

# MINTS AND MONEYS OF THE *EXPANDING CROSS* TYPE OF EDWARD THE CONFESSOR

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Coins of the *Expanding Cross* type of Edward the Confessor are currently known for the minting locations and moneyers listed below<sup>1</sup>. Under each minting location the moneyers are listed in the alphabetical order of the normalised form of their names.

Coins of this type can be divided into a Heavy series, struck on flans normally measuring approx. 20mm and to a weight averaging 1.65g, and a Light series, struck on flans normally measuring approx. 16mm and to a weight averaging 1.09g. Where in the list that follows a moneyer's name is followed by the initials H and L, this indicates that the moneyer is known both for coins of the Heavy series and for coins of the Light series, while names followed by H only or by L only are those of moneyers who are currently known for one of these series but not for the other.

The fullest existing tabulation of moneyers for this type is that provided by Kenneth Jonsson and the late Drs. Gay Van der Meer in their article on 'Mint and Moneyers c.973-1066', published in 1990<sup>2</sup>, although this does not show which moneyers were then known for coins of the Heavy series and which moneyers were then known for the Light series. The names of moneyers not recorded by Jonsson and Van der Meer are printed in bold in the present list.

Specific evidence for the presence of moneyers during this type at individual mints had been provided a little earlier by Dr. Anthony Freeman in his useful book, *The Moneyer and the Mint in the Reign of Edward Confessor 1042-1066*, 1985, and it is proper to record that Dr Freeman has been the only previous writer to record in his tabulation of the known coins at each of Edward the Confessor's minting locations which moneyers were then known for the Heavy series and which moneyers were then known for the Light series. Another very helpful feature of Freeman's book is that he cites the precise authority or authorities on which each of his entries is based.

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<sup>1</sup> The writer has been engaged in a wider study of the *Expanding Cross* type, but in the Covid-related circumstances currently prevailing [March 2021] it is not practicable to bring the necessary research to any immediate conclusion. It seems sensible in the circumstances to make available the factual information provided in the present note. I am grateful to the late Dr Stewart Lyon, Gareth Williams, Rory Naismith and Kenneth Jonsson for comments on an earlier draft of these remarks. Kenneth Jonsson has kindly confirmed that my suggestions in relation to the tabulation of coins of this type in his and the late Dr. Gay Van der Meer's article of 1990 are correct, and has kindly provided me with images of Light series coins of Canterbury, moneyer Eadweard, previously doubtfully recorded for this series, and of Southwark, moneyer Swetman, previously not recorded at all for the type.

<sup>2</sup> In K. Jonsson, ed., *Studies in late Anglo-Saxon Coinage* (Numismatiska Meddelanden XXXV), Stockholm, 1990, 47-136.

Appended comments in the present note provide the reasons on which the addition of each new name to the Jonsson and Van der Meer listing is based. A small number of names listed by Jonsson and Van der Meer can now be seen to have been included by them in error, for a variety of reasons, and although these names have been omitted from the present writer's listing, the opportunity has been taken to explain the grounds on which each such name has been omitted.

The primary function of the present note is to provide for the benefit of the wider numismatic community a provisional listing of the moneyers known for the type, distinguishing which of them are known for the Heavy series and which of them are known for the Light series. The opportunity has however also been taken to draw attention to, and offer explanations for, instances where coins struck from Heavy series dies or from Light series dies are of aberrant weight, and comments on such coins are supplied where appropriate.

It will be noted that the coins with aberrant weights are predominantly light-weight strikings from Heavy series dies. This is certainly evidence that some light-weight coins were struck subsequent to the date when dies for the Heavy series had been distributed to moneyers, but that is not necessarily decisive in trying to determine whether coins of the Heavy series, as Dr Gareth Williams has understandably deduced from the composition of the 1997 Appledore hoard,<sup>3</sup> necessarily predate the main body of coins of the Light series. A possible hypothesis might, for example, involve an issue of Light Series coins at the commencement of the type, followed by the issue of the Heavy Series coins, and then by a brief reversion to a lighter weight standard.

It should be pointed out in this connection that light-weight strikings from Heavy series dies are only currently known for moneyers operating at London, where the coins involved represent a very small proportion of the surviving coin material; at Bedford (possibly) and at Northampton; at a group of minting locations in the West Midlands and North-Western Midlands (Chester, Gloucester, Shrewsbury (probably), and Stafford); and at four rather disparate minting locations in England south of the Thames (Bedwyn, Canterbury, Exeter, and Wilton). The absence of any coins of this nature struck at such places as Lincoln, Stamford, Thetford and York, and indeed at Winchester, would indicate that the use of Heavy series dies to strike light-weight coins might have been a phenomenon related to specific requirements at the individual mint locations named, but the circumstances in which there was a need to use Heavy series dies for this purpose remain as yet uncertain.

The writer would be glad to know from readers of this note of any coins of the type known to them which have not been recorded either in obvious published sources (books,

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<sup>3</sup> G.Williams, 'A hoard of 'Expanding Cross' pennies from Appledore : preliminary report', *NCirc* May 1998, 152-3. For the composition of the hoard see also G.Williams, 'A further parcel from the Appledore hoard', *BNJ* 68, 1998, 141. The interpretation of the evidence provided by the hoard for the relative chronology of the Heavy series and the Light series is additionally discussed by S.Lyon, 'The 'Expanding Cross' type of Edward the Confessor and the Appledore (1997) hoard', *NCirc* Dec 1998, 426-8.

articles, illustrated auction catalogues, and so on) or on currently viewable sites on the internet.

### **Mint locations and moneyers**

BARNSTAPLE : Aelfric (L)

BATH : Aethelmaer (H, L), Godric (H, L)

BEDFORD : Aethelman (H, L), Sweta (H), Wulfmaer (L), Wulfwig (H, L)

A coin of the moneyer Wulfwig in the British Museum, BM 1998 11-1-19, ex Appledore hoard, weighs 1.00g, but the obverse die from which it is struck is of a stylistic variety on which the drapery on the chest of the king's bust incorporates three joined pellets in a triangular arrangement, a rare feature not as yet recorded on Light series dies. The British Museum coin is likely therefore to be a light-weight striking from Heavy series dies.

A Heavy series coin of Bedford by a moneyer Eadwine is recorded as having being present in the Appledore hoard, but the present writer has not as yet verified this.

BEDWYN : Cild (L)

The single known coin of this moneyer, *SCBI* 42, 1182, although of Light series weight, 1.10g, is struck on flans of Heavy series dimensions, and the style of the obverse die is also appropriate for the Heavy series.

BRISTOL : Aelfweard (H), Aethelstan (H, L), Godwine (H,L)

BUCKINGHAM : Leofwine (H)

BURY ST EDMUNDS : Morkar (H)

CAMBRIDGE : Aelfwig (H, L), **Aelfwine** (H), Eadstan (H), Godsunu (H), Wulfwine (H)

**Aelfwine** is evidenced as a moneyer in this type by *BMC* 473, ex City hoard, reading **ELFPIN ON GRANTE**. Freeman notes this coin, but evidently as something of an afterthought, with an accompanying query, and it is understandable that Jonsson and Van der Meer should have missed it when making their tabulation.

CANTERBURY : Aelfraed (H), “**Aelwed**” (H), **Aethelraed** (H), Eadweard (H, L), Gildewin (H, L), Leofstan (H, L), Leofwine (H, L), Manna (H, L), Wulfraed (H), Wulfstan (H, L)

“**Aelwed**”, spelled thus, is evidenced by several specimens in the Appledore hoard, all seemingly die-duplicates. It is not clear to the present writer what the appropriate normalised form of this name should be<sup>4</sup>.

**Aethelraed**, spelled **AEIELRED** on the coins, is the moneyer of *SCBI* 54, 1164, ex Hallsarve hoard, and of a coin with a similar reverse reading in the Appledore hoard, maybe struck from the same reverse die.

*SCBI* 54, 1091, a coin of the moneyer Wulfstan (spelled **PILSTAN** on the coin), although weighing 1.14g, a weight appropriate to the Light series, is evidently a light-weight striking from Heavy series dies, as is evidenced both by the dimensions of the dies and by the style of the obverse bust. Wulfstan’s role as a Light series moneyer is however otherwise evidenced by a coin certainly struck from Light series dies found at Newchurch, Romney Marsh, Kent, in October 2006 (*EMC* 2006.0303, *PAS KENT*-709031, 1.06g, wrongly identified there as being of a moneyer Thorsteinn and possibly as having been struck at Warwick).

The status of *BMC* 62, moneyer Eadweard, ex City hoard, struck on relatively small flans and weighing 1.28g, is uncertain.

CHESTER : Aelfsige (H, L), Aelfsige Alda (H), Bruning (H, L), Ealhwise (H), Fargrim (H, L), Huscarl (H, L), Kolbrandr (H), Leofnoth (H, L), Leofwine (H, L)

A coin of this type offered as part of lot 221 in the Arthur Briggs collection, Sotheby 22-25 March 1893, is recorded there as having the reverse inscription **AELFPINE ON LICESTR**. Jonsson and Van der Meer, following Freeman, have included Aelfwine as a Chester moneyer on that basis, but it is clear that the correct reading of the mint signature should have been **CICESTR** and that the coin was therefore of the Chichester moneyer Aelfwine.

Of the known coins by a moneyer Bruning, the three that are of Light series weight, *SCBI* 2, 1054, 1.08g, *SCBI* 18, 924, 1.09g, and *SCBI* 54, 1092, 1.10g, are in fact light-weight strikings from Heavy series dies, as evidenced by the dimensions of the dies, the style of the obverse busts, and by the fact that the obverse die used to strike *SCBI* 2, 1054 and its die-duplicate *SCBI* 54, 1092, is also used to strike *SCBI* 54, 1167, a Heavy series coin of this moneyer weighing 1.66g. Other coins of Light series weight certainly or probably struck from Heavy series dies include a coin of the moneyer Fargrimr, *BMC* 637, ex City hoard, 1.0g ; two die-duplicate coins of the moneyer Leofnoth, *SCBI* 5, 295, 1.11g, and *SCBI* 5, 296, 1.08g, struck from the same obverse die as a Heavy series coin offered in a Dix Noonan Webb sale, 13-14 March 2018, 119, 1.60g ; and a coin of the moneyer Leofwine now in the Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge, ex Dr A.J.P.Campbell, 1.06g, which is struck from the same reverse die as a Heavy series coin, *SCBI* 5, 311, 1.66g.

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<sup>4</sup> Rory Naismith has suggested to me that **AELWED** might have been a die-cutting error for **AELRED**, a plausible contemporary variant form for Aethelred.

The net result of this is that the only recorded coins of the Light series proper by Chester moneyers would seem to be a single coin of the moneyer Huscarl, now in the Fitzwilliam Museum, ex Dr A.J.P.Campbell, 0.93g, and a single coin of the moneyer Leofwine, *BMC* 638, ex Chancton hoard, 1.00g.

CHICHESTER : Aelfwine (H, L)

COLCHESTER : Beorhtric (H), Brunhyse (H, L), Leofweard (H, L), Stanmaer (H)

A Heavy series coin in the Appledore hoard attributed to a Colchester moneyer Leofred is in reality a coin of the moneyer Leofweard.

CRICKLADE : Aethelwine (H)

DERBY : Froma (H, L), Leofwine (H), Svertingr (H)

DORCHESTER : Hwaetman (H, L)

DOVER : Ceolwig (L), Cynestan (H, L)

Jonsson and Van der Meer, following Freeman, record Godwine as a Dover moneyer in the *Expanding Cross* type, but Freeman's listing was based on an error in the summary of the content of the Chancton hoard provided by Thompson in his *Inventory of British Coin Hoards*<sup>5</sup>, and there is no evidence that Godwine was a Dover moneyer during this particular type.

Of the extant coins of the moneyer Cynestan, two, *BMC* 174, ex Chancton hoard, 1.10g, and Elmore Jones (1971) 269, 1.15g, certainly belong to the Light series. The remaining coins of this moneyer, seemingly all die-duplicates, are struck from dies of a flan size appropriate for the Light series, but are of weights ranging between 1.43g and 1.74g, and must therefore belong to the Heavy series. The bust on the obverse die of the coins concerned is of distinctive style for a Southern minting location in this type, echoing the *Jewel Cross*-derived bust on coins of the type struck at York and at some minting locations in the North-East Midlands (see however also below under Wilton).

EXETER : (L), Eadsige (H, L), Ea[d ?]wig (H), Hunewine (H), Leofing (L), Saewine (L), Saewulf (H), Wulfmaer (L)

The single known coin of Eadsige of Light series weight, *SCBI* 24, 684, 1.10g, is a light-weight striking from Heavy series dies.

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<sup>5</sup> J.D.A.Thompson, *Inventory of British Coin Hoards A.D. 600-1500* (RNS Special Publications Series 1) (his hoard no.81, at pp.25-7). The only coins of a Dover moneyer in this type recorded by Barclay Head in his contemporary publication of the Chancton hoard (B.V.Head, 'An Account of the Anglo-Saxon coins found at Chancton Farm, Sussex', *NC NS* vii, 1867, 63-126) were of the moneyer Cynestan.

GLOUCESTER : Aelfsige (H, L), Aethelric (H, L), Eadwulf (H, L), Godric (H), Leofnoth (H), Leofwine (L), Wulfweard (H, L)

Of these moneyers, Aelfsige is known from a single coin of Light series weight, *SCBI* 19, 82, 1.10g, which seems to be from the same obverse die as *SCBI* 19, 85, a Heavy series coin weighing 1.63g (pierced), and is therefore presumably a light-weight striking from Heavy series dies. Of the three known coins of Eadwulf of Light series weight, one, *SCBI* 54, 1101, a cut halfpenny weighing 0.50g, is certainly a light-weight striking from Heavy series dies, while the other two coins are of the Light series proper

GUILDFORD : Blacman (H, L)

HASTINGS : Brid (H, L), Leofwine (H, L)

HEREFORD : Eadwig (H, L), Leofnoth (H, L), **Wulfwig** (H)

**Wulfwig** is now known from a coin from the Oswestry area hoard, 2019.

HERTFORD : Vilgrip (H)

HUNTINGDON : Aelfwine (H, L), Godric (H), Godwine (L)

ILCHESTER : Osweard (H)

IPSWICH : Bruning (H, L), Leofing (H), Leofweald (L), Wulfsige (H, L)

Bruning is known from three coins of Light series weight. One of these is of the Light series proper, *SCBI* 54, 1104, 1.06g. The other two, Doubleday (1987) 207, 1.16g., and *SCBI* 18, 869, 1.12g, are light-weight strikings from Heavy series dies. The Doubleday coin seems to be a die-duplicate of a corroded Heavy series coin in the British Museum, ex City hoard, 1.38g, and is certainly struck from the same reverse die as a Heavy series cut halfpenny, *EMC* 1994.0231 (= *EMC* 1995, 0180), found in Cambridgeshire, 0.74g.

LANGPORT : Aethelwine (H, L)

LEICESTER : Eadwine (H), Godric (H), Saewine (H), Wulfnoth (H, L)

LEWES : Aelfsige (H, L), Eadweard (H, L), Godwine (L), Leofwine (L), Osweald (L)

Osweald is known from two specimens from different dies, one in the British Museum, BM 1975 11-26-122, ex Horace King, 1.31g, the other a coin from the Gandarve hoard (2009), 1.09g. The second of these clearly belongs to the Light series proper, and the probability, based on the style of the king's bust on the coin's obverse, is that the British Museum coin belongs to the Light series also, despite its higher than expected weight.

LINCOLN : Aelfnoth (L), Asfrith (H), Asleikr (H), Authbjorn (L), Authgrimr (H, L), Auti (L), Beorhtric (H, L), Godric (H, L), Kolgrimr (H, L), Manna (H, L), Ulfr (H, L)

LONDON : Aelfgar (H), Aelfraed (L), Aelfsige (L), Aelfwine (H, L), Aethelric (L), **Aethelsige** (L), **Aethelwig** (L), Beorhtmaer (uncertain whether H or L), Beorhtraed (L), Beorhtsige (H, L), Beorhtwine (L, also *Expanding Cross/Pointed Helmet* mule), Burhraed (H, L), Duding (H, L), Eadmund (L), Eadraed (H), Eadsige (H, L (?)), Eadwig (H), Eadwine (L), Ealdgar (L), Ealdred (H), **Godemine** (?) (L), Godric (H, L), Godsunu (L), Godwine (H, L), Goldsige (L), Leofing (H, L), Leofraed (H, L), Leofsige (H), Leofwine (H), Spraecling (H), Swetman (L), Wulfraed (L), **Wulfric** (L), Wulfweard (L), Wulfwine (L)

**Aethelsige** is now known from a coin of this type found at Besselsleigh, Berkshire (*PAS* BERK-9611DD). The coin is identified on the *PAS* site as being of the moneyer Aelfsige, but its reverse inscription reads **EGELSIEE ON LVNDE** and it should therefore be attributed to a moneyer Aethelsige.

**Aethelwig** appears to be the correct normalisation of the moneyer's name on *SCBI* 60, 1085, discussed below.

**Godemine** is the suggested reading of the moneyer's name on a coin of this type at Stavanger Museum, Norway, ex Foldoy hoard (*SCBI* 66, 3707).

**Wulfric** is now known from a coin offered in a Spink auction sale 30.vi.2005, 78, ex Eaglen (1998) 1472<sup>6</sup>.

Six further moneyers for the type are recorded by Jonsson and Van der Meer.

Taking these in order, their entry for Aelfwig, recorded by them for the type from a coin in an unspecified public collection, seems likely to be based on a coin in the Hermitage Museum, St.Petersburg, now *SCBI* 60, 1085, on which the reverse inscription is **AEILPII ON LVNDE**, and where the moneyer's name is normalised in the volume concerned, presumably correctly, as Aethelwig.

They follow Freeman in recording a coin of a moneyer Aethelweard of this type in the British Museum, but the present writer has not yet been able to verify this, and as no weight for the coin is recorded by Freeman, it is uncertain whether the coin, if it exists and has been correctly read, belongs to the Heavy series or to the Light series.

Their entry for Aethelwine, made on the basis of a coin from an unspecified Swedish coin hoard, is most probably based on *SCBI* 54, 1125, from the Stora Bjars II hoard, a coin

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<sup>6</sup> Kenneth Jonsson tells me that a coin of this minting place and moneyer featured as lot 2183 in a Westfälische AG auction, 10 April 1997, 0.85g, and this may well been the coin subsequently in Dr.Eaglen's collection.

with the reverse reading **ELPINE ON LVNDE**<sup>7</sup>. Here the moneyer's name was normalised by Dr Fran Colman as Aelfwine, but Jonsson and Van der Meer's normalisation of the name as Aethelwine seems a plausible potential alternative.

Their entry for Eadric, citing Hildebrand, is a casual error, for no coin of the *Expanding Cross* type is listed by Hildebrand for London, Eadric.

Their entry for Eadweard, based on an unspecified coin published in a *SCBI* volume, seems to be based on an erroneous entry in Dr Veronica Smart's first index volume to the *SCBI* series (*SCBI* 28), where she lists under London a coin of *Expanding Cross* type which is in reality a coin of the Canterbury moneyer Eadweard (*SCBI* 18, 768, where it is correctly identified)<sup>8</sup>.

Finally, their entry for Sweting, based on a coin in an unidentified public collection, is implausible, for Sweting's career as a London moneyer seems otherwise to have ceased with coins of Cnut's *Short Cross* type. The entry was very possibly brought about by the existence of a coin of *Expanding Cross* type by the known London moneyer Swetman in the Hermitage Museum, St.Petersburg, now *SCBI* 60, 1087.

It should be noted that Brihtmaer is recorded for this type only from a coin said to read **BRIHTMERE ON LV**, which was part of lot 1200 in one of the sales of Lord Grantley's collection (Glendining, 22 March 1944).

Turning to coins of aberrant weight, Aelfwine is known from two coins belonging to the Light series proper, and from a third coin, *SCBI* 54, 1123, 1.17g, which is a light-weight striking from the same dies used to strike a Heavy series coin, Eaglen (1998) 1464, 1.66g. The only reported coin of Light series weight by a moneyer Beorhtsige, spelled **BRICSIE** on the coin, *SCBI* 20, 1180, 1.06g, is likewise a light-weight striking from Heavy series dies, and very probably a die-duplicate of a Heavy series coin offered by *CNG* 25.vi.2008, 260, 1.54g (chipped). Lastly, Leofred is known for one coin of the Light series proper, and for two die-duplicate coins which are light-weight strikings from Heavy series dies, *EMC* 1995.0179, found Southery, Norfolk, 1.16g, and *EMC* 1994.0227, found West Rudham, Norfolk, 1.23g

MALDON : Daegniht (H, L)

MALMESBURY : Beorhtwig (H), Ealdwig (H)

NEWPORT : **Sigeward** (L) ; Sigeraed (*Expanding Cross/Pointed Helmet* mule)

**Sigeward**, seemingly the appropriate normalised form of **SIPAR**, as the moneyer's name is spelled on the two coins concerned, is evidenced as a Newport moneyer in this

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<sup>7</sup> Freeman cites Aethelwine for this type from a coin in the Royal Swedish Coin Cabinet which his reference "S.H.M. C" does not explicitly identify, but it seems probable that the coin concerned will have been *SCBI* 54, 1125.

<sup>8</sup> Smart, 1981, 31.



type from a coin recently belonging to Lord Stewartby (Stewartby (2016) 288, with a provenance back to Joseph Young (1919) 54), and from a fragmentary coin struck from the same reverse die, offered in Patrick Finn's FPL, Spring 1994, 29, found near Bury St. Edmunds, Suffolk (*EMC* 1993.5003). It is a strange coincidence that the well-known Newport *Expanding Cross/Pointed Helmet* mule, now in the Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge (*MEC* 8, 2184, with a provenance back to Allen (1898) 273), should be by a moneyer whose name on the coin is spelled **SIRED**, to be normalised as the very similar but different Anglo-Saxon name Sigeraed.

NORTHAMPTON : Aelfwine (H, L), Leofwine (H), **Wulfnoth** (L)

**Wulfnoth** is now known from a coin belonging to the late Dr. John Hulett (Dix Noonan Webb 21.ii.2018, 40), purchased by him from F.J. Rist. Although this is of Light series weight, 1.08g, it is struck from what are obviously Heavy series dies.

NORWICH : Coenhelm (H, L), Leofwine (H, L), Thorfrithr (H, L), Thorsteinn (L)

Jonsson and Van der Meer, following Hildebrand and Freeman, record Dagfinnr as a Norwich moneyer in this type, on the basis of a coin in the Royal Coin Cabinet, Stockholm, on which the moneyer's name has been read as **DEHFIN** (Hild. 592 = *SCBI* 54, 1139). The coin in question is in reality a die-duplicate of *SCBI* 54, 1138, Light series, moneyer Coenhelm, on which the moneyer's name is spelled **CENELM**.

NOTTINGHAM : Blacman (H), Halfdan (H), **Snoter** (L), Wulfnoth (H, L)

**Snoter** is now known from a cut halfpenny (private collection UK, ex Dix Noonan Webb 22.ix.2014, 2407, found North-West Norfolk c.2013, 0.52g), and from a smaller fragment (private collection UK, recorded *PAS* LIN-F4B618, which the writer understands to have been found at Cliff Lane, Branston, Lincs., in Oct 2007, rather than at the find location indicated on the *PAS* site). Neither coin provides a full reverse reading, but their combined evidence makes it clear that the moneyer concerned is Snoter.

OXFORD : Aelfwig (H, L), Aethelwig (L), Aethelwine (H), Beorhtweald (H), Swetman (H, L)

ROMNEY : **Wulfmaer** (H)

**Wulfmaer** is now known as a moneyer for this type from two coins in the Appledore hoard.

SANDWICH : **Leofwine** (H)

**Leofwine** is now known as a moneyer for this type from three coins in the Appledore hoard

SHAFTESBURY : **Wuducoc** (L), Wulfric (H)

**Wuducoc** is now known as a moneyer for this type from a coin in Uppsala (SCBI 52, 635)

Jonsson and Van der Meer, following Freeman, record Eadric as a possible Shaftesbury moneyer in this type. Freeman's entry was based on a coin in P.W.P.Carlyon-Britton's collection, offered as part of lot 1127 in the second Carlyon-Britton sale, Sotheby 20-24 November 2016, where the reverse inscription is given as **EDIRICC ON SEFTSIBR**. Fortunately the lot in question was purchased for the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford, and the coin can be identified as *SCBI* 9, 862. It is attributed in the *SCBI* volume to an uncertain mint, "possibly Thetford", but it seems probable on stylistic grounds that the coin is simply a contemporary imitation.

SHREWSBURY : Aelfheah (H, L), Godsbrand (H, L), Leofstan (H), Leofwine (H, L), Wulfmaer (H, L)

No weight is recorded for the single known coin of Aelfheah treated here as 'L', *NCirc* Apr 1977, 3103 (with provenance back to Allen (1898) 276). The coin appears from a photograph to be of Light series dimensions, but is struck from dies of Heavy series style, and it may be conjectured that this is a light-weight striking from Heavy series dies.

A coin of the moneyer Godsbrand now in the Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge, ex Dr A.J.P.Campbell, 1.22g, is a light-weight striking from what are undoubtedly Heavy series dies.

SOUTHWARK : Leofraed (L), **Swetman** (L)

**Swetman** is now known from a coin in the Göteborgs Stadsmuseum, Sweden, ex Stommen hoard<sup>9</sup>.

STAFFORD : Aelfric (L)

Recorded from a single coin, *BMC* 1204, ex City hoard, 1.13g, which seems to be a light-weight striking from Heavy series dies.

STAMFORD : Arnfrithr (H, L), Fargrimr ((H), Godwine (H, L), Harcin (H, L), Leofric (H), Leofwine (H), Wulfwine (H, L)

STEYNING : Wulfgeat (H, L), Wulfric (L)

TAMWORTH : Aethelwine (H)

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<sup>9</sup> As noted above, Kenneth Jonsson kindly alerted me to the existence of this coin and has provided me with an image of it. Each of the four limbs of the cross on the coin's reverse carries an embossed pellet, a feature not previously recorded in the production of Southwark moneyers, but found e.g. on the reverse dies of Light series coins of the London moneyers Ealdgar (*SCBI* 42, 1197), Leofred (Boyd (2005), 852), Wulfred (*SCBI* 54, 1135) and Wulfward (DNW 12.xii.2017, 691, Dr John Hulett coll.)

THETFORD : Aelfric (H), Aethelsige (H, L), Eastmund (H, L), Godeleof ((uncertain whether H or L, plus *Expanding Cross/Pointed Helmet* mule), Leofric (H, L), Leofwine (H, L)

Jonsson and Van der Meer record Blachere as a Thetford moneyer in this type on the basis of a coin from an unspecified Swedish coin hoard, but the writer has not been able to verify this from information at his disposal.

They also record Eadric as a possible Thetford moneyer in this type, on the basis of *SCBI* 10, 862, but this coin, discussed above under Shaftesbury, is best regarded as a contemporary imitation.

Godeleof is only recorded for the *Expanding Cross* type from a coin in the Vossberg (now Lissowo, Poland) (1883) hoard, for which no image or weight is recorded.

WALLINGFORD : Aethelwig (H), Beorhtric (H, L), **Beorhtwine** (H, L ?), Brandr (uncertain whether H or L), Brunwine (H, L)

**Beorhtwine** is now known for a coin of this type of the Heavy series, *NCirc* May 1993, 2615. It is also now been established that a coin of this moneyer, likely to have been of the Light series (although its weight is not recorded), featured in lot 818 of the 1955 Lockett sale, as indicated below.

Jonsson and Van der Meer, following Freeman, record Wulfwine as a Wallingford moneyer in this type. The coin on which Freeman's entry is based was seemingly offered as part of lot 818 in one of the sales devoted to the R.C.Lockett collection (Glendining, 6 June 1955), but, as the present writer has explained in a previous note published on the British Numismatic Society's blog<sup>10</sup>, the coin was in reality a coin of the moneyer Beorhtwine, and the apparent rendering of the moneyer's name as Wulfwine in the Lockett auction catalogue was the result of a typographical error.

The only recorded specimen of this type by a moneyer Brandr is one formerly in Hyman Montagu's collection, Sotheby 18-23 November 1895, lot 837 (part), where the reverse inscription was said to read **BRAN ON PALINGE**. As no weight for the coin is recorded, it is uncertain whether it belonged to the Heavy series or to the Light series.

A Heavy series coin in the Appledore hoard attributed to a moneyer Bruning is in reality a coin of the known moneyer Brunwine.

WAREHAM : Sidumann (L)

WARWICK : Leofing (H, L), Leofric (H, L)

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<sup>10</sup> H.Pagan, 'A moneyer of Edward the Confessor created by a printing error', *BNS Research Blog*, 17 February 2019.

WATCHET : Godcild (H)

WILTON : Aelfweald (H, L), Aelfwine (H, L, plus *Trefoil Quadrilateral/Expanding Cross* mule), Thorketill (H, L)

Of the two certainly known coins of Aelfweald of Light series weight, one belongs to the Light series proper, but the other, *SCBI* 20, 1183, 1.06g, is a light-weight striking from the same Heavy series dies used to strike Eaglen (1998) 1567, 1.64g.

Thorketill, spelled **THVRCIL** on his coins, is recorded for the Expanding Cross type for two coins belonging to the Light series, *SCBI* 54, 1152, 1.06g, and a coin recently in the stock of Sovereign Rarities, 1.05g. He is otherwise known for four coins, three of them die-duplicates and the fourth struck from a different pair of dies, which have in common that they are struck on relatively small flans and have *Jewel Cross*-derived obverse busts (see above under Dover), but which weigh between 1.52g and 1.66g, and should therefore be regarded as belonging to the Heavy series.

WINCHCOMBE : Goldwine (H)

WINCHESTER : Aelfwine (H, L), Aethelstan (H, L), Aethelstan Loc (L), Aethelwine (H), Beorhtweald (H), Brandr (H), **Eadric** (H), Godric (L), Godwine (H, L), Godwine Widia (L), Leodmaer (?) (H), Leofing (H, L, plus *Trefoil Quadrilateral/Expanding Cross* mule), Leofwine (L), Loc (H, L), Widia (L). Wynstan (H, L)

**Eadric** is now known from a Heavy series coin in the Appledore hoard.

Jonsson and Van der Meer, following Freeman, record Eadwine as a Winchester moneyer in this type. Freeman cites as evidence for this a record of Eadwine as a moneyer in this type in an article in *BNJ* by Peter Seaby<sup>11</sup>, and also a coin offered in C.J.Martin list 13, 1974, H23, but no coin of this moneyer for the type is recorded by Biddle and Harvey<sup>12</sup>.

WORCESTER : Aethelwine (L), Garwulf (L), Leofstan (H), Vikingr (L)

YORK : Aelfwine (H, L), Arngrimr (H, L), Arngrimr Coa (or Loa) (L), Arnketill (H, L), Ioli (H, L), Kollr (H), Leofnoth (H, L), Skuli (H, L), Styrkollr (H, L), Svartkollr (L), Thorr (L), Ulfketill (L), Vetrflugl (L)

Jonsson and Van der Meer record Godwine as a possible York moneyer in this type, on the basis of a coin in an unspecified private collection, but this is an error on their part.

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<sup>11</sup> P.J.Seaby, 'The sequence of Anglo-Saxon coin types, 1030-1050', *BNJ* xxviii (1956), 111-46 (at p.145).

<sup>12</sup> M.Biddle (ed) (with Y.Harvey), *The Winchester Mint, and Coins and Related Finds from the Excavations of 1961-71* (Winchester Studies 8), Oxford, 2012.

Their entry must in reality relate to a coin or coins of *Small Flan* type potentially of this mint and moneyer for which there is an entry by Freeman<sup>13</sup>, but which they inadvertently placed in the wrong column of their tabulation.

Jonsson and Van der Meer, following Freeman, also record Hrafn as a York moneyer in this type. Freeman's entry is however based on a coin of this type offered by the Spink firm, *NCirc* May 1978, 6359, on which the reverse inscription was read as **REFNNAD ON EOFER**. The correct reading of the moneyer's name should clearly have been **LEFNNAD**, and the moneyer of the coin in question must therefore have been Leofnoth, a well-recorded moneyer at York for this type (cf. *SCBI* 21, 264, a coin of the Light series, with the **LEFNNAD ON EOFER** reverse inscription).

One coin of the moneyer Aelfwine, *SCBI* 54, 1183, ex Mannegarde hoard, is of a weight appropriate to the Heavy series, 1.67g, but is struck on smaller flans than is usual for the Heavy series, and from dies seemingly of Light series style (but maybe imitative?). It should also be noted that two die-duplicate coins of the moneyer Arngrimr, *SCBI* 21, 278, 1.65g, and Elmore Jones (1971) 1003, 1.74g, are likewise struck on smaller flans, but in this instance the dies are certainly of Heavy series style.

### Mint locations not recorded for the *Expanding Cross* type

No coins of Expanding Cross type are currently known of moneyers operating at the following mint locations for which moneyers are recorded either in the preceding *Small Flan* type, or in the succeeding *Pointed Helmet* type, or in both of these types :

AYLESBURY (known in *Pointed Helmet* type)  
BERKELEY (known in *Pointed Helmet* type)  
"BRENE" (uncertain location, recorded for *Pointed Helmet* type)  
"DERNE" (uncertain location, recorded for *Pointed Helmet* type)  
"DIR/DYR" (uncertain location, recorded for *Small Flan* type)  
FROME (known in *Pointed Helmet* type)  
HYTHE (known in *Pointed Helmet* type)  
LYDFORD (known in *Small Flan* type)  
ROCHESTER (known in *Pointed Helmet* type)  
SALISBURY (known in *Small Flan* type)  
TAUNTON (known in *Small Flan* type and in *Pointed Helmet* type)  
WARMINSTER (known in *Small Flan* type)



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<sup>13</sup> Freeman cites a record of Godwine at York for the *Small Flan* type in the article by Peter Seaby quoted above (at p.146), and also cites the presence of Godwine's name as a moneyer of this type in a listing of York moneyers provided by Elizabeth Pirie in her introduction to *SCBI* 21, p.xlviii, but it is not evident what the actual authority is for regarding Godwine as a *Small Flan* moneyer at York.