

THE ANGLIAN COINS OF CNUT THE GREAT.

BY H. ALEXANDER PARSONS.

LONG as the reign of Cnut was, extending from A.D. 1016 to 1035, the large number of types of coins ascribed to it in the standard works on the subject does not appear to be justified by the practice or exigencies of the time, or, on close analysis, by the coins themselves. The principal works on the matter are Hildebrand's *Anglo-Saxon Coins in the Royal Swedish Cabinet*, 1881; *The Silver Coins of England*, by Edward Hawkins, 1887; and *A Catalogue of English Coins in the British Museum, Anglo-Saxon Series*, volume ii, 1893. Hildebrand appropriates ten issues to the reign, besides numerous varieties; Hawkins gives nine issues; and the compilers of the British Museum Catalogue ascribe twenty types, besides varieties, to this reign of nineteen years.

The reason for the multiplicity of types of Cnut in these monographs rests, in great measure, on the fact that some issues properly belonging to Cnut's extensive Continental dominions have been incorporated in the Anglo-Saxon series, mainly owing to the importation, on some of them, of the Anglian title which, in reality, carries no significance, since England was Cnut's principal country, and his Continental issues were mainly based on Anglo-Saxon types. It follows, therefore, that the Anglian title might appropriately appear on coins issued for circulation in Cnut's other territories. In actual fact, the coins of Denmark of the time disclose both the Anglian title and the Danish title, separately and in conjunction.

After a careful review of the types hitherto ascribed to England, and a comparison of them with coins undoubtedly belonging

to Denmark, it is considered that the undermentioned issues and varieties are Continental :—

Plate I, Figure 1.—Hildebrand A, variety b ; British Museum Catalogue Type V, variety a.

„ „ 2 „ A, variety c ; British Museum Catalogue Type VI.

„ „ 3 „ C ; British Museum Catalogue Type III.

„ „ 4 „ E, variety h ; British Museum Catalogue Type IX.

„ „ 5 „ E, variety l ; British Museum Catalogue Type XI.

„ „ 6 „ G, variety b ; British Museum Catalogue Type XIII.

„ „ 7 „ G, variety c ; British Museum Catalogue Type XV.

„ „ 8 „ I, variety a ; British Museum Catalogue Type XXII, variety a.

„ „ 9 „ I, variety c ; British Museum Catalogue Type XVIII.

— — D.

— — „ D, variety a.

— — Hawkins, No. 9 ; Ruding, Plate XXIII, No. 26.

Most of these coins, including Plate I, figures 1, 2, 3, 7, 8, and 9, bear the mint-name of Lund, which is rightly claimed by Hauberg¹ to be intended for the great minting centre at Lund in East Denmark and not “Lundon” in England. The same applies to the coins given by Hildebrand as Types D and D (a).

Of the others, the coins known as Hildebrand E, variety h, British Museum Catalogue, type IX, figure 4 on Plate I, read on the reverse +SIRIC ON RIEB and SIRIC OON RINHE. The obverses are barbarous and unintelligible, and this alone points to a foreign

¹ *Myntforhold og Udmyntninger i Danmark indtil 1146.*

source of issue.¹ These coins, with others bearing cognate readings, were, however, ascribed by Major P. W. P. Carlyon-Britton to Ryburgh² in Norfolk, but Hauberg allocates them, with greater probability, to Ribe in Denmark (*see* his Plate IV, No. 56³).

The only coin known of Hildebrand E, variety I, figure 5 on Plate I, reads, on the reverse, +PINE ON EAXLE. The designs, although of the general character of Cnut's English type E, depart from it by the imposition of a curious 2-like object before the bust on the obverse and of a double annulet in each of the four angles of the cross on the reverse. These annulets are not unlike those on my type 2 of this reign (text-figure 7), except that they are not joined together. This form of reverse is of not infrequent occurrence on coins undoubtedly of Denmark, and the one under discussion is, in my view, an imitation by a die-sinker in Denmark who had an Exeter penny in front of him and slavishly copied the reverse reading.

The one coin represented by Hildebrand G, variety b, Plate I, figure 6, purports to be of the Lincoln mint. It is, however, a hybrid imitation type—common to many coins of Denmark—with a reverse somewhat similar to the coin last considered, and an obverse of the general character of Æthelred the Second's Long-Cross type. Coins of Lincoln were probably more numerous in Denmark than other English pennies, with the possible exception of those of London, and one of these Lincoln coins inspired the die-sinker responsible for the Danish penny under notice.

The last of the doubtful pieces above referred to—Hawkins No. 9—is illustrated in Ruding, Plate XXIII, No. 26, and also in the Montagu Sale Catalogue, Part I, Plate VI, No. 821. It is of the type and module of the coins of Cnut the Holy, King of Denmark, A.D. 1080–6. One of exactly similar designs is illustrated in Hauberg,⁴ with an obverse reading of +CNVT REX DANOR and a

¹ For elaboration of this, *see* "Assays and Imitations, Foreign and Native, of the Late Saxon Period, A.D. 975–1066," in *British Numismatic Journal*, vol. xvii.

² "Uncertain Anglo-Saxon Mints and Some New Attributions," in *British Numismatic Journal*, vol. vi.

³ *Op. cit.*

⁴ *Op. cit.*, Plate XI, No. 3.

reverse inscription of +OÐBIORNIL = Oðbiorn in Lund. The reverse inscription of the coin illustrated in Ruding and Montagu reads +OÐBI ON NORPI, and, having regard to the identity of design of the two coins, a design which is Danish, there can be little question that Hawkins No. 9 comes from Lund in Denmark, instead of Norwich, as did the coin in Hauberg. Another penny of Cnut the Holy is illustrated in the Montagu Sale Catalogue, Part II, Plate I, No. 47. It is identical in type and inscriptions with Hauberg, Plate XI, No. 2, and was undoubtedly issued in Lund in East Denmark and not London in England.

Before proceeding to discuss the true English types of Cnut, separate consideration should be given to the issues of this king, given by Hildebrand as types A and B, and in the British Museum Catalogue as types I and II (*see* Plate I, figures 10 and 11). I have always had a feeling that these two types cannot be given the status of regular issues of this reign, and expression of this opinion appears in my paper on "Symbols and Double Names on Late Saxon Coins"¹ as far back as in 1917. The passage of time with its increase of knowledge of coins of the period tends to confirm that conviction. In the first place, it seemed peculiar to me that Cnut should have authorized the issue of two types of coins similar in all respects, except of course in difference of the royal names, to two types of coins of a king with whom his father Sweyn waged a bitter and successful war, continued by himself after the death of Sweyn. It is true that there have been cases in the Anglo-Saxon era in which the last issue of one king was continued for a short period by his successor with the royal name altered, although I think such coinages were generally of the nature of unauthorized issues struck in the interval between the death of one monarch and settlement of the question of the designs for a fresh coinage under the next. Such were the few first Small Cross coins bearing the name of Æthelred II and the very rare coins of the "Harthacnut" type of Edward the Confessor.² But for a king, so bitterly opposed

¹ *British Numismatic Journal*, vol. xiii, p. 62.

² *See* "Edward the Confessor and his Coins," in *Numismatic Chronicle*, 1905.

to his predecessor as was Cnut to Æthelred II, at once to perpetuate two issues of the money of his rival seems unreconcilable with the history of the time. It must also be remembered that coins were, at that early period, the only pictorial product which could possibly reach the hands of any but the most wealthy or studious, and it follows that an early change in type would be one of the first acts of a new king in a disputed succession, and especially if, as in the case of Cnut, a fresh dynasty were founded. A similar dynastic change occurred in the same century on the accession of the house of Godwin to the Anglo-Saxon throne in the person of Harold II, and we know that, in spite of the extreme shortness of the reign and the great difficulties which beset it, a prolific issue of coins of an entirely new type was made. Cnut's ecclesiastical policy shows him also to have been a master in the art of self-advertisement, and he would be unlikely to neglect an opportunity for consolidating his position, which the issue of an appropriate and distinctive design on the coins in part afforded. His first real type (text-figure 1) tends to prove this.

A second feature of the coins of Cnut under notice is their great rarity at a time when necessity arose for a large output of money, and at a period most productive of the conditions leading to secretion and consequent preservation of the coins. These debatable issues, in fact, come exactly in the centre of the large output of money which is still so plentifully represented in our collections to-day as the Small-Cross issue of Æthelred II and the Quatrefoil type of Cnut, the latter being type 1 in my sequence of Cnut's coins. If one has regard also to the specimens in the Cabinets abroad, as well as those in this country, it is not too much to say that these two issues have descended to us in greater numbers than any other type in the whole of the Late Saxon period or, indeed, in any other time of the Saxon dispensation.

These facts must, I think, make us seriously consider the question whether we can properly continue to receive the two varieties of Cnut's coins under discussion (Plate I, figures 10 and 11) as authorized and regular types of the reign. Hildebrand, in his

introductory remarks on the Anglo-Saxon coins of Cnut in the Royal Swedish Cabinet, expressed the view that it was likely that all Cnut's coins of these types, even those reading REX DANORVM, were struck in England; but, as a matter of precaution, he excluded from his Anglo-Saxon catalogue those coins with the Danish royal title on them, including those with the letter A, for ANLLORVM, after DANORVM, to signify that the king ruled over England as well. I think the great Swedish numismatist should not only have excluded from the Anglo-Saxon catalogue the coins struck with the Danish title, but also some of the pieces of these two varieties inscribed with the Anglian title alone, for there can be little question that certain of them are Danish. In order to show this, let us examine, in detail, the coins known of the types in question, and see whether any data are forthcoming to support this new standpoint. The coins of these two varieties attributed to England are as follows:—

HILDEBRAND A.—*Small-Cross Type.*

- 1.— + CNVT REX ANGLORV
+ HEARÐECNVT MO EOF
- 2.— + CNVT REX AGLORM
+ BRIHTNOÐ MTO LVD
- 3.— Similar to No. 2, but with the addition of a pellet in each angle of the cross on the reverse.
- 4.— + CNVT REX AGLORM
+ ÐOREL MTO LVND (Burstal sale, figure 78.)
- 5.— + CNVT REX ANGLORV
+ ÐORCETL MTO LVN
- 6 — + CNVT REX AGLORM
+ ÐORCETL MTO LVND
- 7.— + CNVT REX ANGLORVM
+ ÆLFRIE MOGLV M NOR

HILDEBRAND A.—*Small-Cross Type*—continued.

- 8.— + ENV T REX ANGLOR
+ O S P O L D M O N O N R D (Carlyon-Britton Sale, figure
530.)
- 9.— + ENV T REX ANGLOR V
+ S V A R T L O L M O P I B (Ruding, Plate XXIII, figure
21.)
- 10.— Similar to No. 9, but struck on a square flan.
- 11.— + ENV T REX ANGLOR V
+ S V A R T L O L M O P I B R
- 12.— + ENV T REX ANGLOR V
+ G I I L I O T I E I I I I O N C O E (British Museum, No. 609.)

HILDEBRAND B.—*Long-Cross Type*.

- 13.— + ENV T REX ANGL O
+ E L F R I C I M O B A D V (A pellet in one angle of the
cross.)
- 14.— + ENV T REX ANGLOR
+ D O R A E D M O L V I N D E
- 15.— + ENV T REX ANGL O
+ O B N M O N R N L V N D
- 16.— + ENV T REX ANGL O
+ O D A M O M E O N R E
- 17.— + ENV T REX ANGL O
+ A E D E L P O L D N O R
- 18.— + ENV T REX ANGL O (Of barbarous work and struck
+ A E D E L P O L D N O R on a square flan. A + after
the obverse inscription.)
- 19.— + ENV T REX ANGL O
+ A S D R I D M O N O R
- 20.— + ENV T REX ANGLOR
+ A S D R I D M O N O R
- 21.— + ENV T REX ANGL O
+ P V L F P I N E M O N O X

HILDEBRAND B.—*Long-Cross Type*—continued.

- 22.— + CNVT REX ANGL
+ LEOFPINE MO ROC
- 23.— + CNVT REX ANGLOX
+ ÆLFHEH M^oO S^cRO (Roth Sale, Part ii, figure 80.)
- 24.— + CNVT REX ANGL
+ VLFCETL MO V^sTL
- 25.— + CNVT REX ANGLOR
+ COLERIM O LINEO (A pellet in each angle of the cross.)

Analysis of this list shows that Nos. 9, 10 and 11 are of the now well-known Danish mint of Viborg,¹ and No. 24 is, in my view, more probably of Danish origin than of Islip in Oxfordshire, as advanced by Major Carlyon-Britton.² Nos. 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 14 and 15 might have been struck either at Lund in Scania or at London in England. They disclose the names of the moneyers Brihtnoth, Thorcetel, Thoreth, and Obn. Brihtnoth is in evidence on coins of Cnut undoubtedly of London, and I know of no Danish pieces bearing the same name. Nos. 2 and 3 may, therefore, be considered as having been struck in London. The reverse of No. 2 seems to have been also used for the mule penny, referred to on page 36, thus combining it with Cnut's first real issue, the Quatrefoil type. Thorcetel is also a name which occurs on undoubted Anglo-Saxon coins of Cnut. It is, however, also much in evidence on the money of Denmark, and the coins numbered 4, 5 and 6 may therefore be Anglo-Saxon or Danish, with strong suspicion that they are the latter. The only coin purporting to be of London on which the name Thorcetel occurs is of Æthelred's time, and is a mule type, No. 2944 in Hildebrand. It is illustrated as No. 1, Plate 3, in Hildebrand's work. The treatment of the design on this penny bearing the name of Æthelred II is, however, decidedly un-English,

¹ *British Numismatic Journal*, vol. vi, p. 45.

² *Ibid.*, pp. 39-40. (See also *British Numismatic Journal*, vol. xvii, pp. 68-9.)

and there is great probability that it is a Danish coin struck in Cnut's time, but with Æthelred's name copied on the obverse. Thoreth is a very rare name which does not occur on the undoubted Danish pennies, and No. 14 might be regarded as Anglo-Saxon. The name Obn, if intended for Oban, is associated only with Anglo-Saxon coins, and No. 15 should come into the Anglo-Saxon series. The reverse of No. 12 is frankly unintelligible. A very similar piece is illustrated by Hauberg,¹ and is given by him to Denmark. I think rightly so. No. 16 has been shown by me to be probably a contemporary forgery.²

The other mint-names appropriated to these debatable coins given by Hildebrand as types A and B, are Bath, Lincoln, Norwich, Oxford, Rochester, Shrewsbury and York. Only one reading of York is known to me, namely, No. 1. The Bath coin No. 13, is also unique in the form of the inscription on the reverse. The moneyers' names on this Bath penny, and on the Lincoln penny No. 25, the Oxford piece No. 21, the Rochester penny No. 22, and the Shrewsbury coin No. 23, are well-known Anglo-Saxon names. The last-mentioned piece is possibly a mule coin combining a Cnut obverse with an Æthelred reverse. The moneyer's name is uncommon. All these coins of Bath, Lincoln, Oxford, Rochester, Shrewsbury and York may, on the ground of the moneyers' names, be safely regarded as Anglo-Saxon and not Danish pennies with imitative inscriptions.

We are now left with the coins attributed to Norwich. Those numbered 7 and 8 are rightly so attributed. Indeed, No. 8 is a mule coin, the reverse of which is one of Æthelred's Norwich pennies, No. 3183 in Hildebrand. Nos. 17 and 18 I do not consider Anglo-Saxon. The workmanship is barbarous and unusual, and both coins appear to have been struck on square flans. No. 18 certainly was. This is an anomaly never associated with English coins, although not unusual in the various countries of the Scandinavian north. Nos. 19 and 20 are considered by the author to form an issue of

¹ *Op. cit.*, Plate III, No. 47.

² "Assays and Imitations, Foreign and Native, of the Late Saxon Period, A.D. 975-1066," in *British Numismatic Journal*, vol. xvii.

money by Cnut of Norway. The demonstration of this may be found in the writer's paper on "The Earliest Coins of Norway," published in 1926 in the series of Numismatic Notes and Monographs issued by the American Numismatic Society.

Of the coins enumerated on pp. 30-32 only those numbered 1, 2, 3, 7, 8, 13, 14, 15, 21, 22, 23 and 25 can, therefore, be regarded as unequivocally Anglo-Saxon, with Nos. 4, 5, and 6 doubtfully so. Further, Nos. 8 and 23 are Æthelred-Cnut mules. The net result is that the undoubtedly English Small-Cross issue is reduced to only five mint varieties, namely, Nos. 1, 2, 3, 7, and 8; whilst the Long-Cross issue numbers only seven mint varieties, namely, Nos. 13, 14, 15, 21, 22, 23, and 25.

All the coins of Cnut of these two types undoubtedly belonging to England, some of which were muled with reverse impressions of coins of Æthelred II, were, in view of the peculiar circumstances of the opening of the reign, considered by me to have been issued more or less concurrently as emergency types, pending time and opportunity for selection of new designs. The period of issue of these coins seems, therefore, to date from the accession of Cnut to the English throne in A.D. 1016, to the settlement of the Kingdom in A.D. 1018, by which time the final tribute, as such, was made and the Vikings sent to their own countries. During this period it must sometimes have been necessary either to replace worn-out dies, and to appoint new moneyers, as in the case of Harthacnut at York; and the old designs of Æthelred's Long- and Small-Cross issues, which formed the main currency of the time, were thereupon copied on the new dies made, notwithstanding that Cnut had ascended the throne. Judged by the character of the workmanship of these Cnut Long-Cross and Small-Cross pennies, new die-sinkers were also employed, for the artistic feeling of the coins is decidedly different from that on the relative issues of Æthelred II.

That all these coins indicate an emergency issue arising out of the troubles and confusion of the time is also, I think, evidenced by the unique coin numbered type 3 in Hawkins, which is an exact copy of the Quatrefoil type of Æthelred II,

except as regards the name of the King; and by the plethora of muled examples combining coins of Æthelred II of the Long-Cross and Small-Cross issues with the first great coinage of Cnut's reign, known as the Quatrefoil type, my type 1, which is given by Hildebrand as type E, and by the British Museum Catalogue as type VIII. The same fact is also evidenced by the mule coin (reading BREHTNO O EOF) first published and illustrated in the *British Numismatic Journal* of 1908, p. 447, which bears on the obverse the design of Cnut's Quatrefoil type, and on the reverse a copy of Æthelred's Quatrefoil type. A further specimen, slightly varied in the reverse legend, was published and illustrated in Mr. C. A. Nordman's work on *Anglo-Saxon Coins Found in Finland*, Plate II, No. 3. It reads :—

Obverse.— + CNVT REX ANLLORV :

Reverse.— + BREHTNOÐ MO E (York.)

The obverse of this coin is muled with a reverse stamp identical with that used for No. 644 of the coins of Æthelred in Hildebrand.¹

There are good grounds for considering that Æthelred's Quatrefoil type was the last but two of his reign, and that the penultimate issue of Æthelred II was the Long-Cross type, similar to Cnut's Long-Cross issue, figure 11 on Plate I. A mule coin combining this type of Æthelred II with Cnut's first real issue, figure 1 in the text, has the following readings :—

Obverse.— + CNVT REX ANLLOR

Reverse.— + EADPOLD MO LVN

It is given in Hildebrand as type F, variety K. The reverse compares with No. 2425 of the coins of Æthelred II in Hildebrand. A further coin of this variety is referred to in that author's book under Chester, No. 1447 of the coins of Cnut. Its obverse is fairly correct and regular, but the reverse is of barbarous workmanship with unknown and unlikely names for both moneyer and mint, namely :—

+ LOHFM MO LENA

¹ Anglo-Saxon coins in Royal Swedish Cabinet, 1881.

These names are peculiar to this coin, which is, in my view, a contemporary forgery.¹

Of mules combining the last issue of Æthelred II, that is, his second Small-Cross type, with the first real issue of Cnut, figure 1 in the text, we have the following :—

Obverse.— + CNVT REX ANGLORVI

Reverse.— + PVLZIGE MƿO EOFRI

It is given by Hildebrand as type A, variety a, and is illustrated here on Plate I, figure 12. The reverse is similar to No. 1005 of the coins of Æthelred II in Hildebrand.

A further example of this mule type is referred to by Hildebrand as No. 154 of the coins of Cnut. It reads as follows :—

Obverse.— + CNVT REX ANGLOR

Reverse.— + LEOFRIE ON CNTPA

The form of the mint-name leaves no room for doubt that the reverse is identical with that of No. 194 of the coins of Æthelred II in Hildebrand.

A third example of this kind of mule is given under the mint of London, No. 2050 in Hildebrand. It reads as follows :—

Obverse.— + CNVT REX ANGLORV

Reverse.— + BRIHTNOÐ MƿO LVD

The next series of mules bearing witness to the confusion of the times comprises a combination of the two types of coins of Cnut under discussion (Hildebrand A and B, our Plate I, figures 10 and 11), and includes these types each muled with Cnut's first real issue; Hildebrand E, my type 1 (text-figure 1).

Of these, we have the following :—

- (a) A coin found in the Nesbø hoard with obverse Hildebrand A (Plate I, figure 10), and reverse Hildebrand B (Plate I, figure 11), and reading :—

Obverse.— + CNVT REX ANGLOR

Reverse.— + LIFINE MO LV

¹ For the elaboration of this opinion, see *British Numismatic Journal*, vol. xvii, pp 72-84.

- (b) No. 253 of the coins of Cnut in Hildebrand, which combines an obverse of Hildebrand B (Plate I, figure 11), with a reverse of Cnut's first type (text-figure 1), and reads :—

Obverse.— + CNVT REX ANGLLOX

Reverse.— + HILDRED MO ER (Cricklade.)

It is given by Hildebrand as type E, variety f, and is illustrated here on Plate I, figure 13. The reverse is from a stamp used for No. 252 of the coins of Cnut in Hildebrand.

- (c) No. 1646 of the coins of Cnut in Hildebrand combining a reverse of Cnut's first type (text-figure 1), with an obverse of Hildebrand's type A (Plate I, figure 10) of Cnut and reading :—

Obverse.— + CNVT REX ANGLLOR

Reverse.— + LIOFPINE ON LINE

It is illustrated in Hildebrand as type E, variety e. Another example of this mint was in my collection. It reads :—

Obverse.— + CNVT REX ANGLLORV

Reverse.— + MANA MO LINEOL

Similar mule coins are also given in Hildebrand as type E, variety g. The readings are as follows :—

- (1) No. 1446 of the coins of Cnut in Hildebrand, reading as follows :—

Obverse.— + CNVT REX ANGLLORV

Reverse.— + AÐLPINTO LEH (Leicester.)

(See Plate I, figure 14.)

- (2) No. 2741 of the coins of Cnut in Hildebrand, reading as follows :—

Obverse.— + CNVT REX ANGLLORV

Reverse.— + ÐORED MO LVND (London.)

The reverse is from the stamp used for No. 2740 of the coins of Cnut in Hildebrand.

(3) No. 3243 of the coins of Cnut in Hildebrand, reading as follows :—

Obverse.— + ENVT REX ANGLORV

Reverse.— + EAPLIN M'O ZTAN (Stamford.)

The reverse is from a stamp used for a coin of Cnut mentioned in the *Numismatic Chronicle* of 1869, p. 342.

(4) No. 3553 of the coins of Cnut in Hildebrand, reading as follows :—

Obverse.— + ENVT REX ANGLORV

Reverse.— + ðVRCETEL O TOR (Torksey.)

The reverse is from a stamp used for No. 3552 of the coins of Cnut in Hildebrand.

The example of this type of mule coin given as No. 2704 under the coins of Cnut in Hildebrand is considered to be of the Danish mint of Lund.

Another example of this type of mule coin was in the Vogel Collection, No. 4790. It reads as follows :—

Obverse.— + ENVT REX ANGLORV

Reverse.— + ELIELI ONO SVDDB (Sudbury).

Having cleared the ground of the Continental issues of Cnut's coins, which had been allowed to encroach upon his Anglo-Saxon series; and, further, having shown that the issues called in Hildebrand A and B (Plate I, figures 10 and 11), with connecting and cognate mule pieces, are of the nature of emergency coins pending the issue of Cnut's first real type (text-figure 1), I will now proceed to describe the authorized coinages of the reign in their order and with their approximate times of issue. The reasons for this sequence and for the dates given will appear later. But before enumerating these types, I would refer my readers to pp. 88–93, vol. xvii, of this *Journal*, for the explanation of Hildebrand's PACX type F, given in the British Museum Catalogue as type XII and in Hawkins as type 4.

This design is there shown to be of the nature of a trial or pattern issue not adopted for general circulation.

I consider the only regular English types and varieties of Cnut to be as follows, possibly excepting figure 10 :—

Type 1 ; Hildebrand E ; British Museum Catalogue VIII ;
Hawkins, No. 7.



FIG. 1.—CNUT'S FIRST TYPE. H. A. PARSONS.

Obverse.—Crowned bust to left, mantled, within a quatrefoil.

Reverse.—On a quatrefoil with a pellet on each point of the angles, a long cross voided each limb of which terminates in three crescents. A pellet in the centre.

Probable date of issue, A.D. 1018.

The example illustrated as figure 1 reads :—

Obverse.— + CNVT REX ANGLORV

Reverse.— + ALFPALD ON BÆD

Mints represented (1) :—¹

Aylesbury.	Canterbury.	Dunwich.
Barnstaple (2).	Chester (3).	Exeter.
Bath.	Chichester.	Gloucester.
Bedford.	Colchester.	"Gotha" and
Bristol.	Crewkerne.	"Iotha" (4).
Bruton.	Cricklade.	Guildford.
Buckingham.	Derby.	Hastings.
Cadbury.	Dorchester.	Hereford.
Cambridge.	Dover.	Hertford.

¹ (1) to (4), see "Notes on the Mints," pp 66-7.

Mints represented (1)—*continued*:—¹

Huntingdon.	Nottingham.	Taunton.
Ilchester.	Oxford.	Thetford.
Ipswich.	Rochester.	Torksey.
Langport (5).	Romney.	Totness.
Leicester (3).	Salisbury.	Wallingford.
Lewes.	Shaftesbury.	Walsingham.
Lincoln.	Shrewsbury.	Wareham.
London.	ΣΙΘΕΣΤΕΒ	Warwick.
Lydford.	(Sidbury ?) (8).	Watchet.
Lympne (6).	Southampton (7).	Wilton.
Maldon.	Southwark.	Winchcombe.
Malmesbury.	Stafford.	Winchester.
Northampton (7).	Stamford.	Worcester.
Norwich.	Sudbury.	York.

Type 1, variety a ; Hildebrand E, variety a ; British Museum Catalogue VIII, variety a.



FIG. 2.—VARIETY OF CNUT'S FIRST TYPE. BRITISH MUSEUM.

Obverse.—Crowned bust to right instead of to left ; otherwise similar to the main type.

Reverse.—Similar to the main type.

Probable date of issue, A.D. 1018.

The example illustrated as figure 2 reads :—

Obverse.— + CNVT R·EX ANGLOR

Reverse.— + DROPA ON PINCL (Winchcombe.)

Mints represented :—

Lewes.	London.	Winchcombe.	York.
--------	---------	-------------	-------

¹ (1) to (8), see "Notes on the Mints," pp 66-7.

Type 1, variety b; Hildebrand E, variety b; British Museum Catalogue VIII, variety c.



FIG. 3.—VARIETY OF CNUT'S FIRST TYPE. STOCKHOLM ROYAL CABINET.

Obverse.—Crowned bust to left, mantled, and descending to the edge instead of being entirely enclosed in the inner circle.

Reverse.—Similar to the main type.

Probable date of issue, A.D. 1018.

The example illustrated as figure 3 reads :—

Obverse.— + CNVT REX ANL

Reverse.— + BRANTINL O LI

Mints represented :—

Lewes.

Lincoln

Sudbury.

Type 1, variety c; Hildebrand E, variety i; British Museum Catalogue X.



FIG. 4.—VARIETY OF CNUT'S FIRST TYPE. BRITISH MUSEUM.

Obverse.—Similar to the main type.

Reverse.—Similar to the main type, but three pellets at the apex of each cusp of the quatrefoil.

Probable date of issue, A.D. 1018.

The example illustrated as figure 4 reads :—

Obverse.— + CNVT REX ANGLLOI

Reverse.— + HVNEPINE O EX

Mints represented (1) :—¹

Barnstaple.	Exeter.	Southampton (or
Bedford.	Guildford.	Northampton).
Canterbury.	London.	Warwick.
Chester.	Lydford.	Winchester.
Dover.	S IDES TEB (Sidbury ?) (8).	

Type 1, variety d ; Hildebrand E, variety d ; British Museum Catalogue VIII, variety d.



FIG. 5.—VARIETY OF CNUT'S FIRST TYPE. H. A. PARSONS.

Obverse.—Helmeted instead of crowned bust to left, mantled, within a quatrefoil.

Reverse.—Similar to the main type.

Probable date of issue, A.D. 1020.

The example illustrated as figure 5 reads :—

Obverse.— + CNVT REX ANGLOR

Reverse.— + ÆLEPINE ON: BRI

Mints represented :—

Bruton.	Gloucester.	London.
Bristol.	Hereford.	Winchester.
Cricklade.		

¹ (1) and (8), see "Notes on the Mints," pp. 66-7.

Type 1, variety e ; Hildebrand E, variety c ; British Museum Catalogue VIII, variety b.



FIG. 6.—VARIETY OF CNUT'S FIRST TYPE. H. A. PARSONS.

Obverse.—Crowned bust to left, mantled, within a quatrefoil.
In front, a sceptre.

Reverse.—Similar to the main type.

Probable date of issue, A.D. 1020.

The example illustrated as figure 6 reads :—

Obverse.— + CNVT REX ANGLLO:

Reverse.— + LODPINE ON LLEP

Mints represented :—

Gloucester.

Hereford.

Lincoln.

Type 2 ; Hildebrand G ; British Museum Catalogue XIV ;
Hawkins, No. 8.



FIG. 7.—CNUT'S SECOND TYPE. H. A. PARSONS.

Obverse.—Bust to left, mantled, with high pointed helmet.
Around, an inner circle broken by the shoulders
which descend to the edge of the coin. In front,
a sceptre with cross finial head.

Reverse.—Short cross voided, the limbs of which are united at the base by two circles, in the centre of which there is generally a pellet. In each angle of the cross is a broken annulet enclosing a pellet.

Probable date of issue, A.D. 1021.

The example illustrated as figure 7 reads :—

Obverse.— + ENVT RECX ꝛ:

Reverse.— + ÆLFLET ON LVNDDEN:

Mints represented (1) :—¹

Barnstaple (2).	Huntingdon.	Southampton (7).
Bath.	Ilchester.	Stafford.
Bedford.	Ipswich.	Stamford.
Bridport (9).	Langport (5).	Steyning.
Bruton.	Leicester (3).	Sudbury.
Buckingham.	Lewes.	Southwark.
Cambridge.	Lincoln.	Thetford.
Canterbury.	London.	Torksey.
Chester (3).	Lydford.	TOTEL.
Chichester.	Maldon.	Totness.
Colchester.	Malmesbury.	Wallingford.
Crewkerne.	Milborne Port (10).	Warminster (11).
Cricklade.	Northampton (7).	Warwick.
Derby.	Norwich.	Watchet.
Dorchester.	Nottingham.	Wilton.
Dover.	Oxford.	Winchcombe.
Exeter.	Rochester.	Winchester.
Gloucester.	Romney.	Worcester.
Hastings.	Salisbury.	York.
Hereford.	Shaftesbury.	
Hertford.	Shrewsbury.	

¹ (1) to (11), see "Notes on the Mints," pp. 66-7.

Type 2, variety a. Hitherto unpublished.



FIG. 8.—VARIETY OF CNUT'S SECOND TYPE. H. A. PARSONS.

Obverse.—Similar to the main type, but the sceptre head has an ordinary cross superimposed on the cross finial.

Reverse.—Similar to the main type.

Probable date of issue, A.D. 1021.

The example illustrated as figure 8 reads :—

Obverse.— + CNVT REX ANL:

Reverse.— + EA·D·POL·D ON LVND

Mint represented :—London.

Type 2, variety b ; Hildebrand G, variety a ; British Museum Catalogue XIV, variety a.



FIG. 9.—VARIETY OF CNUT'S SECOND TYPE. H. A. PARSONS.

Obverse.—Helmeted bust to right instead of to left ; otherwise similar to the main type.

Reverse.—Similar to the main type.

Probable date of issue, A.D. 1021.

The example illustrated as figure 9 reads :—

Obverse.— + CNVT R·ECX AN

Reverse.— + MAT·D·AN BALLVE O LI

Mints represented :—Lincoln. London.

Type 2, variety c. Hitherto unpublished.



FIG. 10.—VARIETY OF CNUT'S SECOND TYPE. ROYAL COLLECTION, COPENHAGEN.

Obverse.—Similar to the main type but without the sceptre.

Reverse.—Similar to the main type but the pellets omitted from the broken annulets.

Probable date of issue, A.D. 1021.

The example illustrated as figure 10 reads :—

Obverse.— + CNVT REX ANGLLOI

Reverse.— + LODMAMTO EOFRI

Mint represented :—York.

This variety is possibly a Danish imitation.

Type 3 ; Hildebrand H ; British Museum Catalogue XVI ;
Hawkins, No. 1.



FIG. 11.—CNUT'S THIRD TYPE. H. A. PARSONS.

Obverse.—Diademed bust to left, mantled ; in front, a sceptre with fleur-de-lis head. Sometimes there are pellets under the fleurs, and on a few rare examples the diadem is omitted. Compare Hildebrand type H, variety d, and British Museum Catalogue type XVI, variety b.

Reverse.—Short cross voided, in the centre of which there is generally an annulet enclosing a pellet, the whole enclosed in an inner circle. Sometimes the annulet is omitted, and sometimes the pellet.

Probable date of issue, A.D. 1025 or 1026.

The example illustrated as figure 11 reads :—

Obverse.— + CNVT RECX

Reverse.— + ÆLELPINE ON SVD

Mints represented (1) :—¹

Barnstaple (2).	Hertford.	Shaftesbury.
Bath.	Hereford.	Southampton (7).
Bedford.	Huntingdon.	Shrewsbury.
Bridport (9).	Ilchester.	Southwark.
Bristol.	Ipswich.	Stafford.
Bruton.	Leicester (3).	Stamford.
Buckingham.	Lewes.	Steyning.
Cambridge.	Lincoln.	Tamworth (12).
Canterbury.	London.	Taunton.
Chester (3).	Lydford.	Thetford.
Chichester.	Lympne (6).	Wallingford.
Colchester.	Maldon.	Wareham.
Cricklade.	Malmesbury.	Warminster (11).
Crewkerne.	Milborne Port (10).	Warwick.
Derby.	Northampton (7).	Watchet.
Dorchester.	Norwich.	Wilton.
Dover.	Nottingham.	Winchester.
Exeter.	Oxford.	Worcester.
Gloucester.	Rochester.	York.
Guildford.	Romney.	
Hastings.	Salisbury.	

¹ (1) to (12), see "Notes on the Mints," pp. 66-7.

Type 3, variety a ; not in Hildebrand or in the British Museum Catalogue.



FIG. 12.—VARIETY OF CNUT'S THIRD TYPE. H. A. PARSONS.

Obverse.—Similar to the main type, but with cross finial head to the sceptre, as on the second type.

Reverse.—Similar to the main type.

Probable date of issue, A.D. 1025 or 1026.

The example illustrated as figure 12 reads :—

Obverse.— + CNVT REC

Reverse.— + LEOFRIC ON HEO:

Mint represented :—Hertford.

Type 3, variety b ; Hildebrand H, variety a ; not in British Museum Catalogue.



FIG. 13.—VARIETY OF CNUT'S THIRD TYPE. R. C. LOCKETT.

Obverse.—Similar to the main type, but with a lance instead of a sceptre before the bust. The diadem is omitted on some specimens.

Reverse.—Similar to the main type.

Probable date of issue, A.D. 1025 or 1026.

The example illustrated as figure 13 reads :—

Obverse.— + CNVT RECX

Reverse.— + LEODMÆR ON LIN

Mints represented :—

Hastings.

Lincoln.

Winchester.

Type 3, variety c ; Hildebrand H, variety b ; not in British Museum Catalogue.



FIG. 14.—VARIETY OF CNUT'S THIRD TYPE. STOCKHOLM ROYAL CABINET.

Obverse.—Similar to the main type, but with a crozier headed staff instead of a sceptre before the bust.

Reverse.—Similar to the main type.

Probable date of issue, A.D. 1025 or 1026.

The example illustrated as figure 14 reads :—

Obverse.— + CNVT R REC+ :

Reverse.— + LODPINE ON PINCE

Mint represented :—Winchester.

Type 3, variety d ; Hildebrand H, variety c ; British Museum Catalogue XVI, variety a.



FIG. 15.—VARIETY OF CNUT'S THIRD TYPE. STOCKHOLM ROYAL CABINET.

Obverse.—Similar to the main type, but with a pennon before the bust instead of a sceptre.

Reverse.—Similar to the main type.

Probable date of issue, A.D. 1025 or 1026.

The example illustrated as figure 15 reads :—

Obverse.— + CNVT R RECX

Reverse.— + BRIHTRED ON LVD

Mint represented :—London.

Type 3, variety e ; Hildebrand I, variety b ; British Museum Catalogue XIX.



FIG. 16.—VARIETY OF CNUT'S THIRD TYPE. BRITISH MUSEUM.

Obverse.—Similar to the main type, but with sceptre finial, as in the case of variety a, instead of fleur-de-lis sceptre before the bust.

Reverse.—Similar to the main type, but instead of the annulet in the centre of the cross there is a quatrefoil, at each of the points of which are three pellets.

Probable date of issue, A.D. 1025 or 1026.

The example illustrated as figure 16 reads :—

Obverse.— + CNVTE REC

Reverse.— + ELFRED ON LVNDE

Mints represented :— Aylesbury (14).¹ London.

The unusual character of these coins, both in design and inscription, leads me to think that they are assays or patterns rather than current money (*see* the article on this subject in this *Journal*, vol. xvii, pp. 88–93).

Type 4 ; Hildebrand I ; British Museum Catalogue XVII ; Hawkins, No. 2.



FIG. 17.—CNUT'S FOURTH TYPE. H. A. PARSONS.

Obverse.—Diademed bust to the left, mantled, with arm and hand depicted also. In the hand, a sceptre held before the face.

¹ See "Notes on the Mints," pp. 66–7.

Reverse.—Short cross voided, in the centre of which is a quatrefoil with a pellet on each of the cusps.

Probable date of issue, A.D. 1030.

The example illustrated as figure 17 reads :—

Obverse :— + CNVT REX

Reverse.— + LEOPINE ON LINCOL

Mints represented (1) :—¹

Axport (13).	Gloucester.	Oxford.
Bath.	“Gotha” and	Salisbury.
Bridport (9).	“Iotha” (4).	Shrewsbury.
Bristol.	Hastings.	Southwark.
Cambridge.	Huntingdon.	Stamford.
Canterbury.	Ipswich.	Thetford.
Chester (3).	Leicester (3).	Totness.
Chichester.	Lewes.	Wallingford.
Colchester.	Lincoln.	Warwick.
Derby.	London.	Wilton.
Dorchester.	Lydford.	Winchester.
Dover.	Norwich.	Worcester.
Exeter.	Nottingham.	York.

“Mule” issue, Obverse type 3 ; Reverse type 5 ; Hildebrand K, variety a ; British Museum Catalogue XX, variety a.



FIG. 18.—“MULE” OF CNUT’S THIRD AND FIFTH TYPES.
STOCKHOLM ROYAL CABINET.

Obverse.—As type 3.

Reverse.—As type 5.

¹ (1) to (13), see “Notes on the Mints,” pp. 66–7.

This is the only example of a "mule" coin of Cnut after the series of such coins linking the last issues of Æthelred II with Cnut's first real type, and those between the two interim issues dealt with on pp. 28-34 and Cnut's first type. It will be observed that it is an example connecting two issues which are not consecutive; and, in my view, it is an accidental striking due to the confusion arising out of an entire recoinage. Had the issue of "mule" types been a regular feature of the fiscal system in the Anglo-Danish period, there would have survived to our times such types connecting the great issues numbered herein as 2 and 3, and 3 and 4, if not between the less common types 4 and 5; but none are known.¹

The only coin in evidence of this "mule" issue is of York. It is illustrated as figure 18, and reads:—

Obverse.— + CNVT REX.

Reverse.— + ÆLELPINE ON EOFE

Its date of issue is probably at the time of the commencement of type 5, about A.D. 1034.

Type 5; Hildebrand K; British Museum Catalogue XX;
Hawkins, No. 5.



FIG. 19.—CNUT'S FIFTH TYPE. BRITISH MUSEUM.

Obverse.—Diademed bust to left, mantled.

Reverse.—Four oval ornaments, disposed crosswise, united at the base by annulets.

Probable date of issue, A.D. 1034 or 1035.

¹ The same absence of regular "mule" types combining consecutive issues is evident in the coins of the other Anglo-Danish kings.

The example illustrated as figure 19 reads :—

Obverse.— + ENVT REEX ꝛ

Reverse.— + BRVNMAN ON LVND

Mints represented :—

Bristol.	London.	Shaftesbury.
Dover.	Norwich.	Southwark.
Exeter.	Salisbury.	Wallingford.

The chronological sequence of the main issues of coins of Cnut, described above, is fixed by the evidence embodied in the following lines of investigation :—

- 1.—“ Mule ” coins.
- 2.—Hoards of coins.
- 3.—Hiberno-Danish imitations.
- 4.—Weights of the coins.
- 5.—Symbols and double names on the coins.
- 6.—Designs of the money.
- 7.—Inscriptions, including the forms of the letters.

With one exception, dealt with on pp. 51-52, all the “ mule ” coins of this reign are confined to the period A.D. 1016-18, during which the unauthorized or emergency issues and cognate “ mules ” referred to on pp. 35-38 were probably struck. It will have been noticed that the great bulk of the “ mules ” is made up of combinations of the last three issues of Æthelred II, the interim emissions (Plate I, figures 10 and 11), and type 1 of Cnut (text-figure 1). These “ mules ” are so numerous that they afford good evidence of the confusion in the die-sinking office, arising out of the conquest of the country by the Danes, which circumstance was no doubt responsible for the interim or emergency issues (Plate I, figures 10 and 11). By their association with Cnut's type 1 only, to the exclusion of types 2 to 5, they indicate also that the former type was the first authorized general issue after the last one of Æthelred II, excluding the ephemeral reigns of Sweyn of Denmark, of whom no English coins are known, and Edmund Ironside.

The marked absence of "mule" coins connecting Cnut's main types with each other leads me to the conclusion that the early issues were not struck concurrently with the later types, as Hildebrand suggested. Otherwise, we should have had in our cabinets connecting links between type 1 and the others, more especially as the output was large and the "finds" have been numerous.

Coming now to the evidence afforded by "finds," it by no means follows that the types of which the larger numbers of specimens occur in a hoard are the latest. In the Scandinavian hoards the converse might be the case. This is due to the main fact that the amount of coined money taken out of the country, which reached its zenith in the last years of Æthelred II and the first of those of Cnut, gradually diminished until its export, either for tribute or for trade, had practically ceased by the middle of the Confessor's reign.

A contributory cause for this diminishing number of Anglo-Saxon coins of the later types, as compared with the earlier issues in the hoards of Scandinavia, is to be looked for in the setting up, by Cnut, of mints in Denmark itself, and the traders of that country were therefore less dependent upon a supply of foreign money.

As a whole, the records of "finds" of this period are unsatisfactory for the purpose of judging the sequence of issues of the coins. The reason for this is, mainly, that although the hoards are numerous the number of the coins of each type represented in them has, in most cases, not been recorded. Where such a record is preserved the hoards of the time have been dealt with in my treatise on this subject which appeared in vol. xvi of the *Journal*. Readers are referred to the table of hoards appended to that article, from which it will be seen that the "City" Find of 1872 discloses that types 2, 3 and 4 are in sequence, although the evidence is inconclusive as to which order. The "Nesbø" Find of 1891 produced types 1 and 2, with a considerable number of coins of Æthelred II. The "Ryfylke" Find of 1907 and the "Stora Sojdeby" Find of 1910 produced types 1 to 4. The last-named hoard was composed mainly of coins of the great tribute period at the end of the reign of Æthelred II and the beginning of that of

Cnut, and such a hoard would naturally be composed of coins of types rising in numbers to the first issue of Cnut and diminishing after that issue. On this basis the sequence of the types given herein is largely sustained by the coins of this hoard, for the numbers of pennies of Cnut in it were as follows:—Type 1, 119 coins; type 2, 101 coins; type 3, 55 coins; and type 4, 7 coins.

Evidence showing that type 1 was the first real issue of Cnut is to be drawn from the Hiberno-Danish imitations of Anglo-Saxon coins. Of the Dublin Kings, Sihtric III, A.D. 989 to 1029 or 1035, was the only monarch to strike coins with intelligible inscriptions, and the designs of his money follow four types of Æthelred II, A.D. 979–1016, and one type only of Cnut. That type is No. 1 of the present arrangement. Communication between the Dano-Norse settlements in Ireland and England through Chester, was constant at this period, and the coins in use in England were closely copied in Ireland, although probably their issue in the latter country was made some considerable time after their introduction in England. The circumstance that the coins of Æthelred II were consistently copied in Dublin soon after Sihtric commenced to reign, as is shown by his imitation of four of the types, renders it highly probable that the single issue of Cnut which was imitated there followed next after the four issues of Æthelred II which were imitated in Dublin.

The same result is indicated by consideration of the weights of the coins of Cnut. Although there are exceptions, as in the reign of Æthelred II, the weight of the coins of type 1 was of the old English standard of, approximately, 22 grains to the penny; but the weights of types 2 to 5 follow the standard of East Denmark and Sweden of about 16 grains to the penny, and this was maintained throughout the whole of the Anglo-Danish period and into the reign of Edward the Confessor.

The minor symbols, such as annulets, crosses, and pellets, etc., which so frequently appear on the coins of Cnut, as on those of Æthelred, have their bearing also upon the sequence of the types. The main reason for their use lies in the larger output of coins required from the mints for tribute or trade, involving the

employment of an increased number of moneyers. The office of moneyer would appear to have been largely a family one, as is evidenced, amongst other reasons, by the occurrence of a coin of type 5, on which appears the inscription of +EDRIC DENSV PATRV O LV, equals "Edric Densu the paternal uncle [moneyer] at London." At periods, mainly of pressure, moneyers of the same names worked together, and the necessity consequently arose for differentiating their dies by the insertion of a privy mark or symbol, or by introducing on the coins the second name of the officials. This necessity first became pronounced in the reign of Æthelred II consequent upon the greater output of coins necessary to meet the payments to the Vikings, and for increasing trade. At first the dies were marked only by a symbol, but in the reign of Cnut the spread to England of the practice (more frequently in force in Scandinavia) of having descriptive names, gave rise to an alternative method of differentiation by the introduction on the coins of the second name of a moneyer, and ultimately the double names entirely superseded the symbols. It follows, therefore, that the types on which the symbols are found come earlier than those on which the double names occur. Reference to my monograph on these symbols and double names, in the *British Numismatic Journal*, vol. xiii, will show that on type 1 the differentiation of dies, although frequent, is almost solely by means of privy marks. On type 2 there is a pronounced increase in the number of double names on coins, accompanied by a marked decrease in the number of moneyers differentiated by symbols. On types 3 and 4 there is a further increase in the number of double names, and the moneyers differentiated by symbols are reduced to one in each of those types; whilst on type 5 the privy marks disappear entirely, as in the case of all the types of the succeeding kings in the Anglo-Danish period, with one exception, under Harold I, at Bath. It is therefore clear, from the cuneators' methods of differentiating dies of moneyers of the same name working together in the same mint that the chronological order of the types of Cnut is as given in the foregoing pages. Further, the means adopted for this purpose of differentiation show that the

first type was not issued contemporaneously with the other types, as has been previously suggested, for otherwise some of this type, a very common one, would have appeared with a considerable proportion of double names as well as of symbols.

The designs on Cnut's coins afford some help in the placing of the types. The most important point in this connection is the fact that type 5 was continued almost without change by Cnut's two successors, Harold I and Harthacnut, when they shared the kingdom on the death of their father,¹ and on this ground alone it could be fixed as the last of the issues. The forms of the bust and of the king's head-dress on types 3 and 4 (text-figures 11 and 17), are, in general, the same as those on type 5 (text-figure 19), with the exception that on type 4 a hand and an arm are introduced, and on both types 3 and 4 a sceptre is in evidence. This latter feature, however, connects types 3 and 4 with type 2 (text-figure 7), as does the short voided cross on the reverse of all of these three types, 2, 3 and 4. The main type 1 (text-figure 1) has designs of a character quite distinct from the preceding types, those of Æthelred II, and the succeeding types of Cnut, and the following special reasons are adduced to explain this. Firstly, the disputed succession of Cnut to the English throne rendered desirable the issue of an entirely new design for the initial coinage of the reign; and, secondly, the considerable reduction in the weight standard, which characterizes type 2, rendered decided alteration of the design of that type equally desirable.

The inscriptions afford a valuable means of proving the sequence of the types. This line of enquiry can be divided conveniently as follows :—

- (a) The omission of the territorial title on the obverse.
- (b) The form of the connecting-link between the moneyers' names and mint-names on the reverse.
- (c) The modification of some of the letters.

¹ *British Numismatic Journal*, vol. xi, pp. 39-43.

During the reign of Cnut many of the coins of this country, as on the Continent, were issued without the territorial title appearing thereon. Thus, the simple inscription of CNVT REX appears on such coins. Under Æthelred II, the inclusion of the word ANGLORUM, or its abbreviations, was universal; but then Æthelred II was simply king of England. With the advent of Cnut a new departure in politics ensues, for the kings of England became also kings of territories abroad. In consequence, the die-sinkers of Cnut sometimes omitted the local names, whether of England or Denmark, and this new departure becomes more pronounced as time elapsed, until, on the coins of Harthacnut, the last Anglo-Danish king, the word *Anglorum*, or an abbreviation of it, rarely occurs. The omission of the name of the country was continued, to some degree, under Edward the Confessor, although he reigned only over England, but this was probably due to difficulty in making the custom of years give way to the necessity for the revival of the older practice.

On type 1 of Cnut the punching in of the territorial title on the dies of the coins was, as in the reign of Æthelred II, universal, thus proving that it was the initial issue. But the change is evident, in varying degrees, on all the other types. On type 2 only about 20 per cent. of the coins that have been preserved omit the name of the country, whilst on type 3 the omission rises to about 85 per cent., with roughly 50 per cent. on each of types 4 and 5. The fall in percentage in the two latter types rather militates against this form of deducing the sequence of the types, but, as already mentioned, the designs of type 5 show that it is the last of the issues and, in any case, it is so rare that, by its very nature, the test of the territorial title becomes inoperative in its case. Clearly, however, this test indicates that type 2 is in proper sequence, whilst doubt exists, on this test, as to the relative positions of types 3 and 4. Type 4 is, however, also a very uncommon issue, and a larger number of readings than those which are available to the writer might disclose even a higher percentage of coins without the territorial title than that quoted above.

By tracing the changes in the forms of the connecting-link between the moneyers' names and mint-names, valuable evidence for the sequence of the issues is obtainable. Until the reign of Æthelred II this connecting-link took the form of MONETA or abbreviations. Thus we have on most of the early coins of that king readings such as LODPINE M^o LVND = "Godwine, the moneyer at London." Later, this form was sometimes broadened out into readings such as LODPINE MO ON LVND, thus introducing the word ON = "of," "at," or "in," after the usual abbreviation of *monetarius*. On many of the coins of the late types of Æthelred the word M^o was dropped entirely leaving only the word ON between the mint-name and the moneyer's name. This transition from M^o to ON was completed in the reign of Cnut. The coins of Winchester in the south bear the new wording ON almost without exception on all the types; but on the coins of York in the north, the old wording M^o is practically universal on types 1 and 2. The new form commences there only on type 3, thus clearly showing that types 1 and 2 come before type 3. Incidentally, the coins of these two mints seem clearly to show, in the light of the above facts, that the dies for the southern mints were not prepared in the same place as those for the mints in the north.¹

The London mint and others adopted the change more gradually, but the old wording M^o and the intermediate one M^o ON are more numerous on type 1 than on type 2, thus indicating that the assumed sequence is correct. On type 3 there is just a trace of the old wording, showing that the position of that type is immediately after type 2, whilst on types 4 and 5 the new wording ON becomes universal as on the coins of the subsequent reigns, thus indicating that those two types were issued at the end of the reign of Cnut.

Assistance in arranging the sequence of the types of Cnut is afforded also by consideration of the form of the letters used in the inscriptions. Well-marked changes commence in the reign of Cnut. in the case of S and E.

¹ In my paper on "The Coin Types of Æthelred II," in *The Numismatic Chronicle* of 1910, I suggested that England was divided into die-sinking areas (p. 266).

As regards S, on type 1, the straight form, thus, Σ , was universally used, as on the preceding types, those of Æthelred II. Type 2 discloses transition from the straight Σ to the rounded s, whilst on types 3, 4 and 5 the rounded form entirely displaces the straight Σ . This weighty and additional evidence proves that the typical order adopted is the correct one.

The use of a rounded ϵ instead of the square E commences in type 4, but it never found favour, and only intermittently appears on this type and in a few subsequent issues. The change, temporary as it was, suffices to show, however, that type 4 comes after type 3; thus, in conjunction with the evidence of the change in the form of the S, proving the sequence of the types in the order given herein.

The entire absence of the rounded forms of ϵ and s from type 1 and of the rounded form of ϵ from types 2 and 3 show also that these types were not used concurrently throughout the reign, as was suggested by Hildebrand. There seems no question that these issues of Cnut simply follow the usual practice of types being displaced when new issues were authorized.

Hildebrand was probably misled by the diversity of treatment of the design and by variation in the weights of the coins of type 1, his type E, as he was in the case of coins of his type A, my type 5 (and last) of Æthelred II.¹ The explanation of this diversity of treatment in the designs lies, I think, in the disorganized condition of the country which reached its climax at the latter end of the reign of Æthelred II, commencing with that king's retirement to Normandy in January, 1014, and culminating in his death on April the 23rd, 1016. A change to more settled conditions did not occur until well on into the reign of Cnut. Concurrently with the difficult political situation of this period arose the necessity for a far larger output of money for purposes of tribute in the reign of Æthelred II, and subsequently, in the reign of Cnut, for paying that king's continental followers a sufficiently large bribe to retire to Denmark. The levy of 82,500 pounds of silver in A.D. 1018 was mainly for that

¹ "The Coin Types of Æthelred II," *Numismatic Chronicle*, 1910.

purpose. To facilitate this great coining activity through the reign of Æthelred II, and partly through that of Cnut, recourse must, it is suggested, have been had to the opening of die-sinking centres in places other than Winchester and London and, with the employment of local as well as metropolitan artists, a certain amount of variation in the artistic treatment of the types became inevitable.

We now come to the question of the chronology of the coin types of Cnut. If one has due regard to domestic events and foreign affairs during this reign, some reasonable deductions regarding the approximate dates of issue of the coins might, I think, be made.

The death of Æthelred II occurred on April 23rd, 1016. Edmund the son of Æthelred, "was chosen king by all the witan, who were in London, and by the citizens, and he strenuously defended his kingdom the while that his life lasted." Edmund and Cnut were reconciled, and Edmund obtained Wessex, and Cnut Mercia. On St. Andrew's Mass-day, November 30th following, King Edmund died.

Although Cnut conquered England mainly by the sword, he received the throne by election, and it was therefore his policy to interfere as little as possible with established institutions. Apart from this, for the first year or so, the difficulties of his position were very great. Having regard to these circumstances, it is not unreasonable to conclude that little attention could be spared for consideration of a new design for the coinage, but the matter would be naturally forced on the attention of the King's advisers by the necessity to provide large quantities of coined money to pay off the Viking host which had helped Cnut in his conquest of the country. That the levy of 82,500 pounds of silver was intended largely for this purpose is to be assumed from the nature of the relative entry under the year 1018 in the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, supported by an inscription on an interesting runic monument found in Uppland, to the north of Stockholm, in Sweden, which records that "Ulf has in England thrice taken geld, the first time Tosti paid him, then Thurkil, and then Cnut paid." Ulf was evidently one of the Vikings in the service of Thurkil the Tall, and afterwards passed, with his chief, into the service of Cnut.

The new dies necessary for a great coinage such as the levy of 1018 necessitated would naturally be impressed with designs of an entirely new character, and I think the inference is strong that type 1 (text-figure 1) first made its appearance in that year. That it was delayed until then is also indicated by the plethora of "muled" coins referred to on pp. 35-38, and by the existence of the Æthelred Long-Cross and Small-Cross issues, on which appear the name of Cnut, dealt with on pp. 28-34. So numerous and varied are these "muled" and emergency coins that some considerable lapse of time must have occurred to account for their issue, and they are, no doubt, the result of the uncertainty existing in the die-sinking centres as to the designs which should be used for the dies called for to replace those worn out, or broken, or requiring to be replaced, through changes in the personnel of the moneyers between the date of the death of Æthelred II and that of the approval of entirely new designs by Cnut.

The date of issue of the second type of coins of Cnut, figure 7, is, I think, ascertainable from a consideration of the weights of the contemporary coins of Northern Europe, over a considerable portion of which Cnut held sway. No coins of Harold Sweynson, Cnut's brother and predecessor on the Danish throne, are known; but the first coins of Cnut struck for his Danish possessions were of the English weight of about 22 grains to the penny. The Cnut coins of Denmark of this weight must have been struck in or after A.D. 1018 when Cnut succeeded his brother Harold, and the subsequent issue of Cnut's more numerous East Danish lighter coins of approximately 16 grains roughly synchronized, I suggest, with the reduction in the weight of the coins of Sweden, of which Eastern Denmark was geographically a part. It formed, indeed, the southernmost section of modern Sweden. The border line between the two countries was anciently, no doubt, but ill-defined, and was probably changing constantly, so that a common coin standard would be convenient, or even necessary. The reduction in the Swedish coin weight occurred before A.D. 1022, when Anund Jacob succeeded his father Olaf Skötkonung, for Anund's coins weigh only 16 grains.

The sources of our historical information show that Cnut was in Denmark in 1019 and 1020, and on his return to England in the latter year he issued his famous Proclamation to his Anglian subjects, and announced his new governmental policy. At the same time, I suggest, he took the opportunity of considering the question of reducing the weight of the English pennies to the East Danish standard of 16 grains. This is the weight of the second type of his English coins, and it continued as the standard in England, although the coins did not always attain to it, until the fifth type of Edward the Confessor (Major Carlyon-Britton's arrangement).¹ Such a change would involve the introduction of new designs for the coins so as to differentiate them from the heavy money; and it would mark also a fresh period of tender.

This new type, I therefore suggest, was introduced on the coins in about A.D. 1021, for it would take some time to evolve and approve fresh designs, to make the numerous dies required, and to distribute them to the many towns having the right to strike coins.

A noticeable feature of the new money is the introduction of a sceptre before the King's bust, a detail which is universal on the next two issues. This important addition to the obverse design supports the above suggestion that the issue arose out of Cnut's declaration of governmental policy in A.D. 1020. The sceptre occurs also on a few very rare coins of Cnut's first real issue, type 1, variety e (text-figure 6), and there seems little doubt that when the change of design was in contemplation in A.D. 1020, as suggested above, some dies of the first issue, which were returned at the time to the die-sinking office for renewal, were replaced with others on which the sceptre was prematurely added. These sceptred coins of the first type are therefore of the declining months of the issue.

A further feature to be noticed in this second issue of Cnut's coins is the substitution of the Norman-French conical helmet for the crown depicted on the coins of the first type. That a change of head-dress had been under consideration is, however, evident

¹ "Edward the Confessor and his Coins," *Numismatic Chronicle*, 1905.

from the existence of a few coins of the first issue on which appears the English round helmet, type 1, variety d (text-figure 5), instead of the crown of the standard design. I think that it is reasonable to conclude that this variety of the first issue also arose out of the suggestions for the new coinage, although ultimately the conical helmet was adopted for the latter. If this is the case, the coins of the first issue, with round helmet in lieu of the crown, are also of the declining months of the issue.

Evidence as to the time of introduction of Cnut's third issue, (text-figure 11) is to be obtained from his coins presumably struck for circulation in Sweden.¹ The acquisition of part of Sweden by Cnut may have been effected in the summer of 1027, and the resultant coinage was an imitation of his third English type in conjunction with some "muled" coins combining the second and third English types. It is evident, therefore, that at the time of the Swedish defeat the second type had just gone out of circulation in England and the third had just made its appearance. Allowing for the distance Sweden was from England, the issue of Cnut's third type for the latter country could not have been later than A.D. 1026, and it may have been in A.D. 1025.

The time of issue of Cnut's fourth type (text-figure 17), is given in my explanation of the rare PACX pieces of that reign, published in volume xvii of this *Journal*.² Briefly recounted, these PACX pieces are therein suggested to be assays or trials of the time when type 4 was about to be introduced. They were probably inspired by the great peace celebrated at the Congress of Nidaros in A.D. 1028 or 1029 after the conquest of Norway in the former year. Allowing for the time taken for the details of the congress at Nidaros to reach England, and for the idea of marking the event on a proposed new coinage to materialize, the year 1030 is a probable date for the introduction of type 4, which was the adopted design for the coinage of which the PACX pieces were patterns.

¹ *British Numismatic Journal*, vol. xi, pp. 7-17.

² "Assays and Imitations, Foreign and Native, of the Late Saxon Period, A.D. 975-1066," pp. 88-93.

The fifth and last of Cnut's types (text-figure 19), is one of the scarcest issues in the whole of the Anglo-Danish series. It was imitated, almost exactly, by Cnut's sons, Harold and Harthacnut, who, until A.D. 1037, reigned concurrently in England. It had, therefore, probably not been long in circulation at the time of Cnut's sudden death on November 12th, 1035, when on one of his official tours of the country.

In my articles on the coins of Harthacnut¹ and Harold I,² I have shown that the rarity of the coins of this type was due to its issue very late in the reign of Cnut, allowing little time for hoarding, and causing the retention of the design, as a freshly issued one, by Harold and Harthacnut. I do not think we should be far out in estimating the date of issue of this type to be A.D. 1034, or even in Cnut's last year, 1035.

Although certain varieties and mints of Cnut's coinages are of considerable rarity, the coins generally have survived to our times in great numbers, disclosing numerous varieties in the legends, both of the obverse and the reverse. Most of these coins are in the cabinets of important cities in Scandinavia. The Royal Collection of Coins and Medals in Stockholm has already issued a catalogue of such coins last reprinted in 1881.³ Since then, no doubt, many other varieties have been discovered in that country. A catalogue of Anglo-Saxon coins, including those of Cnut, has now been issued in Copenhagen,⁴ where numerous examples are to be found in the Royal Cabinet. Our own British Museum published over 600 different readings of Cnut's coins in 1893,⁵ and further variants are to be found there. To these sources the reader is referred for the different readings known of the coins.

In addition to the major varieties of the money of Cnut

¹ *British Numismatic Journal*, vol. xi, pp. 40-1.

- *British Numismatic Journal*, vol. xv, p. 18.

³ *Anglo-Saxon Coins in the Swedish Royal Collection*, by Bror Emil Hildebrand.

⁴ *L. E. Brunns Mønt og Medaille Samling og L. E. Brunns Gave til den Kongelige Mønt og Medaille Samling*.

⁵ *Catalogue of English Coins, Anglo-Saxon Series* vol. ii.

described under the main types, there are also, as mentioned previously in connection with the sequence of the types, numerous departures from standard due to the presence on the coins of various symbols such as pellets, annulets, crosses and other objects. A complete list of these during the reign of Cnut, amongst others, is given in my article on "Symbols and Double Names on Late Saxon Coins," in vol. xiii of this *Journal*.

In conclusion, I have pleasure in acknowledging my indebtedness to the Directors of the Coin Department in the British Museum, the Stockholm Royal Cabinet, and the Copenhagen Royal Collection, as well as to Mr. R. Cyril Lockett, F.S.A., for casts of coins. With their aid, complete illustration (in the text) of the true types and their varieties has happily been attained.

NOTES ON THE MINTS.

(1) The penny ascribed in the British Museum Catalogue to Hythe belongs to Lydford. That given to Welmesford, now Wansford, is of Wallingford (see *British Numismatic Journal*, vol. vi, 1909, p. 40). The coins shown under Axminster in Hildebrand more probably belong to Exeter (see *British Numismatic Journal* vol. vi, 1909, p. 18). The coins shown under OLTHUS, and under DNEENITL, in Hildebrand, are probably contemporary forgeries with the reverse legends purposely obscured (see *British Numismatic Journal*, vol. xvii, 1923-4, pp. 68-84). The pennies appearing in Hildebrand under Retford are of Hertford (see *British Numismatic Journal*, vol. vi, 1909, p. 35). The series of coins given by Hildebrand under Ricyebyrig are continental Danish (see pp. 26 and 27 *ante*).

(2) Erroneously attributed in Hildebrand to Bardney.

(3) The readings in Hildebrand under this mint are of Leicester, and those under Leicester are of Chester.

(4) This mint has been variously attributed to Jedbergh in Scotland, to Idbury in Oxfordshire (see *Numismatic Chronicle*, third series, vol. xv, 1895, p. 45), and to Ythanburgh, or Ythanceaster in Essex (see *British Numismatic Journal*, vol. iv, 1907, p. 33).

(5) For the attribution to this mint, see *British Numismatic Journal*, vol. vi, 1909, p. 27. It is attributed by Hildebrand, and in the British Museum Catalogue, to Lancaster.

(6) This mint appears in Hildebrand under Liming or Lyne.

(7) Given in the British Museum Catalogue and Hildebrand under "Hamwic." For the division between the two towns of Northampton and Southampton, see *British Numismatic Journal*, vol. xvii, 1923-4, p. 1.

(8) Attributed by Hildebrand to Sidnaceaster.

(9) The coins of this mint were, by Hildebrand, given to Bridgnorth; but, as early as in 1910 I had come to the conclusion that there was greater probability that they belonged to Bridport in Dorset (*see* Table of Mints accompanying my paper on the coins of Æthelred II in the *Numismatic Chronicle*, fourth series, vol. x, 1910, pp. 274 and 276). The present is the first convenient opportunity I have had for dealing with the question, but this has been forestalled by Mr. L. Woosman in his notes on "Two Place-Names on the Anglo-Saxon Coins," in the *Numismatic Chronicle*, fifth series, vol. i, 1921, pp. 92-6, where the coins, which form the subject of this note, are attributed to Bridport or Bredy; and by Mr. Henry Symonds in his note "Bridport as an Anglo-Saxon Mint," in the *Numismatic Chronicle*, fifth series, vol. ii, 1922, pp. 144-5, where the important evidence of the moneyers' names is added to the evidence adduced by Mr. Woosman, and where it is more clearly shown that the mint intended is Bridport, not Bredy. It should, however, be mentioned that Mr. Symonds, in a footnote to his article, refers to my own doubt as to the correctness of the former attribution to Bridgnorth.

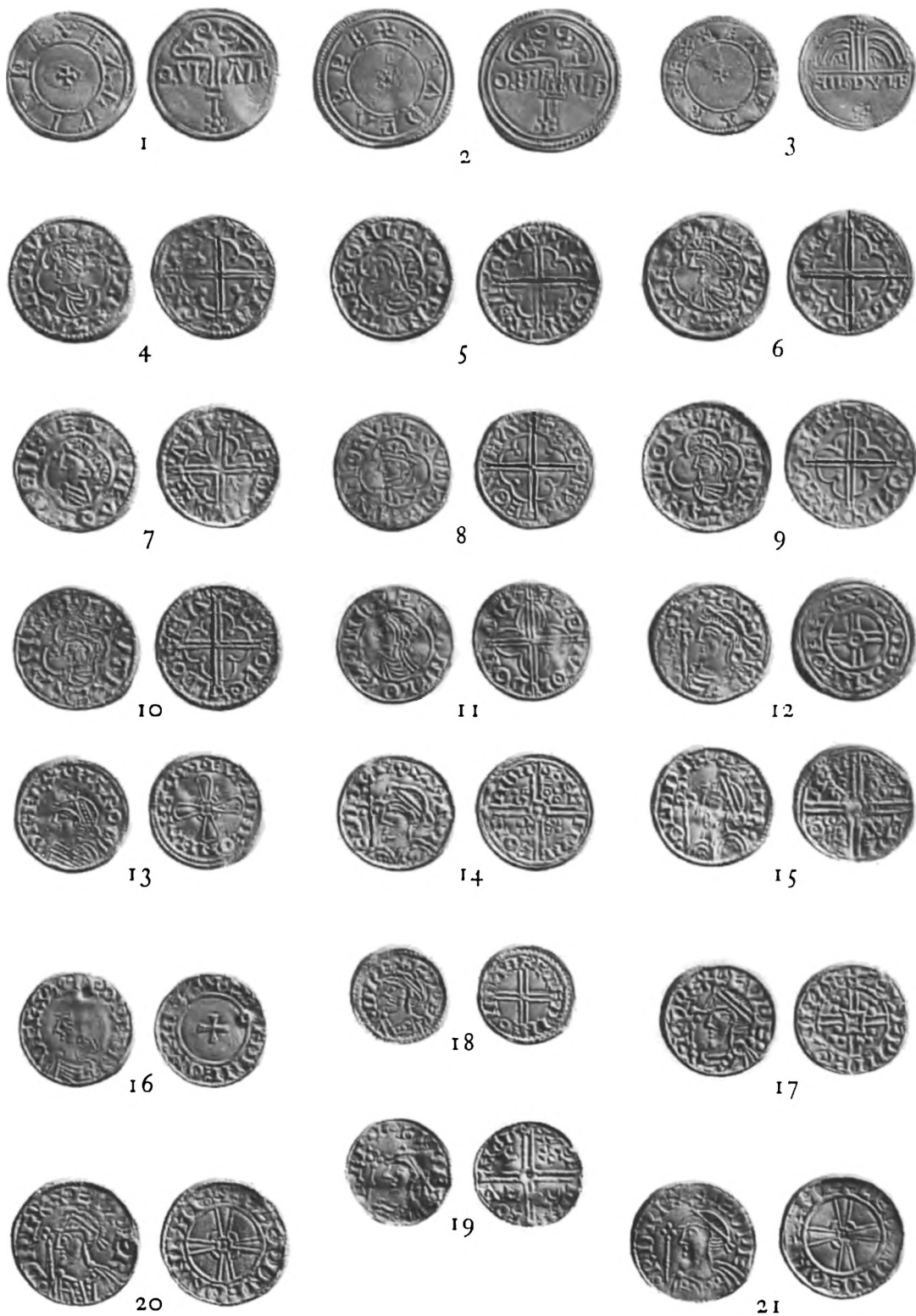
(10) Attributed by Hildebrand to Mylton, but shown to be of Milborne Port in the *British Numismatic Journal*, vol. vi, 1909, p. 31.

(11) Given tentatively by Hildebrand to Warmington. For the attribution to Warminster, see *British Numismatic Journal*, vol. vi, 1909, pp. 41-3.

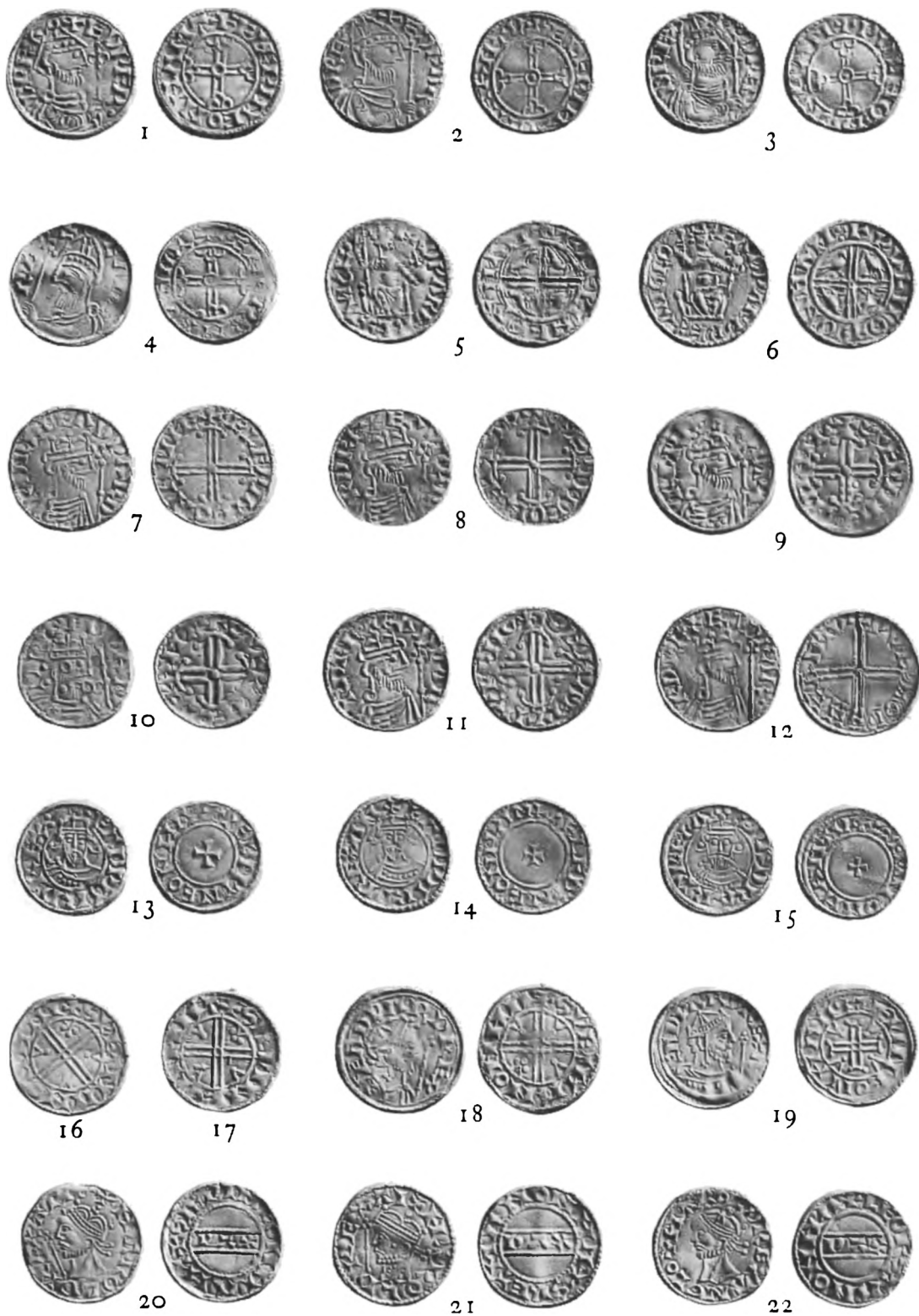
(12) Unattributed by Hildebrand, in whose catalogue the mint-name appears as TOMP = TOMW; but shown by Major Carlyon-Britton, in the *British Numismatic Journal*, vol. vi, 1909, p. 39, to be of Tamworth.

(13) Given in Hildebrand as ACXEPO and unattributed. For the allocation to Axport, see *British Numismatic Journal*, vol. vi, 1909, pp. 17 and 18.

(14) Formerly attributed to the reign of Harthacnut (*see* "The Anglo-Saxon Coins of Harthacnut," in the *British Numismatic Journal*, vol. xi, 1914, pp. 25 and 26, where it is shown to be of Cnut).



COINS OF NORTHAMPTON MINT



COINS OF NORTHAMPTON MINT