

MINTS AND MONEYPERS OF EDWARD THE CONFESSOR'S *SOVEREIGN/EAGLES* TYPE

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The primary purpose of this note is to provide an up-to-date list of the minting places and moneyers recorded for Edward the Confessor's *Sovereign/Eagles* type, chronologically the seventh substantive type struck during Edward's reign, most probably in the later 1050s¹.

The note has been put together on a similar basis to my earlier notes recording the minting places and moneyers known for Edward the Confessor's previous types, *Expanding Cross* and *Pointed Helmet* (BNS Blog 27 March 2021 and 13 August 2022). As with the earlier notes, the list takes as its foundation the tabulation of moneyers for the later Anglo-Saxon coinage provided by Kenneth Jonsson and the late Drs. Gay Van der Meer in their article on 'Mints and Moneyers c.973-1066', published in 1990². For moneyers working during the reign of Edward the Confessor, the tabulation by Jonsson and Van der Meer was largely dependent on the data assembled a little earlier by Dr Anthony Freeman in his useful book, *The Mint and the Moneyer in the Reign of Edward the Confessor*, published in 1985³, and references to 'Freeman' in what follows are to that publication.

The numismatic evidence for the *Sovereign/Eagles* type is largely provided by parcels of coins of this type which occurred in substantial hoards found in the second half of the nineteenth century at Chancton, West Sussex, Sedlescombe, East Sussex, and in the City of London, all likely to have been deposited in the mid or late 1060s. Additionally, coins of *Sovereign/Eagles* type struck by York moneyers were evidently present in considerable quantity in a large but poorly recorded hoard discovered in the middle of the eighteenth century at Castor, Northamptonshire, deposited c.1066, and were certainly a major component element in a similar hoard divinely found somewhere in northern England or in the north-eastern Midlands at the end of the 1990s or at the very beginning of the 2000s but which was not declared to the proper authorities at the time⁴.

¹ I am particularly grateful to Richard Ambrose for having been kind enough to read an earlier draft of this note, and for having drawn to my attention evidence for a few new moneyers which I had myself overlooked, as well as for commenting on other relevant issues.

² K.Jonsson and G.Van der Meer, 'Mints and Moneyers c.973-1066', in K.Jonsson (ed), *Studies in Late Anglo-Saxon Coinage in memory of Bror Emil Hildebrand*, Stockholm, 1990 (Numismatiska Meddelanden XXXV), 47-136.

³ A.Freeman, *The Moneyer and the Mint in the Reign of Edward the Confessor 1042-1066*, 2 vols, 1985 (BAR British Series 145).

⁴ For the Castor hoard see H.E.Pagan, 'The Castor hoard of mid-eleventh century pence', *BNJ* 54, 1984, 289-90. For the more recent hoard see M.Lessen, 'A parcel of mid-eleventh century Saxon coins, mostly of the York mint', *NCirc* Dec 2007, 310, where Lessen lists 267 coins believed to derive from the hoard in question, 98 of which were of *Sovereign/Eagles* type (York, 91 coins by ten moneyers; Lincoln, 6 coins by three moneyers; Stamford, 1 coin

As a result of these discoveries, coins of *Sovereign/Eagles* type struck at the four minting places in Sussex where moneyers were working at this date - Chichester, Hastings, Lewes, Steyning⁵ – are particularly well-represented in present-day collections, as are coins struck at York. Coins of this type struck at such other minting places in Southern England as Wallingford, Wilton and Winchester are also numerous today, as are, if somewhat less so and rather more puzzlingly, coins of *Sovereign/Eagles* type struck at Bedford and at Northampton, but our overall knowledge of the production of moneyers of coins of *Sovereign/Eagles* type is more patchy than our knowledge of the production of moneyers of coins of the preceding *Pointed Helmet* type.

What are particularly striking in this context are the very low numbers of coins of this type currently recorded for minting places in East Anglia – Ipswich, Norwich, Thetford⁶ – and the surprisingly limited number of coins of this type currently recorded for moneyers working at London. It is notable that in his publication of a major portion of the City of London hoard Ernest Willett was only able to record 94 coins of *Sovereign/Eagles* type, as opposed to 238

by one moneyer). Lessen was able to record their weights, and many of the coins can readily be traced in contemporary dealers' lists and auction catalogues.

⁵ The output of Sussex-based moneyers in the later Anglo-Saxon and Norman period is conveniently set out in a series of articles contributed to *BNJ* in the late 1950s by Horace King. Although King did not set out his corpus of these coins in as organised a format as would be expected today, his listing of the material is very full for the reign of Edward the Confessor, and particularly so for its later types. An unillustrated coin of *Sovereign/Eagles* type of the Chichester moneyer Godwine, which formed part of lot 1207 in the 1944 Grantley sale and catalogued there with a reverse inscription ending CICESTRE (a form of the mint name otherwise unpublished for the type and moneyer), may however evidence a *Sovereign/Eagles* reverse reading which King overlooked. The coin in question is very likely to have been the same specimen as one with this identical inscription listed by L.A. Lawrence in his surviving manuscript catalogue of his first collection, of which the bulk was purchased by Lord Grantley by private treaty in 1903. Lawrence's description of the coin, as well as supporting the reading CICESTRE, states that the coin in question was "struck on another coin" and was "extra fine", and it would be good if its present location could be discovered.

⁶ A helpful finding list of the then known *Sovereign/Eagles* coins for these minting places is provided by J.C. Sadler, *The Ipswich Mint c.973-c.1210, vol. II, Cnut the Great to the End of Edward the Confessor 1016-1066*, 2012, 129. Sadler, who recognized that the type was extremely rare for East Anglia, was able to record just 3 coins of Ipswich, 11 coins of Norwich, and 19 coins (plus a *Sovereign/Eagles-Hammer Cross* mule) for Thetford. This represented the evidence in 2012 for the output of twelve moneyers, two at Ipswich, five each at Norwich and Thetford, and the low figure of surviving coins for Norwich, normally a well-evidenced minting place in the reign of Edward the Confessor, is particularly unexpected. Two further coins of Norwich (moneyer Thorsteinn, *EMC* 2020.0282, and moneyer Hringwulf, *EMC* 2023.0457), and one further coin of Thetford (moneyer Atsurr, *EMC* 2014.0100) have since been reported to the *EMC* site. Additionally, what seems to have been a previously unrecorded coin of Thetford, moneyer Atsurr, has since passed through two *DNW* auction sales, *DNW* 11.vi.2014, 119 and 5.vi.2019, 301.

coins of the preceding *Pointed Helmet* type and 645 coins of the succeeding *Hammer Cross* type, and that of these 94 coins just 9 were of moneyers associated by him with London⁷.

The poor representation in the City of London hoard of *Sovereign/Eagles* in relation to *Pointed Helmet* and *Hammer Cross* is mirrored to some extent in the content of the Chancton hoard⁸, for which the published report by Barclay Head records 303 coins of *Sovereign/Eagles* to 425 of *Pointed Helmet* and 578 of *Hammer Cross*, and in the content of the Sedlescombe hoard⁹, for which the published report by W.A.Raper records 114 coins of *Sovereign/Eagles* to 123 of *Pointed Helmet* and 713 of *Hammer Cross*. An explanation for the fact that in each of these hoards *Sovereign/Eagles* is less well represented than the type that preceded it chronologically, *Pointed Helmet*, might be that *Sovereign/Eagles* was struck over a shorter period than the types that preceded and succeeded it, but this is a topic which requires fuller discussion than is appropriate here.

It is in any event strange both that *Sovereign/Eagles* coins of London moneyers should have been so feebly represented in a very large hoard found in the City of London itself, and that coins of London moneyers of *Sovereign/Eagles* type should be as uncommon otherwise as is the case, and numismatists need to be alert for any future discoveries that may shed light on this¹⁰.

Cataloguers of coins of this type have noted variations in the design of the enthroned image of the king that appears on the coins' obverses, as well as variations in the portrayal of the orb and sceptre which the king holds, but these seem to be due to random decisions taken by die-engravers rather than to be indicative of any regional or chronological sub-groupings within the type¹¹.

⁷ E.H.Willett, 'On a hoard of Saxon pennies found in the City of London in 1872', *NC New Series* xvi, 1876, 323-94.

⁸ B.V.Head, 'An account of the hoard of Anglo-Saxon coins found at Chancton Farm, Sussex'. *NC New Series* vii, 1867, 63-126.

⁹ W.A.Raper, 'On the silver pennies of Edward the Confessor found at Sedlescomb', *Sussex Archaeological Collections* xxxiii, 1883, 1-19.

¹⁰ It is more difficult to calculate a figure for known *Sovereign/Eagles* coins of London moneyers than is the case with coins of moneyers based in East Anglia, but the present writer's best estimate is that some ninety coins of the type by London moneyers are currently known. These represent production by as many as seventeen moneyers, averaging out at only just over five surviving coins per moneyer. The number of surviving coins per die combination is much lower.

¹¹ For a helpful recent summary of the literature on the iconography of the type see R.Naismith, *Medieval European Coinage with a Catalogue of the Coins in the Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge, 8 Britain and Ireland c.400-1066*, 2017, 274-5. Naismith makes the point that the occurrence on some obverse dies of Edward the Confessor's name in the unusual Latinised form E(A)DVVEARDVS may indicate that the original design was "conceived by a continental craftsman more familiar with Latin than Old English orthography", a suggestion that ties in with the fact there are elements in the iconography that have eleventh century German precedents.

A more significant variant element in the design relates to the arrangement of the eagles which occupy the four quarters of the reverse. Under one arrangement, these are shown with the eagles in the upper two quarters of the reverse facing each other, and with the eagles in the lower two quarters also facing each other but being represented upside down. Under an alternative arrangement, the eagles in the two left hand quarters of the reverse (the first and third quarters of the reverse heraldically) face each other, as do the eagles in the two right hand quarters of the reverse (the second and fourth quarters of the reverse heraldically). A convenient shorthand for this is to describe the first arrangement as a 'north/south' one and the second arrangement as a 'west/east' one.

Virtually all reverse dies of this type show the eagles in one or other of these arrangements, and it is reasonable to conclude that the variation in arrangement was one that was a deliberate one, officially sanctioned by the person or persons in authority to whom at this date the die-engravers involved reported, since both 'north/south' reverse dies and 'west/east' reverse dies are recorded for all minting places of any meaningful size. What the purpose of varying the arrangement might have been is a real puzzle, and may well remain so.

As with my earlier note on the minting places and moneyers of the *Pointed Helmet* type, it is appropriate to stress the provisional nature of the listing that follows, and the present writer would be glad to know of any coins of the *Sovereign/Eagles* type which have not been recorded in obvious published sources or on currently viewable sites on the internet.

A minor surprise thrown up by the preparation of this listing is that, notwithstanding the imperfect nature of the numismatic evidence for the type that was available to Freeman and to Jonsson and Van der Meer when they were putting their own listings together in the 1980s, discoveries since then seem to have evidenced only a relatively small number of new moneyers for the type : Eadweard at Cambridge; Aethelstan and Eadwig at Hereford, and Aelfwine at London, these three evidenced by the 2002 Abergavenny area hoard¹²; Aslacr at Lincoln; and Leofric at Norwich. Additionally, an unfamiliar coin which has been in the Hermitage Museum, St.Petersburg, since the middle of the nineteenth century, has now evidenced the moneyer Aelfric at Canterbury, and a forgotten coin of *Sovereign/Eagles* type, which featured in the Moon sale, 1901, has evidenced Saemaer at Hertford, otherwise known from specimens of a *Sovereign/Eagles-Hammer Cross* mule only. One further moneyer, Froma at Derby, previously known from a *Pointed Helmet-Sovereign/Eagles* mule only, is also now known for coins of the type itself. The names of these moneyers are printed in **bold** in the list that follows, to indicate that these are new names, and appended comments explain the grounds on which their names have been added.

The name of two other moneyers, Wulfric at Gloucester and Aelfstan at Winchester, are printed in *italics* to indicate that the evidence for the respective inclusion of these names in the roster of moneyers at Gloucester and Winchester is not as yet decisive. The difficulties involved are explained in accompanying comments.

¹² E.Besly, 'A hoard of Anglo-Saxon and Norman pennies from the Abergavenny area of Monmouthshire', *BNJ* 86, 2014, 140-63. The hoard contained 30 coins of *Sovereign/Eagles* type out of a total of 199 coins, 130 of these being of Edward the Confessor and 69 of William I.

Other comments address the fact that a small number of moneymakers' names listed by Jonsson and Van der Meer were included by them in error, for a variety of reasons. The names in question have been omitted from the present list, but in each individual case the reasons for the omission have been explained.

Under each minting place the names of the moneymakers associated with it are listed in the alphabetical order of their normalized form.

List of minting places and moneymakers

BARNSTAPLE: Aelfric

BATH: Godric, Osmaer

BEDFORD: Godric, Godwine (plus *Sovereign/Eagles-Hammer Cross* mule), Swet, Wulfwig (plus *Sovereign/Eagles-Hammer Cross* mule)

BEDWYN: Cild

BRISTOL: Aelfric, Aelfwine, Aethelstan

BUCKINGHAM: Theodred

BURY ST EDMUNDS: Morkar

CAMBRIDGE: Aelfwig, **Eadweard**, Godwine (plus *Pointed Helmet-Sovereign/Eagles* mule), Saekollr

Eadweard was omitted from the listings by Jonsson and Van der Meer and by Freeman, but a coin of his of this type, previously held in the Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology at Cambridge, is now in the Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge (*MEC* 8.2209). A further specimen was found at Hadstock, Essex, in August 2001 (*EMC* 2001.1298). As Eadweard was already known both for *Pointed Helmet* and for *Hammer Cross*, it is no surprise that he should have been working during *Sovereign/Eagles*.

CANTERBURY: Aelfraed, **Aelfric**, Eadweard, Gildewin, Leofstan, Leofwine, Manna

Aelfric is evidenced by a coin in the Hermitage Museum, St. Petersburg, SCBI 60, 1107, to which it came in 1858 as part of the collection formed by Jakob Reichel (1780-1856). The reverse inscription on this coin, IELFRIC ON CANPARI, provides a mint signature, CANPARI, which is unusual for Canterbury, but the coin is of an appropriate style to be an official product, and there seems no reason other than the unusualness of the mint signature to disassociate the coin from Canterbury.

CHESTER: Aelfsige, Bruning, Duning, Ealhsige, Huskarl, Kolbrandr, Leofnoth, Leofwine, Sprot, Svartkollr, Wigal

CHICHESTER: Aelfwine, Godwine, Wulfric

COLCHESTER: Beorhtric, Brunhyse, Goldman, Wulfwine

CRICKLADE: Aethelwig, Leofraed

Richard Ambrose has sensibly commented that although the moneyer's name on coins of Cricklade on coins of *Sovereign/Eagles* type is given as AEGELPI (and should thus on general principles be normalised as Aethelwig), coins struck at Cricklade between the end of the reign of Cnut and the end of the reign of Edward the Confessor customarily carry the name of a moneyer Aethelwine. There may thus be a case for arguing that AEGELPI is to be interpreted in this instance just as a shortened form of the personal name Aethelwine.

DERBY: **Froma** (plus *Pointed Helmet-Sovereign/Eagles* mule)

Froma, previously known only from a *Pointed Helmet-Sovereign/Eagles* mule, SCBI 42, 1340, on which the moneyer's name is spelled FRONE, is now known from two coins of *Sovereign/Eagles* type proper, Stewartby (2016) 296, ex W.Conte, and PAS LEIC-E11FA5, found at Gotham, Notts. These are struck from two further reverse dies, on each of which the moneyer's name is spelled FROMA.

DOVER: Ceolwig, Cynestan, Godwine

EXETER: Aelfric, Leofing, Saewine, Wulfmaer

GLOUCESTER: Aelfsig, Godwine, Leofnoth, Leofstan, Leofwine, Ordric, Seolhwine, Sigelac, Wulfgeat, *Wulfric*, Wulfweard

Jonsson and Van der Meer list Eadwig as a Gloucester moneyer, but their entry for him rests on the evidence of one coin only, SCBI 19, 97, which is evidently a contemporary imitation, and Eadwig is not otherwise evidenced at Gloucester during the later Anglo-Saxon period.

They list Leofnoth as a Gloucester moneyer with a query, but there is no reason to doubt that the coin on which their entry is based, P.W.P.Carlyon-Britton (1916) 1147 ex Sir John Ecans ex City of London hoard, did read LREENOD ON GLEP as catalogued, although no illustration of it is available. It is difficult to interpret LREENOD as signifying any name other than Leofnoth, and it is relevant that Leofnoth is known at Gloucester both for *Pointed Helmet* and for *Hammer Cross*, so should be expected to have been a moneyer in *Sovereign/Eagles*.

I have listed Wulfric here as a Gloucester moneyer on the basis of SCBI 54, 1225, a chipped and pierced coin with a mint signature which ends CES but the rest of which is unclear or missing. This coin, initially attributed by Hildebrand to Ilchester, was reattributed by Dr Veronica Smart to Chichester, where Wulfric is well evidenced as a moneyer for the type by coins struck from other pairs of dies, and was accepted as such by Fran Colman in her SCBI volume. It seems however clear, on the basis of the enlarged illustration on the EMC/SCBI site, that the mint signature was one of at least seven letters, which would seem to rule out any rendering of the place name Chichester that would end with the letters CES, and I also think that the first letter of the mint signature is a letter G¹³. The most likely reading would appear in the circumstances to be GLEPECES, i.e. Gloucester, but as Wulfric is not otherwise

¹³ An additional argument against the Chichester attribution is that the king's name on the obverse die of SCBI 54, 1225 is spelled EADVVERD, which would be an unusual spelling for a coin of this type by a Chichester moneyer.

recorded as a Gloucester moneyer, I have given his name in italics to indicate that the attribution is not necessarily a final one.

It is worth noting that Gloucester, after the omission of Eadwig and without taking account of Wulfric, will still have had ten recorded moneyers during the *Sovereign/Eagles* type. This is a larger number for Gloucester than in any previous coin type in the later Anglo-Saxon period, the previous highpoint having been in *Pointed Helmet*, six moneyers.

GUILDFORD: Blacman

HASTINGS: Brid, Duning, Wulfric

HEREFORD: Aelfwig, Aethelric, **Aethelstan**, Eadric, **Eadwig**, Earnwig, Leofnoth

The Abergavenny area hoard produced two die-duplicate coins of **Aethelstan** and one coin of **Eadwig**, both new moneyers for the type. The hoard also provided the second known specimen for the Hereford moneyer Earnwig, hitherto only evidenced for the type by Watters (1917) 117 (first coin) ex Montagu (1896) 153 (first coin, lot purchased by Watters).

HERTFORD: **Saemaer**

Jonsson and Van der Meer were not aware of any coins of the *Sovereign/Eagles* type proper struck by moneyers at Hertford, but they do list a *Sovereign/Eagles-Hammer Cross* mule of the Hertford moneyer Saemaer, evidenced by several surviving specimens. As Richard Ambrose has kindly pointed out to me, a group of coins of *Sovereign/Eagles* type offered as lot 32 in the Moon sale, 1901 (a lot purchased by the dealer William Talbot Ready), included a coin which the cataloguer of the sale recorded as reading SEMER ON HIRFOR, and there seems no reason to doubt that this was a coin of the type proper by this same moneyer **Saemaer**.

An additional *Sovereign/Eagles-Hammer Cross* mule of the Hertford moneyer Godwine was recorded by Ernest Willett in his publication of the City of London hoard¹⁴, and although it does not seem to have surfaced since, its existence has been accepted both by Freeman (with reservations about the coin's reverse reading as given by Willett)¹⁵, and by Jonsson and Van der Meer.

HORNDON: Duding

HUNTINGDON: Godric, Godwine (plus *Sovereign/Eagles-Hammer Cross* mule).

There is a possibility that Huntingdon had a further moneyer, Leofwine, during the *Sovereign/Eagles* type, for a *Sovereign/Eagles-Hammer Cross* mule, Elmore Jones (1971) 385, exists for this moneyer, but the mule may simply involve the reuse of a *Sovereign/Eagles* obverse die originally supplied to another moneyer.

ILCHESTER: Godric

IPSWICH: Brunman, Leofweald

¹⁴ Willett, *op.cit.*, 351.

¹⁵ Freeman, *op.cit.*, 195.

Jonsson and Van der Meer, following Freeman¹⁶, record Beorhtric as a moneyer for *Sovereign/Eagles* on the basis of a coin in the British Museum, but Sadler states that no such coin seems to exist¹⁷.

LEICESTER: Aethelric, Aethelwine, Godric

LEWES: Eadward, Eadwine, Godwine, Osweald

LINCOLN: Aelfnoth (plus *Sovereign/Eagles-Hammer Cross* mule), Asfrith, **Aslacr**, Authgrimr, Auti, Godric, Manna, Thorketill, Ulfbjorn (plus *Hammer Cross-Sovereign/Eagles* mule), Ulfr, Wulfric

Aslacr, a new moneyer for the type, is evidenced by a coin reading ASLOC ON LINCO which was lot 179 in a *DNW* sale of 16.iii.2005¹⁸.

The existence of the *Hammer Cross-Sovereign Eagles* mule of Lincoln, Ulfbjorn, SCBI 60, 1116, is not recorded by Jonsson and Van der Meer.

LONDON: Aelfraed, Aelfsige, Aelfward, **Aelfwine** (plus *Sovereign/Eagles-Pointed Helmet* mule), Aethelward, Brungar, Deorman, Eadwig, Ealdgar, Godric, Godwine, Leofing (plus *Hammer Cross-Sovereign/Eagles* mule), Leofwine, Osmund, Wulfgar, Wulfnoth, Wulfraed, Wulfwine

Aelfwine, a new moneyer for the type, is evidenced by a single coin in the Abergavenny area hoard. The existence of a *Sovereign/Eagles-Pointed Helmet* mule attributable to this moneyer, British Museum 1896.4.4.121, ex Montagu (1895) 850, did not prove that Aelfwine was a moneyer in *Sovereign/Eagles*, for the reverse die is a *Pointed Helmet* one, and it is satisfactory to have his existence in *Sovereign/Eagles* confirmed. Jonsson and Van der Meer have separate entries for *Sovereign/Eagles-Pointed Helmet* mules of the London moneyers Aelfwine and Aethelwine, but did not realise that their entries related to the same coin, on which the moneyer's name was read as AELFPINE in the Montagu catalogue but as AELPINE by Colman¹⁹, and as the same, presumably, by Freeman, who identified the coin's moneyer as Aethelwine²⁰.

Of the London moneyers for *Sovereign/Eagles* listed by Jonsson and Van der Meer, three, Aethelsige, Eadwine, and Wulfric, have been omitted. The evidence for Aethelsige having been a moneyer in this type is limited to the catalogue entry for a coin which formed part of lot 239 of the Arthur Briggs collection, sold at auction by the Sotheby firm in March 1893. Although Sotheby's cataloguer transcribed the coin's reverse inscription as AEGLSIGE ON LVNDEN, there has been no subsequent trace of a coin with this reading, and it is easy to

¹⁶ Freeman, *op.cit.*, 229 and 231.

¹⁷ Sadler, *op.cit.*, 171.

¹⁸ Richard Ambrose drew my attention to this coin which I had inadvertently missed.

¹⁹ F.Colman, *Money Talks, Reconstructing Old English*, 1992, 283. Colman lists this coin under the heading Aelwine, leaving it undetermined whether it is of a moneyer Aelfwine or a moneyer Aethelwine.

²⁰ Freeman, *op.cit.*, table on p.145.

see that the cataloguer might have misread an inscription that in reality read AELFSIGE ON LVNDEN (as on *BMC* 996).

Jonsson and Van der Meer's listing of Eadwine resulted from their acceptance of an incorrect normalisation by Freeman of EDPI, the moneyer's name on *BMC* 1004, ex Chancton hoard, as Eadwine rather than as Eadwig²¹, and Jonsson and Van der Meer evidently did not realise that their separate entry for Eadwig was based on the entry in *BMC* for the very same coin. The appearance since then in the Eaglen sale, 1998, lot 1479, of a coin of *Sovereign/Eagles* type on which the reverse inscription reads explicitly EADPIG ON LVND, has confirmed that Eadwig was a London moneyer in the type. It is in fact slightly puzzling that Eadwine has still to be recorded for *Sovereign/Eagles*, for he is known for earlier and later types of Edward the Confessor, but it seems clear that no coin of his of the type is currently known.

Wulfric, also listed by Jonsson and Van der Meer, has likewise been omitted, for the evidence for him having been a London moneyer in this type is limited to a single coin, *BMC* 1022, ex Chancton hoard, and it is apparent from its garbled obverse and reverse inscriptions that it is imitative.

The existence of the *Hammer Cross-Sovereign/Eagles* mule of London, Leofing, evidenced by two die-duplicate specimens, *SCBI* 66, 3728, and *SCBI* 66, 3729, was not recorded by Jonsson and Van der Meer.

MALDON: Godric, Godwine

Daegniht, listed by Jonsson and Van der Meer for this type with a query, has been omitted here. The only evidence for Daegniht having been a Maldon moneyer in this type is the appearance of a single coin attributed to him in the relevant column of the tabular presentation of the content of the City of London hoard by Ernest H. Willett in *NC* 1876²².

No such coin has materialised either in an institutional collection or in the coin trade over the last century and a half, and the reason for this may well be that this coin never really existed. Coins of this Maldon moneyer are only known today for types of Edward the Confessor ending with *Expanding Cross*, and I think that what happened is that Willett inadvertently recorded in his columns for *Pointed Helmet* and *Sovereign/Eagles* coins of Daegniht that he should have listed in his adjacent columns devoted to earlier types of Edward the Confessor.

MALMESBURY: Ealdwine

Two die-duplicate specimens exist of a *Sovereign/Eagles-Hammer Cross* mule of the Malmesbury moneyer Beorhtwig, but it is possible that these merely reflect the reuse by Beorhtwig of a *Sovereign/Eagles* obverse die originally supplied to another moneyer.

NORTHAMPTON: Aelfwine, Leofric, Saewine, Wulfnoth

NORWICH: Hringwulf, **Leofric**, Thorfrith, Thorsteinn, Wulfsige

²¹ Freeman, *op.cit.*, 148 and 166.

²² Willett, *op.cit.*, 358.

Leofric can be added to the known moneymen for the type on the basis of a coin from the William J. Conte collection which was lot 1884 in *CNG* sale 58, 19.ix.2001²³.

NOTTINGHAM: Forni

OXFORD: Aelfwig, Aethelwig, Aethelwine, Beorhtweald, Eadwine, Godwine, Heregod, Swetman

ROCHESTER: Eadwine, Godwine, Leofstan, Leofwine

ROMNEY: Wulfmaer

SALISBURY: Godric

SHAFTESBURY: Wulfric (plus *Pointed Helmet-Sovereign/Eagles* mule)

SHREWSBURY: Earnwig, Godesbrand, Leofstan, Wulfmaer

Jonsson and Van der Meer list an additional moneymen, Aethelric, with a query, and they also append a query after Earnwig. They did this in response to a suggestion by Freeman that *SCBI* 17, 430, moneymen Earnwig, the only coin of this moneymen and type then known, might in reality be a coin of Aethelric²⁴. As it happens, a second coin of Earnwig, reading ARNPIG ON SCROB and very probably a die-duplicate of *SCBI* 17, 430, has subsequently appeared in the Archbishop Sharp sale, 2017, lot 50, and this enables the removal of the query after Earnwig, as well as the omission of Aethelric from the present list.

SOUTHWARK: Godman, Osmund

STAMFORD: Brunwine, Godwine, Leofric, Leofwine, Vilgripr

STEYNING: Wulfric

SUDBURY: Folcwine

TAMWORTH: Coling

TAUNTON: Beorhtic (plus *Sovereign/Eagles-Hammer Cross* mule)

THETFORD: Atsurr, Blachere, Godleof, Sumarlithr, Thorfrithr

WALLINGFORD: Beorhtic, Beorhtwine, Brandr (plus *Sovereign/Eagles-Hammer Cross* mule), Brunwine

WAREHAM: Sidumann

WARWICK: Leofing, Thorketill

²³ I owe this reference to Richard Ambrose. See also Sadler, *op.cit.*, 129, where he records (without describing) two coins of this type, mint and moneymen in the possession of a private collector known to him.

²⁴ Freeman, *op.cit.*, 342 and 345.

WILTON: Aelfweald, Aelfwine, Hereraed, Saewine, Swetric, Thorketill

WINCHESTER: *Aelfstan*, Aelfwine, Aethelstan, Anderboda, Beorhtmaer, Godwine, Leofing, Sprakaling

Both Jonsson and Van der Meer and Freeman list Aelfstan as a Winchester moneyer in this type on the strength of a coin offered in *Seaby's Coin and Medal Bulletin*, Aug 1974, H4441, not illustrated but described there as reading AELFSTAN ON PINCES. I have chosen to record Aelfstan's name in italics, for no *Sovereign/Eagles* coin of Winchester, Aelfstan, is immediately traceable today, and the correct reading of the reverse inscription might alternatively have been AESTAN ON PINCES or AEDESTAN ON PINCES, in which case it would have been a coin of the moneyer Aethelstan, well recorded at Winchester in this particular type. The *SCMB* attribution to a moneyer Aelfstan does however get some indirect support from the fact that what may have been the same coin had featured, with an attribution to Winchester, Aelfstan, as part of lot 825 in a Glendining sale of 24 May 1972 (again unillustrated, and its full reverse inscription not given)²⁵.

WORCESTER: Aethelwine, Garulf, Leofstan, Vikingr

YORK: Arngrimr, Authgrimr, Ioketill (plus *Pointed Helmet-Sovereign/Eagles* mule), Ioli, Leofnoth, Skuli, Snaebjorn, Svartkollr, Thorr (plus *Sovereign/Eagles-Hammer Cross* mule), Ulfketill, Ulfketill Thaginc

UNDETERMINED: Leofdaeg

Jonsson and Van der Meer omit this moneyer, since the minting place at which he was working remains uncertain, but Freeman discusses the two coins of this moneyer and type known to him in the course of his remarks on London and Lydford coins of *Sovereign/Eagles* type²⁶. Freeman was inclined to believe that the name Leofdaeg that appears on these coins was a poor rendering of the name Leofthegn, and was led by this to suggest that it might be relevant that a moneyer named Leofthegn is recorded at Bedford for types struck in the latter part of Edward the Confessor's reign. This was however something of a red herring, for Leofdaeg is a proper Anglo-Saxon personal name in its own right²⁷, and there is no real reason to doubt that Leofdaeg was the name intended.

As regards the minting place of the coins involved, the first of these, *SCBI* 2, 1102 (Hunterian Museum, Glasgow, ex Dr William Hunter), has a reverse inscription which ends with a three-letter mint signature of which the first two letters are H and L and the third letter comprises a vertical upright with an attached limb extending horizontally rightwards from its central point. Freeman had seen another specimen, then in a private collection, struck from a different reverse die, on which he thought that the second letter of the mint signature might be interpreted as a square-backed C and the final letter as a T. The combined evidence of the coins in question was indecisive, and Freeman canvassed potential attributions to as many as four places, Hertford, London, Lydford and Northampton.

²⁵ A further additional Winchester moneyer, Godric, listed by Freeman, *op.cit.*, 130, seems to be a ghost.

²⁶ Freeman, *op.cit.*, 166-7 and 399.

²⁷ Colman, *op.cit.*, 106.

Jeffrey North, who had seen a coin of this type and moneyer apparently with the same reverse reading as the Glasgow coin in the stock of the Baldwin firm, ex the Chancton hoard²⁸, recorded in a footnote to the 1980 edition of the first volume of his *English Hammered Coinage*, in which he listed Leofdaeg under Lydford, that “mint reads HLY (possibly London)”, and he repeated that statement, with a full transcription of the reverse inscription of the Glasgow coin, in the 1994 edition of the same volume²⁹. In the interval what seems to have been a further specimen, Doubleday (1987) 616 ex Grantley (1944) 1208 (fifth coin) ex Allen (1898) 285 (fifth coin, the lot purchased by Lord Grantley in his own name), had emerged from obscurity. Unfortunately it was not illustrated in the Doubleday sale catalogue³⁰, and this is particularly regrettable in that the catalogue description indicates that although it was struck from the same obverse die as *SCBI* 2, 1102, it was struck from a different reverse die, interpreted by the cataloguer as reading LEOFDAEG ONN LF.

Of the potential attributions for these coins discussed by Freeman, the attributions to Hertford and Northampton, thought possible by him because of these towns’ geographical proximity to Bedford and its moneyer Leofthegn, lose all plausibility once it is accepted that Leofdaeg was a distinct individual. I do not myself believe that the mint signature is a London one, whether the mint signature is one of three letters or of two, for there seems no good reason why, if London was the minting place needing to be indicated, the die-engraver should have chosen to abbreviate the mint signature in a mysterious way on more than one reverse die rather than to express it simply as LV. The Lydford option is equally doubtful, in that Lydford mint signatures do not normally feature H as their initial letter, and in that Edward the Confessor’s *Small Flan* type is otherwise the final type in the reign for which Lydford is recorded. Unfortunately, as long as we have no photographic evidence for the reverse die or reverse dies of whatever coins exist other than *SCBI* 2, 1102, it is not going to be easy to come to any definite conclusion.

What remains the case is that the Glasgow coin is of respectable style, and not at all likely to be a contemporary imitation, and it is incumbent on the numismatic community to come up with a plausible identification for the location where it and the other specimens of this type and moneyer may have been struck.



²⁸ See for this Colman, *op.cit.*, n.57 on p.360.

²⁹ J.J.North, *English Hammered Coinage, Volume 1, Early Anglo-Saxon to Henry III c.600-1272*, 1980, n.104a to p.145; *op.cit.*, 1994, n.351 to p.184 (in this edition North removed his explicit listing of Leofdaeg as a moneyer at Lydford, but left an indicator in his entry for Lydford to direct his readers to the relevant footnote).

³⁰ The reason why this interesting coin was not illustrated in the Doubleday sale catalogue seems to have been that illustrations of selected items from the first 614 lots in the collection took up the whole of the sale catalogue’s twenty-one photographic plates, leaving no space for illustrations of the coins in the two final coin lots, lot 615 and lot 616 (the present coin).