# JOHN NICHOLAS CROSS COLLECTION: COINS IN THE NAMES OF EIGHTH AND NINTH CENTURY KINGS OF NORTHUMBRIA AND ARCHBISHOPS OF YORK

## **HUGH PAGAN**

The collection of Anglo-Saxon coins formed by Mr. John Nicholas Cross, of 45 Dengrove Park, Shallock Road, Canterbury, Kent, who had died at the age of 70 on 9<sup>th</sup> April 2020, was sold at auction by the Canterbury Auction Galleries as lots 504-590 of their sale on Sunday 3 October 2021. He had been a member of the British Numismatic Society since 27 March 1990, and he had provided in his will that his estate should be divided equally between the British Numismatic Society and the Friends of Kent Churches. The major asset in his estate was his coin collection, and the British Numismatic Society's half share in the proceeds of its sale has been the principal contribution to the total much-appreciated sum of money that the Society has received under Mr. Cross's will.

Although the catalogue provided illustrations of all the coins involved, a number of the identifications offered for the silver pennies offered in the sale were obviously incorrect, while Mr Cross's sceattas and his eighth and ninth century Northumbrian small pennies were offered for sale in multiple lots without accompanying identifications or weights. Additionally, no provenances were provided for any of the coins concerned.

The initial hope of those with a scholarly interest in the Anglo-Saxon series was that the deficiencies of the catalogue could be made good from Mr.Cross's own papers, believed at that point to have survived, and William Mackay, Tony Abramson and the present writer independently prepared preliminary lists of the portions of the collection for which they had specialist knowledge, in the expectation that these could be worked up for publication at a later date when fuller information was available.

It now seems that Mr.Cross's papers may no longer exist, and plans for a proper full-length publication of his collection will have to remain on hold, at least for the present. With this in view, it has seemed to the present writer a useful exercise to put up on the British Numismatic Society's research blog his preliminary listing of Mr. Cross's impressive series of coins in the names of eighth-century and ninth-century kings of Northumbria and archbishops of York.

The present writer would warmly encourage those who might be aware of the previous history of Mr Cross's Northumbrian coins, or who might have purchased the coins in question at the Canterbury Auction Galleries sale, to supply the weights and provenances that a fuller publication of the collection will require<sup>1</sup>, whether by the use of the comment facility on the Society's blog – which should be more frequently utilised - or by private communication.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup>Comparison with images on the EMC database has so far provided three of Mr.Cross's Northumbrian coins with find spot provenances (Aelfwald II (?), Cuthheard, EMC 2007.0322, found at Boynton, East Yorkshire; Eanred, Hwaetred, EMC 2001.0274, found at Staxton, North Yorkshire; and Aethelred I and Archbishop Eanbald I, EMC 2009.0361, found at Wickham Bishops, Essex).

It should also be noted that although Mr. Cross's remaining Anglo-Saxon and related coins, spanning the period from the age of Offa of Mercia to the Norman Conquest, had their weights recorded in the catalogue, these were not always accurately given, and any reliable information both as regards these coins' weights and as regards their provenances, unstated in the catalogue, would be much appreciated for future scholarly use.

In each individual entry in the list of coins that follows, the Canterbury Auction Galleries lot number, given immediately after the transcriptions of the inscription(s), is expressed in the form '573 (e)', where 573 is the lot number and (e) indicates that the coin is the fifth coin, reading from left to right in row order, in the photo image of the lot in the printed version of the sale catalogue.

#### KINGS OF NORTHUMBRIA<sup>2</sup>

# Aldfrith

1. Pellet within beaded circle/Fantastic animal, left facing. **+MLDFRIDVS** 573 (e). cf. *EMC* 2006.0223, *EMC* 2015.0319, *EMC* 2019.0230, *EMC* 2020.0078, and *EMC* 2021.0146 (all from same reverse die as present coin?).

## Eadberht

- 1. Cross with pellet at centre/Fantastic animal, right facing. **EADBERHTVS** 535 (j). Booth class A<sup>3</sup>.
- 2. Cross/Fantastic animal, right facing. **EOTBEREHTVS** 516 (g). Booth class E. Dies not represented on *EMC/SCBI* site.
- 3. Cross with pellets in angles, within beaded circle/Fantastic animal, right facing. **EOTBERHTVS** 582 (c). Booth class F. Same reverse die as *EMC* 2007.0023, obverse die not represented on *EMC/SCBI* site.

## Alchred

1. Cross/Fantastic animal, right facing. **AL.CHRED** (partly retrograde) 564 (d). Same dies as *SCBI* 63, 781, and same reverse die as *SCBI* 69, 864.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> For coins struck in the names of Northumbrian kings from Eanred onwards, and in the names of archbishops of York from Eanbald II onwards, the opportunity has been taken to note the presence or absence of coins struck from the same dies in Elizabeth J.E.Pirie, *Coins of the Kingdom of Northumbria*, c.700-867 in the Yorkshire Collections, Llanfyllin, 1996. The holdings of Northumbrian coins of earlier date in the institutional collections catalogued by Pirie are too scanty for the presence in them or absence from them of coins struck from obverse or reverse dies represented in Cross's collection to be indicative, and it does not in fact appear that any of the coins of eighth-century kings of Northumbria and archbishops of York owned by Cross are from dies represented in the collections concerned at the time that Pirie's catalogue of them was compiled.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> The present writer has noticed some potential die matches for this coin, but the earlier stages of the Northumbrian regal and archiepiscopal coinages fall outside his own area of specialist expertise, and a more expert eye will be able to pronounce on relevant die-identities with more authority.

## Aelfwald I

Five pellets in cross formation/fantastic animal, left facing. +ELFVALV 549
 (c). Same obverse die as SCBI 69, 875, perhaps from same reverse die as SCBI 4, 183, and EMC 2008.0086.

# Aethelred I First Reign

- 1. Cross/Fantastic animal, right facing. **EDILRED** 560 (a). Dies not represented on *EMC/SCBI* site.
- 2. Cross/Fantastic animal, right facing. **EDILRED** 573 (a). Dies not represented on *EMC/SCBI* site.

# Aethelred I Second Reign<sup>4</sup>

- 1. Ceolbald. Cross/Pellet within beaded circle **+AEDILRED/+CEOLBALD** 560 (c). Dies not represented on *EMC/SCBI* site.
- 2. Cuthgils<sup>5</sup>. Cross/Cross on triangular mount. **ED+LRED/CVDCLS** 549 (e). Dies not represented on *EMC/SCBI* site.
- 3. Cuthheard. Cross/Cross with pellet in each angle. +AEDILRERD/+CVDHEARD 554 (a). Same dies as *SCBI* 69, 894. Coins of this reign and moneyer are customarily of the type combination Cross/Cross, and the present reverse die seems to be the only one so far known of Cross and Pellets design.
- Cuthheard. Cross/Cross. +AEDILRED R (contraction mark over R)/+CVDHEARD 564 (c). Same obverse die and possibly same reverse die as EMC 1997.0411.
- 5. Hnifula. Cross/Cross within beaded circle. **+EDILRED/+HNIFVLA** 560 (e). Same dies as *BMC* 429 and *SCBI* 50, 35, and same obverse die as next coin.
- 6. Hnifula. Cross/Pellet within beaded circle. **+EDILRED/+HNIFVLA** 569 (e). Same obverse die as previous coin.
- 7. Tidwulf. Cross/Cross within beaded circle. **+EDLRED RE/+TIDVVLF** 544 (b). Probably same dies as *EMC* 1983.0131.

## Aelfwald II

1. Cuthheard. Cross/Cross. +AELFVALDVS/+CVDHEART 554 (e). *EMC* 2007.0322. Found at Boynton, East Yorkshire. Same dies as *EMC* 1997.8200. The attribution of coins of this type and moneyer as between the reigns of

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> See C.S.S.Lyon, *The Lyon Collection of Anglo-Saxon Coins*, *SCBI* 68, 2016, at pp.8-14, for a well-balanced discussion of the attribution of these coins to Aethelred I's second reign.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> Coins in the name of Aethelred I by the moneyer Cuthgils, all of this particular type combination, are likely to be earlier in date than coins by the four other moneyers represented in Cross's collection.

Aelfwald I (c.779-789) and Aelfwald II (c.806–c.808) have been a matter of debate over time, and this enigma was left unsolved by Lyon in his introductory text to *SCBI* 68<sup>6</sup>. The existence of coins of a moneyer of this name struck in the reigns both of Eardwulf, Aelfwald II's predecessor, and of Eanred, Aelfwald II's successor, makes an attribution to Aelfwald II reasonably plausible, and is followed here, but the arrangement of the obverse inscription and the Latinised spelling of Aelfwald's name are similar to that on other coins certainly attributable to Aelfwald I.

## Eanred.

# Early phase

- 1. Cunwulf. Pellet within annulet/Pellet. **+EANRED REX/CVNVVLF** 522 (i). Dies not in Pirie and not represented on *EMC/SCBI* site.
- 2. Cunwulf. Pellet/Pellet. **+EANRED REX (retrograde)/CVNVVLF** 540 (c). Same obverse die as *SCBI* 2, 140 and *SCBI* 6, 3, reverse die not represented on *EMC/SCBI* site. Dies not in Pirie.
- 3. Daegberct. Cross/Cross. +EANRED REX/+DAEGBERCT 512 (e). Same dies as Pirie 65.
- 4. Daegberct. Pellet/Pellet within Annulet. **EANRED REX/+DAEGBERCT** 516(j). Same dies as *SCBI* 4, 217. Dies not in Pirie.
- 5. Herred. Cross/Cross. +EANRE REX/+HERRED 516 (b). Dies not in Pirie and not represented on EMC/SCBI site.
- 6. Herred. Cross/Cross. **+EANRED REX/+HERRED+** 531 (j). Same obverse die as *SCBI* 20, 391, reverse die not represented on *EMC/SCBI* site. Dies not in Pirie.
- 7. Hwaetred. Cross/Cross. +EANRED REX (retrograde)/+HVAETRED 569 (c). *EMC* 2001.0274. Found at Staxton, North Yorkshire. Same dies as *EMC* 2001.0600 and *EMC* 2001.0601. Dies not in Pirie.
- 8. Hwaetred. Cross/Cross. **+EANRED REX/+HVAETRED** 582 (f). Dies not in Pirie, and not represented on *EMC/SCBI* site.
- 9. Wilheah. Pellet within annulet/Pellet within annulet. **+EANRED REX/+VVILHEAH** 507 (j). Possibly same obverse die as *SCBI* 42, 2430, reverse die not represented on *EMC/SCBI* site. Dies not in Pirie.
- 10. Wulfheard. Cross/Cross. **EANRED REX/VVLFHEARD** 554 (e). Dies not in Pirie, and not represented on *EMC/SCBI* site.

Late	Phase
Lane	FNASE

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> Lyon, 2016, *op.cit.*, at pp.8-12.

- 1. 'Aldates'<sup>7</sup>. Cross/Cross. **+EANRED RE/+ALDATES** 531 (f). Same dies as Pirie 485.
- 2. Badigils. Cross/Cross. +**EANRED RE** (retrograde)/+**BAIIDIGIIS** (retrograde) 526 (c). Dies not in Pirie, and not represented on *EMC/SCBI* site, but same dies as *BMC* 256-7.
- 3. Fordred. Pellet within annulet/Cross. **+EANRED REX/+FORDRED** 531 (h). Same dies as Pirie 1369.
- 4. 'Gadutels'. Cross/Cross. **+EANRED REX/+GADVTEIS** 531 (d). Same dies as Pirie 1342.
- 5. Odilo. Cross/Pellet within annulet. **+EANRED REX/+ODILO MON** 540 (h). Same dies as Pirie 565.
- 6. Wihtred. Cross/Cross. +EANRED REX/+PIHTRED (reverse inscription in runic letters) 516 (a). Same dies as Pirie 160.

## Aethelred II First Reign

- 1. Alghere. Cross/Cross. +AEDIL.RED RX (RX in monogram)/+AL.GHERE 507 (c). Same dies as Pirie 515, and same obverse die as next two coins.
- 2. Alghere. Cross/Cross. +AEDIL.RED RX (RX in monogram)/+ALGHERE 512 (b). Same dies as Pirie 512, and same obverse die as previous coin and next coin.
- 3. Alghere. Cross/Cross. +AEDIL.RED RX (RX in monogram)/+ALGHERE 512 (d). Same dies as Pirie 516, and same obverse die as two previous coins.
- 4. Alghere. Cross/Cross made up of 5 pellets. +AEDILRED/+AL.DHE.R.E 526 (a). Same dies as Pirie 501.
- 5. Alghere. Cross/Cross. +AEDILRED RX (RX in monogram)/+AL.GHERE 526 (f). Same dies as Pirie 520.
- 6. Brother. Cross, pellets in each quarter/Cross. **+EDILRED REX/+BRODER** 531 (c). Same dies as Pirie 1419.
- 7. Cunemund. Cross/Cross. **+EDILRED REX/+CVNEMV+D** 512 (j). Dies not in Pirie (?) and not represented on *EMC/SCBI* site.
- 8. Eanred. Pellet within circle of pellets/Pellet within circle of pellets. +AEILRED R/+EANRED R 507 (i). Same dies as Pirie 551, and same

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup> It has been argued by Dr Veronica Smart that 'Aldates', which she reads as **ABDAGES**, and 'Gadutels', which she reads as **BADVGEIS**, are alternative renderings of the name Badigils (OE Beadugils), and thus that all are the products of the same moneyer (V.Smart, 'Aldates, Gadutels and Badigils: identification of moneyers in the Northumbrian coinage', *BNJ* 70, 2000, 141-3).

- obverse die as next coin. An obverse die-link noted by Pirie with a coin of Aethelred II, First Reign, Leofthegn, Pirie 558, shows that coins of this character belong to the reign of Aethelred II, and Pirie listed them, in the present cataloguer's view correctly, as coins of Aethelred II's moneyer Eanred, well recorded for Aethelred's first reign, despite the presence of the letter **R** at the end of the reverse inscription.
- Eanred. Pellet within circle of pellets/Pellet within circle of pellets.
   +AEILRED R/+EANRED R 535 (g). Same dies as Pirie 552, and same obverse die as previous coin.
- 10. Leofthegn. Swastika/"Celtic" cross with pellet in centre and pellets within ends of limbs. +AEDELRED REX/+LEOFDEGN MONET 507 (a). Obverse die not in Pirie (but same obverse die as *SCBI* 20, 443 and *EMC* 2018, 242), same reverse die as Pirie 172-3.
- 11. Leofthegn. Cross with pellet in each angle/pellet within circle of pellets. +EDELRED REX/+LEOFDEGN+ 512 (a). Same obverse die as Pirie 202-5, same reverse die as Pirie 236.
- 12. Leofthegn. Cross with pellet in each angle/hound **+EDILRED RE/LEOFDEGN** 512 (c). Obverse die not in Pirie (but see note to Pirie 789), same reverse die as Pirie 789. Same dies as *SCBI* 20, 458.
- 13. Leofthegn (?). 512 (f)<sup>8</sup>.
- 14. Leofthegn. Letter M with pellet above/Cross formed of wedges, with pellet at centre. and within linear circle. +EDELRED REX/+LEOFDEGN 512 (h). Same dies as Pirie 182.
- 15. Leofthegn. Cross with diagonal line in each angle/Pellet within annulet, within linear circle. +**AEDELRED REX/+LEOFDEGN+** 516 (i). Same dies as Pirie 227.
- 16. Leofthegn. Letter A/"Celtic" cross, pellet at centre. **+EDELRED REX/LEOFDEGN** 522 (a). Same dies as Pirie 178.
- 17. Leofthegn. Six limbed cross within linear circle/Cross. **+EDELRED REX/LEOFDEGN** 526 (g). Same dies as Pirie 196.
- Leofthegn. Cross made up of four annulets, with pellet at centre/"Celtic" cross with pellet at centre. +EDELRED REX/+LEOFDEGN:. 535 (f). Same dies as Pirie 174.
- 19. Monne. Cross made up of five pellets/Cross made up of five pellets. +EDELRED REX/+MONNE 512 (g). Same dies as Pirie 253.

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>8</sup> The image of this coin is difficult to interpret.

20. Wendelberht. Cross/Cross. +EILRED REX/+VENDELBERHT (HT ligate) 535 (h). Same dies as Pirie 848.

# Redwulf

- Brother. Cross/Cross. +REDVLF RE/+BRODER 540 (b). Same dies as Pirie 937.
- 2. Cuthberht. Cross/Cross made up of 5 pellets +REDVLF REX/+CVDBEREHT 540 (f). Same dies as Pirie 945.
- 3. Fordred. Cross/Cross made up of 5 pellets. +**REDVLF REX/+EORDRED** 526 (j). Same dies as Pirie 948.

# Aethelred II Second Reign

- Eardwulf. Cross within linear circle/Star within linear circle. +EDILRED RE-/+EARDVVLF 507 (d). Same dies as Pirie 1134, and same obverse die as the two following coins.
- 2. Eardwulf. Cross within linear circle/Pellet within linear circle. **+EDILRED RE-/+EARDVVLF** 516 (c). Same dies as Pirie 1131, and same obverse die as previous coin and next coin.
- 3. Eardwulf. Cross within linear circle/Pellet within linear circle. **+EDILRED RE-/+EARDVVLF** 516 (f). Same obverse die as two preceding coins, reverse die not represented on *EMC/SCBI* site, and not in Pirie (?).
- 4. Eardwulf. Cross within beaded circle/Pellet within linear circle. **+EDILRED RE-/+EARDVVLF** 516 (e). Same obverse die as *SCBI* 2, 249, reverse die not represented on *EMC/SCBI* site.
- 5. Eardwulf. Pellet within beaded circle/Four pellets in cross-shaped formation +EDILRED REX/+EA.RDVV.F 535 (e). Same dies as Pirie 1027.
- 6. Eardwulf. Pellet within linear circle/Pellet within linear circle. **+EDILRED REX/+EARDVVLF** 507 (b). Same dies as *SCBI* 20, 500.
- 7. Eardwulf. Pellet within beaded circle/Pellet within linear circle. **+EDILRED RE/+EARDVVL.F** 540 (a). Same obverse die as *EMC* 1997.8516, perhaps same reverse die as *SCBI* 29, 100.
- 8. Eardwulf. Cross/Cross. **+EDILRED RE** (retrograde)/**+EARDVVLF** (retrograde) 526 (i). Pirie 2165 (listed under 'Reflectives', category Dii). Same obverse die as Pirie 2128, with a **VVLFRED** reverse inscription. *SCBI* 68,

423, listed there under Aethelred II, Second Reign, is a die-duplicate of the present coin<sup>9</sup>.

#### Osberht

- 1. Aethelhelm. Cross/Cross. +OSBREHT/+EDELHELM 516 (d). Same dies as Pirie 585.
- 2. Monne. Cross within beaded circle/Cross +OSBREHT REX/+M.ONNE (retrograde) 522 (f). Same dies as Pirie 1739.
- 3. Monne. [hard to make out]/Pellet. [hard to make out]/+MONNE (retrograde) 526 (b). Obverse die hard to make out, same reverse die as Pirie 1732 (which is known with Osberht obverse).
- 4. Winiberht. Cross within beaded circle/Pellet within beaded circle. **OSBERCHT**[ J/VINIBERH:.T 516 (h). Obverse die hard to make out, same reverse die as Pirie 1258 (?).
- 5. Wulfsige. Cross/Cross. **OSBERHT R/VVLFSIXT** 540 (d). Same dies as Pirie 444.

## ARCHBISHOPS OF YORK

Issues under joint names of king and archbishop

Eadberht with Archbishop Ecgberht.

- 1. Cross with pellets in angles, within beaded circle/Standing figure holding two crosses **EOTBEREHTVS/ECGBERT** 522 (b). Dies probably not represented on *EMC/SCBI* site, but cf. for obverse *EMC* 1993.0115 and *EMC* 1993.9466.
- 2. Cross/Standing figure holding two crosses **EOTBEREHTVS/ECGBERHT AR** 549 (d). Dies not represented on *EMC/SCBI* site.

Alchred with Archbishop Ecgberht

- 1. Cross/Cross. +ALCHRED R (retrograde)/ECGBERHT AR 554 (d). Dies not represented on *EMC/SCBI* site.
- 2. Cross/Cross. +ALCHR[ ]D R (retrograde)/ +EGBERHT AR 582 (a). Same reverse die as *EMC* 2014.0360, obverse die not represented on *EMC/SCBI* site.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>9</sup> Lyon comments on this and related coins classified by Pirie under her irregular group Dii, that "points of transition from regular to irregular dies, or the irregular modification of regular dies, are not always easy to identify" (Lyon, 2016, *op.cit.*, at p.40), and although he catalogued his coin struck from these dies under Aethelred II, Second Reign, he left users of his *SCBI* volume "to form their own judgment" as to whether some or all of the coins of Pirie's group Dii were irregular.

## Aethelred I with Archbishop Eanbald I

- Pellet within beaded circle/ Cross within beaded circle.
   +AEDILRED/EANBALD A (retrograde) 507 (f). Same reverse die as EMC 1997.0408, perhaps same obverse die.
- 2. Pellet within beaded circle/Cross. **+AEDILRED/EANBALD** 573 (c). *EMC* 2009.0361; found Wickham Bishops, Essex. Same dies as *EMC* 2012.0038.

Issues under name of archbishop only

# Archbishop Eanbald II

- 1. Eadwine. Pellet within beaded circle/Pellet within beaded circle. **EANBALD R/+EADVINE** 531 (i). Dies not in Pirie or represented on *EMC/SCBI* site.

  Coins struck by this moneyer for Archbishop Eanbald II are very uncommon, and a recent discussion of them by Lyon, who was unaware of the existence of the present coin, records just two which were known to him, struck from a common obverse die but from different reverse dies. A moneyer of the same name, very probably the same individual, is well known as a moneyer for Eanred, but on all his very numerous surviving coins for Eanred his name is given as **EADVINI**, i.e. in a Latinised genitive form of Eadwine. It may be that the present coin and those discussed by Lyon predate all the **EADVINI** coins struck for Eanred, and it would follow from this that they were struck at a relatively early date in Eanbald II's episcopate 11.
- 2. Eadwulf. Pellet within linear circle/Pellet within linear circle. **+BADEAN** (retrograde)/+EADVVLF 507 (h). Same dies as *EMC* 1997.8540 (the *EMC* coin found at Jarrow, co.Durham). Dies not in Pirie.
- 3. Eadwulf. Cross within linear circle/Cross. **ANALDAREREB** (retrograde)/+EADVVLF 522 (e). Dies not in Pirie or represented on *EMC/SCBI* site, but for the obverse die cf. specimen from Hexham hoard, ill. Adamson, pl.Dd, 14 (presumably = *BMC* 697).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>10</sup> Lyon, 2016, *op.cit.*, at p.21. The coins in question are one formerly in the stock of the Baldwin firm, from the H.M.Lingford collection (see for a neutron activation analysis and illustration G.R.Gilmore and D.M.Metcalf, 'The alloy of Northumbrian coinage in the mid-ninth century', *Metallurgy in Numismatics 1*, 1980, coin 19 on p.94, ill. pl.5, 19), and another found in excavations in the south transept of York Minster in March-April 2012 (see note by G.Williams and I.Milsted, in I.D.Milsted, *South Transept Lift Shaft York Minster, Excavation and Fabric Recording Report*, 2012, Appendix 4, 52-3, with illustrations of the coin's obverse and reverse on p.46). Further specimens, ostensibly from the same dies as the Lingford coin, but in reality early nineteenth-century casts from it, are respectively held in the Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge, *MEC* 8, F16 (= *SCBI* 1, 987), and in the Museum of Antiquities, Newcastle upon Tyne (E.J.E.Pirie, *Catalogue of the Early Northumbrian Coins in the Museum of Antiquities, Newcastle upon Tyne*, 1982, coin 450 on p.18, ill.pl.v, 450, with a X-ray fluorescence analysis of it on p. 19).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>11</sup> No coins of Archbishop Eanbald II by this moneyer were present in the very large Hexham hoard, which contained a good representative selection of coins struck in the middle and later years of the reign of Eanred, but possibly very few, if any, struck early in Eanred's reign. This would support a hypothesis that coins of Eadwine for Eanbald II were absent from the hoard because they were struck contemporaneously with Eanred's earliest issues.

- 4. Eadwulf. Pellet within beaded circle/Pellet within beaded circle. +EANBALD.AREP./+EADVVLF. 535 (b). Probably same dies as Pirie 50.
- 5. Edilveard. Cross/Cross. +EANBALD/+EDILVEARD 535 (c). Same dies as *SCBI* 16, 578. Obverse die perhaps same as Pirie 114, but reverse die of Pirie 114 differs.
- 6. Edilveard. Cross within beaded circle/Cross within beaded circle. +EANBALD AR/+EDILVARD 540 (g). Reverse die not represented on *EMC/SCBI* site, but obverse die is similar, if not identical, to that of *SCBI* 2, 281. Dies not in Pirie.

## Archbishop Wigmund.

- 1. Coenred. Cross/Letter M within beaded circle. +VIGMVND [I?]REP/+COENRED 540(i). Same dies as Pirie 404.
- 2. Ethelhelm. Cross/Cross within beaded circle. +VIGMVND/+EDELHELM 531 (a). Same obverse die as Pirie 581-4, reverse die not in Pirie.
- 3. Edilveard. Cross/Cross. +VIGMVND AREP/+EDILVEARD 522 (h). Same obverse die as Pirie 688-9, reverse die not in Pirie.
- 4. Edilveard. Cross/Cross. +VIGMVND AREP (retrograde)/+EDILVEARD 535 (d). Same dies as Pirie 708.
- 5. Edilveard. Cross/Cross. +VIGNVND AREP/+EDILVEARD 540 (e). Same dies as Pirie 693.
- 6. Hunlaf. Cross/Cross. +VIGMVND/+HVNLA(wedge)F 535 (a). Dies not in Pirie (?).

## Archbishop Wulfhere

- 1. Wulfred. Cross within beaded circle/Cross. .VVLFHERE AREP/+VVLFR.ED 507 (g). Same dies as Pirie 1264.
- Wulfred. Cross within beaded circle/Cross made up of 5 pellets .VVLFHERE
   AREP/VVLFR+DE 522 (c). Same obverse die as previous coin, reverse die
   not in Pirie.
- 3. Wulfred. Cross within linear circle/Cross formed of four crescents, pellet at centre and pellets at each end of limbs. **VVLFHERE AREP** (retrograde)/VV:.LF.R+ED (retrograde) 507 (e). Same obverse die as Pirie 1278-85, reverse die not in Pirie
- 4. Wulfred. Cross within linear circle/Cross VVLFHERE AREP (retrograde)/VVLFR[]D 522 (d). Same obverse die as previous coin, same reverse die as Pirie 1286.

Imitative issue predating deposit of Hexham hoard

1. Pellet within annulet/Pellet within annulet. **VEHAME** (retrograde)/+EHED.AD (retrograde) 522 (g). Same reverse die as specimen in Hexham hoard, ill.Adamson, pl.2L, uncertain, coin 6.

