes 'It is reasonable to suppose that the coinage was chiefly issued in East Anglia, as the fame of St.

⁶¹ *BNJ*, xxviii, 1955-7, pp. 477-93.

⁶² 'Coins of Alfred the Great', *NC*, 1870, p. 37.

⁶³ In an article entitled 'The coins of the Danish kings of Northumberland' in *Archaeologia Æliana*, vii, 1876, pp. 21-77.

⁶⁴ *NC*, 1869, pp. 92-3 and 96-7.

Edmund could hardly, during so short a period, have become more widely spread.⁶⁵

Later writers have for the most part followed Keary in placing the coins in the East Anglian series, though exercising some caution as to their actual place of mintage. Oman writes 'by the year 900 the "St. Edmund" pennies were its (i.e. East Anglia's) regular currency.'⁶⁶ Brooke is more definite. He writes 'This coinage was probably struck by the Danish settlers in East Anglia'.⁶⁷ Dolley is guarded—'the overall picture is of a substantial coinage meeting most if not all the requirements of the settlers of Danish East Anglia.'⁶⁸

Looking at this variety of views, one can I think properly take issue with Rashleigh's confident contention that the coinage as a whole emanated from a mint (or, as he says, mints) at York. That some may have been issued there is suggested by the rare coins reading ERIAICECIV, etc. and by the similarity in style of certain of the later issue (e.g. Pl. XXXI, 10) to coins bearing the name Raienalt, undoubtedly a Northumbrian issue with a mint which reads on the least blundered EARICECT.⁶⁹ The possibility of a mint-signed Norwich coin has also been discussed above, and Thetford, though nowhere named, is an obvious candidate.

There are one or two more coins on which it is possible that there is the initial of a mint name. One (*BMC* 289) reads BOSECINMONETAINR. This is a coin of the best workmanship with unblundered inscriptions and the final R is therefore deliberate. Another (*BMC* 567) reads SIGEMVNDMONEAP. This is not of quite such good workmanship so one cannot be so confident that the final letters have a significance.

At the beginning of the series it is hardly possible not to associate with Canterbury the coins reading AELFREDREXDO. These, it has been suggested earlier, are likely to be among the earliest of the St. Edmund coins and may well have set a pattern for the main issue. The best produced of the latter have distinct affinities with the 'Alfred' coins, but the names of the moneyers are unknown at Canterbury and the fact that the numismatic evidence points to the Canterbury mint having temporarily ceased to function *c.* 892,⁷⁰ precludes the likelihood that even the earliest of them may have come from that mint.

⁶⁵ *BMC*, I, p. xxx.

⁶⁶ *The Coinage of England*, 1931, p. 46.

⁶⁷ *English Coins*, 1932, p. 30.

⁶⁸ *Viking Coins of the Danelaw*, 1965, p. 17.

⁶⁹ *BMC*, I, 1082-7. The similarity was pointed out to me first by Mr. Robert Erskine.

⁷⁰ See R. H. M. Dolley, ed., *Anglo-Saxon Coins*, 1961, p. 86 and M. Dolley *Anglo-Saxon Pennies*, 1964, p. 20.

We are therefore left with a substantial coinage which cannot emanate from Canterbury and which there seem inadequate grounds to associate, for the most part, with York.

Bearing in mind the fact that East Anglia had had an active mint or mints in the life time of Edmund and that the numismatic evidence points clearly to there having been substantial issues there in the later years of Edward the Elder, there seem good grounds for believing that the St. Edmund coins, which appear to have circulated primarily in the Danelaw and which bore the name of the martyred East Anglian king, were for the most part issued from one or more mints in East Anglia. In view of the large number of moneyers and the distinct variations in the letter forms—M, for example, will be noticed as differing a great deal over the series—it is not unreasonable to believe that there was in fact more than a single mint. That the coinage may have started in Kent and may, at some later date, have been issued from York need not in any way invalidate an attribution to East Anglia of the great bulk of it.

Dating

The coins combining the names of king Alfred with that of St. Edmund and struck at Canterbury enable us confidently to place the start of the issue before Alfred's death in 899 and, if the contention that the Canterbury mint suffered a temporary eclipse *c.* 892 is accepted,⁷¹ the date may be brought back a further seven years. The great number and variety of the coins found at Cuerdale (deposited *c.* 903) could well of itself indicate a span of ten years. The numismatic evidence therefore points to the king having been recognized as a saint little more than 20 years after his death.

When the series ended is more problematical; the material on which to form a considered view is not available. There appear, however, to be no links between the later group and the East Anglian issues of Edward the Elder; neither moneyers' names or type bear any relation to one another. There could well have been a gap between the two. One may therefore hazard a guess that the St. Edmund coinage came to an end around 910 or perhaps a few years later.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I have to thank Mr. Dolley for most kindly making available to me the photographs of the important group of St. Edmund coins from Morley St. Peter and for allowing me to make use of them here in advance of the definitive publication of the hoard on which he is now engaged; he has also read through the paper in manuscript and made a number of helpful suggestions; Mr. S. E. Rigold for

⁷¹ See R. H. M. Dolley, ed., *Anglo-Saxon Coins*, 1961, p. 86.

making accessible to me the coins from the Thetford excavations, and the Norwich Museum for allowing me to record them here and to illustrate the important halfpenny; Miss M. M. Archibald and Mr. A. Gunstone for bringing to my notice the remarkable penny with the NORDVIC reading, and Mr. W. N. Terry, Curator of the Northampton Museum and Art Gallery for allowing its publication here. To Mr. Pagan I have already offered my thanks for his information about die-links and I have also had the opportunity of talking over with him a number of the problems that this coinage presents.

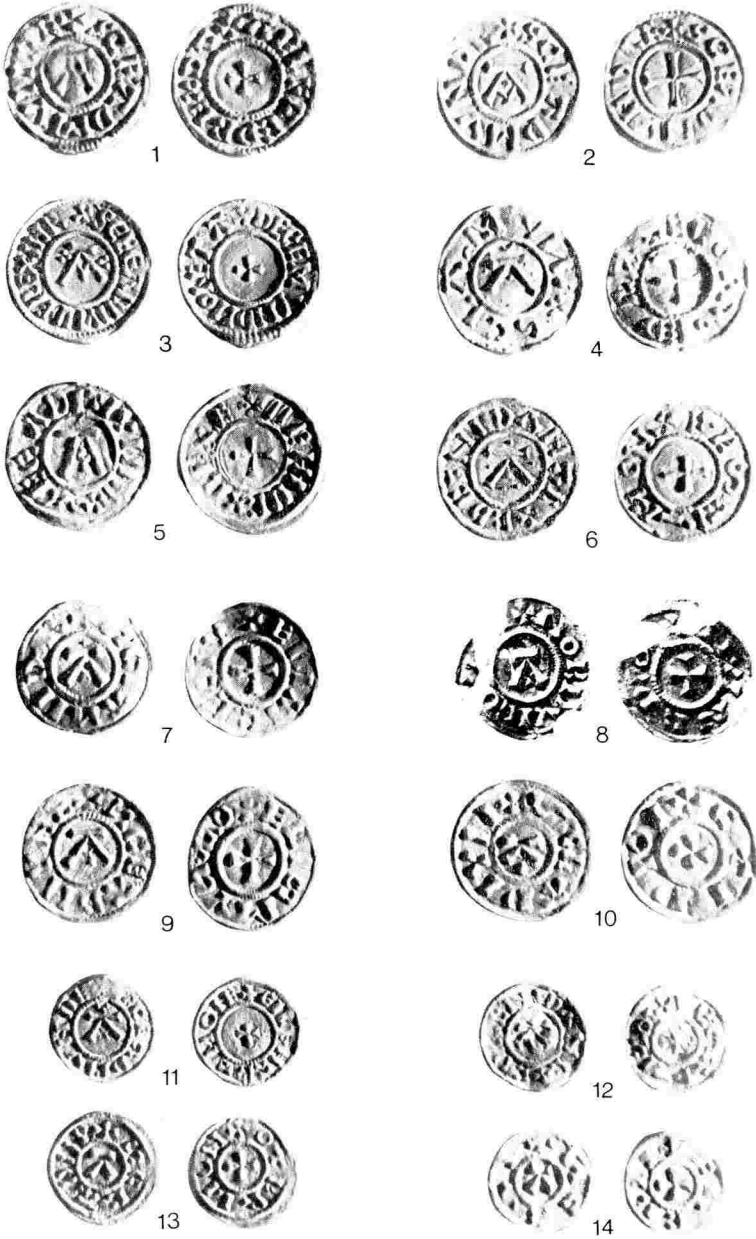
LIST OF COINS ILLUSTRATED ON PLATE XXXI

- 1 St. Edmund/Alfred. *BMC* 2 (under Alfred)
- 2 St. Edmund obverse and reverse. *BMC* 106
- 3 Early, good style. *BMC* 318
- 4 Early, somewhat degraded. *BMC* 386
- 5 'Heming'. *BMC* 429
- 6 'Danac'. *BMC* 402
- 7 'York'. *BMC* 650
- 8 'Norwich'. Norwich Museum, Thetford excavations.
- 9 Transitional (post-Cuerdale). *BMC* 385
- 10 Late penny. Blunt
- 11 Early halfpenny, good style. *BMC* 693
- 12 Early halfpenny, 'Danac'. *BM ex Cuerdale* but not in catalogue
- 13 Halfpenny (early?). Norwich Museum *ex* Thetford excavations
- 14 Late halfpenny, ERCRCI. Blunt

REFERENCES AND ABBREVIATIONS

- | | |
|-------------|--|
| Blunt | Author's collection |
| BMA | G. C. Brooke, 'Anglo-Saxon acquisitions of the British Museum', <i>NC</i> 1922, pp. 214-44; 1923 pp. 243-59; 1924 pp. 86-95, 239-53; 1925 pp. 343-65 |
| <i>BMC</i> | <i>A Catalogue of English coins in the British Museum, Anglo-Saxon series.</i> Vol. I, 1887; vol. II, 1893 |
| <i>BNJ</i> | <i>British Numismatic Journal</i> |
| <i>DNB</i> | <i>Dictionary of National Biography</i> , reprinted 1921-22 |
| Dolley 1966 | M. Dolley, <i>A Sylloge of coins of the British Isles, the Hiberno-Norse coins in the British Museum</i> , 1966 |
| Dublin | National Museum of Ireland, Dublin |
| Forum hoard | <i>NC</i> 1884, pp. 225-55 |
| Fountaine | Sir Andrew Fountaine, <i>Numismata Anglo-Saxonica & Anglo-Danica</i> , Oxford, 1705. Published in G. Hickes' <i>Thesaurus</i> |

PLATE XXXI



St. Edmund Memorial Coinage (list of coins p. 254).

- Hardy's list Manuscript list of the coins in the Cuerdale hoard prepared by W. Hardy. Original in the Duchy of Lancaster Office, photostat copy in the British Museum Coin Room
- NC* *Numismatic Chronicle*
- Rigold 1958 S. E. Rigold in *BNJ*, xxix, 1958, pp. 189-90
- Ruding The Rev. Rogers Ruding, *Annals of the coinage of Great Britain and its Dependencies*, 3rd edn. 1840
- Sales:*
- Carlyon- P. W. Carlyon-Britton, Sotheby, 17 Nov. 1913;
Britton 20 Nov. 1916; 11 Nov. 1918
- Cuff J. D. Cuff, Sotheby, 8 June 1854
- Grantley Lord Grantley, Glendining, 22 March 1944
- Lockett R. C. Lockett, Glendining, 6 June 1955; 4 Nov. 1958;
26 April 1960
- Murdoch J. G. Murdoch, Sotheby, 31 March 1903
- Warren J. Warren, Sotheby, 22 March 1869
- SCBI* *A Sylloge of Coins of the British Isles*. Various collections and dates.
- Spelman J. Spelman, *Ælfredi magni Anglorum regis . . . vita . . .*, Oxford, 1678
- Vatican M. A. O'Donovan, 'The Vatican hoard of Anglo-Saxon pennies', *BNJ*, xxxiii, 1964, pp. 7-29
- hoard