

MONEYERS OF THE LATE

ANGLO-SAXON COINAGE

1016-1042

by

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Abstract

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A previous study of the moneyers' names on the late Anglo-Saxon coinage by the same writer concluded with the death of *Æthelred II*. This study continues the survey to the accession of Edward the Confessor. The Introduction summarises the sources for the coins of this period, current research on their dating and die-cutting, and the function of double names which appear on the coins.

A section on Phonology discusses in detail the spellings used in the coin-legends, showing how the numerous forms are not due to carelessness or illiteracy on the part of the die-cutters, but reflect sound-changes and spelling conventions which are also found in documentary sources. Several sound-changes which have hitherto been attributed to Anglo-Norman influence appear on the coins, reinforcing the evidence for their having in fact taken place in native Old English.

The individual names are then examined in an Alphabetical Name List for their derivation, and in the final section this information is used towards assessing the composition of the population in the towns where mints were situated, region by region, with regard to the density of Scandinavian settlement and the presence of other non-English groups.

The Scandinavian ruling dynasty had little effect on the manning of the mints, the proportions of Scandinavian to English names being very similar to those under *Æthelred*. There are small changes in the southern Danelaw, which it is suggested may be a legacy of *Æthelred's* anti-Anglo-Scandinavian policy in the early years of the eleventh century. The coin-evidence reflects the general geographical patterns of settlement to be inferred from place-name

and other material, rather than suggesting that the mint-towns, because of their commercial status, had attracted a more cosmopolitan population.

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Other abbreviations

CG Continental Germanic

OE Old English

OEN Old East Norse

OG Old German

OIr Old Irish

ON Old Norse

OWN Old West Norse

[] lacuna in legend: coin broken or illegible; also used to
demarcate references to 'Moneyers c.973-1016.'

<-- moneyer continuing from Æthelred's reign

--> moneyer continuing into Edward the Confessor's reign

INTRODUCTION

Scope and Method

The object of this study is to continue the assessment of late Anglo-Saxon moneyers' names which I began some years ago with the period c.973-1016¹. The last few years of Edgar's reign saw the introduction of a new phase in the English coinage in which moneyers' and mint names were always to appear in association on their products²; this feature, combined with the very large surviving body of material from the Danegeld and Heregeld periods makes the coinage an important source of evidence for onomastic and urban history in the last century and a half of the Anglo-Saxon state. The final years of pre-Conquest England are being dealt with by Mrs Frances Colman in a study of the coinage of Edward the Confessor. This study deals with the intervening period when for a quarter of a century a Danish dynasty possessed the throne of England.

The arrangement of this present study differs in some ways from that used in 'Moneyers c.973-1016'³ in that the regional analyses of the names, presented under mints grouped together geographically, is separated from the philological discussion of the individual names themselves. It was found in the earlier study that much of the commoner OE material recurred very repetitively, and it was not possible to compare at a glance the rendering of the same name at different mints, nor to take in the grouping and distribution of the mints at which a certain name occurred. Here, the names have in one section been presented alphabetically in a single sequence as has been proved useful in many onomastic works of this kind³. Since, however, the previous work was welcomed mainly for the light which it shed on the ethnic mixture of names, especially of the Scandinavian names and their varying density in the different areas of Scandinavian influence, in the final section the moneyers are set out in their mints in

area groupings, as in the former study, but with each moneyer represented there by only a single form of his name.

The basis of this work has also been changed, from B.E. Hildebrand's Anglosachsiska Mynt, which until recently has been the largest accessible corpus of Anglo-Saxon coins of the relevant period⁴, to the personal-names section of the Index I was asked to compile for the British Academy Sylloge of Coins of the British Isles⁵. This series has as its aim the publication of all coins produced in the British Isles in public and private collections. The remit "British Isles" applies only to the place of production, not of discovery or preservation; the largest number of volumes so far compiled for one institution is seven, covering the National Museum collection of Denmark. The Finnish national collection has appeared as Volume 25; part of Volume 11 is devoted to post-Conquest English coins in Stockholm. Not only large collections are represented, but by grouping together smaller museums interesting minor collections have now also received publication. Most of the larger institutions involved, who have collections which will run into several volumes, have chosen to begin with their earliest coins relevant to the series, and so Anglo-Saxon pennies are particularly well represented in the first twenty volumes already indexed.

Thus the publication of coins in SCBI in point of view of numbers has now outstripped BEH, particularly in the period under review here. The use of examples from SCBI has the additional advantage that all the coins there are illustrated, and so not only can information given in the text be verified, but more detailed information elicited than is available from a text alone, such as stylistic data and minutiae of epigraphy not to be reproduced without special printing. Not least among its advantages

to myself, it must be admitted, was the fact that I had so recently worked over the material during my compilation of the Index, and had it in a form very convenient for this project.

In spite of the advantages of the Sylloge as a basis, it was still very much a basis into which further material had to be fed. There are still many dies in the Stockholm collection catalogued in BEH which are not represented in any SCBI collection, the series so far has not covered any of the great British Museum Anglo-Saxon collection, and the Swedish hoards, the largest source of all for the late Anglo-Saxon coinage, are still at the very beginning of their independent publication. Thus to the SCBI corpus have been added moneyers' names from the Swedish Systematic Collection (substantially BEH but taking into account the more recent work of correction to it ⁶), from the British Museum Collection (now containing several times over the number of coins published in BMC) and also from the Swedish finds over and above those extracted and arranged systematically by Hildebrand.

Once these very large collections have been collated the law of diminishing returns is bound to take over, but some studies of individual mints have produced additional material, since their authors have usually worked over many years to trace every known coin of the mint of their interest. Private collections are less accessible and information as to their contents often surfaces only when they come under the auctioneer's hammer. Thus auction catalogues are an additional source.

The methods of assembly of the various collections differ. The Swedish national collection, both Systematic Collection and hoards, consists almost without exception of coins found in the soil of Sweden. The Danish treasure-trove laws, regularly applied in favour of the Royal Collection since 1801, have resulted in all coins from Danish hoards being preserved in the National Museum in Copenhagen, but this collection has been augmented by

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purchase and donation. Since hoards from the period c.990 to the middle of the reign of Edward the Confessor are so much more plentiful in Scandinavia than in Britain, much of the British Museum collection has been built up from sales and private collections and often the original provenance has been totally lost in the process. Provincial British collections, having no immediate rights in Treasure Trove, have tended to purchase coins of local interest, or have been the beneficiaries of local antiquaries of similar interests. It may be that these uneven methods of assembly may have resulted in a slight distortion of what is strictly speaking representative, in favour of those mints which have been the object of particular collectors or compilers. The fact that there are moneyers whom we know from only one coin must make us aware that any roll of moneyers we can compile from their surviving coins must be incomplete. Even so, the high degree of duplication between the largest collections BM, BEH and Copenhagen, and the very small numbers of coins outside those which are not represented there encourages one to believe that the corpus presented here is complete enough to be useful.

The Swedish finds that contain coins of Cnut and his sons are far too numerous for individual discussion here. The great majority come from the island of Gotland and their contents have been described in Stenberger's Die Schatzfunde Gotlands,⁷ though the present work in hand on their publication includes a reinvestigation of archive material for their contents and circumstances of recovery. The coins in the Systematic Collection published in BEH are mostly without recorded provenance. The Danish finds have been conveniently summarised by reign in the introduction to the first volume of the Copenhagen Sylloge⁸. The register of Finnish hoards in the Helsinki Sylloge volume⁹ does not separate finds

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by reign but these are not so numerous as to make identification a problem.

The major British finds from the period under discussion here are the 1774 Caldale find from Orkney, the 1815 Halton Moor, Yorkshire, find, the Thwaite, Suffolk find of 1832 and the Wedmore find of 1853 from Somerset.

Halton Moor contained 839 English coins all of Cnut's first type, Quatrefoil, of which eighty are now in the British Museum. The Orkney find was probably also a single-type find; 114 coins are now preserved in the British Museum and six in the National Museum of Antiquities of Scotland in Edinburgh, all of the last type of Cnut's reign, but originally about 300 coins of Cnut were known to have been in this find.¹¹ About 300 coins were also found at Wedmore of which 148 are now in the British Museum and a few in the Taunton museum. This find contained one Æthelred penny but its main substance was Cnut's three issues, at least twenty-five coins of Harold and twenty of Harthacnut, ending with five coins of Edward the Confessor's first type.¹²

Thwaite was mainly an Edward the Confessor find of about 600 coins but the British Museum register shows thirteen Harold and one Harthacnut coins deriving from that find.¹³ Another mainly Edward find which began with Æthelred and contained a handful of Cnut and Harold pennies was the huge (about 7000) c. 1872 Walbrook find from London. Most of the Walbrook coins are in the British Museum but some went to the Guildhall and a few are in the Ashmolean Museum.¹⁴

An unknown eighteenth-century find accounting for a sudden increase in Cnut's Quatrefoil type in British cabinets between 1775 and 1794 is reconstructed by Dolley and Metcalf¹⁴ and identified with "half a peck of Saxon coins" found at Kingsholm in

Gloucestershire in or about 1785.

A number of hoards containing English pennies of the period 1017-1042 are on record but the disposition of the coins is now unknown. A quantity of these coins may have been lost completely by being melted down for their silver but a good many may have found their way into collectors' cabinets and form part of the stock of unprovenanced coins of Cnut and his sons in public and private collections today.

Not even the site is known of a find advertised for sale by the London dealers Spink in 1924 which contained five coins of Æthelred, five Cnut, 48 of Edward and two of William I. All the Cnut coins were described as from the Hereford mint and this may be suggestive of the area where the hoard was concealed ¹⁵.

At Barrowby in Lincolnshire in 1871 twelve coins of Cnut, all of Stamford but of unspecified types, were found along with two of Æthelred. At Milton Street in Sussex in 1843 not less than 14 Cnut pennies, two of Harold, one of Harthacnut and 35 of Edward were discovered, but went into private ownership and have disappeared without trace. A larger find from Stafford in 1800 containing two to three hundred pennies of Æthelred, Cnut and Harthacnut is described by Lindsay but is likewise not to be traced ¹⁶.

A few coins of Cnut and his sons occurred in the Irish finds from Dunbrody and Ballycastle ¹⁷. From Scotland, the 1827 Jedburgh find is believed to have contained at least one coin of Cnut but accounts of this find are confused since it is reported to have contained coins of Æthelstan and Ecgberht along with the eleventh-century pennies ¹⁸. Another Scottish find, from the south side of the Firth of Tay at Lindores in 1814 has been shown, thanks to a naive but vivid description by a contemporary observer, ¹⁹ to have contained coins of Cnut's Pointed Helmet type, but the

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Reverend Andrew Small's regret at being unable to read the reverse legends is more than shared by the modern numismatist. A further little group of three Short Cross pennies of Cnut has been shown to me which it seems probable may have come from another Fife find²⁰ .

In North Wales about eighteen coins of Cnut were unearthed at Penarth Fawr in Carnarvonshire about 1860 but these were sold with the owner's house Madryn Castle about the time of the first World War. This is the same find as is sometimes described as the Drwsdangoed hoard.²¹ Nearby, at Bryn Maelgwyn near Llandudno, the most recent find of coins of Cnut has been made. In July 1979 a few silver coins were discovered by means of a metal detector. Subsequent digging resulted in a find of 238 Quatrefoil pennies, one of the subsequent Pointed Helmet type, and an Irish penny imitating Quatrefoil. A very large percentage of these coins are of the Chester mint and preliminary study suggests a high degree of dielinking between them. No further information concerning new moneyers has come to light as a result of this find which, though disappointing in one way, is nevertheless encouraging to our confidence in the completeness of our knowledge of the moneyers of at least the major mints.

Dating

The dates of issue of the coins, and thence of the forms of the moneyers' names which appear on them, are best to be stated by the position of the type within the reign. The relative chronology of the types has almost certainly now been correctly established, but no existing classification represents it satisfactorily. BMC confuses substantive types with minor varieties. Hildebrand, who had the resources of the Scandinavian hoards at his disposal, produced an almost perfect classification for the Æthelred sequence but his register for Cnut's types (expressed as Types A-K) is inflated by Cnut's Danish issues and those so-called "posthumous" types in which the name Cnut represents his son Harthacnut²², and obscures the fact, self-evident when one deals with any large group of Cnut pennies, that Cnut's coinage in England consisted of three substantive types, misleadingly designated BEH Types E, G and H.

More recently Dr Ian Stewart has attempted to come to grips with the lack of a classification adequately expressing what we now know of the sequence of late Anglo-Saxon coin-types²³. This numeration is based not on reigns but is continuous from Edgar's reform to the Conquest. Thus Cnut's first type appears as type 7 and so on. Dr Stewart has very fairly recorded, in his article proposing this numeration, my objection that historians and philologists would prefer to have the reign and its associations to hand. To overcome this drawback he has suggested one might prefix his type-number with a suitable abbreviation of the king's name; thus Harthacnut's second type might appear as 'HCn 12'. However the immediate impression of this might be that Harthacnut issued in his short reign at least twelve coin-types.

The classification I have used here, then, is not yet another numismatic system offered for universal application, but is simply a convenient form of reference for the work in hand. It has the merit of being short where a good deal of repetition is

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necessary, unlike the "name" classification (Pointed Helmet, Arm-and-Sceptre etc) but like that, avoids the dogmatism of absolute dating which is probably not justified. It does, however, place the name-form within the context of reign and in relationship to the other type-numbered forms. Reference to the key ²⁴ will show what dates have been proposed for each type. The abbreviations of the kings' names are those suggested by Professor Dorothy Whitelock and agreed by the SCBI Committee for use in its Index.

The numismatic chronology of Cnut's reign cannot be considered in isolation. Once the ground was cleared of the Danish types BEH A-D, the mule BEH F and the posthumous types BEH I-X, the resulting pattern of three types in an eighteen-year reign appears to correspond with Æthelred's six types, plus a brief run-over of his predecessors' type, in just over thirty-six years. Thus six-year currency-periods over the whole Æthelred-Cnut era were proposed by Dolley and Metcalf ²⁵ and a chronology devised on this basis would appear to fit in with the transfer of the Wilton mint to Cadbury after the sack of Wilton in 1003 ²⁶ .

The most doubtful area in this scheme is the status of the two Hand issues of Æthelred, or the two varieties of the Hand issue, as the opposing school would express it, for this affects the number of types Æthelred actually issued. If this means fewer types and therefore longer currency-periods, it must obviously affect Cnut's chronology also. Hildebrand recognised a problem, labelling the Hand types B1 and B2 - not with separate letters as full substantive types, but not with the lower-case letters he used to denote minor varieties. Dolley has argued consistently for First and Second Hand to be regarded as two full substantive types and for the retention of the six-year cycle. Petersson has objected to full status on two counts; firstly,

that the visible difference between First and Second Hand was not sufficient for fiscal differentiation of what was legal tender, and secondly, that the lack of any Second Hand coins from the major mints of York and Lincoln is inconsistent with its being a full currency-type since such mints would have been unlikely to have remained idle for six years. The consequence of Petersson's displacement of Dolley's dates would be that instead of dividing Cnut's reign neatly into three six-year issues, the first two types would have been current for seven years each and the last cut short by Cnut's death .

An even more fundamental objection has been to doubt the premise of any intentional regular fixed period at all. Even Lyon, who concedes many of the chronological coincidences cited by Dolley in favour of his six-year cycle, is still of the opinion that "to hold that there was a rigid sexennial cycle" may be to "obscure the economic purpose behind the series of type-changes which began with Edgar's recoinage".

The chronology of Æthelred's coinage has engendered a great deal of discussion which touches Cnut only by implication. Certainly there is a lack of the kind of internal evidence adduced for Æthelred, since the ~~circumstances~~^{being} of boroughs sacked and mints evacuated came to an end with a Danish succession to the whole English kingdom. In Cnut's reign, the emphasis for dating shifts to the relationship of Cnut's English coinage with that of his Scandinavian dominions.

The correct attribution of Cnut's Danish types was of course crucial to the number of types issued in England. This is far from simple since the English title REX ANGLORVM appears frequently on Cnut's Danish coins also. In designating what we now recognise as the first of the three major types of the reign, Cnut Type E, Hildebrand implies it was not the first to be issued. However, he already had doubts about his Type D, recognising it was really

a Danish type ²⁹ but assigning some minting to England on the grounds of an English royal title on some examples. It was left to Hauberg to claim Type C as Danish also ³⁰. BEH Types A and B would then remain as the first English issues minted by Cnut, that is, the coins with the types of Æthelred's Long Cross and Small Cross issues, but with the name of Cnut as king.

At first sight this is an attractive arrangement. The circumstances of Cnut's accession, with months of uncertainty following Æthelred's death, and the proposed partition of the kingdom, might well have led to irregularity and experiment. To continue the type of the dead ruler had frequent precedent, and the very paucity of numbers of types A and B might indicate that they were intended as transitional issues, to be replaced as soon as practicable by a new type peculiar to the new monarch. Nor is it unusual that mules should exist between type A obverses and Quatrefoil reverses since a few coins with the immediately previous obverse type accompany most late Anglo-Saxon issues. The existence of mules the other way round is more dubious.

If BEH Type A, the Small Cross issue, fits plausibly into English mint-practice, Type B, a Long Cross imitation, is highly irregular, since it was last struck in England at least ten years before Cnut's accession, though it was popular, and much imitated, in Scandinavia because of the heavy weight-standard of the prototype. ³¹ Nordman, who was very shrewd in his deductions from the evidence of Scandinavian finds, accepted types A and B as English. However, in the late 1950s, when work was progressing on the Swedish Viking-Age finds, it began to seem likely that many coins hitherto given to the English series were in fact Scandinavian copies, not only those replicas of English types which contained Scandinavian elements, rulers' names, titles and mint-signatures, but those ³² which copied English legends as well as designs. The attribution

of the imitative series has not been without controversy, some Scandinavian scholars insisting on an English origin, though outside the official organisation³³. What is certain, however, is that they cannot belong to that regular and efficient organisation. The imitative series is characterised by "impossible" die-linking between far distant mints, indiscriminate muling between types, long die-linking chains which include coins with blundered pseudo-epigraphic legends and barbarised portraits, and weights inconsistent with the weight-standard for the type. All these factors were found to occur in Types A and B and in their 1961 paper Lyon et al. demonstrated how these types were to be regarded as part of Cnut's Scandinavian coinage. Furthermore, although coins of these types appear with some frequency in Scandinavian hoards, none are known with an English provenance, though Mark Blackburn has argued in a study of the Ethelred Long Cross imitations, as yet unpublished, that this argumentum e silentio has its limitations.

If all the coins of types A and B were struck in Scandinavia, or, as Lyon et al. concede, if some of them were struck in the Danelaw before Cnut succeeded to Wessex, at what point was Cnut's first substantive type Quatrefoil first minted? Cnut can hardly have struck a royal coinage in Denmark before the death of his brother Harold in 1018. Yet there are coins naming him REX DENORVM of the Small Cross, Type A design. Either he struck coins in Denmark of a type obsolete in England, or we must conclude that in 1018 Quatrefoil had not yet been introduced and the Small Cross coinage, mainly in Ethelred's name, was still circulating there. There may have been reasons for a return to the superceded but well-known Small Cross type in Denmark, but we cannot take it for granted that the introduction of Quatrefoil coincides with the beginning of the reign. Recently Dolley has begun to adopt 1018 as the starting-point for Cnut's English coinage³⁴ and thus would agree with Peter-

son's suggestion that Cnut's death cut short the full term of his last issue.

The order of the three substantive types Quatrefoil, Pointed Helmet and Short Cross is in no doubt. Hoard evidence, epigraphical factors such as the change from angular to round S, and the change in formula from M^o to the preposition ON in the reverse legend, all agree. But just as the starting-point of the three type sequence is in some doubt, so is the point at which it came to an end. When it was first realised that some at least of BEH Cnut Type K was struck after Cnut's death³⁵ numismatists were reluctant to move the whole issue outside the reign. However, there is now almost universal agreement that whatever the length of the currency-periods, no recoinage was due in 1035 and Short Cross must have been issued up till Cnut's death.

Hoard and internal evidence offer little help towards an absolute chronology. Lagerquist and Dolley³⁶ have suggested that the deposition of the Trondheim find may have been connected with the campaign that ended with the battle of Stiklestad in 1030. This hoard ends with nine Short Cross coins and contains 77 of Pointed Helmet. If a dating of c.1030 for the hoard is accepted, then at this time Short Cross had only recently been introduced, allowing for twelve years for the previous two types to have been current. The presence of other than English coins in the Scandinavian finds is not such as to contradict a six-year arrangement, but offers no positive confirmation.

Short Cross was imitated in Sweden, on a handful of coins with the mint-signature SIHT for Sigtuna, and the obverse legend CNVT REX S^p. Mules with other types are also found. The question is, when was Cnut's influence in Sweden such as to permit coins in his name being struck at Sigtuna? In a letter to his subjects probably to be dated 1027 Cnut is styled "Rex totius Anglie et Denemarcie et Norreganorum et partis Suanorum " but how closely this approached

political reality is as uncertain as which pars Suanorum he was claiming.

Cnut's only known personal involvement in Swedish affairs was the expedition to the Holy River (Helgeå) in the east of the then Danish province of Skåne, against the Swedish fleet and army of King Anund Jacob, who had allied himself with Olaf of Norway and the disaffected Danes Ulf and Eilaf. Malmer³⁷ regards Cnut's Sigtuna coinage as consequent on this intervention and thus argues that Short Cross must have been already in currency in England by 1026, the date usually assigned to Helgeå. Lagerquist and Dolley³⁶ not only doubt the relevance of the outcome of this battle - which was not a victory for Cnut's party - to the Swedish coinage but also suggest that the design of the Short Cross type could have been communicated to Cnut's agent in Sigtuna before the type became current in England. They support this theory from the Undroms find from Angermanland in which there are 196 English Pointed Helmet pennies, none of the English Short Cross issue but two of the Sigtuna Short Cross coins. Certainly it seems unlikely that Short Cross was current for almost ten years, leaving only eight or nine years for the other two types together, and the relative numbers of surviving coins would not support such an arrangement. On the whole, in the absence of any strongly contradictory evidence, it would seem better to divide the types into three roughly equal periods, the third slightly shorter than the other two.

After Cnut's death in November 1035 the succession once more fell into dispute owing to the absence of the more legitimate claimant Harthacnut, Cnut's son by Emma of Normandy, in Denmark. The threat to Denmark from Magnus of Norway made it virtually impossible for Harthacnut to leave and claim the English throne in person. At a council in Oxford in 1036 Harold, Cnut's son by Elfgifu of Northampton, was made regent until his half-brother's return, but

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Harold's party gained so much influence that by the end of 1037 Harold was recognised not as regent but as king. In 1040 Harold died, Harthacnut returned, but reigned only two years until his own sudden death in 1042.

This, very briefly, is the background into which coins in the name of Harold, Harthacnut, and, as we shall see, some in the name of Cnut too, have to be fitted. Again, we have the problem of Harthacnut's Danish types, but from this period we find three types in some frequency which may claim to be the English coinage of 1035-42. The Jewel Cross type, which we discussed earlier as Cnut BEH Type K, is known in the names of Cnut, Harthacnut and Harold. The Arm and Sceptre type (BEH Cnut I, Harthacnut B) has coins in the names of Cnut and Harthacnut, but Fleur de Lis (BEH Harold A) appears in the name of Harold alone. This last-named type, then, must belong to Harold's only period of undisputed kingship, 1037-40.

The Jewel Cross type is more problematical. The characteristic Jewel or Club Cross reverse appears on coins bearing Harthacnut's name with both left and right facing bust, and in Harold's with left facing bust only. In an early arrangement H.A. Parsons³⁸ assigned the right-facing Harthacnut coins to Harthacnut's return, and the left-facing to Harold's regency. He was struck with the preponderance of mints south of the Thames which struck the left-facing issue but Dolley³⁹ later found exactly the same pattern not only in the right-facing Harthacnut issue but also in the Jewel Cross coins in the name of Cnut. From this he argued that all the Jewel Cross coins were of one and the same issue, which began on Cnut's death, possibly at the instigation of the forceful Emma, and was taken up by Harold once the regency had been conferred on him.

"North of the Thames the Harold obverse was generally welcomed, though a few moneymen struck from Harthacnut dies either from personal preference or to maintain a facade of impartiality. As Emma's son tarried longer and longer in Denmark there was scarcely a mint that was not striking for the Mercian nominee. Late in 1037 the

pretence was dropped and Harold began an issue in which Harthacnut did not share even nominally".

This study of the coinage of Harold and Harthacnut was very much a pioneering essay and was hindered to a great extent by the confusion which still surrounded the Arm-and-Sceptre issue (BEH Cnut I, Harthacnut B), and the order of the first four types of Edward the Confessor. The Arm-and-Sceptre coins in the name of "Cnut" were still regarded as another of Cnut's types, interposed between Short Cross and the "Cnut" Jewel Crosses. The natural and significant position of two groups of mules was not fully understood. A small group of coins exists with Arm-and-Sceptre obverse and a reverse identical with Edward's Pacx type; this had been given to Cnut's reign as BEH Type F. Dolley realised that all the moneyers in this type were Edward, not Cnut moneyers, but because of the apparent chronological discrepancy of the two constituent types he was obliged to invoke the use of "old dies". Similarly, though he very properly recorded the existence of a Cnut Short Cross/Jewel Cross mule, he had to dismiss it as a "mule of non-consecutive types, a freak striking", since it was then believed that Cnut had struck an intervening Arm-and-Sceptre type towards the end of his reign.

At the end of this paper Dolley put forward very tentatively the results of a discussion of its findings with Mr Peter Seaby. The following year Seaby published his major paper which has established the sequence of Anglo-Saxon coin-types from 1030 to 1050⁴⁰. Using the evidence of hoards, moneyers and mules, he argued convincingly that Edward's Pacx was the first type of the reign, that Arm-and-Sceptre coins in Cnut's name were part of the same issue that was recognised as Harthacnut's coinage of 1040-42, and that therefore the so-called Cnut Pacx coins were mules between the sequent last type of Harthacnut and the first type of Edward. This meant taking the numismatically dangerous step of seemingly ignoring the obverse legend and assigning coins to one monarch which bore the name of another.

This had not appeared so outrageous in the case of the Jewel Cross coins which belonged immediately after Cnut's death, but Seaby was arguing that such a posthumous reference was again being made during an undisputed reign, five years after Cnut's death and after coins had been issued in Harold's and Harthacnut's own names.

In both Dolley's and Seaby's papers the parallel explanations are given but left open: a political reason for reference to the glory of Cnut's reign, or Cnut as an alternative form of Harthacnut? There is in fact an exact parallel amongst the moneyers of Lincoln, where there is a moneyer with the same name, striking for Cnut and Harold. In Cnut's Short Cross type his name appears on two reverse dies as HERDECNVT, HÆRDECNVT; on two other dies of the same type it is CNVT. The same obverse die is used for all four coins. The extreme rarity of the name, coupled with the die-link, makes it virtually certain that the same man could use both forms of the name.⁴¹ Once it is recognised that Cnut's son could also be called Cnut, with the distinguishing prefix sometimes invoked, sometimes omitted, the not entirely happy suggestion of a posthumous coinage of Cnut the Great can be removed from the discussion, and the arguments for a rational numismatic ordering of the sequence of types are able to stand on their own merits.

A key follows, with the dates suggested for each type, based on the foregoing summary of the evidence.

Dating Key

- [Cn 1] Quatrefoil, BEH Cnut E
 Dolley, original scheme 1017-23, now suggests 1018-24
 Petersson 1017-24
- [Cn 2] Pointed Helmet, BEH Cnut G
 Dolley, original scheme 1023-29, now suggests 1024-30
 Petersson 1024-31
- [Cn 3] Short Cross, BEH Cnut H
 Dolley, original scheme 1029-35, now suggests 1030-35
 Petersson 1031-35
 Malmer before 1026 ? - 1035
- [Hr 1] Jewel Cross, BEH Harold A
 Dolley: Harold as regent 1036-7
- [Hr 2] Fleur-de-lis, BEH Harold B
 Dolley: Harold as king 1037-40
- [HCn 1] Jewel Cross, BEH Cnut K, Harthacnut A and Aa
 Dolley: Harthacnut in absentia 1035-7
- [HCn 2] Arm and Sceptre, BEH Cnut I, Harthacnut B
 Seaby: Harthacnut as undisputed king in England 1040-42

Localisation of dies

Die-cutting in numismatics to some extent occupies the same place as the copying of manuscripts in documentary sources; that is, the area where the dies were cut modifies the dialect of the original source of the text, the mint. Unfortunately we possess very little contemporary information on the practical organisation of minting but one thing seems fairly certain, that die-cutting at this period was, with a few exceptions, extraneous to the mints themselves.

The pattern of die-provision, working from the extant material, appears complex and involves not only geographical but also chronological factors, since a mint may have received its dies from different sources at different stages even within the currency of an issue. For example, it is believed that at the beginning of Æthelred's Long Cross issue there were only two principal die-cutting workshops, one with a wide national distribution and one of more local distribution serving the southern mints only. Later in the issue other regional styles emerge such as the so-called Subsidiary Long Cross issue found in London and Eastern England⁴², and there are others based in other parts of the country which as yet are unpublished.

The most detailed analysis of regional styles and their implications for die-cutting so far undertaken has been that on Æthelred's last type Small Cross⁴³. In this issue no fewer than nine styles have been distinguished, two Northern, employed mainly at York and the northern Danelaw mints, two Southern, one of which is associated with Winchester, one Southeastern, one Southwestern, one Western supplying Chester but also Gloucester and Oxford, one Eastern concentrated mainly in East Anglia, and one associated with London.

This then would seem to have been the system which was inherit-

ed by Cnut, and he appears to have not only continued in it, but to have increased the number of regional die-cutting centres. In Quatrefoil (Cn 1) the variation in style of the coins is so marked that Hildebrand took it to be evidence that the type was of very long duration and had been issued intermittently throughout the reign.⁴⁴ In particular he isolated one style and elevated it into a "variety", BEH Type E var d, since in the portrait the king was diademed instead of crowned. This has now been shown to be only one of a number of localised styles, and is associated with mints along the Severn⁴⁵.

Apart from this study of the Severn style along with some other West Country mints, no study of regional die-cutting in Quatrefoil comparable with that on the Last Small Cross type of Ethelred has yet appeared⁴⁶. Although they are not difficult to discern, and the main outlines of the more important styles and their areas of use are fairly clear, the minor styles and the relationship of one with another within mints require a good deal of further study. For example, most of the Quatrefoil coins of Lincoln are of one style, which is therefore likely to have had its workshop within the borough. Dies of the Lincoln style are also found fairly widely at such mints as Bedford, Thetford, Stamford and Huntingdon but not exclusively; dies also appear in the eastern Midlands whose centre^{of production} seems to have been East Anglia and London. Chester has an almost exclusive style, as does Winchester; York has two styles which between them account for almost all known York coins. Almost all the coins of Exeter are of an idiosyncratic style but at least one die of the Severn style was used there. Yet another style is associated with Oxford, which also employs a number of Winchester dies; similarly Ilchester seems to have had a die-cutting workshop but also used dies from Exeter and Winchester.

In the south-east two styles appear and London dies are much used there; the London style also spreads to East Anglian mints and further abroad still. Curiously, Winchester-style dies occur at Leicester; a possible route can be traced through Wallingford and Oxford where they also appear, but whether or not Northampton is another stage on that route is obscured by the ambiguous HAMTVN mint-signature and the appropriateness of Winchester dies to Southampton.

Most of the discussion of die-cutting centres is based on the style of portrait, which is the most immediately noticeable feature, though style of lettering is also important. But there is one feature of local die-cutting which is independent of stylistic criteria. The northern die-cutting centres at York and Lincoln remained very conservative in their formula of reverse legend. In the south already in Æthelred's last type there was a change from the old formula where moneyer's name and mint-signature were linked by the abbreviation M^o, M^o etc., to one in which the moneyer was simply described as ON LVNDENE or whichever mint in which he worked. In Quatrefoil only Lincoln and York retain the old usage, clearly marking beyond any doubt the dies which emanate from their workshops.

In the second type of Cnut's reign, Pointed Helmet, this usage persists. The die-cutting patterns of this type have been studied and published⁴⁷ and four styles distinguished. Two have a national distribution, the difference between them being the use of REX or RECX in the obverse legend, but their discovery in hoards has caused the authors to conclude that they are "parallel and not successive". The other two styles have a more regional significance. One is characterised by a practice of replacing the R of REX with a trefoil of pellets. Though coins of this group are known with mint-signatures of Norwich, Stamford and Thetford they appear to be concentrated on Lincoln and use the now archaic con-

traction MO in their reverse legend. This is regarded as a pointer to their having been struck early in the issue, since they are later superseded in those Danelaw mints in which they appeared by dies of the two national styles which predominate.

At York, on the other hand, it appears that dies were cut locally throughout the currency of the Pointed Helmet issue, as no MONEYER ON dies appear at York in this type. The old formula is used throughout but in the form M^o, not MO as at Lincoln; the trefoil for R does not appear at York, so the two workshops must have been independent of each other.

Thus in Pointed Helmet the organisation of die-cutting seems to be moving away from the decentralisation of Quatrefoil. There is no way of telling whether the national style REX and RECX dies came from the same centre; it is hard to see how the insular spelling and the more strictly classical Latin form should be in use in the same workshop, unless there was a deliberate purpose of distinguishing dies. As to the location of a nationwide centre of die-cutting there is no contemporary evidence, but in Edward the Confessor's reign we know from Domesday that ^{all} dies were issued from London.

In the last type of the reign, Short Cross, regional variations have disappeared completely and it seems that from then on, a single centre must have been supplying the whole country with dies. From now on, local work makes only rare and exceptional appearances, one such being the curious obverse dies at Lincoln in Jewel Cross with the head tilted backwards⁴⁸, but these are probably makeshift dies made to meet a particular emergency.

Thus when we consider the forms of names as they appear on the coins, the dialect area of the mint itself is only one factor. For example, it would be erroneous to draw conclusions about the

presence of LIOF- forms on coins of mints in the East Midlands and East Anglia without taking into account the provenance of the dies. At Stamford the one certain example of LIOF- is on a coin of London style. Cambridge takes dies for Quatrefoil from London, the south-east, and East Anglia; all the LIOF- forms occur with the London or south-eastern dies. At Bedford most of the LIOF- reverses occur with London style obverses, but a few appear with East Anglian obverses. This may only mean that the original pairing of the dies may have been lost, and we need to consider whether it may be possible to achieve sufficient definition in lettering style and other reverse features to tell true coins from mules. Not all the problems of die-distribution may be capable of solution from the material evidence, but we must be aware of the possible patterns and avoid a straightforward correlation between the forms of names on the coins and the location of the mint, without taking into account the further factor of provision of dies outside the mint's immediate area.

Double names

Double names are particularly common on coins of the period under review here. They are exceptionally rare in the Æthelred coinage but continue to be found in the reign of Edward the Confessor. They are also found in other series of English coins, both earlier and later, and in the early Scottish coinage.

Hildebrand, whose experience of English coins was drawn mainly from the late Anglo-Saxon reformed series which appears in the Swedish Viking-age finds, accepted the second name without hesitation as a byname. He appends footnotes such as "Brun är binamn till en Leofred", and in a brief discussion of this feature he gives his reasons: the first name is always the more generally used name, and the coins which have this feature come from the more prolific mints where it is more likely that two moneyers could have the same name.⁴⁹

The editors of BMC took the contrary view. They held that the double names indicate a joint responsibility taken for the coin in some way by two moneyers. Again, numismatic experience coloured the opinion since in the collection were pre-Reform coins of Eadgar reading FASTOLF BOIGA, FASTOLF ODA, FASTOLF RAFN (BMC II 181-4) and BOGA and ODA are found independently as moneyers. All the second names are attested personal names, and in Eadred's reign the coin reading +CALI +SIIERT (BMC II 109) would seem to be explicitly indicating two moneyers. Similarly in the early Scottish coinage moneyers' names which are well attested singly also appear in various combinations.

On the coinage of Cnut and his sons the second name almost always occurs with the same forename. The single exception is SPENC or SPECEL which occurs with both Elfwig and Leofstan. There is evidence that bynames were used by moneyers on their coins from two legends which include a definite article. These are EADPALD

DE ALDA, Eadwald senior, contrasted with a younger moneyer or perhaps only a younger fellow-citizen, with the same forename, and EADRIC DEN SVPATRV which in spite of its grammatical irregularity must stand for Eadric the Black. Just possibly another such construction may be contained in ꝥYNSIGE ꝥAMENEA. As it stands, this is meaningless, but there is evidence that ꝥ was sometimes confused with the manuscript ꝥ which is represented on the coins by Ð. It must be admitted, however, that ꝥa menea is equally obscure.

Otherwise, the character of the second name is not entirely decisive. The majority of the second names are not in common use as personal names, but original bynames of the nickname type do come to join the stock of personal names. Conversely, as Tengvik has shown, personal names with a patronymic function may be used as bynames without any indicator such as sunu, filius or a genitive ending.⁵⁰

The second names with which we are concerned here are as follows:

- (Eadweald) DE ALDA (London, mule Hr 2/HCn 2)
- (Natathan) BALLVC, BALVC (Lincoln Cn 2-3)
- (Leofred) BRVN (London HCn 2)
- (Godric) CALIC (London HCn 2)
- (Godwine) CAS (Winchester Cn 3)
- (Godwine) CEOCA, CAOCA, CEOC (Winchester Cn 3, Hr 1, HCn 1-2,
Edward the Confessor BEH Types D, C)
- (Godwine) COK (Winchester HCn 2)
- (Ethelstan) LOC (Winchester Cn 3, HCn 1, Edward B, E)
- (Elfwine) MVS (Ilchester Cn 2)
- (Elfwig) SPECEL, SPENCEL (London Cn 3)
- (Leofstan) SPENC (London HCn 2)
- (Godric) SPOT (Lincoln Cn 3)

- (Eadric) DEN SVP_ATRV (London Cn K)
 (Godwine) STEPE, STEPER (London Hr 1)
 (Elfwine) TOSTI (Oxford Cn 3)
 (Wulfwig) VBI (Canterbury HCn 2)
 (Wynsige) PAMENEA (London Hr 1)
 (Edsige) PARE (Exeter Cn 3)
 (Brungar) PVCA (London Cn 2)
 (Godwine) PYDIA, PVDI (Winchester Cn 3, Hr 1, HCn 1-2,
 Edward F)

Elfric MOGLV 'Norwich' Cn BEH Type A is probably a Scandinavian imitation. MOGLV may represent the normal MO = monetarius formula followed by an unintelligible mint-name.

Of these second names, three appear as single names at the same mint generally contemporaneously. These are PYDIA, BRVN and LOC. OE Widia is an uncompounded personal name which is rare apart from coins of this period. It appears as a moneyer's name at London, Steyning and Winchester between (Cn 2) and the middle of Edward the Confessor's reign. The relationship between these instances and Godwine Widia is confusing and obscure, especially as Godwine Widia appears to strike coins at Winchester before Widia alone. If all the instances of Widia alone refer to the same man, he must have begun his career as a moneyer at the minor mint of Steyning and then have been responsible for minting simultaneously at London and Winchester, finally dropping the London connection to concentrate on his Winchester interest. Widia alone may be an ellipsis for Godwine Widia in all cases, or only at Winchester, unconnected with another moneyer Widia of London and Steyning. It is not impossible that Godwine Widia should mean Godwine son of Widia, but the chronology of coin-types in which the names appear does not favour this interpretation. Alternatively, in this case Godwine and Widia may be two separate people.

BRVN is applicable either as a forename or as a byname. As a

moneyer's name it is known at Exeter under Athelred and at Ipswich for Edward the Confessor. At London it appears first in (Cn 1) and under Harold and Harthacnut. In this last instance it could be associated with Leofred Brun and it is thus not possible to be sure if it is used there as a byname or as an associated moneyer's name.

OE locc 'lock of hair' does not seem to be found independently as a personal name though it appears in Sideloc, a Wareham moneyer of William I and in Brunloc PNDB 210. Locc appears alone on coins only in Edward the Confessor's Small Flan type. Otherwise it occurs only in association with Estan and it would appear likely that the only reason for its solo appearance is that the die-cutter feared that if he were to cut the whole name on the tiny circumference of that type there would be no room to indicate the mint. This evidence alone is scarcely sufficient to regard Locc as a forename in its own right and as the name of a moneyer other than Estan.

The name Specel, Swecel, Spencel or Swencel, whatever is the name intended by the forms on the coins, seems to be associated with two names, Elfwiz and Leofstan. If it is a byname this would seem an unlikely coincidence, unless Lefstan Swenc or Spenc, which is known from only one die, is an error in which Elfric's byname has been imposed on the wrong moneyer. There are no instances of Swencel or the like as a single moneyer's name at this time; Redin suggests a connection with OE swenc 'toil, trouble' and cites for comparison a form Suince in the list of Eadred moneyers in BMC. This form is very suspect since it appears in the italicised form used to denote coins not in the British Museum collection, and no similar reading has emerged from the publication of SCBI. If the form is not entirely mythical it is more likely to be a blundering for the moneyer Swerting

than corroboration for a personal-name Swinc or Swenc. The occurrence of the forms with n makes it unlikely that there should be any connection with the noun 'speckle'. The etymology of this name must therefore remain obscure.

Other personal names found as second names on the coins are ON Tosti and Ubi, presumably < ON Ubbi. These names are remarkable since Tosti is found at Oxford where no other Scandinavian names are recorded and Ubi at Canterbury where there is only one other. It is impossible to tell whether these are alternative names, perhaps of Scandinavian-descended men who were given Scandinavian names originally by their parents but who have wished to take English names, or if they are patronymics, but they are not likely to denote two moneyers in collaboration. Swot is in fact found as a moneyer's name, but not at Lincoln where Godric Swot occurs. In this case Swot may not be the etymon, since Spot is a recorded byname in the late OE period and this may be the correct reading.

The other second names found on the coins are mostly typical bynames commenting on personal attributes. Ware is probably to be connected with OE waru 'care', with the meaning 'the careful, wary one'. Mus is plainly OE mūs 'mouse'. Loc has already been discussed. The name recorded in SCBI as Brungar Wula and in CNS as Wuca⁵¹ makes better sense if read as OE puca 'sprite, goblin'. Balluc is the subject of an unresolved controversy. Tengvik takes it at face-value, offering equally dubious epithets as evidence that mere delicacy would not have prevented the use of the OE noun as a byname. Other commentators have viewed the Irish derivation of the forename Natathan as an indication that the byname too is Irish, the equivalent of 'the young one, Natathan junior'.

For Godric Calic a derivation from OE calic 'cup, chalice' is not entirely satisfactory since this is a late, learned borrowing, and probably not a word in common use. The particular allusion

may however have been appropriate or jocular, and no better suggestion presents itself.

The Godwine names at Winchester present several problems. Widia has already been discussed above. Of the rest, the main group seems to be arranged around the form CEOCA: Godwine Ceoca, Caoca, Ceoc, Ceo, Ce seem to belong to it, Ca may be an abbreviation of Ceoca and Cas may also indicate the same name, possibly as an analogical genitive though this would be unusual at this period. Also we have Godwine Cok which seems at first sight as if it should belong to this group and even provide an etymon to derive all the forms from OE coc 'cock'. OE coc 'cook' is less likely though some anecdote of personal history could be involved. An identification of Ceoca and Cok might seem to be strengthened by the name Anfridus Ceocesfot, ^{belonging to} a Norman residing in England ^{and recorded} in the Chronicle of Florence of Worcester in 1052, where a translation 'cock's foot' would not seem inappropriate. Tengvik, however, objects to Ceoca as a form of Coc on phonological grounds, and though this makes nonsense of Ceocesfot he derives Ceoca and the Ceoc- names on the coins from a late West Saxon parallel of OE ceace 'jawbone'.

The eo forms on the coins cannot be dismissed as erroneous since they predominate. Godwine Cok was unknown to Tengvik because the Copenhagen collection, in which it occurs, has only recently been published. If Cok and Ceoca are the same man, Cok is more likely to be the error or the variant than the other way round.

Several commentators have drawn attention to a Godwine Socche named as master of the Winchester mint in the Winton Domesday. Most recently Feilitzen has refuted categorically that Socche could have any connection with Ceoca ⁵² and in any case the name Ceoca does not appear on any coin after c.1050.

Godwine Stewe or Stewer appears as a London moneyer and here

again the explanation of the name is doubtful. All the various meanings of Middle English stewe seem to be of Romance derivation. Tengvik derives the name from late OE stig-weard 'steward' but all the early forms of the noun are with i. If this derivation could be sustained, the use of this occupational epithet by a moneyer would be of considerable interest.

In many cases the second names appearing on coins are unintelligible or ambiguous, but it seems likely that most of them are intended as bynames rather than indications of joint responsibility.

Notes to Introduction

1. Smart Commentationes II
2. Dolley and Metcalf ASCoins
3. For example PNDB, SPLY, Redin
4. BEH in Sources
5. SCBI 28
6. van der Meer ASCoins, Smart ASE IV
7. Stenberger Die Schatzfunde Gotlands der Wikingerzeit
8. SCBI 4
9. SCBI 25
10. Thompson Inventory 181
11. ibid. 66; SCBI 6 xviii
12. Thompson Inventory 374
13. ibid. 69, 360; Dolley and Strudwick BNJ XXVIII
14. Dolley and Metcalf BNJ XXIX
15. unknown find, sold Spink 1924
16. Thompson Inventory 35, 270, 338
17. ibid. 141; Dolley and Ingold ASCoins
18. Thompson Inventory 46; SCBI 6 xx
19. Butler and Dolley NC 1961
20. In St. Andrews University Library. The mints are Canterbury, London and Oxford; all the dies are known elsewhere
21. Thompson Inventory 131, 306; Dolley and Metcalf ASCoins
22. below pp. 14-17
23. B.H.I.H. Stewart BNJ XLV
24. dating key, p. 18
25. Dolley and Metcalf ASCoins
26. Dolley NUM 1954
27. H.B.A. Petersson Anglo-Saxon Currency 81-7
28. ASE V

29. BEH "synes snarare vara att hänföra till Danmark än England" 195
30. Hauberg Myntforhold og Udmyntninger pl.III 48
31. Nordman Anglo-Saxon Coins found in Finland
32. van der Meer ASCoins 169
33. Malmer Coinage of Cnut the Great 19
34. Dolley Ethelred Millenary Conference
35. below p. 15
36. Lagerquist and Dolley BNJ XXX
37. Malmer Coinage of Cnut the Great 20
38. Parsons BNJ XI
39. Dolley BNJ XXVII
40. Seaby BNJ XXVIII
41. Mossop Lincoln Mint pl. LI 22-6
42. Smart BNJ XXXIV
43. Dolley Some Reflections on Hildebrand Type A of Ethelred
44. BEH 196
45. Dolley SNC 1956
46. For regional styles in Quatrefoil I have worked from photographs and a preliminary classification very kindly supplied to me by Mr. C.S.S.Lyon
47. Dolley and Ingold Commentationes I
48. Mossop Lincoln Mint "notes on die-cutting styles" at end of Diagrams section
49. BEH vii-viii
50. Tengvik Old English Bynames
51. Snovalds find, Alskog parish, Gotland, CNS 1:1:46
52. Biddle (ed.) Winchester

PHONOLOGY

Phonology, General

The student of the legends of the late Anglo-Saxon coinage has few problems concerning the authenticity of his sources. ^{Modern} Forgery in this series has been minimal, no doubt because the coins are so plentiful, though in a very few cases, alterations in mint or moneyer's name have been made in order to enhance the rarity of a coin. As far as one can tell, the problems of contemporary foreign imitation have been less thorny for Cnut's reign than for Æthelred's; Scandinavian imitations are generally easier to detect and tend to diverge further from the English coinage as the reign progresses. The Dublin mint produces very few copies of Quatrefoil and none of the following types; for the most part it continues to produce copies of Æthelred's Long Cross type. In almost all cases the statement of moneyer and mint on the reverse of the late Anglo-Saxon penny can be taken at face value and was engraved during the currency-period of the particular coin-type on which it appears.

The representation of the names of the moneyers on the coins may be seen as depending on three stages: - the state of the Old English language in the first half of the eleventh century as it determined how the moneyers themselves pronounced their names; the method of transmission, which affected how much of the moneyer's own version of his name reached the die-cutter, and finally the linguistic circumstances of the die-cutting workshop - prevailing fashions in orthography, tradition or innovation, the die-cutter's own speech and how far it was permitted to *alter* his model, his ability to recognise cognate elements in non-native names and "English" them, and his skill and carefulness in rendering his intended form of the name on the die.

The moneyers' own pronunciations must have varied in accordance with dialectal variations; Norse and other foreign introductions may have become modified by English usage already at this stage. In addition the moneyers themselves may have had views on the form of their names which was proper for a coin-legend. I have already discussed the question of multiple and central die-cutting workshops at different phases of Cnut's reign, and individual instances below will show how these circumstances may have affected the coin-legends. The method of transmission, however, is a further problem.

What, in fact, were the die-cutters copying ?

Except for a few legal injunctions concerning forgery and the limitation of numbers of moneyers, we have no documentary information on the organisation of the coinage at this time. The earliest official statements occur in Domesday, describing the practice at the end of Edward the Confessor's reign, half a century after Cnut's accession. The physical format of the coinage had not changed - it was, in effect, the same coinage well into Norman times, the only change being that new types were issued twice as frequently in Edward's reign as in Athelred's and Cnut's. In Domesday the practice recorded is that the moneyer returned his old dies to the central authority (at that time in London) to obtain dies for the new type. One way of organising the re-issue would have been for the official in charge simply to weed out any dies from moneyers who had died or otherwise had been removed, supposing they had not been returned before, and to give out the old dies to the die-cutters for them to copy the legends. Any new dies that were needed for new moneyers could have been ordered then, but the pattern of moneyers' names as we have it does not suggest that the change in type was an occasion of great changes in the manning of the mints. A moneyer may appear prolifically in two types and very sparsely in a third, suggesting that he was replaced during the currency of that third type, and similarly the career of another moneyer may appear to begin midway through a currency-period.

Alternatively, the master die-cutter, or a clerk employed for the purpose, could have made up a list from the returned dies, making any necessary emendations. The objection to any scheme, however, that involved waiting for a recall of dies before even beginning preparations for the recoinage is that there would have been a considerable delay when no coins could be issued. We know from the number of coins that are extant from the short-lived reign of Harold Godwinsson that a new issue of coinage could be made very quickly. On the whole it would seem better to postulate a procedure that does not require the presence of dies from the previous type.

One answer might be that once die-cutting had become confined to a single workshop, an up-to-date register might have been maintained of

arrangements and documents which was consulted when re-casting the mints became necessary. If on the other hand the onus was on some official in the borough where the mint was situated to draw up a list of moneyers, either it must have been well-known when a change in coin-type was to be expected, or the arrangements must have already been well in hand by the time the new type was due to appear. It is impossible to say exactly what the conditions for the transmission of names were, except that the occasional cutting of R or B where C is to be expected suggests the presence of the rather unfamiliar symbol K in the form that was being copied, and hence some kind of a written source. Older philological works which used coin-evidence have often taken it for granted that moneyers and die-cutters were the same. Now we have to consider that not only were they separate bodies but that there was probably a scribal intermediary, whatever his function and degree of involvement may have been.

The Anglo-Norman question.

In compiling the notes which follow on the representation of individual sounds on the coins I have frequently found documentary parallels to the use of certain graphs appearing on the coins, ascribed to Anglo-Norman scribal convention. Olof von Feilitzen's classic compilation, as its title states, is mainly dependent on Domesday Book for its material, and Gillian Fellows Jensen, to whose work on the Scandinavian personal names I am greatly indebted in this section, also draws very largely on post-Conquest material, and such inferences are natural and relevant to the evidence. But when similar usages appear on coins fifty years and sometimes more before the Conquest, two alternatives arise. Either "Norman" usages were already being introduced by continental scribes at this time, or the spellings reflect native Old English sound developments which may indeed have been paralleled in the continental dialects, having after all had a similar stock of Germanic names, but which are not recorded with any regularity in England until the post-Conquest period. This is not to say that they are not recorded at all; they may well occur in rare instances and ^{have been} dismissed as scribal errors or nonce-forms, and the coin-material

may be able to reinforce their significance.

Feilitzen in PNDB summarises previous work on the evidence for the presence of continental clerks at the English court and continental secretaries in episcopal establishments in the early eleventh century.¹ It is noteworthy that he did this in the course of his defence of a continental origin for the development Ethel > Egel > El, which by the time he came to write his commentary on the coin-legends from Sir Frank Stenton's cabinet² he had come to repudiate completely. However, the presence of some continental influence must remain a point for consideration, even if it can no longer be maintained that a few continental-named moneyers can have had much influence on the representation of names other than their own. The artificial flavour of the imposition of the Egel-form on coin-dies (see below p.56) may well be influenced by this factor even if it ratifies officially an Old English native sound-change.

Following on the suggestion that coins may record linguistic features that do not otherwise seem to find expression until some decades later, one must perhaps consider that coins may present a more immediate vernacular than documents do. In commenting on the place-name Gloucester as it is found on coins of that mint, Dr. Gelling³ found a variant form of the name which does not otherwise appear until after 1086. I have found traces of EORC, EOROCC for York when normally Eoferwic had official sanction.⁴ It is not impossible that late Anglo-Saxon society regarded the epigraphy of coins as utilitarian ephemera, since with the rapid changes of type the coins were almost literally to be tomorrow cast into the oven - melted down and reissued in an entirely new form, and not to be compared in permanence and solemnity with writing on parchment. Such a concept could also explain the rather more frequent appearance of the hypocoristic forms of names on coins than in documents of this period.⁵

If this is true, one need not return to the position taken by onomasticians of Searle's generation⁶ that the die-cutters were slapdash and careless (or ignorant and illiterate) and that little reliance can be placed on their record

One cannot deny that die-cutting errors exist, but they are far fewer than was one time believed, and are probably not significantly more frequent than scribal errors in documentary sources. Most forms genuinely recorded on the official products of the English mints deserve serious consideration.

Notes.

1. PADB 105
2. SCBI 11a ix
3. SCBI 19 cxiii
4. Smart Otium et Negotium 223
5. Redin Uncompounded Personal Names 187 ff.
6. Searle Onomasticon anglosaxonicum x

OE ǣ

§1 OE ǣ usually appears as A on the coins: .D.A., LEOFSTAN etc.

§2 There is evidence of the rounding of a > o (Campbell §32) in BLACAMON (Guildford, Nottingham Cn 3) GODNON (London, Hr 1), LEMON (Ipswich Cn 1)

§3 ELFSTAI, LEOFSTAI (London Cn 1) probably do not represent ai for a. PNDB § 3 gives ai for a as an OFr substitution, which would not apply here. A more likely explanation is that the single vertical represents an accidentally uncompleted letter N.

§4 LEOFSTEGEN (Ipswich HCn 2) shows the substitution of ON steinn for OE stan. For ON ei represented as eg see below § 66 .

§5 Final -a in uncompounded names is frequently levelled to e (PNDB § 45) as in ADE < OE Ada.

ON a and ǣ

§6 Numerous examples are found of ON a remaining unchanged as A, as in ARNGRIM, SVARTBRAND.

§7 Anglicisation of names by association with OE cognates accounts for forms with ea in place of ON a as in EARNGRIM, EARNCYTEL, SPEARTBRAND. Names thus anglicised show the same developments and spelling-variations as OE ǣa (q.v.) to give forms in æ and e such as ÆRNGRIM, ERNCYTEL, SPERTBRAND. Forms in Os-for ON ǣs may be due to substitution, but cf. SPLY § 11.

§8 Some forms with æ for ON ǣ may be explained by OE cognates in ǣ: FÆSDVLF < OE fæst. FESTVLF is more difficult to explain unless this instance of the name derives from CG Fastolf, with CG interchange of a and e. If FÆREMAN is to be derived from ON Farmann then the Æ may have arisen from analogy with parts of OE faran which have æ; thus also FÆRDEIN, FÆRGRIM. Alternatively æ for ǣ may in some cases be an inverted spelling from the late OE sound-change ǣ > a; this is probably the explanation of CÆRLA if this name is to be derived from ON Karli.

§9 STIRCER appears alongside STIRCAR (ON Styrkǣrr) with about equal frequency. AN er for ar which would explain the forms in -cer appearing in Domesday would not appear to be an adequate explanation here, and the explanation is probably the late OE levelling of unstressed ǣ > e (PNDB § 2, Luick §440). Some ON names in -arr however appear anglicised as -here. Where ON has a finally in the prototheme (usually as a genitive plural ending as in Bretakollr, Selakollr) this unstressed vowel also appears as e: BRETECOL, SELECOL.

§10 OE æ appears on coins of the OE period and beyond, isolated examples being found up to the coinage of Stephen. At the time of Cnut and his sons the letter is represented as Æ with the A component unbarred, so that it is often difficult to be certain whether Æ or E is intended.

§11 The late OE sound-change $\text{æ} > \text{a}$ (PNDB § 5) possibly appears on coins first in the unminted coins of Alfred in ADELVLF and under Æthelstan in DELPVLF, though here the influence of CG names in Adel- cannot be ruled out. In the post-Edgar coinage a for æ is rare and generally late, e.g. ALFNOD, ALFNAD (Lincoln HCn 2, Edward III BEH Type H), ALFRI (Wm II, Norwich), ALFPINE (Ipswich Edward III's last type and Wm I). ALFSTEAN appears early in Æthelred's reign (SCBI Index). In the period under review we have ALFGAR, ALFPARD (both London Cn 3), ALFRED (Hastings Cn 3) and ALFAN (probably for ALFAH < Elfheah, Stamford Hr 2).

Elfweald however is exceptional in that ALF forms are prolific and begin comparatively early. ALFPOLD is found at Lymne first in Edgar's last type, early in Æthelred's reign at Stamford and is widespread later in the reign and under Cnut.

§12 PNDB § 5 notes the frequency of Alf- and Athel- forms in Domesday where the second element contains o or u. This tendency is not marked in the coin-material except in the ALFPOLD instances above, and to some extent with ADEVLF, ADVLF (Æthelstan, Edwig, Edgar, early Æthelred) but not in the period under review here.

All the coin-forms for OE Hwætman have A: HATAMAN, HPATMAN, etc., (Dorchester Hr, HCn; Norwich Æthelred-Cn 2)

§13 As noted above, §10, the representation of OE æ by E on the coins is not always certain because of the similarity in the letter-forms; there are frequent examples of die-duplicates having been read variously as E and Æ . There does seem to be a body of usage of E for æ as early as Alfred's reign and through to the Conquest, though post-Conquest examples may represent the Norman substitution of e for æ .

§14 A true dialectal e for æ is evidenced in some Southern and West Midland dialects. In Kentish and West Midland the corresponding vowel to West Saxon æ was e (Luick 180, 364) which would account for the early ELF-, EDEL- forms on coins of Alfred, Burgred etc, which were struck mainly in London or Canterbury. This accounts too for forms such as ELFEH at Rochester (Cn 1), ELFPINE at London (Cn 2), and EDELPERD (London Cn 1).

§15 More problematical are ELF-, EDEL- forms from Bristol, Norwich, Winchester, Oxford, Cambridge, Lincoln and especially York, where the usage is very marked, and where the EDEL- spelling of the king's name at times seems to be linked with local die-cutting. Some of the instances may indicate a wider dialectal currency of the feature than has been noted in documentary sources.

OE \bar{e}

§ 16 OE \bar{e} develops to slack \bar{e} [ɛ] ; bearing in mind epigraphical uncertainties (§ 10 above) this change seems to be reflected in LEOFMER (London Cn 2), EDMER (Exeter Hr 2)

In the element \bar{e} -rād the change to \bar{e} seems to have taken place quite early; VVLFRED, AEDERED, EDILRED are found on Northumbrian stycas of the 9th century. Forms in -RED on the post-Edgar coinage are exceptional in moneymen's names though they are frequently found in the king's name. ALFRAD and EDRAD occur in Cnut's coinage at London, and a few isolated examples (ALFRAD, Canterbury, London) and BRIHTRAD, Oxford) persist in the reign of William I.

§ 17 LEOMAR (London Cn 2) seems to be the only example from this period of A < \bar{e} . Pre-conquest examples of -MAR are rare but LVMAR appears at Hereford in Ethelred's last type and PVLMAR at Exeter early in Edward the Confessor's reign (SCBI Index). Post-conquest examples of -MAR and also SA- for OE \bar{e} - are frequent and explicable as AN interchange of \bar{a} and \bar{e} . The earlier forms probably reflect a shortening of the vowel in OE due to lack of stress (PNDB 8) after which it follows the development of \bar{a} above

§ 18 The element \bar{e} -rād appears as -RYD in ALFRYD at Canterbury (Cn 1) and PVLFRYD (London Cn 1). This is paralleled by ALFRYD, AEDERYD, LEOPRYD, PVLFRYD on coins of Ethelred from London, Canterbury and Lydford. Since the element seems at this date to have been firmly established in the -RED form, -RYD is likely to be an inverted spelling of the predominantly Kentish feature \bar{y} > \bar{e} (Wyld 158)

OE \bar{e}

§ 19 OE \bar{e} appears on the coins as E

§ 20 An apparent variation of \bar{e} and \bar{o} occurs in Swet/Swot, Sweta/Swota. SPOT forms alone are found at Shrewsbury and SPET alone at Dorchester, but Bedford, although with mainly SPOT forms also has SPETE (Cn 3) which suggests that they may have been variants of the same name. This is not a general vocalic variation but occurs in the adjective from which the name derives and in a few other adjectives. The adverb is usually formed in OE by the addition of \bar{e} to the adjective; some adverbs have an unmutated vowel where the adjective's vowel is mutated, thus adj. swēt, adv. swōte. The adjectives then adopted the unmutated form by analogy, hence swot (Campbell § 663 and n.)

§ 21 \bar{e} is lost in an unstressed position finally in ALFPIN, LEOPIN, GODPIN, more frequently in -sige, ALFSIG, ALSIG, DYRSIG etc. It is probably as an inverted spelling of this development that forms such as LEFPIGE, LIOFPIGE have arisen.

§ 22 The original final \bar{i} (later > \bar{e}) in the protothemes Cyni-, Heri-, Sigi- was lost early in the formation of compounds (Campbell § 348) so that Cyn-, Her- and Sig- are found alongside Cyne- etc. On coins of this period we find CINSIGE, CINSTAN, CINSTAN with one example of CNINESTAN, but CINEPOLD, CINEPIG, CINEPINE. One Lincoln die appears to have the archaic form CINIPIG.

ON e

§23 ON e is represented on the coins by E; it is found chiefly in the element -kell, ketill, as in VLFCETEL, ARNCETEL, DORCETEL.

§24 This element appears as -CYTEL in ARNCYTEL, EARNCYTEL (Cn 3), ERNCYTEL (Hr 1) at York, and as an un-compounded name CYTEL (HCn 2) also at York, possibly in (Hr 1-2) at Canterbury. This is due to the substitution of the WSax cognate appellative cytel for ON -ketill. It may well be significant that -CYTEL forms are not found in the early types of Cnut for which the dies for the York mint were locally cut but this may be due as much to the Anglian form cetel as to the Norse form.

§25 A further variant form is -CIL in ARCIL (Stamford, York), ARCITELL (York) which probably reflects the unrounding of y in late OE, in the substituted form -CYTEL

OE i

§26 OE i is represented on the coins by I as in SIBPINE, PIHTSIGE etc.

§27 In the OE element which was originally -frith, i became e early (PNDB §14) and this was accompanied by metathesis, so that the element is normally found on coins of this period as -FERD, as e.g. EGELFERD. The unmetathesised form is found in BRIHTFRED.

§28 An apparent E for OE i appears in BRIHTPEN at Oxford in (Cn BEH Type K). This is almost certainly intended for Beorhtwine who is a Wallingford and Buckingham moneyer for Harold and Harthacnut; the element -wynn, for which -PEN would be normal, is found as a deuterotheme in feminine names only. Feilitzen (PNDB §13) notes a tendency for e to appear in Domesday for OE i but attributes this to AN substitution.

ON i and i

§29 ON i is frequently represented on the coins as I, as in SVMERLIDA, ARNGRIM < ON Sumarlithi, Arngrimr.

§30 In the element -lithi, i frequently appears as e, as in SVMERLED, SVMERLED. SPLY §20 notes this tendency in pre-Conquest sources, where it cannot be the result of AN substitution; cf. PNDB §13.

§ 31 Forms in -LYD, LYDA are also found for ON -lithr, -lithi. This variation is found already in late OE orthography (SPLY § 22) and does not imply any difference in pronunciation from forms in i.

§ 32 ON i finally in uncompounded and original bynames seldom appears in that form on the coins, though it is preserved at York in SVMERLEDI, SVMRLEDI in Æthelred's last type, and in (ALFPINE) TOSTI at Oxford (Cn 3). More usually ON names ending in -i are assimilated into the pattern of OE uncompounded names in -a such as COVTA < ON Gauti, TOCA < ON Toki and some instances of MANA which may be from ON Mani.

§ 33 In a few instances the late OE sound-change ig > i led to the use of ig as an inverted spelling for i, thus BORSTIG < ON *Borsti, London (Cn 1), cf. CARIG < ON Kari at London under Æthelred.

§ 34 As in OE -frith (above § 27), similarly in ON -frithr i > e at an early date (SPLY § 21) by reduction of stress or by a-mutation in PrimGerm. This was accompanied by metathesis, which gives rise to forms in -ferth such as ASFERD < ON Asfrithr, DVRFERD < ON Thorfrithr. It appears that this element fell together or was confused with ON -fróthr, since alongside ASFERD we find ASFORD; see below § 50.

OE ö

§ 35 OE ö usually appears on the coins as O, e.g. GODPINE, ALFNOD.

§ 36 Occasional -NAD forms are found in place of -nōth: LEOFNAD Gloucester (HCn 1), Northampton (Cn 1), LEOFENAD (HCn 2) at Hereford; PVLNAD, Leicester (HCn 2); there are in addition forms BYRHT/BERHT/BEREHTNAD at Winchester under Æthelred and ALFNAD at Lincoln under Edward the Confessor. This goes back to the original Germanic element nanth which generally became nōth in OE, but in these examples the original vowel has remained (Schröder, E. fu^r deutsches Altertum 73 196)

ON ǫ and ó

§ 37 ON ǫ usually appears as O: STIRCOL < ON Styrkollr, TOCA < ON Toki.

§ 38 In the element Thór- however, forms in DVR- greatly outnumber those in ĐOR-. For many of the Thór- names on coins of this period only DVR-forms are found, and most of the supposed Thór- forms appear only on the imitative series, on coins which may have been struck in Scandinavia though perhaps copying an English prototype now lost.

The forms in y go back to a PrimScand ThunraR; in Scandinavian sources they

are virtually confined to the EScand area. The variation may derive from forms in which the a of ThunraR was lost before a-mutation took place, or alternatively to different dialectal development in ODan (SPLY § 28).

OE ū

§39 OE ū is represented on the coins by V: pVLFPINE, HVNEPINE.

§ 40 Final unstressed u in -sunu becomes e by a late OE reduction (PNDB § 50) in GODESVNE, Cambridge (HCn 2) < OE Gōdsūnu, though forms in -SVNV are found contemporaneously and well into the reign of William I. Where the prototheme ends in u it is also reduced to e as in SIDEMAN, SIDEPINE < OE Sidu-.

§ 41 ū appears to be represented as Y in BRYNINC, London (Cn 1), Nottingham (Cn 2) and several Ethelred forms at Northampton (for which see Moneyers c. 973-1016, 248) - presumably from OE Brūning. It is not always possible to differentiate between the coin-forms V and Y with any certainty, but a number of these examples definitely seem to intend Y.

ON ǔ and ú

§42 ON ǔ, represented by V, remains on the coins generally without variation: SVMERLIDA < ON Sumarlithi, SCVLA < ON Skúli.

§43 Where ON -ulfr appears as a second element, the variant form -OLF is also found. The pattern of this variation is curious. The -ulfr names found on coins of the period under review are: Arnulfr, Grímulfr, Hildulfr, Fastulfr, Sunnulfr and ? Svinulfr (which may be an error for Sunnulfr). All of these are York moneyers; Fastulfr is known also at Ipswich and Hildulfr at Lincoln. In all these names the pattern is -OLF in (Cn 1-2) but -VLF in (Cn 3) and thereafter, except in Fastulfr which always has -VLF. This change in orthography may be connected with the change at York from local to external die-supply (see above p.22) possibly with influence from OE -wulf. -olf is an OScand variant (PNDB § 17, SPLY § 32).

OE $\overset{\vee}{y}$

§44 OE $\overset{\vee}{y}$ is usually found on coins as Y: CYNSTAN, PYNSIGE.

§45 Occasionally OE $\overset{\vee}{y}$ appears to be represented as V (i.e. $\underset{\vee}{u}$) as in PVNSI (London Cn 1). It is extremely difficult to differentiate the two letter-forms on the coins with certainty in all cases and in fact in a number of instances the same die has been read variously as Y and V by different transcribers. Any examples appearing here would seem to be too early for the AN influence of $\underset{\vee}{u}$ as a spelling for OE $\overset{\vee}{y}$ (PNDB § 22).

§46 OE $\overset{\vee}{y}$ is represented by $\underset{\vee}{e}$ in PESIG (London Cn 1), cf. CENSIE, CENSIGE (Dover, Æthr BEH Types D-E) CENRIC (Dover, Norwich Æthr BEH Types C, A respectively), CENELM (Norwich Edward the Confessor BEH Type E). Side by side with the CEN- examples, forms with CYN-, CIN- also appear, suggesting that the etymon is OE $\overset{\vee}{Cyn(e)}$ - rather than $\overset{\vee}{Coen-} > \overset{\vee}{Cēn}$.

The OE sound-change $\overset{\vee}{y} > \overset{\vee}{e}$, though mainly Kentish, appears more widely in south-east England and extends to Norfolk (PNDB § 21)

§47 The unrounding of $\overset{\vee}{y}$ to $\underset{\vee}{i}$ before $\underset{\vee}{n}$ in West Saxon c. 900 appears in the numerous examples of CIN-, PIN-, e.g. CINSI, CINSTAN, CINEPOLD, PINSTAN. (PNDB § 20)

ON $\overset{\vee}{y}$

§48 ON $\overset{\vee}{y}$ is found as Y in STYRCOL < ON Styrkollr (York Cn 2, Hr 1)

§49 Rather more frequently ON $\overset{\vee}{y}$ appears as I in STIRCOL, STIRCAR < ON Styrkarr. $\overset{\vee}{y}$ was unrounded to $\underset{\vee}{i}$ in the North and the East-Midlands in the 10th and 11th centuries (SPLY § 38) and the Norse name probably participated in this development.

ON $\overset{\vee}{\phi}$

§50 ON $\overset{\vee}{\phi}$ appears to be represented by O in ASFORD (York, Cn 2) ON Asfróthr. (PNDB § 14, SPLY § 43)

Parasitic vowels

(i) connecting elements

§ 51 Parasitic vowels such as appear in LEOFENOD (Hereford Hr 2, HCn 2), GODEMAN (frequent instances, alternating with GODMAN), possibly FAREMAN (London Hr 1) also appear in late OE in common compound nouns as e.g. bærefot instead of bærfot, swiftlice instead of swiftlice (Campbell § 367). It would appear then that this is a native OE usage, and that it is not necessary to look for a Continental Germanic etymon for names in which this interelemental vowel occurs; though the instances of FAREMAN, FEREMAN may be from CG Far(a)man, and some of the instances of GODEMAN may also be CG.

§ 52(ii) within elements, between consonants

Parasitic vowels also occur in OE in the groups l+consonant, r + consonant, e.g. wylif for wylf, she-wolf, therih for therh, through. The parasitic vowel is i or occasionally e after a front vowel, a before a back vowel (Campbell § 360). This would explain forms such as BIREHTNO (York, Cn 1) presumably for *Birhtnoth, ALPERED (London, Cn 2) for *Alwerd. ODBERAN (Lincoln, Hr 1) reflects the same tendency. BYRIHSTAN (Taunton, Cn 1) may be not Beorht- but Burh-stān where the oblique-case byrig- form of the appellation may have replaced the nominative burh. Cf. § 76.

CYNIHT (Cambridge, Cn 1) is curious. It is unexpected to find a parasitic vowel in the cn group before the Conquest though as an Anglo-Norman feature it is common. Nor is y a normally used parasitic vowel. The name OE Cniht appears in a number of forms, a few of which such as CEHT, CNHT, and under Æthelred CYNT are confused; this CYNHT form may be another error.

OE ea

§ 53 OE ea of various origins became æ about 1000 and then followed the subsequent development of OE æ for which see §§ 11, 16.

§ 54 The traditional ea spelling still occurs frequently initially: EADPINE, EALDRED etc. The transitional æ is not found very frequently on coins of this period, but it occurs in ÆDNOÐ < OE Eadnoth (Hastings, Cn 3). A compromise spelling appears in ÆEDRIC (London Cn 2) and possibly ÆADPOLD, ÆADVLF (both London Cn 2) though these EA forms may be an inverted spelling of æ > e. Much more commonly found is the further development æ > e as in EDSIGE, EDPIG.

§ 55 In the elements Eald-, Ealh- where the diphthong is short, the later development of æ is to a. This may be the explanation of ALDVF (Lincoln Hr 1) and ALCSI (Chester Cn 1) but the vowel of these forms could be due to the Anglian variants Ald-, Alh- which had very much earlier smoothing. The change æ > a appeared very late in OE, and there are no examples of Ald- at the southern mints London and Lewes where EALGAR and EALDRED are moneyers. EALDRED also appears at Thetford in (Cn 1). The slightly different name-formation Ealdabeard at Exeter also appears only in EALD-forms.

§56 Short vowels and diphthongs were frequently lengthened in disyllabic words before -ld and -rd (Campbell §283). This would explain ERDNOÐ (London, Cn 1) where the "diphthong" of Eard- was originally short.

§57 The element -hēah usually appears regularly as -HEH (e.g. ÆLFHEH, ÞVLFEH, LIOFHEH) but also occasionally as -AH in ÆLFAH (Stamford, Hr 2) ÞVLFAH (Derby, HCn 2; Lincoln, Cn 1). These forms probably reflect an early shortening of the diphthong due to lack of stress (PNDB § 27, Luick § 238) followed by the normal late development of ea > æ > a. Similarly for -geat where most coin-forms of the period show the regular development -GET while ÞVLFGAT occurs at Lincoln in (Cn 1). ÆLEGAT (London, Cn 2) shows the transitional æ. It is noticeable that all the a-forms from the shortened ea-diphthong, like the forms in a from an originally short ea, occur at northern mints.

§58 In the element -weald smoothing is early, through reduction of stress (PNDB 25); fracture disappears from documentary sources c. 900. The -wold variant appeared about this time and spread rapidly; in the 11th cent. it had become commoner than the -wald form. See Alfweald, Eadweald, Leafweald etc.

§59 For -weard the traditional spelling appears in ÆLFPEARD (Hastings, Cn 1, 3. Lewes, Cn 1; London, Cn 2-3) and occurs as late as the end of Edward the Confessor's reign. The commonest form in the period under review here is -PERD, though -PARD forms do occur after (Cn 3). Feilitzen remarks that -ward is very rare in late OE (PNDB § 24) but see ÆLFVARD, ÆLFPARD ("Gothaburh", Lewes, London), ÆGELVARD, ÆGELPARD (London), ÞVLÞARD (Gloucester). OE -werd arose through the shifting of the accent in an unstressed position (PNDB § 24, Luick 266.1)

ON au

§60 ON au appears on coins as AV only much later in the OE period; cf. AVTI, AVTTI from the second half of Edward the Confessor's reign and AVÐOLF from William I, all York (SCBI Index).

§61 In the period under review here, ON au appears most frequently as o, even when it occurs in the stressed syllable. All the examples of ON Authbjörn have OD-; all the Lincoln examples of Authgrím have OD- though the York examples have OVDGRIM. All the examples of ON Authunn are in OD-. Feilitzen (PNDB § 37) regards o for ON au in this position as an English sound-substitution and Fellows-Jensen concurs; except to point out that in EScand the diphthong was monophthongised to o from the 10th cent. onwards.

§62 The diphthong is spelled OV (= ou) in a large number of cases both in the stressed and unstressed positions: OVSTMAN < ON Austmann (York Cn 2), COVTA < ON Gauti (London Cn 2), ASGOVT (York, Cn 2) - unless this example is a compromise spelling between ASGOT and ASGVT, both of which

are found - and PEDLOVS (Lincoln, Cn 3) < ON Vathlauss.

§63 In EScand the development of au in unstressed syllables was regularly > o > u. Both O and V are found on coins of Cnut and his sons: OSGOT, OSGVT, DVRGOD < ON Thorgautr. V appears once in a stressed position in VSTMAN < ON Austmann (York Cn 2).

ON ei

§64 ON ei is rarely found in this form on coins in the period under review here, but it occurs in IVSTEIN (Lincoln, Cn 2) and in STEINGRIM (Cambridge, Cn 2)

§65 In EScand ei was monophthongised to e beginning in Danish c.900 (SPLY §50 PNDB § 38). This is probably the explanation for such forms as DORSTEN (London, HCn 1)

§66 ON Sveinn at Chester, York and also Southwark appears in the Anglo-Scandinavian form SPEGN, SPEGEN. ON ei also appears as eg in IVSTEGEN (Lincoln, Cn 2)

Note also LEOFSTEGEN (Ipswich HCn 2) where presumably ON steinn has replaced OE -stān.

§67 The representation of ON ei by æ in STENGRIM (Cambridge, Cn 1) is curious, though forms in æg are found in ON loanwords into OE (PNDB § 38, Björkman Loanwords 36 ff.). Owing to the vocalisation and loss of palatal g there is some confusion in OE orthography as to when g should appear, as is shown by a number of inverted spellings and this may account for Æ being used here on its own.

§68 ON ei is represented by i in QVSTIN < ON Ibsteinn (Lincoln Cn 2). This is likely to represent the EScand development of weakly-stressed ei > e > i which is recorded from c.1000 (SPLY 51). The AN spelling i for e and the association with latinised names in -inus may have reinforced this usage in post-Conquest times but a pre-Conquest use of i < ON ei is also evidenced in COLBIN < ON Kolbeinn in Edward the Confessor's last type and possibly FARDIN < ON Farthegn (York, Cn 2) by association with the eg spellings of Swegen, -stegen < Sveinn, -steinn.

§69 Spellings in a are usually due to anglicisation as in DVRSTAN, IVSTAN where OE -stān may be replacing ON -steinn, ASLAC, OSLAC where OE -lāc may replace ON -leikr, and SPAN for ON Sveinn.

LIOF-, LIF- forms (excepting in OE Leofing)

LIOF... X LIF....0 (Edw)Edward the Confessor; (Wm I) William I

Regional provenances of dies: (SE) Southeastern; (L) London ;
 (E) Eastern ; (EA) East Anglian;
 (Ch) Chester; (W) Winchester; (?)uncertain.

Moneyer	Mint	Ethelred Last Type	(Cn 1)	(Cn 2-3)	Later
<u>Leofgār</u>	London			X	
<u>Leofheah</u>	Lincoln			X	
<u>Leofmann</u>	London			X	
<u>Leofnōth</u>	Bedford Canterbury	X(SE)	X(L)		Chester(Edw)X
<u>Leofrēd</u>	London	X(L)	X(SE)	X	Cricklade(Edw) X London(Hr)O (HCn,Edw)X Southwark(Edw)X
<u>Leofric</u>	Chichester Dover London Southwark Wallingford	X(L) X(L)	X(?) X(L,SE) X(SE)	X X	London(HCn)O Warwick(Wm I)O Worcester(do)X
<u>Leofsige</u>	Bedford Cambridge Lewes London		X(L) X(L,SE) O(?) X(SE) X(SE)	X	Steypning(Wm I)O
<u>Leofstān</u>	Canterbury London	X(E,SE) X(L)	X(L) X(L)	XO	Canterbury (Edw)XO Hereford(WmI)O Rochester (Wm I)O Worcester (Edw)X
<u>Leofsunu</u>					Maldon(Wm I) O
<u>Leofthegn</u>					Bedford (Edw) X
<u>Leofweald</u>	London Northampton Winchester	X(L)	X(L) X(L) X(W:BEH 3798)		Ipswich (Edw) X (Edw)X, (Wm I)XO
<u>Leofweard</u>					Lewes. (Edw) X Southwark(Wm I)O
<u>Leofwīg</u>	London	X(L)	X(SE)	X	Chester(HCn) O

Fig 1 LIOF-, LIF- forms cont/

Moneyer	Mint	Aethelred Last Type	(Cn 1)	(Cn 2-3)	Later
<u>Leofwine</u>	Bedford		X(EA)		Bristol (Wm I) O
	Chester		O(Ch)		Canterbury
	Chichester		X(?)		(Edw) X
	Dover		X(L)		Derby (Wm I) O
	Hertford			X	Dover (Wm I) O
	Lewes	X(L,SE,E)			Exeter (Wm I) O
	London	X(L)	X(L,SE)		Gloucester
	Maldon			X	(Edw) X (Wm I) O
	Northampton		X(L)		Lincoln (Edw) O
					Rochester (Edw) O
					(Wm I) O
					Taunton (Wm I) O
					Thetford (Wm I) O

§ 70 Both long and short $\bar{e}o$ became [ɔ] and this was unrounded to [o] in late OE (PNDB § 33). On coins the traditional $\bar{e}o$ persists throughout the OE period e.g. LEOFRIC (Stamford, Harold II), LEOFSTAN (Canterbury, Edward the Confessor BEH Type F) and, less frequently, into the Norman period, e.g. LEOFOLD (Winchester, Wm I).

§ 71 LEF- forms < OE $\bar{L}eof-$ appear already early in Æthelred's reign and are fairly frequent generally throughout the OE and Norman period, e.g. LEFEDA (Stamford, Hr 1), LEMON, LEMMAN < $\bar{L}eofman$ (Ipswich, Cn 1-2), LEFPINE (widely, mostly Cn). LEFPI (Canterbury, HCn 1) is probably an inverted spelling of \bar{e} < \bar{m} .

§ 72 Kentish and East Saxon have $\bar{i}o$ where West Saxon has $\bar{e}o$. Most of the examples of the LIOF- variant in Æthelred's last type and Cnut's first, where the regional provenance of the dies is ascertainable, appear on dies emanating from London and the south-east. Two instances occur on dies which may have been cut in East Anglia. The Winchester die with LIOFPOLD is problematical. In Cnut's second type the majority of the dies were cut centrally, and there are no examples of LIOF on dies associated with York or Lincoln, which are distinguishable from the two national styles (see above, p. 21 and Fig. 1).

§ 73 There are a few examples of LIF- for OE $\bar{L}eof-$ on coins of Cnut and his sons. Some of these examples, especially where LIF- appears later than the LIOF- forms discussed above, may represent the dialect development from $\bar{i}o > \bar{i}e > \bar{i}$ in Kentish and East Saxon (PNDB § 34). This would also account for CILNOD (Maldon Cn 1) and CILPICE (Thetford Cn 2) < OE $\bar{C}eolnōth$, $\bar{C}eolwīg$.

LIFSTAN, LIFPIE, LIPINE at Shrewsbury and Chester demand a different explanation, and may provide evidence for the disputed West Midland development $\bar{e}o > \bar{ɔ} > \bar{y} > \bar{i}$ (PNDB § 34, Wyld § 168). It is difficult to be certain exactly how these forms have arisen since the transitional stages seem not to be represented. During the reign of Edward the Confessor LIF- forms become more frequent and as may be seen from the table, they are common and widespread on the early Norman coinage.

§ 74 The name $\bar{L}eofing$ appears very rarely in a LEOF- form. LIFINC, LIFING is much more frequent; LYFINC also occurs but is not common. LEOF- forms occur at Chester, Warwick, Lincoln, but also Southwark. Feilitzen derives $\bar{L}yving$ < $\bar{L}eofing$ through an i-mutation of $\bar{i}o$, $\bar{e}o > \bar{i}e > \bar{y}$ in West Saxon, but this form of the name obviously obtained acceptance widely outside the West Saxon area. For unrounding of \bar{y} in late OE see above.

§ 75 In some names LVF- appears as a variant for LEOF-. Feilitzen (PNDB § 34) explains DB $\bar{L}ufinc$ as an AN \bar{u} spelling for \bar{y} , and postulates an Anglo-Scandinavian $\bar{L}eofketel$ to account for DB $\bar{L}ufchel$, with possible forms $\bar{L}uare$, $\bar{L}uede$ for $\bar{L}eofwaru$, $\bar{L}eofede$. In pre-Conquest instances we may have to take into consideration the OE feminine noun $\bar{l}ufu$ which

appears occasionally as a second element in feminine names (of. PNUDB 322) and as both a masculine and feminine name in its hypochoristic form Lufa (cf. Holm 52-3). As a prototheme it appears to fall together with Leof- in some names. The moneyers' names LEOFSTAN and LEOFINE appear contemporaneously with LVF- forms at the mints of Salisbury and Dover, but elsewhere at Western mints LV- and LVF forms appear without any LEOF forms: -

Hereford	<u>LVMAR</u> (<u>Æthelred</u> last type)
Worcester	<u>LVFERIC</u> (Cn 2, Hr 2) <u>LVFRIC</u> (Hr 1-2)
Salisbury	<u>LVFESTAN</u> (Cn K, Edw BEH Type A, second type of reign)
Dover	<u>LVFEPINE</u> (Cn 2) <u>LVFPINE</u> (Cn 2, Edw BEH Type C, third type of reign)

If in the western area Lufu- was still recognised as an element separate from Leof-, LVFE- may here exhibit the remains of the weakened terminal vowel (see § 40 above) rather than the parasitic interelemental vowel (§ 51 above).

§ 76 The OE element Beorht- appears in a number of different forms. The usual form on coins in the period under review is BRIHT-. BYRHT-, which is common under Æthelred is very rare for Cnut, Harold and Harthacnut. It appears only before -sige as BYRHSIE, BYRHSIGE and in BYRIHSTAN which may however stand for OE Burh- rather than Beorht-; cf. § 52

The Anglian form Breht- appears at York in BREHTNOD alongside forms in BRIHT-. BREHT- is also found at Winchester in BREHTNOD and at Malmesbury in BREHSTAN. Breht- is also found in BREHTNOD and the unmetathesised Berht- in BERHTNAÐ at Winchester under Æthelred.

Under Edward the Confessor BRIHT- continues to be the usual form except again before -sige where at the London mint the forms BRICSIE, BRIXIE etc. appear in the middle of the reign.

According to Feilitzen (PNUDB 31) forms in Byrht- begin to appear early in the tenth century and supersede Beorht-. The change arose from West Saxon and Kentish eo, io > y after b and before r+consonant. The metathesised form Bryht gave rise to Briht- by y > i before h, which is first recorded in the second half of the 10th cent.

§ 77 BREHT- at York is probably a metathesis of the unbroken Anglian form Berht-, but a different explanation is needed for the Winchester group. The die in the Malmesbury example is of Winchester style and emanated from the same source as the dies of the Winchester mint if not indeed from Winchester itself. Except for one instance of BERHTMAR at Rochester in Æthelred's BEH Type C (c.991-7) forms in Berht, Breht are not found outside York under Æthelred or subsequently. Many of the forms appear on types for which no regional die-cutting pattern is relevant, but those occurring on Æthelred's last type (BEH Æthelred 4115-6, SCBI 7 1354) are on dies of the Southern A style associated with Winchester itself rather than Southern B which had a wider distribution. Taken together with the Cnut examples the use of BREHT- seems to be a Winchester phenomenon.

This may be linked with the fact that Winchester is the only mint from which coins reading BEORHT- are known. BEORHTNOD coins appear there

for Ethelred c. 979-97. This may be regarded as a traditional spelling in a stronghold of West Saxon scribal orthodoxy but it is possible that the Winchester forms in e may derive directly from eo forms by the 11th cent. monophthongisation of eo (above § 70).

ON jó (WScand jó, jú, EScand iū)

ON jo (WScand jo, ja, EScand ia, io)

§78 The original ON variant iū is found in IVSTAN (Lincoln, Cn 1-2) .
ON Iósteinn. The vocalisation of OE palatal g has resulted in its being used as a graph for i in GVSTAN (Lincoln Cn 2)

ON jo is usually represented by E as in OSBERN (Derby Cn 1),
SPLY § 54. OSBARN (York Cn 2) is irregular but Anglo-Norman interchange of e and a is unlikely at this period in OE, and the form probably represents an anglicisation of the element as -bearn.

Simplification of consonant-groups in the conjunction of elements.

§79 In the formation of personal-names where the first element ends and the second begins with one or more consonants, unusual groups of consonants may be formed. The coins show a general tendency to simplify these groups either by the loss of the medial consonant in a group of three, or by the assimilation of the first consonant of a pair.

The elements Wulf-, Elf-, Eald-, which end in two consonants, are reduced in such forms as PVLPINE, PVLSTAN, EALGAR, ALPOLD (< OE Elfweald) etc. The reduction of Elf- > EL- falls together with EL- < Ethel- (see below §92) often making it difficult to be sure which name is intended.

§80 Assimilation has taken place in such forms as BRVMAN < OE Brunmann (nm > mm > m), LEMMAN, LEMON < OE Lēofmann, LEOMER < DE Lēofmār (fm > mm > m), LEORIC, LEOORED < OE Lēofric, Lēofrād.

The general tendency in late OE to drop the final l of Ethel- noted by Feilitzen (PNDB § 63) is not well evidenced in the material under discussion owing to the substitution of ÆGEL for ÆDEL after (Cn 1) (below, §92), though in (Cn 1) we find ÆDEMÆR, ÆDENOD, ÆDERIC. In the name Ethelstān however, there is no change to ÆGEL- and the usual form is ÆDESTAN which with syncope of the e is further reduced to ÆDSTAN and ultimately ÆSTAN.

§81 A few examples occur where another consonant of the group has disappeared as in PVRIC (Southwark, Cn 1), PVFSIG (Cambridge, Cn 1). ALSANF < OE Elfstān (Tamworth, Hr 1) is obviously confused and confusion in error cannot be ruled out in the other examples, but such forms may also be representations of the reduction of a difficult combination of sounds.

OE w, ON v

§82 ON v, which was still a bilabial at this period, is represented on coins, as in OE documentary sources, in the same way as OE w, namely p (PNDB § 55, Björkman Loanwords 305): PILGRIP < ODan Vilgrip, PIDFARE < ON Vithfari, Picing < ON Vikingr etc. Some V spellings occur towards the end of the period: ÆGELVINE (Southwark, HCn 2) < OE Ethelwine, ÆLVII (Southwark, HCn 2) < OE Elfwig, EDVINE (Dover, HCn 2) < OE Eadwine, LEFVINE (Lincoln, Cn 3).

§83 As early as the 8th cent. there was a tendency in OE to lose initial w in -wulf (PNDB 56); EADVLF (London Cn 2-3) shows this loss. OE w has also disappeared in ALFOLD < OE Elfweald (Bath, Cn 2). According to Feilitzen (PNDB §76) this reduction is not recorded in pre-Conquest sources and where it appears in Domesday Book it may be partly due to

the analogy of CG names in -ald, -old. There is, however, a tendency in OE to suppress initial w in the unstressed second element of compounds (cf. hlaforð < hlaforð). Feilitzen is inclined to dismiss ALFOLD on the coins as doubtful evidence, and the form may of course be due to an accidental omission.

OE f

§84 On the coins F appears almost invariably for both the voiced and the unvoiced consonant. Very occasionally V is found, as in DVRVERÐ < ON Thorfríthr (Norwich Cn 1) and in the VO, VOR forms of mint-names in -ford (BEDEVOR, HEREV, DEOTVO) which almost seem to be an idiosyncrasy of Harthacnut's die-cutters, though Harold has a few examples of STANVO. The difficulty here is that in all these instances f would normally be unvoiced, though there is some evidence in Domesday Book for the voicing of f in the metathesised forms of OE frith and ON fróthr. According to Feilitzen, the occasional appearance of u for voiced f in pre-Conquest records is due to Latin influence.

OE, ON t

§85 ON t in -gautr frequently appears as d as in ASGOD < ON Asgautr, DVRGOD < ON Thorgautr. This is probably to be explained by association with the OE element -gōd, since the Danish sound-change of t > d probably occurred too late to have influenced the forms found here.

§86 ON t in a medial position is represented by Ð in FASÐVLF < ON Fastulfr (York Cn 1). The coin is of indeterminate style. The same form appears at Thetford in Æthelred's last type on a coin of Dolley's Northern B style, possibly from dies cut at York. FASÐVLF appears on a Tamworth coin of the 990s of no discernable regional style. Only this name has Ð for T, and although forms with T appear as well, three out of the four mints where the name is known have the Ð form. Both Feilitzen (PNDB 96) and Fellows Jensen (SPLY 102) have examples of post-Conquest th for t due to AN orthographical interchange but none of a pre-Conquest usage. A similar spelling of Ð for t occurs twice in Latin words in Anglo-Saxon sources; on the Canterbury brooch (Okasha no. 19) PVDEMAN FECIÐ (for fecit), dating from the mid or late tenth century, and in BCS 536 abeaÐ (for habeat) much earlier, dated 873 but there are to my knowledge no vernacular parallels.

OE d

§87 OE d appears as D on the coins. In a few instances there is an unvoicing of the sound to T as in ETSTAN, ETSIGE. This tendency of a final d in the first element of a compound before an unvoiced consonant is noted in OE from early times; there are several examples of Eat- in LVD, and EOTBEREHTVS appears for the name of King Eadberht of Northumbria on his sceattas in the eighth century. This unvoicing would also account for GOTCILD < OE *Godcild and GOLTSIGE < OE Goldsig, but GOTSALIN is probably of continental origin, where the variation of d/t in this position is much more general, regardless of the following sound, cf. Morlet 111

§88 It is difficult to be sure if there is any significance in Ð for D in EADNOD (Huntingdon Cn 1), GODMAN (London Cn 2), ÐERMAN < OE Dēormann (London Cn 3), ÐVNSTAN (London Cn 2). If the reverse usage is significant (cf. OE þ, ð below) this could represent an inverted spelling; otherwise it may simply show orthographic confusion or a die-cutter's error.

§89 An inexplicable error which occurs several times is where D appears as N, as in GONPINE (Stamford Cn 2), ALFNON (Lincoln Hr 2) and pVLNON (Leicester Hr 1).

OE þ, ð

§90 The dental spirant appears on coins as Ð, whether representing the voiced or unvoiced value and in whatever position.

§91 Occasionally D appears as in EDNOD (Huntingdon Cn 1), BRIHTNOD (London, Cn 1), and initially in DVRVERÐ (Norwich Cn 1) and DVFERT for ON Thorfríthr (Thetford Cn 1). Such is the similarity between the two characters that it is often difficult to be certain of the true reading since a scratch on the coin can convert D to Ð, and wear can eliminate the distinguishing stroke. Whether the number of definite instances of one for the other is sufficient to imply a general orthographic confusion at this period is uncertain, but there is a possibility that D may have been used in the initial position to represent a voicing of initial þ in southern OE (SPLY 113).

§92 The development of the OE name-element Ethel- requires extended discussion. At one time it was believed that the development of Ethel > Egel- was due to an Old French sound-change and according to Campbell (§ 484 n.5) its use in late OE charters and on coins was "an affectation". Ekwall (ELPN 197) noted a parallel change in Old Danish and an identical change occurs in Old Frisian. It seems likely that a similar change took place in OE and that this native sound-change may account for the change in form on the coins.

On Ethelred's coins the normal form is EDEL- but there are at least three examples of EGEL-. EGELPINE appears at the London mint as early as in the Benediction variety of the Hand types, c.990. EGELRIC appears at Bath and Shaftesbury in Ethelred's last type, on only one die for each mint. Numerous EDELRIC forms appear at Bath in the preceding three types but none are known for Last Small Cross. At Shaftesbury one die is known in Last Small Cross with EDELRIC and this form also appears in the preceding type. Both the Bath and Shrewsbury Last Small Cross coins are of the Southern B style which has a wide but sporadic distribution over almost the whole country with the exception of the extreme north and north-west, and it is not possible to suggest any particular location for the preparation of the dies. Since this Southern B workshop produced only two dies with EGEL- and produced innumerable dies with EDEL- forms it is difficult to draw any conclusions as to the reason for the appearance of these rare EGEL- examples under Ethelred.

In Cnut's reign the picture is quite different. It is surprisingly clear-cut, since the usual pattern of rendering names on the coins is one in which orthographic change is constantly checked by traditional spelling so that any given chronological type will show a quite heterogeneous mixture of forms. In the EDEL/EGEL variation, however, a clear line can be drawn after Cnut's first type and it can be stated almost without exception that EDEL forms belong to (Cn 1) and EGEL to (Cn 2-3).

The only exceptions known to me of EGEL before (Cn 2) other than the three Ethelred examples discussed above are a group of Severn-style dies of the Bristol mint reading EGELPINE and EGLPINE in (Cn 1). I have been able to trace no other Severn dies on which this name-element occurs, except possibly in ELEPI, ELEVI at Hereford (for which see below p. 58). Although one might expect, because of their exceptional occurrence, some relationship between the Bath and Shaftesbury EGELRICs under Ethelred and the Bristol EGELPINEs in (Cn 1) there is no traceable continuity in the supply of dies nor any connection between them, Bath and Shaftesbury receiving no Severn dies under Cnut and Bristol receiving no Southern B dies under Ethelred. Again, the significance of the idiosyncratic use of EGEL on a handful of Severn dies in (Cn 1) is far from clear.

The other exception to the EDEL rule in (Cn 1) is the appearance of EGLIGT and EGELGET at Bedford. The etymon of the first form would be obscure if it were not for the second form which shows its derivation from OE Ethelgēat, and it is possible that the vocalisation of palatal g and its alternative spelling i (below §98) may have caused some confusion in the die-cutting. The dies are of London style in both cases.

These (Cn 1) exceptions along with the Ethelred examples show that the EGEL spelling was known in England as early as the 990s and was used, though only very rarely, in the next three decades, having either arisen to express the replacement of Ð[ð] by palatal g in OE speech, (or rather by the vocalic glide for which g was an accepted spelling) or been adopted from an external orthographical tradition in which the spelling was relevant to a local phonological change.

As we have seen, there was considerable reorganisation in the coinage at the beginning of the Pointed Helmet type (Cn 2). The numerous regional die-cutting centres were closed and one or two central workshops were established to replace them. The local die-cutting workshop for York survived throughout Pointed Helmet but the other remaining local East Mercian (Lincoln?) centre was closed shortly after it had provided dies for the inception of the type. At the same time, a greater proportion of the coins than hitherto conform more closely to the notional weight-standard. It would appear that scribal convention in the new central die-cutting schools also made a break with the past in respect of the *EDEL/EGEL* usage. It is not possible to tell whether any of the old Southern B die-cutters of Ethelred or the Severn die-cutters of Cnut who had shown a partiality for the *EGEL* spelling were included in the new establishment, or whether it was only knowledge of the usage that persisted (and after all it exists in documentary sources from c. 1020 onwards). Certainly, to account for the tidiness and consistency of the *EDEL/EGEL* change, some deliberate decision must have been taken either in or for the die-cutting centres that *EGEL* was the preferred spelling, even if it was only taking cognisance of a fact of pronunciation, and to this extent Campbell's point that it was an affectation may be a valid one.

If we consider the exceptions to the rule of *EGEL* in (Cn 2-3) they follow a more explicable pattern than the exceptions in (Cn 1), and one that is fully consistent with the change being connected with the reorganisation in die-cutting provision. At York where the local die-cutting school provided the dies throughout (Cn 2), with the idiosyncratic *M^o* formula on the reverse, *EDEL* forms persist and *EGEL* appears first in (Cn 3) simultaneously with the absorption of York into the national die-cutting organisation.

At Lincoln six dies are known for the moneyer *Ethelmær* in (Cn 2). Of these two read *EGEL* and as might have been expected these have "national" style obverses and the *ON* formula for the reverse legend. Three read *EDELMER* (or *-MER*) followed by *MO*, which we saw was often a characteristic of the East Midlands/Lincoln school which was still active for a short time before being superseded by the national distribution of dies during (Cn 2). One of these reverse dies is found coupled with an obverse with the curious **EX* version of the royal title which also characterises the separate die-cutting of this area; the other two whilst reading *REX* nevertheless have a very similar form of lettering which makes it likely that they were produced in this same workshop. There remains one die reading *EDELMER* with *ON* and a "national" obverse which would seem to belong to the later phase of minting the type at Lincoln; also, curiously, one example of *EDELMER* in Short Cross (Cn 3) occurs for the Lincoln mint.

Two other curious examples of *EDEL* in (Cn 2) must be mentioned. One is the curious piece in Copenhagen (SCBI 15 4416) which has the footnote "electrotype, in which case from an unknown coin, or perhaps a base striking from official dies". Thus although its metal is base the dies are to be accepted as authentic. The coin reads *EDLMER ON SVDBV* and has been attributed to Sudbury in Suffolk, within the area of the East Midlands centre, and though the *ON* formula is used the obverse has the characteristic **EX* legend which is indicative of the output of this centre. An even stranger case is the coin which appeared in Nordman's catalogue of Anglo-Saxon coins found in Finland and which is now illustrated in SCBI 25 750. This is a penny of Bath - one would have believed well outside the orbit of the northern remnant of local die-cutting. However the coin not only plainly reads *EDELRIC MO BAÐVM* but also has the **EX* obverse. The coin cannot be explained either as forgery nor imitation, the likelihood being very remote that an imitator would be aware that *EDEL*, *MO* and **EX* belong together, and the classical and complete form of the mint-signature make attribution to any mint in the East Midlands area - Bedford for example - quite impossible. One cannot avoid the conclusion that although this

coin is from the Bath mint the dies from which it was struck were obtained from the ÆDEL/MO/EX workshop which supplied Lincoln and the East Midlands. To sum up the position in Pointed Helmet, all the coins which have ÆDEL rather than ÆGEL forms in Pointed Helmet (Cn 2) are associated with one of the remaining northern local die-cutting centres.

There are two examples of ÆDEL amongst the almost universal adoption of ÆGEL in Cnut's last type Short Cross (Cn 3). An apparent third, the coin in the Ashmolean Museum Sylloge volume (SCBI 9 726) which records ÆDELRIC at Shaftesbury, has a very unclear second letter which could very well be read as G; in fact the same die appears again on the Copenhagen coin SCBI 15 3344 and the form is clearly ÆGELRIC. ÆELMER in (Cn 3) at Lincoln has already been mentioned. ÆDELRIC also appears on a coin of Winchester in this type.

In a few forms the vocalic glide is represented by I or is not represented at all in the spelling. This process is represented in ÆILM < Ethelhelm (Chichester, Cn 2), ÆILRIC < Ethelric (Winchester, Cn 2) and probably ÆELMAN < Ethelmann (Bedford Cn 2). Forms in ÆL- also occur. In many cases where forms such as ÆLRIC, ÆLSIGE appear there are moneyers recorded as ÆLFRIC, ÆLFSIGE and the ÆL- forms are likely to be the result of a reduction of the medial consonant-group (see §§ 79-81). There are some instances, however, where no parallel ÆLF- forms are known for the mint. Reference to the alphabetical name-list will give fuller details but one can note ÆLBRHT at Ipswich in (Cn 1) along with ÆDELBERHT in (Cn 1) and ÆGELBRIH etc. in (Cn 2-3). Ilchester has ÆLMER in (Cn 1) with ÆELMER in the same type. Shaftesbury has ÆLRIC in all three of Cnut's types along with the regular ÆDELRIC, ÆGELRIC forms. Winchester has ÆLRIC in (Cn 1) and (Cn 3), with the usual ÆDELRIC in (Cn 1) and ÆGELRIC in (Cn 2-3). Under Ethelred ÆL- forms appear at Winchester in ÆLMER and at Cricklade in ÆLPINE, both in the last type of the reign, but it is impossible to tell whether Ædel- or Ælf- is the etymon.

This body of evidence suggests that some at least of the early ÆL- forms may stand for a development of Ethel-. A number of these appear in (Cn 1) and thus antedate the general adoption of the ÆGEL form. It seems possible that the ruling that the element should be spelled ÆGEL on the coins was an attempt to regularise an existing change in pronunciation which was already being represented phonetically. By the end of the reign, however, it seems that the almost universal standardisation was breaking down and ÆL- forms for Ethel- are common under Harold and Harthacnut.

On coins of the north-western mints forms in ÆLE-, ELE- forms appear, e.g. ÆLEPIG, ELEPI (Hereford Cn 1-3), ÆLERIC (Gloucester HCn 2), ELEPINE (Chester, Cn 1-3). Similar forms appear under Ethelred, earliest at Chester c. 980 and also at Hereford. This appears to be a local development of OE Ethel-, though certain prosopographical evidence in the form of Ethel- names at these mints is sparse. There is, however, ÆDELPINE alongside ELEPINE at Hereford in Ethelred's Long Cross type (c.997-1003); a moneyer ÆDELPI, ÆDELPIG appears at Chester in Ethelred's last type who may be the same man as the ÆLEPI etc. who strikes there for Cnut.

OE s

§ 93 The main interest here is epigraphic rather than phonological. It is during the reign of Cnut that the earlier epigraphic form Σ is replaced by the round form S on the coins. This takes place between (Cn 1) and (Cn 2) and it is noteworthy that it follows the same patterns in die-production observed in the change in the form of the copulative from MO or M \bar{O} to ON (above, p. 22) and the different spelling-convention for the element Ethel- (above p. 56). In Quatrefoil (Cn 1) the Σ form is universal. In Pointed Helmet (Cn 2) the S form appears everywhere except in the northern and north-eastern die-cutting workshops which are characterised by the older copulative and Ethel- spelling. At York the Σ remains throughout the currency of the type. At Lincoln and Stamford, where local die-cutting seems to have been superseded by the national distribution of dies during the currency of Pointed Helmet, the pattern is not so clear-cut but the division is generally valid in that Σ appears on coins with MO but there are also instances of it remaining with the new copulative ON, though in the main S appears with ON. On the Sudbury coin with ÆDL- discussed above (p. 56) the Σ form is used.

The angular form occasionally appears retrograde as Z without any variation in the value of the consonant.

OE c

§ 94 On the coins, as is usual in OE orthography, C is used to represent both the sounds [k] and [tʃ]. ON K, though not completely unknown in OE alphabets, is regularly represented on coins of the period under review here as C (see names in CETEL-). Later, a very few examples of K appear on coins of Edward the Confessor, sometimes in forms resembling more closely R or B. The only example of K which enters the discussion here is in the very curious form CRVRN or GRVRN (York Cn 2) which is probably to be taken as representing Old Crucan by the form CRVKN. These strange forms are the only ones in the whole period which do not have the angular \mathbb{C} for C. Though variously rendered by Hildebrand as CRVRN and GRVRN (648, 636-7) the symbol in all cases is \mathbb{C} . There also seems to be some confusion in this name with either the voiced form of the consonant or the spelling-symbol \mathbb{C} as some forms read \mathbb{C} RVCAN.

OE g

§ 95 By the eleventh century OE g is plosive initially (and initially in a second element) and after n; in other positions it is the spirant [j] (PNDB § 126) and g of ON derivation was treated similarly.

§ 96 i) The plosive [g] occasionally appears on coins as C, in OSCOT < ON Ásgautr (York Cn2), COVTA < ON Gauti. These may simply be die-cutting errors but it is interesting to compare Couta in Domesday which Feilitzen ascribes to AN influence. COTRIC < OE Gōdrīc appears only on a group of problematical coins discussed below s.n., in which the untypical symbol \mathbb{G} used is as likely to stand for G as C.

§ 97 ii) In the combination ng, which appears on coins mainly in the suffix -ing, g was frequently unvoiced to [k] (PNDB § 80) Although it is often difficult to

differentiate between the two symbols on coins with any certainty, there is sufficient evidence to show frequent variation between the endings -ING and -INC. This is particularly noticeable in the forms of Lȳfing, LEōfing, q.v. This unvoicing would also account for RINCVLƿ < OE Hringwulf or ON Hringulfr.

§98 iii) The spirant [j], though frequently represented on coins of this period by the traditional G spelling. (LEOFEDG, ƿVLFSIGE, LEOFƿIG), also appears in many instances as I (LEOFDAI, ƿVLFSIIE, LEOFƿII). Where II occurs, other forms show reduction to a single monophthong I (ƿVLSIE, LEOFƿI). Confusion sometimes arises, hence the inverted spelling LEOFDAII. For the further reduction of -SIE to -SI, see §21 above.

In AGELET < OE Æthel/Egel-geat the similar development is -geat (> get in EGLGET) > iet > et.

OE h

§99 Initially in the combinations hr, hw, h was disappearing in the late 10th cent; cf. RINCVLƿ < OE or ON Hring-, RÆFEN < OE Hrafn with almost consistent HPAT forms < OE Hwæt-.

§100 Internally in the combination ht the sound of OE h [x] became [k] (PNDB §142) thus BRICSTAN (Malmesbury Cn 1) < OE Beorhtstān; ALCSI (Cn 1 Chester) < OE Ealhſige.

§101 Initially in the weakly-stressed second element of compounds h disappears (PNDB §140), hence ƿVLFELM < OE Wulfhelm, ELFERE < OE Ælfhere, ÆLFEH < OE Ælfheah, but cf. LIOFHEH.

§102 Final h is usually retained: ÆLFEH, LIOFHEH.

Doubling and simplification of consonants and vowels.

§103 Doubling of letters appears with some frequency on the coins of the period under review here and it is difficult to see any systematic pattern in this usage. Some examples seem to reflect the quantity of the vowel, either by doubling the vowel e.g. ƿVLFNOOÐ (London Cn 1) < -nōth, TOOCA < ON Tóki (York Cn 2) or the consonant after a short vowel e.g. ƿVLFƿINNE (Bristol HCn 1) -wine, ETSIGGE < -sige, but cf. LEOFƿIINE (Hr 2 Chester, Northampton), TOCAA (York Cn 2) TIDREDD (Cn 2 Thetford), EDPINEE (Dover Hr 1).

The only explanation of this practice other than pure caprice on the part of the die-cutter could be that it had some usefulness in differencing one die from another rather as pellets, annulets and other markings were sometimes used.

ALPHABETICAL NAME LIST

Ada

Cambridge ADA (Cn 1-2) SCBI
ADEA (Cn 1) SCBI
ADE (Cn 1) SCBI

Huntingdon ADA (Cn 3) SCBI
ADE (Cn 2) BEH

Ada, un-compounded name, Redin 81; in use in OE, cf. Searle 2,3, but Redin does not consider it Germanic in origin.

For final -a > -e see § 5 . ADEA may be a compromise spelling.

[Adelaver CG Adel- but second element uncertain: 'Moneyers c.973-1016' Lincoln 236; see also Feilitzen 'Edgar' and SCBI lla xiii.]

Efic

Exeter EFIC (Cn 3) SCBI
EFICC (Cn 3) BEH

Norwich EFIC (Cn 1, Hr 1) SCBI
EFICC (Hr 1) SCBI
EFIC (Cn 1) SCBI

OE Efic, un-compounded name with -ic suffix, Redin 150-1, PNDB 172. According to Redin a derivative of OE Effa which may be a hypochorism for names in Elf- .

On e for æ see § 13

['Moneyers c.973-1016' Shrewsbury 221]

[Egenulf CG: 'Moneyers c.973-1016' Stafford 221, London 250]

Egfrye

London AEFRYE (Cn 2) SCBI

Uncertain. Possibly CG Agfrid, Morlet 21 ?

AISMAN see Agisman

Eleffe

London ALEFFE (Cn 2) SCBI

The name intended here is doubtful, probably some name in Elf-.

ALFEH see Elfheah ALFELM see Elfhelm ALFERE see Elfhære
ALFF see Elf-

Elfferth ?

Norwich ÆLFERÐ (Cn 3) SCBI

Possibly OE Elfferth but more likely a form of Ethelferth, ^{the name of} a Norwich moneyer in this type.

Elfgar

Barnstaple ÆLFGAR (Cn 1-3) SCBI, (Hr 2) BEH

Huntingdon ÆLFGAR (Cn 3) SCBI

London ←

ÆLFGAR (Cn 2) SCBI

ÆLFGAR (Cn 3) SCBI

Southwark ÆLFGAR (Cn 1) BEH, (Cn 2) SCBI

Wareham ÆLFGAR (Cn 3) BEH

OE Elfgar, PNUB 172. For Alf- see § 11

[Moneyers c.973-1016³ Tamworth 221, Lincoln 233, Stamford 236, Thetford 243, London 250, Winchcombe 256, Aylesbury do., Lewes 261, Wareham 266]

Elfgēat

London ←

ÆLFGĒT (Cn 2) SCBI

OE Elfgēat, PNUB 173. For -get see ēa>æ>ē § 53

[Moneyers c.973-1016³ Hereford 223, Stamford 236, London 250]

Elfheah

London ÆLFĒH (Cn 2) SCBI

ÆLFFĒH (Cn 3) BEH

Rochester ←

ÆLFEĒE (Cn 1) SCBI

ÆLFĒH (Cn 2-3, HCn 1) SCBI

ÆLFFĒH (Cn 3) SCBI

ÆLFĒH (Cn 1) SCBI

ÆLFE[(Hr 1) BEH

Shrewsbury

ÆLFFĒH (HCn 2) SCBI

ÆLFĒH (Cn BEH Type B, i.e. Ethr Long Cross but in Cnut's name, probably Scandinavian) SCBI

Stamford ÆLFFĒH (HCn 2) BEH

ÆLFAN (Hr 2) SCBI

←

Winchester ←

ÆLFĒH (Cn 2-3) SCBI

ÆLFĒH (Cn 3) SCBI

At Shrewsbury Alfheah was undoubtedly a moneyer in Aethelred's Long Cross type; there is no reason to believe that BEH 3359-61 and SCBI 7 1088 are not English and these are probably the prototypes for the imitations. BEH 3362, SCBI 2 861 and 17 243-4 (all from the same dies) on the other hand have an irregular obverse which is used elsewhere with "York" and "London" reverses and the coins figure in Die-chain 1 of Long Cross imitations, Blackburn, see above p.12. The reverse, however, is not that used for the (Cn B) imitation, Lyon et al. 241, pl.XLIG.

The Harthacnut coin with this moneyer's and mint name seems to be unconnected with the imitations and must be supposed English.

OE Alfhēah PNDB 174. The classical OE form in -hēah is not found amongst the moneyers' names of this period. The initial h of the element is found rarely on Aethelred coins but now seems to have disappeared. For initial prevocalic h in unstressed syllables see §101. Assimilation of fh > ff could account for ALFF- forms but see also §103 for doubling of letters.

The original WS diphthong has likewise disappeared and the usual form of the second element is -EH showing the normal development in late OE of ēa > ē before h in most dialects § 57. For -AN (?= AH) at Stamford see the Anglian development ēa > æ > ǣ > a § 11.

For ELF- and ALF- see § 11, 13.

The use of the symbol g in ALFEGE at Rochester is fairly common and derives from a false analogy with the interchange of g and h in oblique cases in such pairs as burh, burge, and is perhaps reinforced by latinised forms of the name.

[Moneyers c.973-1016' Shrewsbury 221, Rochester 259, Winchester 268.]

Alfhelm

Bruton ALFELM (Cn 1) BEH, (2-3) SCBI
ALFFELM (Cn 1) SCBI, (2-3) BEH

Shrewsbury ALFELM (Cn 1) SCBI

Winchester ALFELM (Cn 1) BEH

OE Alfhelm PNDB 174. Loss of h in the second element is consistent, cf. Alfheah and §101. For doubling of f see § 79, 103.

[Moneyers c.973-1016' Winchcombe 256, Barnstaple 264, Ilchester 265, Winchester 268.]

Alfhere

York ALERE (Hr 2) BEH.
ALFERE (Hr 2) BEH, (HCn 2) SCBI
 →

OE Alfhere PNDB 174. For loss of h see § 101. The first form may be an error.

[Moneyers c.973-1016 York -- SCBI 7 221]

[Alfketill ODan: Moneyers c.973-1016 Derby 240.]

[Alfmar OE: Moneyers c.973-1016 Oxford 256, Wallingford 257, Exeter 262, Winchester 269.]

Elfnōth

Chester ←
 ÆLFNOÐ (Cn 1-3) SCBI
 ELNOÐ (Cn 1, 3) SCBI

Huntingdon ←
 ÆLFNOD (Cn 1) BEH
 ÆLFNOÐ (Cn 1) BEH

Ilchester ÆLFNOÐ (Cn 2) SCBI

Lincoln ÆLFNOÐ (Cn 1-3, Hr 1) SCBI, (Hr 2, HCn 2) BEH
 ÆLFNON or ÆLFNOÐ (Hr 2) SCBI
 ELNOT or ELNOÐ (Hr 2) BEH
 ALFNOÐ (HCn 2) BEH
 →

London ÆLFNOÐ (Hr 1) SCBI
 ELLFNOÐ (Hr 1) SCBI

Salisbury ÆLFNOÐ (Cn 1-2) SCBI

Two of the Lincoln forms are uncertain; ÆLFNON appears to have an original erroneous N altered to correct Ð; BEH reads ELNOT for 374, the coin is not clear and according to Mossop a cut halfpenny from the same dies appears in the Lilla Klintegårda find, Västkind's sn. Gotland, which gives a better reading ELNOÐ. -NOT for -NOÐ is not otherwise known on pre-Conquest coins, though AILNOT appears on late coins of Henry I.

OE Elfnōth PNDB 175. ÆLNOÐ at Chester can either be this moneyer's name with loss of interconsonantal f or a form of Ethelnoth, q.v.

For ALF- see §11. For doubling of letters see §103.

[Moneyers c.973-1016¹ Chester 219, Huntingdon 244, Sudbury 246, London 250, Lewes 261, Exeter 262, Salisbury 267.]

Elfrēd

Canterbury ←--
 ÆLFRED (Cn 2-3) SCBI, (Hr 1-2, HCn 1) BEH, (HCn 2) SCBI
 ÆLFRYD (Cn 1) SCBI
 ELRED (Hr 1) SCBI
 --→

Hastings ELFRD (Cn 3) SCBI
 ÆLFRED (HCn 1) SCBI
 ALFRED (HCn 1) BEH

London ÆLFRED (Cn 2) SCBI
 ÆLFRED (Cn 3, Hr 1) SCBI, (Hr 2) BEH
 ELFRIED (Cn 3) SCBI

Salisbury ÆLFRED (Cn 1,3, Hr 1-2) SCBI

Wilton ÆLFRED (Cn 3) SCBI

Winchester ÆLFRED (HCn 1) SCBI

OE Elfr̄ad P^NDB 175. The usual form at this period is -red, for which see § 16. For -RYD see § 18. -RIED is probably an error. For Alf- see § 11. ELRED is likely to be a form of this name since no Ethelred is known for the type and mint; on e for a see § 13; for loss of inter-consonantal f see § 79.

[Moneyers c.973-1016 London 250, Canterbury 259, Hastings 261. The Hastings coin is possibly to be read ELFNOD rather than ELFRED]

Elfr̄ic

Axbridge ELFRIC (Cn 1) SCBI

Bath ←-

ELFRIC (Cn 1-3) SCBI

ELRIC (Cn 3) SCBI

ELFRICI (Cn BEH Type B, i.e. Ethr Long Cross but in Cnut's name, probably Scandinavian) SCBI

Canterbury ELFRIC (Cn 3) SCBI, (Hr 1) BEH

Chichester ELFRIC (Cn 3, Hr 1-2) SCBI

Lincoln ←-

ELFRIC (Cn 1) SCBI

ELFRIC (Cn 1) SCBI

ALFRIC (HCn BEH types G and Gb, same reverse die, Scandinavian)

London ←- (? - no coins of (Cn 1) known

ELFRIC (Cn 2) SCBI

ELFRIC (Cn 2-3, Hr 1-2) SCBI, (HCn 2) BM

ELFRICC (HCn 2) SCBI

ELFRIG (Cn 3) SCBI

ELFRIC (Hr 1) SCBI

ELFRG (Cn 2) BEH

Lydford ELFRIC (Hr 1) SCBI

-->

Norwich ←-

ELFRIC (Cn 1-2) SCBI

Southwark ELFRICC (HCn 2) In Stockholm Systematic Collection but not in BEH, ex Inv. 17305

ELFRIC (HCn 2) BM

Stafford ELFRIC (Cn 1-2) SCBI, (Cn 3) BEH, (Hr 2) SCBI

Wallingford ELFRIC (HCn 2) SCBI

Winchester possibly ELFRIC (Hr 1) but could be EGLRIC - BEH

The Bath (Cn B) coin does not link into any die-chain of imitations but for reasons for believing all the (Cn B) group are Scandinavian or from an imitative workshop see Lyon et al. 241. The supposedly Lincoln Harthacnut coins die-link into a group of miscellaneous varieties of Cnut and Harthacnut types which are certainly not English and were assigned to the Danish mint of Lund by Hauberg, 112-22.

OE Elfr̄ic P^NDB 176. ELRIC at Bath may alternatively be a form for Ethelric, q.v. For Elf- see § 13. On G for C see § 94; for doubling

of letters § 103 .

[Moneyers c.973-1016⁷ Lincoln 233, Leicester 239, Norwich 242, Huntingdon 244, Cambridge 245, London 250, Wallingford 257, Bath 258, Southwark do., Romney 261, Exeter 262]

Elfsige

"Cesth" (Caistor?) ELFSIGI (Cn 1) SCBI

Chester ELFSI (Cn 1) SCBI
 ELFSIE (Cn 3) SCBI
 ELFSIG (Cn 1) SCBI , (HCn 2) BEH
 ELFSIGE (Cn 2-3, Hr 1-2) SCBI
 ELFSIIGE (Hr 1) SCBI
 ELSIGE (Cn 3) BEH .

Gloucester ELFSIG (HCn 1) BEH
 ELFSIGE (HCn 2) Gotland find NNUM Jan 1961
 ELFSIIE (Hr 2) BEH

Ilchester ELFSIG (Cn 1) SCBI
 ELFSIGE (Cn 1) SCBI
 ELFSIIG (Cn 1) SCBI

Langport ELFSIG (Cn 1) SCBI

Southampton ELFSIGE (Cn 1) SCBI

Southwark ELFSIG (Cn 1) SCBI
 ELSIG (Cn 1) SCBI

Taunton ELFSIG (Cn 1) SCBI .

Thetford ELFSIG (Cn 1) SCBI

Winchester <--
 ELFSIGE (Cn 1-3) SCBI
 ELFSIIE (Cn 2) SCBI

ELSIGE, ELSIG at Chester and Southwark are probably this moneyer since there are no EGEL-, EDEL- forms there. For the possibility that "Cesth" is not an English mint and that the dies were intended for export see below under Beorhtnoth.

OE Elfsige P^NDB180. For -si, sie, siig, sie < -sige see § 98
 For loss of f in ELSIGE, ELSIG (if the name intended is Elfsige) see § 79 .

[Moneyers c.973-1016⁷ Stafford 221, Lincoln 233, London 250, Barnstaple 264, Ilchester 265, Wareham 266, Wilton do., Winchester 269]

Elfstan

Chester ELFSTAN (HCn 2) BEH
 Elfstan (Cn 1) SCBI 5xxxiv

Dover ELFSTAN (Cn 3) SCBI

Exeter ELFSTAN (Cn 2, HCn 2) BEH

London ←
 ELFSN (Cn 2) SCBI
 ELFSTAI (Cn 1) SCBI
 ELFSTAN (Cn 1) SCBI, (Cn 2) BEH, (Cn 3) SCBI

Tamworth ELFSTAN (Cn 3) BEH,
 ALSANF (Hr 1) BEH

Wilton ELFSAN (Cn 1) SCBI
 ELFSTAN (Cn 1) BEH, (Cn 2-3) SCBI, (Hr 1-2) BEH
 ELSTAN (Cn 2) SCBI
 ELFSTAN (Hr 2) BEH 992 read there as ELFSTAN

Winchester ←
 ELFSTA (Cn 1) BEH
 ELFSTAN (Cn 1-2) SCBI, (Hr 2) BEH, coin in print but missing from
 collection
 ELFSTAN (Cn 2) SCBI
 ELFSTAN (Cn 2) BEH

York ←
 ELFSTAN (Cn 2) SCBI
 ELFSTAN (Cn 1) SCBI

OE Elfstān PND 180. For ALF-, ELF- see § 11, 13-15.
 Final N is sometimes formed with a single vertical joined by a diagonal to
 the reverse cross where it divides the legend; the omission of such a diagonal
 would explain the form ELFSTAI. ELFSAN, ELSTAN and the confused ALSANF all
 show a reduction of the medial consonant-group fst, see § 81.

[Moneyers c.973-1016] Chester 219, Shrewsbury 221, Hereford 223, York 227,
 Bedford 245, London 250, Bath 258, Canterbury 259, Exeter 262, Lydford 264,
 Totnes do., Winchester 269]

Elfweald

Bath ←
 ALFOLD (Cn 2) SCBI
 ALFƿALD (Cn 1) SCBI
 ALFƿOLD (Cn 1-2) SCBI

Bridport ALƿOLD (Cn 2) SCBI

Guildford ALFƿOLD (Cn 3) SCBI

London ELFƿOLD (Hr 1) BEH
 ELFƿOLD (Hr 1) SCBI

Norwich ELFFƿALD (Hr 1) SCBI
 ELFIƿALD (Hr 1) SCBI
 ELFƿOLD (Hr 1) SCBI, (Hr 2) BEH
 ALFƿOLD (Hr 2) BEH

Oxford ALFƿOLD (Cn 1-3) SCBI

Rochester ELFƿOLD (Cn 1) BEH

Thetford ELFƿOLD (Cn 3) SCBI
 ALFƿALD (Hr 1) SCBI
 ALFƿOLD (Cn 3) SCBI
 ALƿOLD (Cn 3) SCBI

Warwick ALFOLD (Cn 1-3) SCBI

Winchester ←
ALFOPLD (Cn 1) BEH

Worcester ALFOLD (Cn 1-2) SCBI

OE Elfweald P_ND_B 181. On the prevalence of ALF- forms in this name see § 11
There are no forms of the deutertheme in -weald at this period; the pre-
dominant form is -wold, for which see § 58 . For doubling of letters see
§ 103 . For possible ELF- see § 13 . ALPOLD, ALFOLD reduce the con-
sonant-group fw, for which see § 79 .

[Moneys c.973-1016 Stafford 221, Stamford 236, Thetford 243, London 250,
Oxford 256, Bath 258, Warminster 267, Winchester 269]

Elfweard

Aylesbury ELFVERD (Cn 1) BEH

Bristol ELFVERD (Hr 1-2) SCBI
→

"Gothaburh" ALFVARD (HCn 2) BEH

Hastings ELFRD (Cn 3) SCBI (but may = Elfred, q.v.)
ELFVARD (Cn 3) SCBI, (HCn 2) BEH
ELFPEARD (Cn 1) BEH, (Cn 3) SCBI
ELFPER (Hr 2) BEH
ELFVERD (Cn 1-3, Hr 1) SCBI, (Hr 2) BEH
ELFPERD (Cn 1) BEH

"Land" - probably Langport ELFVERD (Hr 1) BEH

Langport ELFVERD (Hr 1) SCBI

Lewes ←
ELFERD (Cn 1) CNS 1:1:82
ELFVARD (Cn 3) BEH
ELFPEARD (Cn 1) BEH
ELFVERD (Cn 2-3) SCBI
ELFVERDD (Cn 2) SCBI
ELVERD (Cn 1) BEH

London ←
ELFPEARD (Cn 2) BEH, (Cn 3) SCBI
ELFVERD (Cn 1) BEH, (Cn 2) SCBI
ELFVARD (Cn 3) SCBI
ALFVARD (BEH HCn Type Ga = type as (Cn 3) but in Harthacnut's name.
Probably Danish, Hauberg v 9 . Mint probably is Lund; mint-
signature is LV)
ALVARD (BEH HCn Type Ha = type as (Hr 2) but in Harthacnut's name.
Probably Danish, Hauberg v 25 . Mint probably is Lund; mint-
signature is LVDI)

Southampton ALFVERD (Cn 1) SCBI
ELFVERD (Cn 1) BEH
ELPERD (Cn 1) BEH

Southwark ALFVERD (Cn 1) SCBI
ELFVERD (Cn 1) SCBI

Winchester ALFƿERD (Hr 1) BEH

OE Elfweard PNDB 181. -weard is found at the southern mints Hastings, Lewes and London, at London up to Cnut's last type. For the variation -ward, -werd see §59. ALF- appears on one London die that is likely to be English; the other examples are probably Danish. For the loss of f in ALƿERD see §79.

[Moneyers c.973-1016⁷ Worcester 222, London 250, Wallingford 257, Guildford 258, Hastings 261, Lewes do.]

Elfwig

Bath ALƿIG (Hr 1) BEH

Cambridge

←-

ALƿI (Cn 1, Hr 2) SCBI

ALƿIG (Cn 1) SCBI, (Cn 2) BEH, (Cn 3, Hr 1-2) SCBI, (HCn 2) BEH

->

Leicester

←-

ALƿIG (Cn 1) SCBI

London

←-

ALƿI (Cn 1) SCBI

ALƿIG (Cn 3) SCBI

ALƿII (Cn 3) SCBI

ALƿIIG (Cn 2) SCBI

ELƿIG (Cn 3) SCBI

ELƿII (Cn 1) SCBI

ALƿI SPECEL (or SPECEL) (Cn 3) SCBI

ALƿI SPENCEL (or SPENCEL) (Cn 3) SCBI

Stamford ALƿI (Cn 1) SCBI

Thetford ALƿI (Cn 1) SCBI

ALƿIE (Cn 3) SCBI

ALƿIGG (Hr 2) BM

ELƿIE (Cn 1) BEH

OE Elfwig, PNDB 181. For ALF-, ELF- see §§11, 13-15

For variant forms from wig > -wi, -wii, -wiig, -wie see §95, 98

For Spe(n)cel (Swecel?) see note on double names pp.24-30, and cf. Lefstan Specel s. Leofstan.

[Moneyers c.973-1016⁷ Leicester 2.9, Cambridge 245, Bedford 246, London 250, Buckingham 255, Wallingford 257, Southwark 258, Chichester 268]

Elfwine

Bath ALƿINE (Cn 1-2) SCBI

Bristol ALƿIN (Cn 1) SCBI

ALƿINE (Cn 1) SCBI

ELƿINE (Cn 1) SCBI

Bruton ALƿIINE (Cn 1) SCBI

ALƿINE (Cn 1) SCBI

Cambridge

←-

ALƿINE (Cn 2) SCBI

- Canterbury ALFPINE (Cn 1) BEH
- Chester ALFPINE (Hr 1) BEH
-->
- Colchester <--
ALFPINE (Cn 1) SCBI, (Cn 2) BEH
- Cricklade ALFPINE (Cn 2) SCBI, (Cn 3) BEH, (Hr 2) SCBI
ALFPINE (Cn 1) BEH but see also Aethelwine
- Exeter ALFPINE (Cn 2-3) SCBI
- Huntingdon ALFPINE (HCn 2) BEH
- Ilchester ALFPINE (Cn 1) BEH
ALFPINE (Cn 1-2) SCBI, (Cn 3) BEH
ALFPINE MVS (Cn 2) SCBI
- Lewes ALFPINE (Cn 1) SCBI
- London <--
ALFPINE (Cn 1) SCBI
ALFPINE (Cn 1) SCBI
ALFPINE (Cn 1-3) SCBI
ALFPIN (Cn 1) SCBI
ALFPINE (Cn 1-2) BEH, (Cn 3, HCn 2) SCBI
ALFPINE (Cn 2) SCBI ; (also on BEH HCn Type Ba = Jewel Cross/arm and
Sceptre, mint-signature LVDI, probably Danish, Hauberg v 20)
ALFPINE (Cn 2) SCBI
-->
- Lydford AEFDIHE (HCn 2) SCBI
ALFPINE (Hr 2, HCn 2) BEH
- Maldon <--
ALFPINE (Cn 2) SCBI
- Northampton ALFPINE (Cn 3) BEH, (Hr 1-2) SCBI, (HCn 2) BEH
ALFPINE (Hr 1) BEH
ALFPINE (Hr 2) SCBI
-->
- Norwich ALFPINE (Hr 1) SCBI
ALFPINE (Hr 1) BEH
- Oxford <--
ALFPINE (Cn 1-2) SCBI, (Cn 3, Hr 2) BEH, (HCn 2) SCBI

ALFPINE TOSTI (Cn 3) SCBI
- Salisbury ALFPINE (Cn 1) BEH, (Cn 2) SCBI
- Shaftesbury <--
ALFPINE (Cn 1) BEH
- Southwark <--
ALFPINE (Cn 1-2) SCBI
- Stamford BEH has ALFPINE (Hr 2) but the reading of the first quarter is
uncertain, possibly LE; see Lēofwine
- Thetford <--
ALFPINE (HCn 2) BEH
ALFPINE (HCn 2) SCBI
ALFPINE (Cn 1-3, Hr 1-2, HCn 2) SCBI

ALPINE (Hr 2)SCBI
ELFPINE (Hr 2)SCBI
→

Totnes ALFPINE (Cn 2)SCBI
ALFPINE (Cn 2)SCBI

Wallingford ALFPINE (Cn 2-3)SCBI

Wilton ALFPINE (HCn 2)SCBI
→

Winchester ALFINE (Hr 2)SCBI
ALFPINE (Cn 1)BEH, (Hr 1)SCBI, (Hr 2)BEH, (HCn 1-2)SCBI
ALPINE (Hr 2)SCBI
ELCPINE (Hr 2)SCBI
→

Worcester ALFPINE (Cn 2)SCBI
ALFP (Cn 3)SCBI may stand for this moneyer or Elfweald

York ALFPINE (Hr 2)SCBI
ALFEPINE (Cn 3)SCBI 21; the coin is double-struck and the legend may contain some form of Egel- rather than Elf-
→

OE Elfwine PND 181. For Alf- see § 11, for El- where this stands for Elf- § 79. For Elf- see §§ 13-15. For Elfwine Mus and Elfwine Tosti see Double Names above pp. 24-30

[Moneyers c.973-1016] Thetford 244, Colchester 247, Maldon 248, London 250, Oxford 256, Cricklade (?) 256, Southwark 258, Cadbury 266, Shaftesbury 267, Chichester 268]

[Escea OE Eschēah? or Esca: Moneyers c.973-1016] Stamford 237]

Escmann

Stamford ESCMAN (Cn 1)SCBI

OE Escmann PND 182 "perhaps an original byname 'sailor, pirate'.

[Moneyers c.973-1016] Lincoln 233, Stamford 237]

[Escwig OE: Moneyers c.973-1016] Stamford 237]

Ethelbeorht

Ipswich AGELBRIH (Cn 2)SCBI
AGELBIRIHT (Cn 3)SCBI
AGELRIHT (Cn 3)SCBI
ALBRIHT (Hr 2)SCBI
ALBRHT (Cn 1)BEH
EDELBERHT (Cn 1)SCBI
EDELBRH (Cn 1)BEH
EDELBRHT (Cn 1)BEH

London ALBRIHT (Cn 2)SCBI

OE Ethelbeorht PND 182. For Egel- see § 92. and for the various developments of -beorht see §§ 76-7

[Moneyers c.973-1016] Stamford 236]

Ethelferth

Norwich ÆGELFERÐ (Cn 3) SCBI
 ÆLFERÐ (Cn 3) SCBI

OE Ethelferth PND 183 . For Ethel→Egel→El- see §92 , but see also Elfferth.

[Moneyersc973-1016' Ilchester 265]

Ethelgeat

Bedford ÆGLGET (Cn 1) SCBI
 ÆGLIGT (Cn 1) BEH

London ÆGELET (Cn 2) SCBI
 ÆLEGÆT (Cn 2) SCBI
 ÆLGET (Cn 2) SCBI

OE Ethelgeat PND 183 . The first element in all these forms is in the form Egel, EGL, El; for which see §92 . For -geat→-gat→-get see §53,16 For the reduction and loss of palatal g in ÆGELET see §§95,98; ÆGLIGT may be a compromise spelling. ÆLEGÆT and ÆLGET may be forms not of this name but of Elfgeat who is a London moneyer in the same type, q.v.

[Ethelgār OE: Moneyers c.973-1016' Shaftesbury 267, Winchester 269]

Ethelhelm

Chichester ÆDELM (Cn 1) SCBI
 ÆGELM (Cn 2-3) SCBI
 ÆILM (Cn 2) SCBI

OE Ethelhelm PND 184 where Feilitzen notes that the name always appears in the reduced form Ethelm from c.940 onwards, whence ÆGELM, ÆILM; for Ethel→Egel; Ail-etc. see §92

[Moneyers c.973-1016' Chichester 268]

Ethelmer

Bath ÆGELMER (Cn 3, Hr 1-2, HCn 1) BEH, (HCn 2) SCBI
 ÆGLMER (Hr 1) SCBI
 ÆLMER (Hr 2) SCBI

Bridport ÆGELMER (Cn 3) BEH

Gloucester ÆGELMER (Hr 2) SCBI

Ilchester ÆDELMER (Cn 1) SCBI
 ÆDLMER (Cn 1) SCBI 24 607
 ÆLMER (Cn 1) BEH

Lincoln ÆGELMER (Cn 2-3) SCBI
 ÆGLMER (Cn 3) SCBI
 ÆDELMER (Cn 1-3) SCBI
 ÆDELMER (Cn 2) SCBI

ÆDEMER (Cn 1) SCBI
ÆELEMER (Cn 1) SCBI

Oxford ←-
ÆGELMER (Hr 2) SCBI
ÆLMER (Hr 2) SCBI

Sudbury ÆELEMER (Cn 2) SCBI

Thetford ÆGELMER (Hr 1) SCBI
ÆGELMER (Hr 1) BEH
ÆGLMER (Hr 1) SCBI

Wilton ÆLMER (Cn 1) BEH

York ÆGLMER (Hr 2) SCBI

OE Æthelmer PNDB 184. For Æthel- > Ægel, Ægl, Æl- see §92
Some forms in ÆL- may stand for Ælf- . For -MER see §16

[Moneyers c. 973-1016¹ Worcester 222, Lincoln 233, London 250, Oxford 256,
Shaftesbury 267]

Æthelmann

Bedford ÆELMAN (Cn 2) SCBI
ÆGELMAN (Cn 3) SCBI
ÆGLMAN (Cn 2, Hr 2) SCBI
-->

London ÆEELMAN (Cn 1) SCBI

Winchcombe ÆEELMAN (Cn 1) BEH
ÆEYLMAN (Cn 1) SCBI

OE Æthelmann, known apart from these instances as a moneyers' name—from
the Hyde Liber Vitæ c. 1000, Searle 43
For developments of Æthel- see §92

[Moneyers c. 973-1016¹ Southampton 268]

Æthelnōth

Chester ←?
ÆLNOD (Cn 1) SCBI 25 610, (Cn 3) BEH
ÆELNAD (Cn 1) SCBI

Lincoln ←-
ÆEELNOD (Cn 1) SCBI
ÆEENOD (Cn 1) SCBI

London ←-?
ÆGELNOD (Cn 2) SCBI

OE Æthelnōth PNDB 185. For ÆGEL-, ÆEL- see §92 . For loss of l see §80
For -NAD see §36 . ÆLNOD at Chester may be a form of
Ælfnōth q.v.

[Moneyers c. 973-1016¹ Lincoln 233, Northampton 248. The London (252)
and Chester (220) forms are ELENOD, ELENOD which may be for this name.]

Ethelric

Bath ←-

EDELRIC (Cn 1) BEH, (Cn 2) SCBI 25 750

Chester EGELRIC (Cn 3) BEH

EDERIC (Cn 1) SCBI

EDRIC (Cn 1) SCBI

Dorchester EGELRIC (HCn 1) BEH

ELRIC (Hr 1) SCBI

Gloucester EELRIC (HCn 2) BEH

EGELRC (HCn 1) SCBI

EGELRIC (Cn 3) SCBI, (Hr 1) BEH

ELERIC (HCn 2) SCBI

ELRIC (Cn 3, Hr 2) SCBI

ELRIIC (HCn 2) BEH

-->

London ←-

ELRIC (Cn 1-2) SCBI

Oxford ←-

EGELRIC (Cn 2-3, HCn 2) SCBI

EGLRIC (HCn 1) BEH

ELRIIC (HCn 2) SCBI

EDELRIC (Cn 1) SCBI

-->

Shaftesbury ←-

EGELRIC (Cn 2-3) SCBI, (Hr 1) BEH, (HCn 1-2) SCBI

ELRIC (Cn 1-3) SCBI

EDELRIC (Cn 1, 3) SCBI

Southwark EGELRIC (Cn 2) BEH

ELRIC (Cn 2) SCBI

ELRIC (Cn 1) SCBI may = Ethelwig

Wallingford ELRIC (Hr 2) SCBI

Winchester EGELRIC (Cn 2-3) SCBI, (Hr 1, HCn 1) BEH

EILRIC (Cn 2) SCBI 25 828

ELRIC (Cn 1) BEH, (Cn 3) SCBI

EDELRIC (Cn 1) SCBI

possibly also EGLRIC (Hr 1) read by BEH as ELFRIC

OE Ethelric PND 186-7. For Ethel- > Egel, Eil, El- see §92
 For loss of l in EDERIC see §80

[Moneyers c.973-1016⁷ Warwick 221, London 250, Oxford 256, Bath 258,
 Barnstaple 264, Ilchester 266, Shaftesbury 267]

Ethelsige

Hastings EGELSIGE (Cn 2) SCBI

ELSIE (Cn 1) Leningrad

ELSIG (Cn 1) SCBI

ELSIGE (Cn 2) SCBI

ELSI (Cn 1) SCBI (ELST in BEH is recte ELSI from this same die)

London ←-

ELSI (Cn 1) BEH
ELSIGE (Cn 3) BEH

Southwark ALSIG (Cn 1) BEH

OE Ethelsige PNDB 187, but some forms in AL-, EL- may be for Elfsige.
For developments of OE Ethel- see §92. For -si, -sie, -sig < -sige
see §§95, 98

[Moneyers c.973-1016 Northampton 248, London 250, Cricklade 256, Bath 258]

Ethelstān

Bath ←
ÆSTAN (Cn 2) SCBI
ÆDESTAN (Cn 2) SCBI
ÆDESTAN (Cn 1-3) SCBI
EDESTAN (Cn 1) SCBI 25.

Bristol ÆDESTAN (HCn 2) SCBI
→

Stamford ÆDEDSTAN (Cn 2) SCBI

Winchester ←-
ÆSTAN (Cn 3) BEH, (Hr 2) SCBI
ÆSTANN (Hr 1, HCn 1) SCBI
ÆDELSTAN (Cn 2) SCBI
ÆDESANN (HCn 2) BEH
ÆDESTAN (Cn 2-3) SCBI
ÆDESTAN (Cn 2) SCBI
ÆDSTAN (Cn 3) SCBI
ESTAN (Hr 2) BEH
EDELSTAN (Cn 2) SCBI
-->

ÆSTAN LOC (Cn 3, HCn 1) SCBI
ÆDSTAN LOC (Cn 3) SCBI
-->

OE Ethelstān PNDB 188. In this name the first element becomes Æthe-
not Ægel- and is further reduced Ethstan, Æstan; see §92, 79
On E for Æ see §§13-15. For doubling of letters see §103. The Stamford
form is probably an accidental dittography. For Loc see pp. 24-30.

[Moneyers c.973-1016 Warwick 221, Huntingdon 244, Bedford 246, London 251,
Cricklade 256, Bath 258, Canterbury 259, Lymne 260, Exeter 262, Shaftesbury
267, Chichester 268, Winchester 269].

[Ethelweald OE: Moneyers c.973-1016 York 227, Thetford 243, London 251]

Ethelweard

Huntingdon ÆDLPERD (Cn 1) BEH

London ←-
ÆGELVARD (HCn 2) SCBI
ÆGELPARD (HCn 2) SCBI
ÆGELPERD (Cn 2) SCBI
ÆLEPERD (Cn 2) SCBI
ÆLVARD (HCn 2) SCBI

ALPERD (Cn 2) SCBI
 ALPERED (Cn 2) SCBI
 ADELPERD (Cn 1) SCBI
 AEPER (Cn 2) SCBI
 EDELPERD (Cn 1) SCBI

→

OE Aethelweard P^NDB 188 . For developments of OE Aethel- see §92 . For -weard see §59 . For the parasitic vowel in ALPERED see §52

[Moneyers c.973-1016⁷ Stamford 237, Hertford 248, London 250, Southwark 258, Southampton 268]

Aethelwīg

Hereford

←

ALEPI (Cn 1) BEH
 ALEPIG (Cn 2) SCBI
 ELEPI (Cn 1) SCBI, (Cn 3) BEH
 ELEPIG (Cn 1) SCBI, (Cn 2) BEH, (Hr 1) SCBI
 ELEPII (Cn 1, 3) SCBI

Ilchester

AGELPI (HCn 1) BEH
 AGELPIG (Cn 2-3) SCBI
 ADELPI (Cn 1) BEH

Leicester

←

AGELPIG (Cn 2-3) SCBI
 ADELPI (Cn 1) SCBI
 ADLPI (BEH Type E var.g, probably not English) SCBI

London

←

AGELPIG (Cn 3) SCBI
 ALEPIG (Cn 2) SCBI
 ALPI (Cn 1) BEH
 ALPIG (Cn 1, 3) SCBI
 ALPII (Cn 1) BEH

→

Oxford

ACILPIG (HCn 2) SCBI
 AGELPI (Hr 1, HCn 1) SCBI
 AGELPIG (Hr 2, HCn 2) SCBI
 ALPIG (Hr 2) BEH

→

Southwark

ALPIC (Cn 1) SCBI
 ALVII (HCn 2) BM

Wallingford

AGLPIG (Cn 3, HCn 2) SCBI
 ALPIG (Cn BEH Type K) BEH, (Hr 1-2) SCBI

→

Wallingford or Winchester ALVI ON PII ON PEL (HCn 2) SCBI

Winchester

ALPIG (Hr 2) BEH
 EGELPIG (HCn 2) BEH
 ELPIG (Hr 2) BEH

OE Aethelwīg P^NDB 189 . For developments of OE Aethel- see §92 . For -wi, -wii see §95, 98 . The spelling ACILPIG at Oxford is curious; cf. Ceolwīg

[Moneyers c.973-1016⁷ Hereford 223, Leicester 239, London 250, Shaftesbury 267]

Ethelwine

- Aylesbury ADELPINE (Cn 1) SCBI
- Bath ADELPINE (Cn 3) SCBI, (HCn 1) BEH
ALPINE (Cn 3) SCBI
- Bristol ADELPINE (Cn 1, 3, Hr 1) SCBI, (HCn 2) BEH
AELPINE (Cn 1) SCBI, (Cn 3) BEH
ALPINE (Cn 1) BEH
EGALPINE or EGELPINE (Hr 1) BEH
-->
- Chester <--
ELEPINE (Cn 1-3, Hr 1) SCBI
ELEPNE (Cn 3) SCBI
- Cricklade <--
ADELPINE (Cn 2-3) SCBI, (Hr 1) BEH, (HCn 2) SCBI
AELPINE (Cn 2) SCBI
ADELPINE (Cn 1) SCBI
ALPINE (Cn 1) BEH
ALPINNE (Hr 2) BEH
- Hereford <--
ELEPINE (Cn 1) BEH
- Ilchester ADELPINE (Hr 1) BEH, (HCn 1) SCBI
-->
- Langport ADELPINE (Cn 1) Oslo, Arstad find
ADELPINE (Cn 3) SCBI, (Hr 1) BEH, (HCn 1) SCBI
-->
- Leicester ADELPINE (Cn 2-3) SCBI
- London <--
ADELPINE (Cn 2-3) SCBI
AELPINE (Cn 3) SCBI
ALLPIN (Cn 1) SCBI
ALPIINE (Cn 3) BEH
ALPINE (Cn 2-3) SCBI, (Hr 1) BEH
ADELPINE (Cn 1) SCBI, (HCn 2) BEH
ADELPNE (Cn 1) SCBI
-->
- Maldon <--
ADELPINE (Cn 1) SCBI
ALPINE (Cn 1) SCBI
- Oxford ADELPINE (HCn 2) BM
AELPINE (HCn 2) BEH
ALPINE (Hr 2) SCBI, (HCn 2) BEH
ALPINEE (HCn 1) Burge find, Lummelunda parish, Gotland.
- Shaftesbury ALPINE (Cn 1) SCBI
- Southwark ADELVINE (HCn 2) SCBI
ADELPINE (Cn 3) BEH
ALPINE (Cn 3) BEH
ADELPIN (Cn 1) SCBI

Wallingford ÆGELPINE (Cn 3) SCBI
 ALPINE (Hr 2) SCBI, (HCn 2) BEH
 ALPINEE (Hr 1) BEH

Warwick ÆDELPINE (Cn 1) SCBI

Winchester ←
 ÆDELPINE (Cn 1) SCBI
 ÆDELPINE (Cn 1) BEH

Worcester ÆGELPINE (Cn 2) SCBI, (Hr 1) BEH
 ÆGELPIIE (Hr 2) SCBI
 ÆGELPIIIE (Hr 2) SCBI
 ÆGLPINE (Hr 2) BEH
 ALPINE (Cn 3) SCBI

York ÆDLPIN (Cn 2) SCBI
 ÆELPINE (Cn 3) SCBI
 ÆGELPINE (Cn 3, Hr 1, HCn 2, Cn BEH Type K/Cn 3) SCBI
 ÆDELPINE (Cn 2, Hr 1, HCn 2) SCBI
 ALPINE (Hr 2) BEH
 ÆDELPINE (Cn 2, Hr 2) BEH

OE Aethelwine, PNUB 190. For developments of OE Aethel- see §92 .

For loss of final e see §21.

Some of the forms in ÆL- may stand for Ælfwine.

[Moneyers c.973-1016] Chester 219, Hereford 223, Lincoln 233, Stamford 237,
 Norwich 242, Colchester (?) 247, Maldon 248, London 251, Oxford 256, Crick-
 lade do., Romney 261, Winchester 269]

Aethelwulf (?)

Gloucester ÆPVLFF (HCn 2) SCBI

Possibly for OE Aethelwulf or alternatively, OE Eadwulf.

[Aethelwulf OE: 'Moneyers c.973-1016' London 251]

Agisman

Stamford ÆGISMAN (Cn 2) BEH
 ÆISMAN (Cn 2) SCBI

CG Agisman, cf. Morlet 25 for Agis- and 14 for -man in Frankish names.
 Two eighth cent. instances in Searle 224 Egesbeorht, Egesnoth, show that
 the element was probably in use earlier in OE names, but the forms found
 here on the coins suggest a name from the continent, where the element is commoner
 [Albart CG: 'Moneyers c.973-1016' Cambridge 245]

Arngrím

York ARNGRIM (HCn 2) SCBI
 EARNGRIM (Cn 3) SCBI
 ERGRIM (Hr 2) SCBI
 ERNGRIM (Hr 2) SCBI, (HCn 2) BEH
 ERNGRM (Hr 2) SCBI
 ÆRNGRIM (HCn 2/Edw III BEH Type D) BEH (i.e. a mule of Harthacnut's
 latter and Edward's first type)

OWN Arngrím, Lind 45-6. Common in Iceland, and not certainly evidenced in East Scandinavian, SPLY 13. Coins are the only evidence for the name in Denmark, on which Hauberg comments "possibly not Danish; the moneyers may be from England where the name is known". The Danish Arngrim coins appear to begin with one of Harthacnut; the obverse has the name only without any royal title Danish or English, reverse ARENGRIM ON ORBE, attributed by Hauberg to the mint of Ørbæk. Although some English and Irish features are present in the portrait neither the obverse nor the reverse of this coin imitate English types, which suggests that the two series are independent and the Danish coins are not imitations of the York Arngrim group. It is curious however that Arngrim legends continue to appear on Danish coins up to c. 1103.

For forms in EARN-, ARN-, ERN- see § 7

Arnketill

London ANCETL ON LVD (BEH Type HCn Hb = idiosyncratic obverse with HARNDECNV and Hr 2 reverse)
 ARNCETEL ON LVI (same obverse as previous but reverse type as Edward the Confessor's first type).
 ARNCETL ON LVI (same obverse as previous and reverse type as first example)
 BEH includes these coins but Hauberg attributes them to Denmark, to the mint of Lund. They are very unlikely to be English, since the types are irregular and they are all die-linked.

Nottingham EARCETEL (Cn 1) BEH

Stamford ARCIL (Hr 2) SCBI (ARCYL (Hr 2) BEH is a ghost-form, the coin is a duplicate of BEH 870 ARCIL)
 ARNCITEL (Hr 2) SCBI

York ←
 ARCIL (Cn 3, Hr 1) SCBI
 ARCILL (Hr 2) SCBI
 ARCITELL (HCn 2) SCBI
 ARNCETEL (Cn 1-2) SCBI
 ARNCETL (Cn 2) SCBI
 ARNCIL (Hr 1) SCBI
 ARNCITEL (Hr 1) BEH
 ARNCYTEL (Cn 3) BEH
 ARNNCETEL (Cn 3) BEH
 EARNCYTEL (Cn 3) SCBI
 ERNCYTEL (Hr 1) SCBI
 →

There must almost certainly have been more than one moneyer of this name at York as the range is c. 991-c.1070.

ON Arnkell, Arnketill, SPLY 14-16.
 For forms in EAR-, EARN-, ERN- see § 7 . For -CIL, -CITEL, -CYTEL §§ 24, 25

[Moneyers c.973-1016 York 228]

[Arnthórr ON: Moneyers c. 973-1016 York 228]

Arnulf

York ARNOLF (Cn 2) BM

An OWN Arnulfr is known but the form is more frequently Ornulfr, Lind 1258. Odan Arnulf is not certain, DGP 61. A CG derivation is less likely in the

York context but OE Earnwulf is possible, though the ON derivation is more likely.

Asbjorn

Derby OSBERN (Cn 1) BEH s. Dorchester

York OSBARN (Cn 2) BEH

ON Asbjorn, SPLY 18. For representation by OS- see § 7.
For -bern, -barn § 78.

[Moneyers c.973-1016 Thetford 244]

Asfróthr

Lincoln ←
ASFERD (Cn 1-2) SCBI, . (Hr 1) BEH
ASFORD (Cn 2) SCBI
OSFERD (Cn 1-2, Hr 1-2) SCBI, (HCn 2) BEH
→

York ←
ASEFRD (HCn 2) BEH
ASFERD (Cn 1) BEH
→

ON Asfróthr, Asfrith, SPLY 19

For the interchange of AS-/OS- see § 7. Note especially the spread of AS- forms to Lincoln in Cnut's reign since they are confined to the York mint under Ethelred.

ASFORD represents the vowel of ON Asfróthr; for forms in -FERD see § 34

[Moneyers c.973-1016 York 228, Lincoln 234, Leicester 239, Thetford 244, London 253, Rochester 259, Dover 260. Some of these instances, especially from the south-east, may rather be from OE Osfrith]

Asgautr

Lincoln ←
OSGOD (Cn 2) SCBI
OSGVT (Cn 1-2) SCBI

York ←
ASCVTR (Cn 1) SCBI
ASGOD (Cn 2) SCBI
ASGOT (Cn 2) BEH
ASGOVT (Cn 2) SCBI
ASGVT (Cn 1-2) SCBI
ASGVVT (Cn 2) SCBI
OSCOT (Cn 2) SCBI
OSGOT (Cn 1-2) BEH
OSGVVT (Cn 1) SCBI
OSOOT (Cn 2) SCBI

ON Asgautr, SPLY 22. A few early instances are found in Norway and the name is common there later, Lind 66-8. The name appears in Danish runic inscriptions as askutr, askautr.

For the interchange of AS-/OS- see § 7. ; for -GOT, -GVT, GOVT see §§ 62, 63. -GOD rather than -GOT may be by association with OE gōd although in OE names this seems to occur only as a protheme, and see also T. Kisbye, Publications of the Department of English, University of Copenhagen 1979.

ASCVTR seems to have preserved the OWN nominative ending in -r and in this it is unique amongst forms of names on the coins. Some forms which appear to contain a nominative ending with a doubled final consonant (cf. ODINN s. Authunn) may be fortuitous since doubling of letters is a common feature on coins of this period (cf. also ODIIN, ODDIN) - for doubling of letters see §103

[Moneyers c.973-1016' York 229, Lincoln 235, Huntingdon 245, London 254]

[Asketill ON: 'Moneyers c.973-1016' Chester 220, York 228, Cambridge 245, London 254]

Asleikr

Lincoln ASLAC (Cn 1-3) SCBI
OSLAC (Cn 2-3, Hr 1) SCBI

London ASLAC ON LVND (HCn BEH Type D = types as Ethelred's Crux but with fleur-de-lis sceptre and name HARDACNVT)
ASLAC ON LVNDEIO (HCn BEH Type E, idiosyncratic types, obverse resembling Hb and Ia for which cf. Arnketill)
BEH includes these coins in the London list but Hauberg attributes them to Denmark to the mint of Lund. They are very unlikely to be English.

Norwich OSLAC (Cn 2) SCBI

ON Asleikr, SPLY 33-4. Early and frequent in Norway, Lind 76-8, Less frequent in Danish and Swedish but found in runic inscriptions, and also elsewhere in Danish, DGP 69.
For variation AS-/OS- see §7 . For -lac < -leikr see §69
An OE Oslac, PNDB 340, is also a possible etymon.

[Moneyers c. 973-1016' Norwich 242]

Asulfr

London OSVLF (Cn 1)

Thetford OSVLF (Cn 1)

ON Asulfr, SPLY 35. Found early in Iceland, common later in Norway; no certain early examples in Denmark, known in Sweden. For As > Os see §7 .
Another possible etymon is OE Oswulf, PNDB 341

[Moneyers c.973-1016' York 229, Derby 239, Thetford 244, Ipswich 247, London 253]

Ata

Barnstaple ATA (Cn 1-2) BEH

OE (?) Ata. Uncompounded name; Redin 83. This is the only instance of the name in Searle apart from a reference to Piper's edition of the Libri Confraternitatum Sancti Galli where the name appears very frequently but is there certainly Continental Germanic. Redin has an additional example from the Durham Liber Vitæ, so the name may have been in use in OE, though Forssner suggests (p.12) that not all the names found there are necessarily English since there was a common practice of an exchange of prayers for benefactors amongst monasteries. Redin connects the name with Gothic *atta, 'father'.

There is no obvious prosopological connection between this name and AD. at Cambridge and Huntingdon. Instances of interchange between d and t do appear (cf. ETSIGE s. Eadsige) but not in this position; the unvoicing is found finally, or finally in a prototheme, but not before a vowel.

Austmathr

York OVSTMAN (Cn 2) SCBI
VSTMAN (Cn 2) BEH

ON Austmathr, Austmann

For ON au represented by ou, u see §§62, 63

Authbjorn

Lincoln ODBARN (HCn 2) SCBI
ODBERAN (Hr 1) SCBI

ON Authbjorn

For ON au represented by o see §61 . For the parasitic vowel in -BERAN see §52

[Moneyers c.973-1016¹ Lincoln 235]

Authgrím

Lincoln OÐGRIM (HCn 2) SCBI
OÐGRM (Hr 2) BEH
OÐHRIN or OÐNRIM (Hr 2) SCBI (the second form is the BEH reading)
OÐRGRIM (Hr 2) BEH
OÐRIM (Hr 2) SCBI

York ←
OVDGRIM (Cn 1) SCBI
OVDGRM (Cn 1) SCBI

ON Authgrím, SPLY 38-9 . Rare in Scandinavian sources but fairly common in England.

Many of the Lincoln forms are erroneous. For the ghost-form OVDGIRM see CYM 227. For ON au represented by o, ou see §61, 62

[Moneyers c.973-1016² York 229, Lincoln 235]

[Authulfr ON: Moneyers c.973-1016³ Chester 220]

Authunn

York ODAN (Cn 3) SCBI
ODIIN (HCn 2) BEH
ODIN (Cn 3, Hr 1-2) SCBI
ODINN (Cn 3) BEH, (Hr 1-2) SCBI
ODÐIN (Cn 3) SCBI
→

ON Authunn SPLY 41-2, common in OWN but rarer in Danish and Swedish sources.

For a discussion of the derivation of this name see Björkman,
Nordische Personennamen pp. 100-2

The prevalence of forms in -in on the coins seems to reflect
the OEN form Øthin. For ON au represented by o see § 61, 62.

[Baldic OE or CG: 'Moneyers c.973-1016' Bedford 246; see also
Feilitzen 'Edgar' p.188]

[Baldric CG: 'Moneyers c.973-1016' Northampton 249]

[Beaniene OIr: 'Moneyers c.973-1016' York 230]

[Beolan OIr: 'Moneyers c.973-1016' York 230]

Beorhtferth

London ←-

BRIHTFRED (Cn 1) SCBI
BRIHTFRÐ (Cn 1) SCBI

OE Beorhtferth PADB 194. For the variant forms of OE Beorht-
and the prevalence of Briht- see § 76. For -ferth see § 27

['Moneyers c.973-1016' London 251, Bath 258, Exeter 262,
Totnes 264]

Beorhthelm

Southwark or Sudbury BRIHELM (Cn 1) BEH

Attribution to the mints of Southwark and Sudbury is not always
certain, see Dolley BNJ xxviii 264-9 and van der Meer ASCoins
p. 176. The division used here is that of the SCBI Index of
Mints.

OE Beorhthelm Searle 89-90

For the variant forms of OE Beorht- see 76; for the reduction of
the medial consonant-group see §§ 79, 101

['Moneyers c.973-1016' Sudbury 246, but here too the mint could
be Southwark]

[Beorhtlaf OE: 'Moneyers c.973-1016' Sudbury 246, Hertford 248,
London 251]

Beorhtmæ

Dover BRIHTMÆR (Cn 1) BEH

London ←-
 BIRHTMÆR (Cn 1)SCBI
 BRHTMÆR (Hr 1-2)BEH, (HCn 2)SCBI
 BRIHTMÆR (Cn 1-3)SCBI, (Cn K)BEH, (Hr 1-2)SCBI
 (HCn 2)BEH
 BRIHTMÆR (Hr 2)SCBI, (HCn 2)BEH
 BRIHTMR (Hr 2)SCBI
 BRIHTTÆR (Hr 2)BEH

Southwark BRIHTMÆR (Cn 1)SCBI
 BRIHTMR (Cn 1)SCBI

OE Beorhtmǣr PNDB 194-6. For Birht-, Briht- see § 76. For
-m̄r see § 16. For doubling of letters see § 103.

[Moneyers c.973-1016¹ London 251, Rochester 259, Dover 260,
 Winchester 269]

Beorhtnōth

Chichester BRIHTNOÐ (Cn 1)SCBI

London ←-
 BRHTNOÐ (Cn 1)BEH, probably Scandinavian
 BRIHNOÐ (Cn 1)BEH
 BRIHTNOÐ (Cn 1)SCBI
 BRIHTNOÐ (Cn 1-3)SCBI (also Cn BEH Type A and Cn E/A,
 probably Scandinavian)SCBI
 BRINTN (Cn 3)SCBI

Malmesbury BRIHTNOÐ (Cn 2)SCBI

Thetford BRHNOÐ (Cn 1)SCBI

Winchester ←-
 BREHTNOÐ (Cn 1)BEH
 BRIHTNOÐ (Cn 1)BEH
 BYRIHTNOÐ (Cn 1)BEH

York ←-
 BIREHTNO (Cn 1)SCBI
 BIRHTNOÐ (Cn 1)SCBI
 BREHNOÐ (Cn 1)BEH
 BREHTNO (Cn 1)SCBI
 BREHTNOÐ (Cn 1-2)SCBI (also Cn 1 muled with Æthelred BEH
 Type A, probably Scandinavian)SCBI
 BRIHNOÐ (Cn 2)SCBI
 BRIHTNOÐ (Cn 2)SCBI

Carson, Mint of Thetford has the moneyer's name as Brunoth, which
 is not otherwise recorded as a personal name, and the H is quite
 clear on the SCBI Copenhagen coins.

The moneyer's name appears on several coins of Scandinavian
 striking; the York and London irregular mules are die-linked, but
 the (Cn 1) die may have been of English manufacture.

OE Beorhtnōth PNDB 196. For variations of Beorht- see § 76-77.

[Moneyers c.973-1016¹ York 227, Sudbury 246, London 251, Winchester 269]

Beorhtred

Canterbury BRHTRED (Cn 3) SCBI
BRIHTRED (Cn 3) SCBI (Hr 1) BEH
(BRIHRED (Cn 2) BEH 130 is recte PINRED, see Smart Corrections p.159)

London BRIHRED (Cn 2-3) BEH
BRIHTRED (Cn 2-3, Hr 2) SCBI (also in Cn 3, BEH var.c., probably
Scandinavian) SCBI
BRIHTREOD (Cn 3) SCBI
→

OE Beorhtred, PNUB 196 . For Briht-, Brih- see §76
- REOD is not explicable except as an error; possibly the O is a mistake for D
and the correct letter is then added.

[Moneyers c.973-1016 Winchester 269]

Beorhtic

Crewkerne BRIHTRIC (Hr 1) BEH

Lincoln BRIHRIC (HCn 2) BEH
BRIHTRIC (Cn 2) BEH, (Cn 3) SCBI
BRIHTRIC (Cn 3) BEH
brPRIC (Hr 1) SCBI
brFbRIC (Hr 1) BEH
→

Wallingford BRIHTRIRIC (HCn 2) SCBI

Warminster BRIHTRIC (Cn 3) SCBI

OE Beorhtic, PNUB 196 . For Briht-, Brih- see §76 . The Wallingford form
contains a dittegraphy.

The last two Lincoln forms come from dies of curious style, probably cut
locally. BEH has a footnote that the moneyer's name should probably be Wulfric,
but I have included it here because of its similarity to the SCBI coin of the
same type.

[Moneyers c.973-1016 Thetford 243, Sudbury 246, Southwark 258, Lympe 260,
Exeter 262, Wareham 266, Winchester 269]

Beorhtsige

Barnstaple BYRHSIE (Cn 1) SCBI

Probably OE Beorhtsige PNUB 198 ; see §76
The Athelred forms for the name at this mint are likewise all BYRH- . No coins
of this moneyer for Athelred's last two types at this mint seem to have
survived. Just possibly it may = BVRH- < OE Burhsige but this is less likely.

[Moneyers c.973-1016 Warwick 221, London 251, Exeter 262, Barnstaple 265,
Wareham 266, Winchester 269]

Beorhtstan

Malmesbury BREHSTAN (Cn 1) SCBI
BRICSTAN (Cn 1) SCBI
BRIHSTAN (Cn 1) SCBI

Taunton BYRIHSAN (Cn 1) BEH
BYRIHSTAN (Cn 1) SCBI

OE Beorhtstan PNUB 198 . For BREH-, BRIH-, see §§76, 77 ; for BRIC- §100
For BYRIH- see §76

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[Moneyers c.973-1016] Hereford 223, Exeter 262]

Beorhtweald

London ←
BRIHPOLD (Cn 1) SCBI

Winchester ←
BRIHPOLD (Cn 2) SCBI
BVRHPOLD (Cn 2) SCBI
BVRPOLD (Cn 1)BEH (Cn 2) SCBI

OE Beorhtweald PNDB 198 . For Briht-, Brih- see §76 ; for -wold §58 .
The forms in BVRH- may stand for OE Burhweald, and be a separate moneyer's name, especially as Winchester is a large mint, but for V standing for Y on coins of this period see §45 .

[Moneyers c.973-1016] London 251, Shaftesbury 267, Winchester 269]

Beorhtwig

Crewkerne BRIHTPI (Cn 3) BEH
BRIHTPII (Cn 2) SCBI

OE Beorhtwig PNDB 199.
For Briht- see §76 ; for PI, -PII < -wig §98

Beorhtwine

Buckingham BRIHTPINE (Hr 1) SCBI

"Fro"-uncertain mint BRIHTPINE (Cn 3) BEH sub Cricklade

London BRIHTPINE (HCn 2) SCBI

Oxford BRIHTPEN (Cn K)BEH

Wallingford BRIIPINE (HCn 2) SCBI

OE Beorhtwine PNDB 199 . For Briht- see §76
The Oxford form is probably to be regarded as an accidental metathesis of BRIHTPNE since a name terminating in -wen in OE would be feminine. A BRIHTPINE is known at Oxford in Æthelred's last two types but not otherwise for Cnut.

[Moneyers c. 973-1016] York 227, Bedford(?) 246, Oxford 256, Lydford 264]

[Beolan OIr: Moneyers c.973-1016] York 230]

Beorn

York BEORN (Cn 3, Hr 1-2, HCn 2) SCBI
BEORNN (Cn 3) BEH (Hr 1) SCBI (HCn 2) BEH

More probably ON Bjorn than OE Beorn though the form is anglicised. Examples of the use of an OE Beorn outside the Danelaw are mostly early; see Searle 98. ON Bjorn is common in all parts of Scandinavia (SPLY 55).

[Beornwulf OE: Moneyers c.973-1016³ Hertford 248, London 251]

Blacmanh

Derby BLACAMAN (Hr 1) SCBI
BLACAN (Hr 1) SCBI

Wiltford BACAMAN (Cn 3) SCBI
BLACAMAN (Cn 3, Hr 2) SCBI, (HCn 1)BEH
BLACAMON (Cn 3) SCBI

Nottingham BLACAMAN (Cn 2-3)SCBI, (Hr 1) BEH, (Hr 2)SCBI, (HCn 2)BEH
BLACAMON (Cn 3)SCBI
BLACEMAN (Cn 1)SCBI, (Cn 2)BEH
BLACIAMAN (Hr 1) SCBI
BLAMIAN (Cn 2) BEH
-->

A BLACEMAN strikes Ethelred's Helmet type (c.1003-1009) at Derby; if this is the same man who struck for Cnut at Nottingham and for Harold at both Nottingham and Derby it is curious that no coins are known in this name for the prolific intervening Last Small Cross type.

OE Blacmann from blac 'bright, shining', or possibly Blacaman formed from a weak form of the adjective, though the Blaca-, Blace- forms may be due to a parasitic vowel between the elements; see §51. Alternatively the etymon may be OE blæc 'black'; for æ>a see §11.

For rounding of a in forms in -MON see §2. BLACAN, BLAMIAN are undoubtedly due to haplography though the intrusive I in BLAMIAN and in BLACIAMAN is curious.

[Moneyers c.973-1016³ Derby 239]

Boga

Dover BOGA (Cn 3, Hr 1)SCBI, (Hr 2, HCn 1)BEH, (HCn 2)SCBI
-->

Taunton BOGA (HCn 2)SCBI
-->

(BEH 775 (Hr 2)BOGA attributed to Norwich is a misread duplicate of 106 BOGA ONN DO = Dover; van der Meer Corrections.)

It seems unlikely that BYOGA at Dover before 1010 should be the same moneyer as the BOGA who continues there until c. 1045.

There are no BOIA forms of this name in this period, but the Taunton moneyer appears as BOIA in Edward the Confessor's third type. Feilitzen (Edgar, p.189) considers that in some cases OE boga 'a bow', may be the etymon, but that generally the name is derived from an OE *boia 'boy', which appears in placename material and is the ancestor of ME boie. The etymology of the common noun is obscure and it has sometimes been regarded as a continental loanword, but Feilitzen considers it as native in view of its frequent occurrence in English sources. See also PNDB 205. For the spelling G for [j] see §98.

[Moneyers c.973-1016³ Chester 220, Lincoln 234, Stamford 237, Thetford 243, Hertford 248, London 251, Southwark 258, Canterbury 259, Dover 260, Wilton 267]

Bolla

Gloucester BOLLA (Cn 1-2) SCBI

Shaftesbury BEOLA (Cn 1) BEH
BOLLA (Cn 2) SCBI

From the relative proximity of these two mints it seems likely that the same man is moneyer at both, in view of the rarity of the name.

The relationship between the form BEOLA and the rest is problematical. BOLLA is the more frequently recurring form; BEOLA occurs on one die only and that with transpositional errors in the mint-signature: ESGFTESB, cf. the more usual SCEFTESB, which suggests it is of careless work and that BEOLA may also be an error.

Probably OE bolla 'cup', 'bowl'. OIr Beolan (a moneyer of this name strikes at York for Edward the Martyr and early in Ethelred's reign) would account for BEOLA in isolation, but in view of the dominance of forms in BOLLA it seems an unlikely derivation unless the OIr name had been identified with and anglicised as Bolla.

PNDB 205, Redin 86, Holm 18 - though the identification there with Bella '<bellan' to roar' is unlikely.

(Bosi

This name appears in Searle and Redin as a moneyer of Cnut. The coin on which it appears is Lot 47 in the second part of the sale of the Hyman Montagu collection by Sotheby's in May 1896. It is described and illustrated in the sale-catalogue and is quite clearly not part of the English series. The reverse is of the small-cross type frequently imitated in Scandinavia; the obverse shows the king's head facing right with a sword before the face, a type unparalleled in the Anglo-Saxon coinage and only found at the end of the reign of William I. The mint-signature is LVNDI and if this is to be taken as meaningful it is more likely to refer to Lund in Skåne than to London.)

Borsti

London BORSTIG (Cn 1) SCBI

Known only from one coin. Björkman NFN 29 derives the name from OSw borst 'bristle'; the OWN cognate Bursti, Burst appears as a cognate in Lind.

For -ig in ON names ending in i see §33

Brandr

Stamford BRAND (Cn 1) SCBI

York BRAND (Cn 2) BEH

The York coin is curious. The portrait is barbarous and the obverse reads CNVTCNVREC. The reverse reads BRAND ON EOFEPIC, which formula is anomalous at York in this type (see above p. 21).

OWN Brandr, an original byname, 'sword' or 'fire'. Common in Iceland from the 10th cent. onwards, also common in Denmark and found in placenames in Normandy.

Lind 163-4, DGP 158-9, SPLY 63, Smart CYM 225

Brand appears in OE genealogies early (see Redin 4) but there is probably a short form for names in -brand. All other examples of the name in England occur from the 11th century onward and are almost certainly of Norse introduction.

Branting

Ipswich ← BRANTING (Cn 1) SCBI

Sudbury BRENTING (Cn 1) SCBI
BRNTINE (Cn 1) SCBI

(BEH 1510 BRANTING O LIN is attributed by van der Meer, Corrections p. 179, to Ipswich and by Dolley, BNJ XXVIII 268 to Sudbury. The fourth quarter of the legend is very worn and either reading is possible)

The name is also found borne by a moneyer of Norwich c.975-c.990, at Ipswich c.979-85 and again in Æthelred's last type where it is presumably identical with Cnut's moneyer there. Dolley has given the Æthelred Last Small Cross and Cnut Quatrefoil coins to Sudbury rather than Southwark because of this East Anglian connection. Apart from coins, the name appears in Domesday TRE in Bedfordshire.

The name is probably an -ing formation on the OE adj. brant 'steep, high'. This seems to be a later development for the suffix which was originally a patronymic, but by the 11th cent. is being used to form personal names from adjectival descriptions, cf. Brūning, Sneling, Dēoring. This usage of the -ing suffix is fairly common in Norse names and this name may be an anglicisation of OWN Brettingr rather than an independent English formation. A partially anglicised form of the Norse name is found in BRENTING at York in Edgar's Reform type, and the form BRENTING is probably a representation of the Norse vowel (PNUB 207, Redin 172-3, Feilitzen 'Edgar' p. 191)

The final E in the second Sudbury form is an error for angular C. For the unvoicing of ng to nc see §97 .

[Moneyers c.973-1016' Norwich 242, Ipswich 246]

Bretakollr

York ← BRETECOL (Cn 1) SCBI
BRETECOL (Cn 1) SCBI

ON *Breta-kollr, an Anglo-Scandinavian formation. The name also appears in the list of festermen of Alfric archbishop of York from the second quarter of the 11th cent. -kollr names are unusually frequent amongst York moneyers, cf. Frithcol, Selecol, Stircol and ON kollr, 'head', may have acquired the part-for-whole meaning of 'man'.

In both this name and Selakollr (q.v.) the first element is in the genitive plural; for the weakening of the a ending to e see §9 . It is possible that these names may have originated as formations on the personal name Kollr on the Norse pattern which appears in such designations as Viga-Glúmr Glúmr of the battles, Brennu-Njál, Njál of the burning, etc.

Breta is the genitive plural of Bretar: 'the Welsh'.

[Moneyers c. 973-1016' York 229]

[Brettingr ON: 'Moneyers c. 973-1016' York 229; cf. Branting]

Brid

Hastings BRID (Cn 3)SCBI, (Hr 1)BEH, (HCn 1)SCBI
BRIDD (Hr 2)BEH
->

OE Bridd, an uncompounded name known only from coins but found early, in Wessex and Mercia in the mid 9th cent., as well as in the period under review here. OE bridd 'a young bird'; Redin 18, SCBI Index s.n., BMC AS I p. 43.

BRIHT- see Beorht-

Brūn, Brūna

London BRVN (Cn 1, Hr 1, HCn 1)SCBI, (HCn 2)BM

Lydford ←
BRVNA (Cn 1)SCBI

"Bruna, Lydford" (Hiberno-Norse imitation)SCBI

At London the (Cn 1) form seems to be isolated from the main group and it would be curious, if Brun had struck Quatrefoil, that he did not strike Cnut's two later types as well. Although SCBI 2240 is annotated as having no counterpart in BEH it is almost certainly a duplicate of BEH 2213 which Hildebrand transcribes as BRVNM 0 instead of BRVN MO. Hildebrand realised that MO was anomalous on Cnut's London coins and presumably took BRVNM to be a contraction of Brūnman, a London moneyer^{name} in this type. However the dies are of the Northern style, unknown otherwise at London, but the normal style for Lincoln where MO is usual (see above pp. 21-2). The mint-signature is LVNDI which is slightly unusual but is known for some seemingly authentic London coins. The evidence for Brūn at London in Cnut's reign is hence not certain.

Since BRVN forms are confined to London and BRVNA forms to Lydford it is possible that two independent names are involved. In the similar strong/weak pair GOD/GODA the two forms are found together at the same mint, suggesting that the strong and weak forms could be regarded as forms of the same name.

OE Brūn, Brūna, Redin 11, 45. Strong and weak forms of the OE adj. brūn 'brown'.

[Moneyers c. 973-1016' Launceston 262, Exeter do., Lydford 264]

Brūngār

London BRVGAR (Hr 2)BEH
BRVNGAR (Cn 2-3, Hr 1-2, HCn 2)SCBI
->
BRVNGAR PVCA (Cn 2)SCBI

Shrewsbury ←-
 BRVNGAR (Cn 1-2)SCBI, (Cn 3)BEH
 DRVNGAR (Cn 3)BEH

OE Brūngār P_NDB 209. For loss of N in the first London form see § 79
 DRVNGAR is an error. For PVCA see Double Names above pp. 24-30

[Moneyers c.973-1016³ Shrewsbury 222]

Bruning

Bath ? BRVNIC (Cn 2)BEH

Chester BRVNNIC (HCn 2)SCBI
 BRVNNINC (HCn 2)SCBI

London ←-
 BRVNIH (Cn 3)BEH
 BRVNINC (Cn 1-3, Hr 1, HCn 1)SCBI
 BRVNNIC (Cn 2)SCBI
 BRYNINC (Cn 1)SCBI

Nottingham BRVNIC (Cn 2)BEH
 BRVNINC (Cn 3)BEH
 BRVNING (Cn 1)BEH
 BRYNIC (Cn 2)SCBI
 BRYNINC (Cn 2)SCBI

York? BRVNIC (Cn 2)BEH

The mint-signature of the first example is unusual for Bath; it reads BEDEA. The last example is unlikely to be York; it reads ON instead of M^U which is anomalous, see above p.22. The mint-signature is possibly TO or SO; if the latter it could be a coin of Nottingham where the moneyer is known.

OE Brūning P_NDB 210, Redin 165. Forms in -IC appear alongside those in -ING, -INC, so it seems unlikely that the distinct suffix -ic is involved here, unless in the Bath (?) example. This loss of n in the suffix -ing also appears in the moneyers' names Duding and Duning in examples from Edward the Confessor and later, see SCBI Index of Personal Names, and in the mint-name Hastings by implication of the forms HESTIE, HESTIEN, SCBI Index of Mints. On the unvoicing of g > c see § 97.

The examples transcribed as BRYNIC, BRYNINC are from different dies to those transcribed BRVNIC, BRVNINC. In these the right-hand punch meets the left along its length and not at the bottom of the stroke; Y rather than V seems to be intentional, but whether this is merely an orthographic confusion is uncertain. The converse confusion is found in Wynsige, q.v. and see §§ 41, 45.

[Moneyers c.973-1016³ Northampton 248.]

Brūnman

Colchester BRVNMAN (Cn 1)SCBI

London ←-
 BRVMAN (Cn 1)SCBI
 BRVNMAN (Cn 1-3, Cn K, Hr 1)SCBI
 →

Southwark or Sudbury? BRVNMAN (Cn 1)SCBI

The last example has the mint-signature SVD. On Dolley's criterion (BNJ XXVIII 267) that in quatrefoil the products of the Southwark mint are distinguished by the inclusion of G in the legend even at the expense of unusual forms of abbreviation such as SVG, this coin should be attributed to Sudbury. The presence of the name at the adjacent mint of Colchester further suggests that this attribution is the correct one.

OE Brūnmann PND 210. For assimilation of nm > m see § 79 .

[Moneyers c.973-1016' London 251]

Brūnrēd

Southwark BRVNRED (HCn 2) SCBI

Known from two coins, the SCBI example with the "Cnut" title and the other in BEH with HARDACNV. The SCBI coin clearly reads BRVNRED but Hildebrand reads the Stockholm example BRVHRED, though by my own reading the fourth letter could equally be N. According to Searle the Harthacnut moneyer is the only evidence for an OE *Brūnrēd, and one must therefore wonder whether the coins do not contain an accidental metathesis for Burhred, the name of a Southwark moneyer in Edward the Confessor's second type in the forms BVRED, BVRGRED, BVRRED. However, two reverse dies appear to contain the name and both elements are well known in OE.

OE *Brūnrēd ?

Brūnstān

Stamford BRVNSTAN (Cn 1) SCBI

Thetford BRVNNSTAN (Hr 1) SCBI
BRVNSTAN (Cn 1-3, Hr 1-2, HCn 2) SCBI
-->

Winchester <--
BRVNSTAN (Cn 1) SCBI

OE Brūnstān, Searle 118. Frequent as a moneyers' name, found at London as well as Winchester for Æthelred, and Bristol and Stamford for William I as well as the instances above, but otherwise known only from the Hyde Abbey Liber Vitae, 11th cent.

[Moneyers c.973-1016' London 251, Winchester 269]

Brūntāt

Lincoln <--
BRVNTAT (Cn 1-2) SCBI

OE *Brūntāt? Searle 118; the moneyer's name is the only instance. In PND 153 Feilitzen regards names in -tat, this and also Altet, Mantat, as Continental loans, anglicised forms of OLG Bruntet, Meintet, but in a later paper (Feilitzen' Edgar' 201) he accepts Reaney's suggestion that there may

have been a native OE name-element *-tāt 'glad, cheerful' cognate with the German element.

[Moneyers c.973-1016] Lincoln 234]

Brūnwine

Stamford BRVŪPINE (Cn 3, Hr 1, HCn 2)SCBI
BRVŪPINE (Cn 3)BEH
->

OE Brūnwine PNDB 210

Burhweald

Winchester BVRHƿOLD (Cn 2)SCBI
BVRƿOLD (Cn 2)SCBI

OE Burh- or Burgweald, Searle 122. Most of the instances given there are 11th cent. and Buruolt is almost certainly continental. For -weald see § 58. For loss of h in BVRƿOLD see § 79. Cf. Beorhtweald

Burhwine

Wallingford BVREƿINE (Cn 1)BEH, (HCn 2)SCBI
BVRƿIINE (Hr 2, HCn 1)BEH
BVRƿINE (Hr 1)SCBI, (HCn 1)BEH

The name occurs again at Wallingford at the end of Edward the Confessor's reign and for Harð Godwinsson.

OE *Burh- or *Burgwine. No other instance of this combination of elements seems to be known. For loss of h see § 79; for a parasitic e between elements see § 51. For doubling of letters see § 103.

Caldwin ?

Lewes CALDEVINE (HCn 2)BEH

Canterbury. CALDEPINE (Hr 1)BEH

Possibly CG Caldwin, Coldwin, Morlet 151, but cf. Gyldewine for which these forms may be an error. On the Canterbury coin the first three letters appear upside-down CΛΓ and may probably be read GVL-

Calic

London GODRIC CAL (HCn 2)SCBI
GODRIC CALIC (HCn 2)SCBI
GODRIIC CALIC (HCn 2)SCBI

OE calic 'cup, chalice', used as a byname? For the double names on coins of this period see above p. 24-30

Cæfel

Ilchester CAFEL (Cn 3)SCBI

This name is known only from one coin. It is most likely OE cæfl 'halter, muzzle' (Redin 141) used as an original byname, cf. ON Kafli PND 301. Redin's other suggestion that it could be a diminutive of OE cāf 'quick, brave', though better from the point of view of meaning, seems less likely since it is not otherwise found in personal name material; his association of it with the supposed Æthelred moneyer CAPE at London c.997-1003 does not seem tenable. The CAPE coin has a badly blundered obverse and is probably a Scandinavian imitation.

Carla

Exeter ←-
 CARLA (Cn K, Hr 1)BEH
 CARLA (Cn 1)SCBI
 CARLAA (Cn 1)SCBI

"Gothaburh" CARLA (Cn 1)SCBI

Gothaburh (GIOÐ) is a not certainly identified mint in the west of England. The Quatrefoil (Cn 1) coins of this mint are of Exeter style and an obverse die-link exists between Carla's coins at "GIOÐ" and at Exeter in BEH Cn 999 and 367. For a full discussion of the mint at Gothabyrig see Dolley and Elmore Jones BNJ XXVIII 1956 p.270, where the suggestion is made that it could be Castle Gotha in Cornwall.

Feilitzen in SCBI 11a derives this moneyer's name from ON Karli, a weak derivative of karl 'free man'. The weak form is rare in Iceland but more common in Norway. The Danish forms are later and the weak form is rare there, but it is known from early Swedish runic inscriptions (SPLY 162, Lind 676-77, DGP 725-6).

On æ for a in this name see § 8. For doubling of letters see § 103.

An alternative derivation would be CG Karl, but the terminal a suggests an original weak ending. Scandinavian names are curiously common amongst the moneyers of Exeter, cf. Skūli, Thörgautr for Cnut and also Cytel for Æthelred.

[Moneyers c.973-1016 Exeter 263]

Casgri?

Stamford CASGRI (Hr 2)SCBI

Probably an error for Fargrimr q.v.

Cawelin, Capelin ?

Stamford CAPELIN or CAPELIN (Cn 1-2)SCBI
 CAPLIN or CAPLIN (Cn 1)SCBI
 CPALIN or CPALIN (Cn 2)SCBI

CAPLIN or CAPLIN (Ethelred Last Small Cross with name of Cnut/
Cn 1) SCBI

The last example is part of a die-chain of presumably Scandinavian imitations in Lyon et al. 240. The obverse die is the same as BEH Cn 3624 which Hauberg gives to the Danish mint of Viborg. The other examples are not die-linked with this mule and are of official English work.

The name is problematical. It also appears in Edgar's Two-Line type (BMC ia, early in the reign) in the form CAPELIN or CAPELIN, without mint-signature but with the style of lettering assigned to the north-east by Dolley (cf. ASCoins Plate XIII 2), so that it too may be associated with the Stamford area.

Even the form of the name is uncertain since the form of \mathfrak{p} used by the die-cutters is generally indistinguishable from P. Some difference is observable in the Edgar coins between the symbol used in CAPELIN and that in, for example ELFPALD (cf. SCBI 4 795, 798) where the known \mathfrak{p} is distinctly more angular. This suggests that in this instance the name should be read as CAPELIN but the form may be no more than idiosyncratic of the die-cutter.

All that can be certain is that the name is not native. Feilitzen suggests for the Edgar name, reading CAPELIN, that it is the same name as that of the sixth-century king of the West Saxons and overlord of the southern English peoples, Ceawlin son of Cynric, and that this name itself is of Celtic origin ('Edgar' s. n.). Why this name, of southern folk-interest if of any, should have been revived in the area of the Five Boroughs to be borne by men of mature years in the 960s and the 1020s is uncertain, for there is no evidence for its continuing place in Anglo-Saxon nomenclature in the intervening three centuries.

Taking the alternative reading CAPELIN, a Romance derivation is suggested by the ending, perhaps the Lat. suffix -inus > in or with extension in -l > -lin (cf. Gotsalin). The root of the name might then be late Lat. cappa, capa, which passed into most western European languages as both 'cape' and 'cap', the latter meaning being generally denoted by the diminutive as in OFr capel > NF chapeau; see NED s. cap, whence possibly an original byname 'little cap?'. The formation is not recorded as a personal name but the OE equivalent of the noun, cappe, may be present as a byname in Alanus Cappe, 1185, and Torvard Cappe, 1203, SPLY 160. An OF capeline 'coiffure de femme et d'enfant couvrant la tête et les epaules' is suggested by Tengvik (242) as a possible source for some examples of Chaplin, Caplin as a surname in NE. Less likely as a source for the moneyers' name is Lat. capellanus, OFr. capelein, though NED records capellans c.1100, and taken as a nickname, rather than literally, it is a possibility.

[Cellach OIr.: (Cieolog, Caloh) 'Moneyers c.973-1016' York 230]

[Cenric OE: 'Moneyers c.973-1016' Norwich 242]

Ceolnoth

Chester CEOLNAÐ (Cn 1) SCBI
CEOLNO (Cn 1) SCBI
CEOLNOÐ (Cn 1-2) SCBI
CLNOE (Cn 1) SCBI
EELNAÐ (Cn 3) SCBI
Ceolnoth (Cn 3) SCBI 5 xxxiv†

† Lower-case letters are used to transcribe forms from coins which I have not seen, but which are referred to in SCBI.

Maldon CELNOD (Cn 1)SCBI
 CEOLNOD (Cn 2)SCBI
 CILNOD (Cn 1)BEH
 CIOLNOD (Cn 2)BEH

The lower-case form given under Chester appears in a list of Chester moneyers in SCBI 5 which is devoted to coins of the Chester mint and may in fact be a normalisation of the EELNAD coin above.

OE Cēolnōth, Searle 131. CILNOD appears on a coin of the London style of die-cutting; for CIL-, CIOL- see §§ 72,73. For -NAD see § 36.

[Moneyers c.973-1016 London 251, Cissbury 262]

Cēolwīg

Thetford CILPIGE (Cn 2)BEH

Hildebrand reads this coin as EILPIGE and the first letter on the BEH coin is not completely legible, but a die-duplicate in the Stora Sojdeby find from Gotland reads clearly CILPIGE.

OE Cēolwīg, Searle 132. A CILPI strikes the Hammer Cross type for Edward the Confessor at Dover c.1060 but apart from the moneyers there is only one instance of the name known, a provost of Bath c. 970. Both elements however are common in OE.

For CIL- see § 73. The final E may be an inverted spelling from the loss of final e in names in -sige.

Cille

Chester CILLE (HCn 2)BEH

Probably an abbreviation of Gillecrist q.v.

[Clern, obscure: 'Moneyers c.973-1016' Cambridge 245]

[Cnapa ON(?): 'Moneyers c.973-1016' Stamford 239]

Cniht

Cambridge ←-

CEHT (Cn 1)SCBI 25 602

CNHT (Cn 1)BEH

CNIHT (Cn 1)SCBI, (Cn 3)BEH

CNOHT (Cn 1)Arsted find, Norway, in Oslo University collection

CYNIHT (Cn 1)SCBI

OE Cniht, PND 216; un-compounded name, Redin 18-19, from OE cniht, "boy, youth", cf. Boga, Dreng. The Æthelred instances are CNIT, CYNT in Helmet (BEH Æthr E, c. 1003-1009). In spite of the lack of coins in the intervening Last Small Cross type it seems likely that this is the same man as the Cnut moneyer; Redin's suggestion that "some of the instances stand perhaps for Scand. Cnut" does not seem tenable.

The variety in the forms of this name goes back to the original *cneoht which became cniht by palatal umlaut, Campbell § 304-5. Some cases of the noun retained eo by reason of a following back-vowel e.g. cneohtas and a

a nom. sing. form cnecht was perpetuated by analogy. This is almost certainly the explanation of CNOHT on the Norwegian coin. In Anglian dialects eo was smoothed to e early, hence CEHT (cf. §76). The similarity of letter-forms H and N has resulted in haplography. CYNHT appears to contain a parasitic vowel, see §52, though Y in this position is unusual.

[Moneyers c.973-1016' Cambridge 245]

COL- in ON names see Kol-

Colman

Oxford ←-

COLAMAN (Cn 2-3)SCBI, (Hr2)BEH, (Hr 1/2 mule)BEH
COLEMAN (Cn 1)SCBI

London COLEMAN (Cn 1)BEH

Wallingford COLAMAN (Cn 1)SCBI, (Cn 2)BEH
COLEMAN (Cn 1)SCBI

In OE Colman is a loan from either of two sources: OIr Colman, a derivative of Lat. columbus 'dove', or CG Col(e)man, a compound name from col- 'dark-coloured' + man. The Irish name is more common in northern English sources, and the interelemental vowel further suggests the continental origin.

[Moneyers c.973-1016' Oxford 256]

Coling ?

Lewes COLLINI (Cn 2)SCBI

This reading appears on only one die. Morlet 151 gives GOLDINI as a hypocorism for Cald/Cold- names in Frankish; see Caldwin who is possibly a Lewes moneyer a little later. Alternatively this form may be an error for OE Col(1)ing, Redin 166, PND 218 and cf. SCBI Index of Personal Names.

Conreil

London CONREIL (Cn 2)SCBI

This single coin has a very curious style of portrait and is almost certainly an imitation. It is impossible to tell what name, if any, is intended.

Crinan

Lincoln CRINA (Cn 3)SCBI
CRINAN (Cn 1-2)SCBI

London? CRINAN (Cn. 3) BEH

Shrewsbury CRINA (Cn 1)BEH
CRINAN (Cn 1)SCBI
GRINA (Cn 1)SCBI 25 698

York CRINAN (Cn 2)SCBI

The London (?) coin, so attributed by Hildebrand, has the mint-signature LVDTN which would be irregular for London. The moneyer is otherwise unknown at London but this mint-signature fits no other known English mint. Coins with forms in LVD- have been given by Hauberg to Lund in Skåne but the last two letters perhaps suggest a place-name in -tun; the mint must remain uncertain. The Shrewsbury coin from SCBI 25 (Helsinki) has the mint-signature SCRÐ which again is unusual, though on balance the attribution is probably correct.

OIr Crinan, a derivative of crin "dry, withered", PNDB 219, Holm 26. The loss of final n may be to assimilate the name to OE uncompounded names in a e.g. Mana, Dodda.

[Cristthegn: 'Moneyers c.973-1016' Stamford 239, and see also Dolley in BNJ XXXVI pp 40-45]

Crucan

York CRVCA (Hr 1)SCBI
 CRVCAN (Cn 2-3, Hr 1)SCBI
 CRVCANT (Hr 1)SCBI
 GRVCAN (Cn 2-3)SCBI
 GRVRN (Cn 2)SCBI

PNDB 276 where Feilitzen takes Crucan for the head-form and Crucan as an error, but on the coins dies with C greatly outnumber those with G. Probably Irish but of doubtful etymology. GRVRN may be an error in copying the less familiar symbol K in a written pattern Grukan.

[Cynhelm (?), OE: 'Moneyers c.973-1016' Northampton 248]

Cynna

Winchester ←-
 CNNA (Cn 1)SCBI
 CYNNA (Cn 1)SCBI

OE Cynna, Redin 47. Probably a hypochorism for names in Cyn-,
 ['Moneyers c.973-1016' Chichester 268, Winchester 269]

[Cynric OE: 'Moneyers c.973-1016' Dover 260]

Cynsige

Dover ←-
 CINSIGE (Cn 2-3)SCBI
 CINSIGGE (Cn 2) SCBI
 GVNSIG (Cn 2)BEH

Northampton CINSIGE (Cn 2)BEH

The form GVNSIG must stand for this moneyer, rather than a Scandinavian name in Gunn- .

OE Cynsige, PNDB 221. For unrounding of OE y to i see § 47; for representation by V § 45. For loss of final e in -sige see § 21; for doubling of letters see § 103.

['Moneyers c.973-1016' London 251, Dover 260, Chichester 268]

Cynstān

Dover CINSTAN (Cn 3, Hr 1) SCBI, (Hr 2, HCn 1) BEH
 CNINESTAN (HCn 2) BEH
 CYNSTAN (Hr 2) SCBI

OE Cynstān, PNDB 221. For Cin- see § 47. The interchange of Cyn-/Cyne- is early, and goes back to the original Cyni-, where the loss of i after long syllables in compounds was sometimes extended to name-elements with short vowels, giving rise to such pairs as Cyn-/Cyne-, Her-/Here-, Sig-/Sige-.

Cynweald

London CINEPOLD (Hr 1) SCBI

OE Cyn(e)weald, Searle 158. For Cyn-/Cyne see Cynstan above. For Cin- see § 47, for -wold see § 58.

Cynwīg

Lincoln CINIPIG (Cn 3) BEH

London CINEPIG (Hr 1) SCBI

OE Cyn(e)wīg, PNDB 221. The Lincoln form, unless an error, is archaic, going back to the original form of the element Cyni-. For unrounding of y to i see § 47.

Cynwine

Hastings CINEPNI (Hr 1) BEH

OE Cyn(e)wine, PNDB 221. For unrounding of y to i see § 47.

Dagfinnr

York ←-
 DAHFIN (Cn 1) SCBI

OWN Dagfinnr; not found in Danish, but Björkman (Nordische Personennamen p. 31) gives an Old Swedish form Daghfin.

[Moneyers c.973-1016¹ York 229.]

[Dēorlaf Moneyers c.973-1016¹ Chester 220]

Dēoring

London DEORINC (Cn 2) BEH

OE Dēoring, PNDB 223, Redin 166. Uncompounded name, from OE dēor 'dear' + -ing suffix. For unvoicing of final g see § 97.

Dēormann

←
London DERMAN or possibly DERMAN (Hr 1)BEH

→
OE Dēormann, PND 223. For monophthongisation of OE ēo see § 70.
E for D may be an error but see § 91.

[Moneyers c. 973-1016 London 251]

Dēorsige

Hertford DEORSIE (Cn 3, Hr 2)SCBI
DEORSIG (Hr 2)BEH
DEORSIGE (Cn 3, Hr 1)SCBI
DEOSII (Hr 2)SCBI
DYRSIG (Cn 1)SCBI
DYRSIGE (Cn 2)SCBI
→

London ←-
DYRSIG (Cn 1)SCBI

OE Dēorsige, Searle 165. For -sige > -sie, sii, si, see § 98; for -sig § 21. For forms in Dyr- see § 74.

[Moneyers c. 973-1016 London 251]

Dēorwine

Thetford ←-
DERPINE (Cn 1)SCBI
DRPINE (Cn 1)BEH

OE Dēorwine. One instance other than the moneyer is given by Searle, p. 165 (BCS 599, KCD 1097) from 902.

For ēo > ē see § 70

[Moneyers c. 973-1016 Thetford 243, Bedford 246]

[Dēorwulf OE: Moneyers c. 973-1016 Tamworth 221, London (?) 254.]

[Dilion uncertain, ? Celtic: Moneyers c. 973-1016 Hereford 223]

Dōdda

Exeter DODDA (Cn 2, HCn 2)SCBI
DODE (HCn 2)BEH

OE Dōdda, PND 223, Redin 62. An uncompounded name of doubtful etymology. Feilitzen suggests the existence in OE of a *do(d)d, du(d)d 'knob, lump' deduced from Germanic cognates, with the extension of meaning in personal names of 'fat, clumsy person', but he does not rule out the

possibility of a lall-name origin.

['Moneyers c.973-1016' Dover 260, Totnes 264 (Duda Canterbury 259)]

Draca

Winchcombe DRACA (HCn 2) SCBI

This same die is read by Hildebrand as PRACA but D is clear on SCBI 19 184.

OE draca 'dragon'. Found as a byname in Leuingis Drache for 1066 in the Winchester Domesday (Tengvik 344) and not otherwise known as a personal-name in England. ODan Draki is found as a forename, but not recorded until the 15th cent, though OSw *Draghi is found in placenames, DGP 202).

Dreng

Lincoln ←-
DRENG (Cn 1) SCBI, (Cn 2) Lund, University Museum.

ON Dreng, an original byname, "young man". Common in WScand from the 14th century onwards, Lind 202-3, SPLY 72. A few examples in Danish, again late, though a weak form is found in a Swedish runic inscription and the name is found in Danish placenames, DGP 202.

['Moneyers c.973-1016' Lincoln 235]

[Drihtweald (?), OE: 'Moneyers c.973-1016' London 251]

Dropa

Winchcombe DROPA (Cn 1-2) SCBI

Hildebrand records this name as Drowa, which is unintelligible. If the correct reading is to be taken as Dropa this must be OE dropa "drop", which is not otherwise recorded as a personal-name. The ODN cognate Dropi is recorded as a byname.

[Dudel OE: 'Moneyers c. 973-1016' Exeter 263]

Duding

London DVDDINC (Hr 1) SCBI
DVDDINE (HCn 1) SCBI
→

Southwark DVDDINC (HCn 1) SCBI

OE Dud(d)ing, an -ing derivative of Dudd, Duda, which is probably the same as Dodda, q.v., or alternatively a descriptive formation on OE *dodd, dudd, cf. Branting. PND 223, Redin 169. For unvoicing of final g see § 97. Final E in the second London form is an error for angular C.

Difacan

York DVFACAN (Hr 1) SCBI
 DVFEOAN (Hr 1) BEH
 DVRACAN (Hr 1) BEH

OIr Dubacán. The die-cutter has obviously had some difficulty in copying this unfamiliar name.

[Dufnel OIr: Moneyers c.973-1016} Chester 221.]

[Dun OE: Moneyers c.973-1016} York 228, Leicester 239.]

Dunbeard

Langport DVNBERD (HCn 2) BEH

The fragment reading DVI []GEP, SCBI 18 648, which it is suggested may be Dunberd at Langport is in fact a coin of Duding at Southwark. Dunberd is also an Ilchester moneyer in Edward the Confessor's first type.

OE Dunbeard, probably a nickname-type rather than a true compound name. Feilitzen's suggestion, PNDB 227n, that Dunberd is an error for Durberd citing BEH HCn 436 is not tenable since the supposedly Durberd coin in fact also reads DVNBERD. For OE ēa > ē see §§ 53, 16.

[Duncild OE: Moneyers c.973-1016} Guildford 258]

Dunstān

London DVNSTAN (Cn 1) SCBI
 DVNSTAN (Cn 2) SCBI

OE Dunstān, PNDB 228. The initial Ð of the second form is probably an error.

[Moneyers c.973-1016} Guildford 258, Exeter 263, Chichester 268.]

[Durant CG: Moneyers c.973-1016} Worcester 223]

Eadgār

London EADGAR (Cn 1) SCBI
 EDGAR (Cn 1-2) SCBI

OE Eadgār, PNDB 229. For Ead- > Ed- see §§ 53, 16.

Eadhelm

London EADELM (Cn 2)SCBI

OE Eadhelm, Searle 182. For the loss of h see § 101.

[Moneyers c.973-1016 London 251, Rochester (?) 259.]

[Eadlāf OE: Moneyers c.973-1016 London 251]

Eadmer

Exeter ←-

EADMER (Cn 1)SCBI

EDMER (Cn 2)SCBI, (Hr 1)BEH, (Hr 2, HCn 2)S BI

EDMER (Hr 2)BEH

EDNE (Hr 2)SCBI

Romney EDMER (Hr 2)BEH

OE Eadmer, PNDB 232. For Ead- > Ed- see §§ 53, 16; for -mer > -mer see § 16.

[Moneyers c.973-1016 Exeter 263]

Eadmund

Lincoln ←-

EADMVND (Cn 1, HCn 2)SCBI

London ←-

EADMVD (Cn 3)SCBI

EADMVND (Cn 1,3)SCBI

EDMVND (Cn 1)SCBI

Norwich EADMVND (Cn 1)SCBI

EDMVND (Cn 1)SCBI

OE Eadmund, PNDB 233. For Ead- > Ed- see §§ 53, 16

[Moneyers c.973-1016 Lincoln 234, Norwich 242, Cambridge 245, Colchester 247, Northampton 248]

Eadnoth

Hastings EDNOD (Cn 3)BEH

Huntingdon EDNOD (Cn 2)SCBI

EADNOD (Cn 1-2)SCBI

EADNOD (Cn 1)BEH

EDNOD (Cn 1)SCBI

London EADNIOD (Cn 1)SCBI

EADNOD (Cn 1)BEH.

EADNOD (Cn 1)SCBI

Rochester ←-

EADNOD (Cn 1)BEH

Southwark EADNOD (Cn 2)SCBI

OE Eādnōth, PNDB 233. . For Eād > Ad-see § 53, Ed- § 16.

In the forms above there is some die-cutting confusion between D and Ð. EADNIOÐ contains an accidental additional vertical. EDNOD appears only on coins with anomalous portrait styles and barbarous ~~obverse~~ legends which may be imitations.

[Moneyers c.973-1016' Northampton 248, London 251, Rochester 259, Bridport 265, Chichester 268, Winchester 269]

Eadræd

London EADRÆDE (Cn 2)SCBI
EADREDE (Cn 2)SCBI
EDRÆD (Hr 1)SCBI
EDRED (Cn 2-3, Hr 1)SCBI
EDREDE (Cn 2)SCBI
EDRIED (Cn 3)BEH

OE Eadræd PNDB 233 . For Eād- > Ed- see §§ 16, 53. For -ræd > -rēd § 16.

There are some very curious forms for this name. The persistent final e in (Cn 2) is difficult to explain, unless as an inverted spelling for an unstressed final e which is occasionally lost; cf. § 21.

Eadric

Aylesbury EADRIC (Cn 1)BEH

Cambridge ←
EADRIC (Cn 1)SCBI

Hereford ←
EDIRIC (Cn 1)BEH
EDRIC (Cn 1)BEH

Ipswich ←
EDEIIC (Cn 1)SCBI
EDRIC (Cn 1-2)SCBI

Lincoln EDRIC (Hr 1, HCn 2)SCBI

London ←
ÆEDRIC (Cn 2)SCBI
EADRIC (Cn 1)BEH, (Cn 2)SCBI
EADRICE (Cn 1)SCBI
EDRIC (Cn 2-3, Hr 1-2, HCn 2)SCBI
EDRICC (Cn 2)SCBI, (Hr 1)BEH, (Hr 2)SCBI
EDRRIC (Hr 2)BEH
→

EDRIC DEN (or DEN) SVPATRV (Cn K)SCBI

Taunton EADRC (Cn 1)SCBI
EADRIC (Cn 1)SCBI, (HCn 1)SCBI 24 652

Thetford ←
EADRIC (Cn A/Ethelred BEH Type A in name of Cnut, probably Scandinavian)
(Cn 1)SCBI
EDRIC (Cn 1-2, Hr 2, HCn 2)SCBI
→

Thetford cont/

A coin recorded in Carson reading GRARIC (Hr 2) may be an error for the moneyer's name.

OE Eadric PNDB 233 . For Ead- > Ed- see §§ 16, 53; AED- is a transitional form. For double letters see § 103. For the final e in EADRICE cf. Eadrād above. EDIRIC may possibly contain a parasitic vowel, cf. § 52, or may simply be an error.

The form with the byname at London is curious; from the plate in SCBI 14 (2440) the reading appears to be EDRIC DEN SVPATRV though DEN is a possible reading. Although in late OE the form þe had largely taken over from the earlier se as the nominative singular masculine of the definite article, the form þen would properly belong only to an oblique case. In ON the nominative singular masculine is inn, with forms in the oblique cases. The byname itself presumably is ON svartr 'black' but is heavily blundered, and the ending in V inexplicable grammatically. For bynames on coins of this period see p. 24 above.

[Moneyers c.973-1016] Chester 220, Hereford 223, York 228, Thetford 243, Cambridge 245, Ipswich 246, London 251, Exeter 263, Taunton 265]

Eadsige

Dover ←-

EADSII (Cn 1)BEH
EDSIGE (Cn 2)SCBI
EDSIGEE (Cn 2)SCBI
ETSIGE (Cn 2-3)SCBI, (Hr 1)BEH, (HCn 1)SCBI
ETSIGEE (Cn k)SCBI
[ED?]SI (Cn 1)SCBI

Exeter EDSIE (Cn 2)SCBI
EDSIEE (Cn 2)BEH
EDSIGE (Cn 1-2)SCBI, (Cn 3)BEH
EDSIGIE (Hr 1)SCBI
ETSIGE (Cn 2)SCBI
EDSIGE PARE (Cn 3)BEH

Hastings ←-
ETSIGE (Cn 2)SCBI

London ←-
EADSI (Cn 1)BEH
EADSIG (Cn 1)BEH
EADSIGNE (Cn 1)SCBI
ETSIGE (Cn 2)SCBI

Salisbury (?) (The mint-signature is SERE but possibly an error for Shrewsbury)
ETSIGE (Cn 3)BEH

Shrewsbury ←-
ETSI (Cn 1)SCBI
ETSIG (Cn 1)SCBI
ETSIGE (Cn 1-3)SCBI
ETSIGGE (Cn 2) SCBI
ETTIGE (Cn 1)SCBI

OE Eadsige PNDB 236. For Ead- > Ed- see §§ 16, 53. For forms in ET- see § 87. For the various developments of -sige see § 98.

For EDSIGE PARE see Double names, above pp. 24-30.

[Moneyers c.973-1016] Shrewsbury 222, London 251, Rochester 259, Dover 260, Hastings 261, Winchester 269]

[Eadsmea OE: 'Moneyers c.973-1016' London 251]

Eadstān

Bath ? EDSTAN (Cn 1) Stora Sojdeby find, Gotland

Hereford ETSTAN (Cn 1-3) SCBI

The mint-signature of the first coin is ON BAIA which is irregular for Bath but does not accord with any other known mint.

OE Eadstān PNDB 237. For Et- < Ead- see §§ 16, 53, 87.

['Moneyers c.973-1016' Bath 258, Lympne 260, Hastings (?) 261, Exeter 263, Winchester 259]

Eadwacer

Cambridge EDPACER (Hr 1) SCBI

Norwich ←-
EDPAER (Cn 1) SCBI

Although OE in form, Forssner considers that the OE noun eadwacer, 'watchman over property', only became a personal name under the influence of the corresponding OG Odoacer and the use of -wacer as a name-element in OG. Eadwacer is not certainly evidenced as a personal name in OE earlier than the 11th century.

The exceptional use of the graph AE (not E), and the presence of the name at Norwich as a moneyer of Ethelred, suggest that the E in the Norwich example is a mistake for rectilinear C, and that this is the same name.

['Moneyers c.973-1016' Norwich 243]

Eadweald

Canterbury ←-
EADPOLD (Cn 1) SCBI

Lincoln ←-
EADPOLD (Cn 1) SCBI

London

←-

EADPOLD (Cn 2)BEH
 EADPOLD (Cn 1-3, HCn 1)SCBI
 EDVALD (HCn 2) BEH
 EDPAL (Hr 2)BEH
 EDPALD (Cn 2)SCBI, (HCn 2)BEH
 EDPOL (Hr 2)BEH
 EDPOLD (Cn 1)SCBI, (Cn 3)BEH, (Hr 2)SCBI

EDPALD ðE ALDA (Hr BEH Type Da)BEH

BEH Type Da, on which EDPALD ðE ALDA appears, is a mule of (Hr 2) and (HCn 2), which is regular and acceptable as of English striking since these are sequent types. The dies are of normal English style and the coin is accepted by Seaby in his sequence of English coin-types.

OE Eadweald PND 237. For Ead->Ed- see §§ 16, 53. The confused spelling EADPOLD is perhaps influenced by the transitional form Ed-, see § 53, or possibly E is an inverted spelling based on the soundchange æ > e.

For the late OE development of -weald see § 58. The loss of the final consonant in the forms EDPAL, EDPOL may possibly have arisen from an accidental confusion through the similarity of D and the following O of ON.

For double names, and the form of the article in EDPALD ðE ALDA see Double names above, pp. 24-30, and cf. Eadric above, p. 105

[Moneyers c.973-1016' Thetford 243, Maldon 248, London 252, Canterbury 259.

To these should be added Lincoln EADPOLD (Æthelred BEH Type E)SCBI]

Eadweard

Aylesbury EADPERD (Cn 1)SCBI

Lewes EDVARD (HCn 2)SCBI
 EDVARD (Hr 2)BEH, (HCn 2)SCBI
 EDPERD (Hr 1)SCBI, (Hr 2, HCn 1)BEH
 -->

London ←
 EADPERD (Cn 1)SCBI
 EADPIRED (Cn 1)SCBI
 EDVARD (HCn 2)SCBI
 EDPERD (Cn 1-3)SCBI, (Hr 2, HCn 1)BEH
 EDPERDD (Cn 2) SCBI

Southwark EADPE(Cn 1)SCBI (or possibly stands for Eadwine q.v.)
 EADPERD (Cn 1)SCBI
 EDEPERD (Cn 1)SCBI 25 700.

Stamford ADPRD (Cn 2)BEH
 EDPERD (Cn 2)SCBI, (Cn 3)BEH

Wallingford EADPERD (Cn 1)BEH
 EADPRD (Cn 1)BEH
 EDPERD (Cn 2-3)SCBI, (Cn K)BEH, (Hr 2)SCBI
 EDPED (Hr 2)BEH
 -->

Winchester EADPERD (Cn 1)SCBI
 EDPERD (Cn 2)SCBI

OE Eadweard, P^NDB 237. For Ead->Ad->Ed- see §§16, 53. For the development of OE -weard > -werd, -ward see § 59.

[Moneyers c.973-1016] Thetford 243, London 251, Rochester 259, Lympne 260]

Eadwig

Dover EDPII (Cn 3)SCBI (possibly stands for Eadwine q.v.)

London ←
 EADPI (Cn 1)SCBI
 EDPIE (Cn 3)BEH
 EDPIG (Cn 2)SCBI
 EDPIIE (Hr 1)BEH
 EDPIIG (Hr 1)BEH
 EDPIIGG (Cn 2)SCBI, (HCn 2)BEH
 -->

Oxford ←
 EADPI (Cn 1)SCBI
 EDVIG (HCn 2)BEH
 EDPIG (Cn 3 HCn 2)SCBI
 EDPIGG (Cn 2)SCBI

Thetford ←
 EDPIG (Cn 1)SCBI

OE Eadwig, P^NDB 238, though some forms in -PIIE, PIE, PII may stand for Eadwine with omission or non-survival of the diagonal stroke of N.

For Ead->Ed- see §§ 16, 53. For the development of OE -wig § 98.

The form EDVIG appears on a coin with mint-signature CAOXAANA; though most

coins with a CAX mint-signature have been given to Axbridge (BNJ XI 1915 p. 46, 55) in this case the legend probably shows a confusion of the common form OCXAN for Oxford.

[Moneyers c.973-1016 Thetford 243, Sudbury 246, Hertford 248, London 252]

Eadwine

Cambridge

←-
EADPINE (Cn 2)BEH
EDDPINE (HCn 2)SCBI
EDPINE (Cn 2-3)SCBI

Canterbury

EDPINE (Cn 2)SCBI

Colchester

←-
EDPINE (Cn 1)SCBI

Dover

EADPINE (Cn 1)BEH
EDDINE (HCn 1)SCBI
EDVINE (HCn 2)BEH
EDPINE (Cn 1)BEH, (Cn 3-Hr 1-2)SCBI, (HCn 2)BEH
EDPINEE (Hr 1)BEH

Exeter

EDPINE (Cn 3)SCBI
EDPNE (HCn 2)SCBI

Hastings

EDPENE (Hr 1)BEH

Lewes

EADPINE (Cn 2)SCBI
EDPINE (Cn 3, Hr 2, HCn 2)SCBI
EDPINNE (Hr 1)SCBI

Lincoln

ADPINE (Hr 1)BM
EDPINE (HCn 2)SCBI

London

←-
EADPINE (Cn 1-2)SCBI
EDPINE (Cn 1-3, Hr 2)SCBI, (HCn 2)BEH
EDPNII (Cn 2)SCBI
EOPINE (Hr 1)SCBI

Northampton

EADPNE (Cn 1)BEH

Oxford

EDPIN (Cn 3)SCBI
EDPINI (Cn 3)SCBI

Southwark

EADPINE (Cn 1)SCBI
EDPINE (Cn 2)BEH

Stamford

←-
ADPINE (Cn 2)SCBI
EADPINE (Cn 1)BEH, (Cn 2)SCBI
EDPINE (Cn 2)SCBI

Thetford

←-
EADPINE (Cn 2)SCBI
EDPIN (Cn 1)BEH
EDPINE (Cn 1-2)SCBI
EDPINEE (Cn 2)BEH

Wallingford EADÞINE (Cn 1)SCBI
EADÞIDE (Cn 1)BEH

Winchester ←-
EADÞINE (Cn 1)SCBI
EADÞNE (Cn 1)SCBI
EDÞINE (Hr 2)SCBI

OE Eadwine PNDB 238. For Ead- > Æd- > Ēd- see §§ 16, 53. For double letters see § 103. EADÞIDE shows the curious confusion in die-cutting between D and N which is commented on in § 89; EDÞENE at Hastings is irregular and must be an error.

[Moneyers c.973-1016] Norwich 242, Thetford 244, Huntingdon 244, Cambridge 245, Colchester 247, London 252, Southwark 258, Rochester 259, Exeter 263, Wilton 267, Winchester 269]

Eadwulf

London EADVLF (Cn 2)BEH
EADVLE (Cn 3)SCBI
EADVLF (Cn 2-3)SCBI

OE Eadwulf, PNDB 240. The first form shows the influence of the sound-change ea > æ. For loss of w see § 83.

Ealdabeard

Exeter EALDABEARD (Cn 2)BEH
EALDEBERD (Cn 2)SCBI

The Exeter moneyer's name appears to be the only instance in OE, and it may consequently be a nickname rather than a true compound in Eald-, "old beard", cf. Dunbēard. For ea > e see §§ 53, 16. For the vowel linking the elements see § 51.

Ealdgār

London ←-
EALGAR (Cn 3)BEH
(FALGAR (Cn 3)BEH is a misreading of the above form)

OE Ealdgār PNDB 240 For loss of d see § 79.

[Moneyers c.973-1016] London 252.]

Ealdrēd

Lewes EALDRED (Cn 1)SCBI

London ←-
EALDRD (Cn 1)BEH
EALDRED (Cn 1)SCBI

Thetford EALDRED(Cn 1)SCBI

OE Ealdrēd from earlier -rād, PNDB 241.

[Moneyers c.973-1016 London 251, Malmesbury 257]

Ealdwulf

Lincoln ALDVF (Hr 1)Uppsala

OE Ealdwulf P^NDB 242
For the Anglian variant ald- see § 55.

Ealhsige

Chester ←
ALCSI (Cn 1)SCBI

OE Ealhsige P^NDB 243. For the Anglian variant Alh- see § 55; for [Xs] > [ks] see § 100.

[Moneyers c.973-1016 Chester 220]

[Ealhstān OE: Moneyers c.973-1016 London 252]

[Eānmær OE: Moneyers c.973-1016 Lincoln 234]

[Eānmund OE: Moneyers c.973-1016 London 252]

[Eārwine OE: Moneyers c.973-1016 London 252]

[Eānwulf OE: Moneyers c.973-1016 Lincoln 234]

Eardnōth

London ←
EARDNOD (Cn 1)SCBI
ERDNOD (Cn 1)SCBI

Romney EARDNOD (Cn 1)SCBI
EARNOD (Cn 1)SCBI

OE *Eardnōth; Searle's only references are ^{to} the Cnut moneyers, but cf. P^NDB 243 for the OE personal-name element Eard-, and Searle 212-3 for the plentiful evidence for OE Eardwulf.

For ERD- see § 16; for the loss of d in EARNOD see § 79.

[Moneyers c.973-1016 London 252]

Earnwīg

Hereford EARNVI (HCn 2)SCBI
ERNPI (Hr 1)SCBI, (Hr 2)BEH
ERNPII (Hr 2)BEH



OE Earnwīg PNDB 243. For Ern- see § 16; for wī, -wī see § 98

EDVTA see Gauti.

[Eiláfr ON: 'Moneyers c.973-1016' York 229, Southwark ?, 259]

ELST see Ethelsige

Enfdici

London ENFDICI (Cn 3)SCBI

Obscure; possibly a blundered form of Eadric ?

[Erconbald CG: 'Moneyers c.973-1016' Norwich 243]

[Falan OIr: 'Moneyers c.973-1016' York 231]

Fargrimr

Chester Fargrim (HCn 2)SCBI 5 xxxv
->

Stamford ~~F~~ERGRIM (Cn 1, 3)SCBI, (Hr 1)BEH, (Hr 2)SCBI
FARGRIM (Cn 3)SCBI, (Hr 1)BEH, (Hr 2, HCn 2)SCBI
CASGRI, q.v., may also be an attempt at this moneyer's name.

York FARGRIM (Cn 1)SCBI
FARGRIM (Cn 1-2)SCBI
FARGRM (Cn 2)SCBI

ON * Fargrimr, found in Domesday in Yorkshire and probably an Anglo-Scandinavian formation, since it is not present in Scandinavian sources, SPLY 79

For FAR- see § 8; on c for g see § 96.

Farmann (Farmathr)

London ~~F~~EREMAN (Hr 1)SCBI
~~F~~EREMAN (Hr 1)SCBI

Totnes FEREMAN (Cn K)SCBI

BEH Cn 3565 (Totnes, HCn 2) is recorded as LERMAN; van der Meer has "appears to be GERMAN, but this too may be FERMAN.

ON Farmathr, Farmann, an original byname 'merchant', rare and late in OWN and only known from coins in Denmark, PNDB 250, SPLY 80 DGP 289, Lind 264.

An alternative etymon is CG Far(a)man, cf. Morlet 87.

For FER- see § 8. Fereman appears to represent the CG name, with CG interchange of a and e, and a parasitic vowel between the elements.

[Moneyers c.973-1016⁷ York 229, Lincoln 235]

Farthegn

Huntingdon FERDEN (Cn 1)BEH
FARDEN (Cn 1)SCBI 25 620

York FERDEIN (Cn 3)SCBI
FERDEN (Cn 3)SCBI
FARDEIN (Cn 2-3)SCBI
FARDIN (Cn 2)SCBI

ON Farthegn, rare and late in Scandinavian sources and perhaps of Anglo-Scandinavian origin, SPLY 80, PNDB 256, DGP 289, Lind 265.

For FER- see § 8; for -DEN, -DEIN, -DIN see §§ 65, 68.

[Moneyers c.973-1016⁷ Lincoln 235]

Fastulfr

Ipswich FESTVLF (Cn 1)BEH

York FESDVLF (Cn 1)SCBI 25 739

Although the style of the York coin is indeterminate and not typical of York, the legend certainly seems to read MO EOF rather than M DEOF for Thetford, where the moneyer's name is found in Ethelred's last type.

ON Fastulfr, rare in West Scandinavian sources where the few recorded instances are probably of Swedish nationality. Common in Swedish runic inscriptions, and possibly known in Normandy; SPLY 80-1, PNDB 256, Lind 266, Adigard 203.

Alternatively CG Fastulf may be the etymon.

For æ, e for ON (?) ǣ, see § 8. On Ð for T in the York form, see § 86, and see also FROSDVLF < ON Frostulfr, Moneyers c. 973-1016⁷ p.229.

[Moneyers c.973-1016⁷ Tamworth 221, Thetford 244]

Fierlf

Stafford ? FIERLF (Cn 2)SCBI

The reverse legend reads in full FIERLF ON STÆF ON LI, which is ambiguous, appearing to name both Stafford and Lincoln. The evidence for a Stafford mint at this period is sparse, and suggests it may have been a very minor mint. Three moneyers, Egenulf, Alfwold and Godric, are known there for Æthelred but only Elfric is known for Cnut. It is possible that the clumsily-formed letters in this coin-legend may be intending a form of Elfric.

Folcard

Ipswich FOLHRD (Cn 1)BM

CG Fulcard PNDB 256, Morlet 95, Forssner 98. There is no certain evidence for a native OE Folcheard.

[Moneyers c.973-1016) Norwich 243, Thetford 244]

Frethi

London FREDI (Cn 1)SCBI
FREDI (Cn 1)SCBI

Steyning FRIDI (HCn 1)BM
FRIDII (Cn 3)BEH

The BM coin from Steyning is illustrated in BMC vol.II, plate xxi no 7.

Redin 122 and Holm 37 treat this as a separate uncompounded name from OE freothu > frith 'peace'.

At Steyning, which does not seem to have been more than a two-moneyer mint, there is a moneyer FREDEPINE, FRIDEPINE known for (Cn 3), (Hr 2) and also for Edward the Confessor's second type. It thus seems very likely that here FRIDI is the same man as FRIDEPINE. At London a FREDPINE is also known in the same type as FREDI. Whether these forms above represent a true hypocoristic name is uncertain. Names ending in -i are rarely found at this period and in fact ON names with this ending are usually assimilated into the OE naming-pattern by being given an -a ending (see Gauti, Toki) or else appear ending in ig (see Borstig < ON Börsti). It seems to me more likely that these forms are abbreviations for the particular purpose of the coin-legends, rather than that they represent an independent name.

Frithkollr

York FRIDCOL (Cn 1-3)SCBI

ON *Frithkollr; probably an Anglo-Scandinavian formation since the name is not found in Scandinavian sources. For these formations in -kollr at the York mint see above, Bretakollr.

[Frithumund OE: 'Moneyers c.973-1016' Winchester 269]

Frithuwine

London FREDPINE (Cn 1)SCBI

Steyning FREDEPINE (Cn 3)SCBI
FRIDEPINE (Cn 3)SCBI, (Hr 2)BEH
FRDIPINE (Cn 3)SCBI

OE Frithu-, Freothu-wine, Searle 249, Campbell §§ 212-3.
For OE eo > e see § 70, > i § 73. For loss of u or reduction to e see § 40

[Frostulfr ON: 'Moneyers c.973-1016' York 229]

[Fugolta ON: 'Moneyers c.973-1016' Thetford 244]

Gärwulf

Worcester (?) GARVLF (Cn 1)BEH

BEH under Winchester but I read PIH rather than PIN. The style is that of Chester and a GARVLF strikes at Worcester in Æthelred's last type.

OE Gärwulf Searle 254

For loss of w see § 83.

[Moneyers c.973-1016 Worcester 222]

Gauti

London COVTA (Cn 2)SCBI

This reading is given at SCBI 14 2286; the same reverse die appears as LOVTA at SCBI 14 3089. The coin in BEH (2270) given as EDVTA corresponds in other details and is likely to be the same die again.

ON Gauti, a short form of names in Gaut- or an original byname 'man from Gautland'. Found in all Scandinavian countries but particularly frequent in East Scandinavian. PNDB 258, SPLY 98.

For representation of ON au see § 62. For the use of C for g see § 96; for ON names ending in -i see § 32.

[Geirfinnr ON: 'Moneyers c.973-1016' Lincoln 235]

Geirleifr (?)

Ipswich GCERLAF (Cn 2)SCBI

This die is read in SCBI (13 993) as GCRLAF but the true reading is given in BEH as above. Only the one die is known with this name.

Possibly OWN Geirleifr, OEN Gerlef, Lind 314, DGP 356, with a die-cutter's blundering at the beginning and anglicisation to OE -laf in the second element.

[Gifa OE: 'Moneyers c.973-1016' Lincoln 234]

Gillacrist

Chester CILLE (or perhaps CILLII) (Hr 2)BEH
CILLI (Hr 2)SCBI
CILLECRIST (HCn 2)SCBI
GILACRIS (Hr 1)SCBI
GILLACRIS (Hr 1)SCBI

OIr Gillacrist 'servant of Christ'. The Chester moneyer appears to be the only instance of this name in England in the Anglo-Saxon period (Searle 258) though Searle and PNDB have numerous examples of Gille- used with saints' names to form personal names in this way (Gille- patric, -andrais, -micel, -bride). All the DB examples come from Yorkshire, and Searle quotes a further example from Symeon of Durham specifically as 'a Northumbrian'. An earlier Chester moneyer GILLYS, GILLIS (see SCBI Index for reigns and types) is explained by Dolley BNJ 1967 as *Gilla-isu, 'servant of Jesus'. The short forms CILLE, CILLI given above are more likely to be abbreviations of Gillacrist than independent names.

For the variation between C and G see § 96.

God, Goda

Chichester GODA (Hr 2)BEH

Exeter ←-

GOD (Cn 1)SCBI
GODD (Cn 2)SCBI
GODAN (Cn 2)BEH

- Ilchester ←-
GOD (Cn 1)BEH
- Langport GODAI (Cn 3)SCBI 25 854
- Lincoln GODD (?) (Cn 3)SCBI
- London ←-
GOD (Cn 3, Hr 1, HCn 1)SCBI (HCn 2)BEH
GODA (Cn 1-3)SCBI
GODD (Cn 3, Hr 1, HCn 1)SCBI
GOD GOD (Cn 3)SCBI
- Shaftesbury ←-
GODA (Cn 1-3)SCBI
- Warwick GODA (Hr 2)BEH
GODD (Hr 1)BEH
- Winchester GOD (Cn 2)SCBI
GODA (Cn 3)BEH
- Worcester ←-
GOD (Cn 2)SCBI
GODA (Cn 1)SCBI

The Lincoln coin appears in Mossop as GODL; an L or I appears to be superimposed on the second D. Probably this does not indicate a separate moneyer as there is no other evidence for one of the uncompounded name at Lincoln, and it may stand for Godric or Godwine who are Lincoln moneyers in the same type.

At most mints the forms GOD, GODA appear side-by-side so obviously the same man is indicated by both forms. OE Gōd, Gōda PNB 262-3, OE gōd 'good' rather than god 'god'. Redin 14 points out that the cognate Guth- is used as a name-element in ON, but this has a slightly different connotation since it is properly a plural (cf. SPLY 344). The latinisation of the name Godman as BONVS HOMO on a coin of Edward the Elder suggests that the name-element was associated with the adjective. If on the other hand Dolley is correct in connecting the Edward the Confessor moneyer's name GODLAM with a cult of the Agnus Dei, the name of the deity must be present, though perhaps only in that specific instance.

GODGOD is an accidental reduplication. For GODD see § 103. GODAN at Exeter looks like a weak genitive; if so it is a late relic of a practice which though common before Edgar's reform is exceptionally rare thereafter.

[Moneyers c. 973-1016 Chester 220, Worcester 222, Sudbury 246, London 252, Cricklade 257, 'Gothaburh' 262, Exeter 263, Lydford 264, Totnes do., Ilchester 266, Cadbury do., Shaftesbury 267.]

Godbeorht or Godbert

Exeter GODBRYT (Cn 2)SCBI

The form of the second element suggests that this might be an OE *Godbeorht but (the) evidence for this name is lacking. Searle 260 gives two examples but one is a Lombardic king for whom Godbeorht is merely an anglicisation of CG Godepert. The other is a moneyer of William I quoted as Godbriht from Rūding, which I have been unable

to trace. The cognate name Godbert, Godabert is common in CG sources, cf. Morlet 111, and this may be the CG name with anglicisation of the second element.

Godcild

Watchet GODCILD (Cn 3)SCBI, (HCn 1)BEH, (HCn 2)Sigsarve find, Hejde parish, Gotland.
 GODCILDD (Hr 2)SCBI
 GOTCIL (Cn 1)SCBI
 GOTCILD (Cn 1-2)SCBI, (Hr 1)BEH

Godcild took over from Hunwine as sole Watchet moneyer in Cnut's first type, and the name appears there in every issue for the next thirty-five years; see Blackburn BNJ XLIV.

The name is only otherwise known in OE as the name of a serf in a manumission from Devon c.970, BCS 1247. -cild is rare as a second element but is found in Leofcild, after 1035 Essex and Suffolk PNDB 311, and Wuncild in another manumission from Devon c. 970, BCS 1253. A curious form Windecild is quoted in BMC as the name of an Edward the Confessor moneyer but it appears without a mint-name and italicised to indicate that the coin is not in the British Museum collection. This form is almost certainly a misreading of some other name. Cild alone appears as an uncompounded name as a moneyer of Edward the Confessor at the Bedwyn mint and of William I at Marlborough.

All the known names in -cild are fairly late and have an approving lexical meaning. They may have originated as complete nickname-type formations rather than as compounds of name-elements. In this case the meaning would probably be 'good child'; cf. Yvelcild, by-name, Tengvik 358. 'Godchild' is unlikely since cild in OE is used mainly to denote a young person, whilst the sense of relationship is denoted by bearn; see Bäck, Synonyms for Child, Boy, Girl in Old English.

For Got- in place of God- see § 87; for the doubling of letters see § 103.

Godcira

London GODCIRA (Cn 2)BEH

This obscure form is probably an error for Godera, see Godhere, which is a well-attested London moneyer's name throughout Cnut's reign. Alternatively it may be a confusion of Gōdric. The coin is of normal English fabric and is not suspected of being a Scandinavian imitation.

[Gōddæg OE: {Moneyers c.973-1016} Stamford 237]

Godfrid

Lewes ←
 GODEFRID (Cn 2-3)SCBI
 GODEFRD (Cn 1)BEH

CG Godfrid, Godefrid, Forssner 118, Morlet 112. OE names in -ferth, -frith have influenced the second element.

[Moneyers c.973-1016 Lewes 262]

Gōdhere

London ←
 GODDERE (Cn 2)SCBI
 GODERE (Cn 1-3)SCBI
 GODREE (Cn 2)SCBI
 GOERE (Cn 3)SCBI

Maldon GODERE (Cn 2)BEH

Shrewsbury GODERE (Hr 1)SCBI

OE Gōdhere PADB 264. For loss of h at the beginning of the second element see § 101. GOERE may be a haplography for OD. For doubling of letters in GODDERE, GODREE see § 103.

[Moneyers c.973-1016 Stamford 237, London 252]

Gōding

London GODINC (Cn 3)SCBI
GOINC (Cn 3)SCBI

York GODINC (Hr 2)SCBI

OE Gōding PNUD 265, Redin 166. On -ing formations of un-compounded names at this period see Branting above.

For -inc see § 97.

[Moneyers c.973-1016¹ Lincoln 234, Oxford 256]

Godiolvwa

Winchester GODIOLVVA (Cn 2)SCBI

Completely obscure.

Gōdleoƿ

Huntingdon GODELAD (Cn 2)SCBI
GODELEOE (Cn 2)SCBI
GODELEOF (Cn 1)BEH, (Cn 2)SCBI
GODLIOF (Cn 1-2)SCBI

London GODELEOF (Cn 2)SCBI

Stamford ←-
GODELEOF (Cn 1)BEH
GODELOF (Cn 1)SCBI
GODLEOF (Cn 1)SCBI

The evidence for -leoƿ as a second element in OE names is slight. It occurs in MANLEOF, q.v. as a moneyer's name, but the Cyneleoƿ cited by Searle is a mistaken normalisation of Cunleoƿ which is itself a misreading of GVNLEOF < ON Gunnleifr, q.v. Cognate compounds Godelief, Maneliub, Manileubus are found in Frankish sources, Morlet 112, 167. Holm 40 comments on the frequency of forms with e between the elements as being analogous to the continental names but also refers to this usage in OE. If the -leoƿ names are OE, they must be late formations possibly influenced by the continental names.

The substitution of -LAD for -leoƿ is not explicable phonologically. GODLIOF in (Cn 1) is on a die of London origin, § 72.

[Moneyers c.973-1016¹ Stamford 237, Winchcombe 256.]

Gōdman

Bristol GODAMAN (Cn 1)BEH

Canterbury ←-
GODMAN (Cn 2)BEH

Dover GODMAN (Cn 1)BEH

Cricklade ←-
GODMAN (Cn 1)SCBI

Hertford GODMAN (Hr 2)SCBI
→

Huntingdon GODEMAN (Cn 2)BEH

Lewes GODEMAN (Cn 1)SCBI
GODMAN (Cn 1)SCBI

Lewes or Canterbury? GODMAN (Cn 3)BEH

London ←-
GODAMAN (Cn 3)BEH
GODMAN (Cn 1-3, Hr 1, HCn 2)SCBI
GODMON (Hr 1)BEH
GOMAN (Cn 3)SCBI
GODEMAN (Cn 2)SCBI

Malmesbury or Maldon "MEL" GODMAN (Hr 2)BEH

Oxford GODMAN (Cn 1)BEH Romney GODMAN(Cn 3)BEH

Thetford GODMAN (Cn 1)SCBI

Winchester GODAMAN (Hr 1)SCBI
GODEMAN (HCn 2)BM
GODMAN (HCn 2)SCBI
→

York GODMAN (Cn 2-3)SCBI

At several mints GODMAN, GODAMAN, GODEMAN appear side-by side, suggesting OE Gōdman with a parasitic vowel joining the elements, § 51, rather than the CG name Godaman, though some instances may be the CG name, or its influence may have reinforced forms in Goda-, Gode-; PNDB 265-6, SCBI 19 xxxv, cxvi.

BEH has GODMAN in (Cn 3) under Lewes, but I read the mint-signature as CE, i.e. Canterbury, rather than Lewes.

For the variant -mon see § 2. GOMAN, GODEMAN are probably errors but cf. §§ 79, 88

[Moneyers c.973-1016⁹ Hereford 223, Gloucester do., Lincoln 234, Thetford 244, London 252, Cricklade 257, Canterbury 259, Dover 260, Southampton 268, Winchester 270]

Gōdrīc

Bedford ←-
GODRIC (Cn 1)SCBI

Bridport ←-
GODRIC (Cn 1)SCBI

Bruton GODRIC (HCn 1)SCBI
GODRICC (HCn 2)SCBI
→

Canterbury ←-
GODRIC (Cn 1-2)SCBI, (HCn 2)BEH

Chester Godric (Cn 1) SCBI 5 xxxv

Chichester GODRIC (Hr 2)BEH

Colchester ←-
GODRIC (Cn 3)SCBI
GODRI (Cn 1)SCBI
GODRIC (Cn 1-3, Hr 1)SCBI, (Hr 2)BEH
GORIC (Hr 2)SCBI

Derby GODDIC (Hr 2)BEH
GODRIC (Hr 2)BEH
GODRIC (HCn 2)BEH
-->

Gloucester GODRIC (Cn 1-3, Hr 2)SCBI, (HCn 1)BEH, (HCn 2)SCBI
GODRICC (Cn 2)SCBI
-->

Huntingdon GODRIC (Cn 1)BM

Ilchester GODDIC (Hr 2)BEH
GODRIC (Cn 3)BEH, (HCn 2)SCBI
GODRICC (HCn 2)BM

Lincoln GODRI (Cn 3)SCBI
GODRIC (Cn 1)SCBI 25 633, (Cn 2-3, Hr 1-2, HCn 2)SCBI
GODRIIC (?) (Hr 1)SCBI
GOODRIC (Cn 3) SCBI
-->
GODRIC SPOT or SPOT (Cn 3)SCBI

London ←-
GODRC (Cn 1)SCBI
GODRIC (Cn 1-3)SCBI, (Hr 1)BEH, (Hr 2)SCBI, (HCn 1/Hr 2)BEH
GODRICC (Cn 2, Hr 1/2, Hr 2)SCBI
GODRICI (Cn 2)SCBI
GOODRIC (Cn 3)SCBI
GOTRIC (Cn 2)SCBI
GOTRC (Cn 2)BEH

GODRIC CAL (HCn 2)SCBI
GODRIC CALIC (HCn 2)SCBI
GODRIIC CALIC (HCn 2)SCBI
-->

Lydford ←-
GODRIC (Cn 1)SCBI

Lympne GODRIC (Cn 3)BEH

Northampton GODRIC (Cn 2, HCn 2)SCBI
GODRICC (Hr 2)SCBI

Romney GODRIC (Cn 2)SCBI

Stamford GODRIC (Cn 1-3, Hr 1)SCBI, (Hr 2, HCn 1)BEH, (HCn 2)SCBI
GODRIIC (Cn 1)SCBI, (Hr 2)BEH
-->

Warwick GODRIC (Cn 1)SCBI
 GOLBIC (Cn 1)SCBI

BEH 3745 GODRIC (Cn 3) recorded for Winchester is in fact a reverse die-duplicate of BEH 2409 GODINC, London.

OE Gōdrīc PNDB 266-9. The name appears with little variation in spelling except for errors and the doubling of letters, for which see § 103. For CALIC see Double Names above pp. 24-30, SPOT do.

A number of coins which essay the London mint-signature in (Cn 2) have the forms COTRIC, COTRC. Some of these have been transcribed as GOT- but the symbol used in all cases is the round C. Reference to the listing of them in BEH p.273 shows that the obverse legends of all these coins are highly irregular. BEH 2499 is simply recorded in the obverse column as "barbarous" without any attempt being made to classify the legend which in fact appears to read NLVTE+LMRO. Several of the other obverse legends contain + for the usual X in REX and intrusive N and L (from the reverse legend LVND?) One die reads REX ANG but none of the others continues after the, ambiguous REX (etc.)A. The mint-signatures in this group are unusual but not illegible, are characterised frequently by retrograde Ns, and forms with I such as LVNDIN, LVNDNI. A large number of different dies is used for this group; the weight of the coins is rather low for its type in all cases. One would hesitate to assign this group with any certainty to Cnut's Danish coinage since so far no die-links from it into the known Danish series have been discovered, but the use of I in the mint-signature is not incompatible with the mint at Lund (usually LVDI) and the COTRIC coins certainly do not seem to have been the official work of the London mint.

[Moneyers c.973-1016] Stafford 221, Stamford 237, Cambridge 245, Bedford 246, Ipswich 247, Colchester do., London 252, Southwark 258, Canterbury 259, Lympne 260, Lydford 264, Bridport 265]

Gōdsige

London GODISIGE (Hr 2)BEH
 GODSII (Hr 2)BEH

OE *Gōdsige (?). These coins are the only evidence for the existence of this compound in OE though both elements are well attested in other compounds. Although there is no reason why this name should not exist it may well in this context be an error for Goldsigne, the name of a London moneyer in this type.

Gōdsunu

Cambridge GODESVNE (HCn 2)SCBI
 -->

Canterbury(?) GODSVNV (HCn 2)BEH

The BEH coin appears to read ON CENT but Godsunu is not otherwise known as a Canterbury moneyer, whereas at Cambridge he strikes Edward the Confessor's first four types, in addition to the Harthacnut type cited above.

OE Gōdsunu is rare; the only other instances are of a London moneyer of Edward the Confessor, and in a charter of 1043, KCD 767, Sawyer Anglo-Saxon Charters 999. Compounds in -sunu appear to be late; Blacsune (etc.), Brunesune, Mansunu are first found in DB, and Leofsunu, the commonest of these names, appears first c.960 in a progress of lands in the possession of the abbey of Rochester KCD 1283

For the parasitic vowel between elements in Godesune see § 51; for the reduction of the final vowel of sunu → e see § 40.

Godwīg

Lewes GODPI (Cn 1)BEH s.Leicester

London GODPI (Cn 1)SCBI
GODPIIE (Hr 2)BEH

The Lewes coin is of southeastern style, and the mint-signature is LEE. The second London form may possibly stand for Godwine, the name of a London moneyer in the same type.

OE Gōdwīg PND 269. For the development of OE -wīg > -wi and other alternative spellings see § 98.

Godwine

Bedford GODPINE (Cn 1)SCBI

Cambridge GODPINE (Cn 1)BEH, (HCn 2)SCBI

Canterbury ←
GODPINE (Cn 2-3)BEH

Chester GODPINE (Cn 1-2)SCBI

Cricklade GODPINE (Cn 2)BEH

Dorchester GODPINE (Hr 2)SCBI, (HCn 2)BEH
GONPINE (Hr 2)SCBI
EONPNE (Hr 2)BEH 119, read there as EONRED, is probably intended for this moneyer's name

Exeter ←
 GODPINE (Cn 1)SCBI, (HCn 2)BEH

Gloucester ←
 GODPIN (Cn 1)SCBI
 GODPINE (Cn 1-2)SCBI

Ilchester GODPINE (Cn 1)SCBI

Langport GODPINE (Cn 1)BEH s. Lancaster, see Carlyon-Britton
BNJ VI

Lincoln GODPINE (Cn 1-2)SCBI, (Cn 3)BEH, (Hr 2)Gardel find,
 Stenkirka parish, Gotland

London ←
 GODPINE (Cn 1-3, Hr 1-2, HCn 2)SCBI
 GODPINE (Hr 2)SCBI
 GODPINEE (Hr 2)BEH
 GODPINE (Hr 2)SCBI
 →

GODPIN STEPER (Hr 1)BEH
 GODPINE STEPE (Hr 1)SCBI

Maldon GODPINE (Cn 1)BM

Milborne Port GODPINE (Cn 2)BEH s. Mylton, see Carlyon-Britton
BNJ VI and NC 1956

Norwich GODPINE (Cn 1)SCBI

Oxford GODPINE (Cn 1-3, Hr 1)SCBI, (Hr 2)BEH, (HCn 1-2)SCBI
 GODPIINE (Hr 2)SCBI
 →

Rochester ←-
 GODPINE (Cn 1-3)SCBI, (HCn 1)BEH
 GODPN (Cn 1)SCBI
 GNORINE (Cn 3)BEH is probably intended for this moneyer's name.

Romney GODPINE (Cn 2, Hr 1-2)SCBI
 GODPIINE (Hr 2)SCBI

Salisbury ←-
 GODPINE (Cn 1-3)SCBI
 GODPNE (Cn 1)SCBI

Shrewsbury GODPINE (Hr 2)SCBI
 GODPINE (Cn 1-3, Hr 1-2)SCBI

Southwark GODPINE (Cn 2)SCBI

Stamford ←-
 GODPING (Hr 2)SCBI
 GODPINE (Cn 1-3, Hr 1-2)SCBI, (HCn 1)BEH, (HCn 2)SCBI
 GODPNE (Cn 2)SCBI, (Hr 2)BEH
 GONPINE (Cn 2)SCBI

Thetford GODPINE (HCn 2)BEH

Wallingford GODPINE (Cn 3)SCBI

Warwick GODPINE (Cn 2-3)BEH

Winchester ←-
 GODPIINE (Hr 2)BEH
 GODPINE (Cn 1)BEH, (Cn 2-3)SCBI, (Hr 2)BEH, (HCn 1-2)SCBI
 GOPINE (Hr 2)BEH, (HCn 2)BM

GODPINE CA (Cn 3)SCBI
 GODPINE CAS (Cn 3)SCBI

GODPINE CE (Hr 1)BEH
 GODPINE CEO (HCn 1)BEH
 GODPINE CEOC (Cn 3)SCBI, (Hr 1)BEH
 GODPINE CEOCA (Cn 3)SCBI, (HCn 2)BEH
 GODPINE COK (HCn 2)SCBI
 []INE CAOC (Cn 3)SCBI

GODPINE PIDI (Hr 1)SCBI
 GODPINE PIDIA (HCn 2)SCBI
 GODPINE PIDII (Cn 3)SCBI
 GODPINE PVDI (HCn 1)SCBI

At Thetford two of the dies used are coupled with very blundered 'Cnut' obverses, BEH Cnut 3503-4, but BEH Harthacnut 187 is of normal English work.

OE Gōdwine PNDB 269. Most of the variation in spelling is due to omissions, accidental transposition, doubling of letters, see § 103, and the curiously frequent error of N for D, see § 89. GODPIN may show the loss of unstressed final e noted in § 21.

For the double names CAS, CEOCA, PIDIA see pp.24-30 above.

[Moneyers c. 973-1016] Gloucester 223, Lincoln 234, Stamford 237, Derby 239

Thetford 244, Cambridge 245, Ipswich 247, Colchester do., London 252, Southwark 258, Rochester 259, Canterbury do., Dover 260, Cissbury 262, Exeter 263, Lydford 264, Totnes do., Wilton 267, Warminster do., Salisbury 267, Winchester 270]

Golda

Axbridge GOLDA (HCn 1)BMC

BMC gives this coin to Exeter, but see Elmore Jones BNJ XXX. OE Golda, PNUB 273 and Redin 49, but probably an abbreviation for Goldcyta q.v.

Goldcyta

Axbridge GOLDCYTA (HCn 1)BMC

See Golda above for the mint-attribution. BMC and Searle normalise this to Goldcytel without comment, and Björkman in Nordische Personennamen takes the BMC form as evidence of a hybrid "dessen erstes Glied englisch und dessen zweites Glied nordisch ist." No other instances of *Goldcytel are recorded and such hybrids are rare. Cyta however is the OE bird name 'kite, buzzard' and a very similar compound is found in the moneyer's name Goldhavoc who strikes in the Tealby coinage of Henry II; see SCBI Index of Personal Names.

Goldsig

London GOLDSIE (Hr 2)BEH
 GOLDSIGE (Hr 1, HCn 2)SCBI
 GOLDSIIG (Hr 2)SCBI
 GOLSIGE (Hr 2)SCBI
 GOLSIIGE (Hr 2)SCBI
 GOLSII (Hr 2)BEH
 GOLTSIG (Hr 2)SCBI
 GOLTSIGE (Hr 2, HCn 2)SCBI
 GOLTSII (Hr 2)BEH
 GOLTSIIGE (Hr 2)SCBI
 GOOLTSIG (Hr 2)BEH
 GOLDOSIGE (HCn 2)BEH

OE *Goldsig, recorded in Searle only for this moneyer's name but both elements are known in other OE names. For GOLT- see § 87; for loss of medial d § 79. For spelling variations in -sig see § 98. BEH Harold 393 records this moneyer for Lincoln; Mossop however does not include this coin in his corpus and the reverse in fact is not very legible. It is probably a duplicate of Harold 643 and a coin of the London mint.

Goldstan

Salisbury GOLDSTAN (HCn 1)SCBI

Wilton GOLDSTAN (Hr 1)SCBI
 GOLSAN (Hr 2)SCBI
 GODAN (Hr 2)BEH probably stands for this moneyer

BEH 994 which reads GODAN is a coin with irregularities other than the spelling of the moneyer's name: the obverse legend is indecipherable and the cross of the reverse legend is placed at the end of the fourth quarter instead of at the beginning of the first. The dies may be of local or unofficial manufacture.

OE Goldstān, PND 273. For GOLSAN see § 79 but the omission of the T of -stan may be an error.

[Moneyers c.973-1016] Lewes 261]

Goldus

Salisbury ←-
GOLDVS (Cn 1-2) SCBI

Redin 49 suggests that this is either a latinisation of OE Golda, q.v., or an unrecorded OE name *Goldhus or Goldhyse. Latinisation of names on Anglo-Saxon coins of this period is exceptionally rare, occurring only, and there questionably, in PINVS under Cnut at Crewkerne.

[Moneyers c.973-1016] Wilton 267, Salisbury 268]

[Goldwine OE: 'Moneyers c.973-1016' London 252, Rochester 259, Canterbury do.]

GOTCILD, GOTRIC see Gōdcild, Gōdric. GODMAN see Gōdmann

Gotsalin

Ipswich GOTSALIN (Cn 2) SCBI

CG Gauzelinus, Morlet 106-7, an extended hypocorism from names in Gaut-. ♂

Graric

Thetford GRARIC (Hr 2) Carson Thetford, ex Lockett

Obscure; possibly an error for Eadric, which is a Thetford moneyer's name.

Grim Cambridge GRIM (Cn 2) BM

London ←-
GRIM (Cn 1,3) SCBI

Norwich GRIM (Cn K) SCBI

Shrewsbury GRIM (Cn 1) SCBI

There seems no reason from their appearance to exclude the London coins cited above from the English series, but the name also appears on a BEH coin (2508 and plate 8) which combines a (Cn 2) reverse with a crowned bust obverse instead of the usual pointed helmet. The legend of this reverse is GRIM ON LVNDI and Hauberg gives the coin to Lund (p.113 and plate II no 11). There is no doubt that the coin is Scandinavian since the obverse die was used with a Small Cross reverse reading ÆVRCIL ON LVDI

(Hauberg p.113 and plate II no 9) and LVDI coins are invariably from Lund in Skåne.

ON Grímr, very common in England and found in both East and West Scandinavian sources (Lind 359-60, DGP 395) but more common in Norwegian and Icelandic. Originally a by-name of Odin in disguise, SPLY 107. Earlier examples of the name on Anglo-Saxon coins of Eadred and St. Edmund, especially the latter, are more likely to be CG Grimo, Morlet 116. SCBI 9 transcribes the (Cn 1) London coin as Grimo but this is probably a mis-division of the legend.

[Moneyers c.973-1016¹ Lincoln 235, Stamford 238, Thetford 244, Bedford 246]

Grímketill

Lincoln GRIMCETEL (Cn 1-2)SCBI
GRIMCETL (Cn 2)SCBI
GRIMCYTEL (Cn 2)SCBI

ON Grímketill, SPLY 107-8, found in both East and West Scandinavian sources, Lind 358-9, DGP 397. For the representation of ON -ketill see § 24

Grímulf

York GIMVLF (Cn 3)SCBI
GRIMOLF (Cn 2)SCBI
GRIMVLF (Cn 3, Hr 1-2, HCn 2)SCBI
GRMVLF (Hr 2)SCBI

->

ON Grímulf, PND 275-6, NPN 52, Lind 361, DGP 397-8; found in both East and West Scandinavian sources. For the variation -olf/ulf see § 43

[Grind ON: 'Moneyers c.973-1016¹ Lincoln 235]

[Gunnarr ON: 'Moneyers c.973-1016¹ Derby 240]

Gunnhvatr

York GVNHPAT (Cn 1)SCBI

<- ? This name is found in the same form at York c.991-97.

ON Gunnhvatr, rare and late in Scandinavian sources except for an example from a Swedish runestone, Lind 411, DGP 408.

[Gunni ON: 'Moneyers c.973-1016¹ Bedford 246]

Gunnleof, Gunnleifr

Chester <-
GVNLEOF (Cn 1)BEH
GVNLEOF (Cn 1,3)SCBI

The Æthelred forms are also -LEOF, suggesting an Anglo-Scandinavian hybrid ON Gunn- + OE -leof, but ON Gunnleifr is known and the moneyer's name may be an anglicisation of this. The form Gunleif is found in a 13th cent.

list in LVD.

(Gunnside)

Dover GVNSIG (Cn 2)BEH is more likely for CYN SIG ; see Cynsige, the name of a Dover moneyer at this time.

[Gunnulfr ON: York GVNNVLF (Edward the Martyr)SCBI Index]

Gyldwine

Canterbury CYLDEPINE (Hr 2)SCBI
 GCYLDEPINE (HCn 2)SCBI
 GYLDEPINE (Hr 2)SCBI
 CALDEPINE(Hr 1)BEH
 -->

The first three letters of the last form appear to be upside-down, thus: CΛΓ and may = GYL.

The forms in which this name appears (cf. also GELDEPINE (Edward the Confessor BEH Type E in SCBI, GILDEPINE ibid. BEH Type Ac BMC p.347) suggest OE gield, gyld 'payment'. This appears as a second element in EADGILD (Ethelstan)SCBI which is likely to be OE; DEODGELD/-GILD/-GYLD (Lincoln, Ethelred) is less certain. Holm, 43, also cites Ingeld, Feolageld, Wingeld. Apart from the Canterbury moneyer, however, there are no examples of Gield- etc. used as a primary element in OE, whereas its cognate is frequently found in this position in Continental names: cf. Gild- Morlet 109, especially Gildoinus, Gelduinus, and also Galdoinus in connection with the BEH coin cited above and CALDEVINE at Lewes (cf. Caldwin?)

[Gyllis OIr: 'Moneyers c. 973-1016' Hereford 223]

Herra

Exeter HERRA (Hr 1, HCn 1)BEH

Redin regards this as an uncompounded name derived from the OE appellative herra 'lord, master' but this is the only example of the name in OE. Cf. the very common Frisian name Harre, Herre, DGP 477-8, 554; this may be a borrowing with OE æ for CG a, cf. Martin < Martinus in SCBI Index.

[Hafgrímr ON: 'Moneyers c.973-1016' Lincoln 235]

Harthaknútr

Lincoln CNVT (Cn 3)BMC 330
 HERDECNVT (Cn 3)SCBI
 HARDACNVT (Hr 1)SCBI
 HARDECNVT (Hr 1)SCBI

York HEARDECNVT (Cn BEH Type A)

The York coin is problematical. It belongs to the type which copies Ethelred's last type except for the king's name which is given as Cnut.

It reproduces perfectly the York style of the Ethelred type and the legends are clear and not blundered in any way but it is die-linked with some very curious coins (Lyon et al. die-chain D) including two of very poor fabric but impossibly high weight for the English series, which mule Quatrefoil obverses with Small Cross reverses and bear meaningless legends LOHFM MO LENA and LOEPMF N-O TAF. It therefore seems most likely that the 'York' coin must belong to an imitative series but it is strange that this coin, supposed by Lyon to have been struck in Scandinavia, anglicises the first element of the moneyer's name, although perhaps by false etymology, and uses a diphthong characteristic of OE rather than of the Scandinavian languages. The Small Cross reverse with HEARDECNVT may originally have been made in England for use in Ethelred's Last Small Cross issue and subsequently exported or purloined, but no true coins of this type are extant.

The name is found in two instances other than the name of the king and the moneyer in sources for the OE period. In DB a Hardecnot liber homo appears in Suffolk TRE and a Hardecnut is one of the Lincoln lagemen, who may possibly be the same man as the moneyer. The adoption of the name in England does not appear to be consequent on the naming of the prince. The Lincoln moneyer uses at least four reverse dies in (Cn 3), suggesting he did not take up his post at the very end of the reign. If he had been born after the prince he must have been a moneyer in his early teens. It is not of course impossible that he should ^{have} assumed the name in later life.

The dies which read CNVT are coupled with the same obverse dies as were used to strike coins reading HERDECNVT. This interchangeability of the two forms is paralleled by king Harthacnut's style on his own coinage, see above p. 17 .

The name seems to have originated in Denmark with an earlier king Hardecnut Vurm, DGP 480. Manuscript sources as well as the coins testify that Hartha- is an epithet and the simplex name Cnut could be used of the same person. For both the Danish kings forms in Hörtha-, Hortha-, Hortha- appear alongside the Hartha- forms. Although there is obviously a tendency to interpret the epithet as the adjective 'hard', shown in the 'York' die-cutter's HEARD and the latinisations Durus, Austerus, the forms in Hörtha- etc. can be explained by the passage in Sven Aggeson's Brevis Historia Regum Dacie c. 1185: "Canutus quem cognomine Durum nominabant, non quod austerus vel crudelis extiterit, verum inde sortitus nomen quod provintie nomen extiterit ex qua natalem duxit originem".

Although there are examples of bynames where Hortha- represents a connection with Horthaland in Norway (see Arwid Johansson, Acta Philologica Scandinavica IX p.32) it is stated in Flateyjarbok I 98 that the earlier Danish king was born in Hörd in Jutland, now Harsyssel. Cnut the Great's son may have been born in Denmark but this is less likely for the Lincoln moneyer and the Suffolk tenant; the name probably existed in Anglo-Danish tradition at this time as the name of an ancient king but although the prefix was still separable it was losing its lexical significance.

[Hēahwulf OE: 'Moneyers c.973-1016' London 252, Southwark 258, Chichester 268, Winchester 270]

[Herebeorht OE: 'Moneyers c.973-1016' Lewes 261]

[Herewine OE: 'Moneyers c.973-1016' Thetford 244]

[Herewulf OE: 'Moneyers c.973-1016' London 252, Winchester 270]

[Hild OE or ON?: 'Moneyers c.973-1016' Stamford 237]

Hildred

York HILDRED (Cn 1) SCBI

The Quatrefoil coins at SCBI 13 737-8 and BEH 666-7, along with any die-duplicates, may be English although their style is anomalous for York. All the known dies attributed to a moneyer Hildred at Cricklade (and also BEH 665 s. York but recte mint-signed CR, rev = BEH 252) belong to an imitative series illustrated as Lyon et al. die-chain G, where they are shown to die-link with coins of barbarous style and legends, and false mules. OE *Hildred, known only from the moneyer's name.

[Hildsige OE: 'Moneyers c.973-1016' Bath 258]

Hildulfr

Lincoln HILDVLF (HCn 1) BEH

York ←-

HILDOLF (Cn 1-2) SCBI

HILDVLF (Cn 3) SCBI

HLDVLF (Cn 3) SCBI

ON Hildulfr, known from both East and West Scandinavian sources. For the variation -olf/-ulf see § 43.

[Moneyers c.973-1016' York 229]

Holeman

London HOLEMAN (Cn 1) SCBI

This reading seems preferable to Hildebrand's of the same die as MOLEMAN. Only one die with this name is known. The origin of the first element is problematical. Reaney gives the derivation of the modern surname Holman as local, 'man who lives in a hollow' and it is possible that the moneyer's name is an original byname, OE *Holman, with the same meaning.

An element Holm- 'island' is found in East Scandinavian compounds, DGP 570-75 and in England appears in Holmchetill, Holchetel in DB. An Anglo-Scandinavian *Holm-mann could be such a compound, or alternatively an original byname 'man from the island'.

Also possible is the element Hold-, which though not certainly evidenced in OE is found in CG names and in a compound *Holdman d would be lost as the mid consonant in a group of three, § 79. Whatever the first element, the e would appear to be parasitic, see § 51.

Hrafn

York RÆFEN (Cn 3) SCBI

ON Hrafn 'raven', common in Iceland as a personal-name, Lind 564-5 and found, though mainly as a byname, in East Scandinavian, DGP I 1130, II 877-8.

The form here shows identification with the OE noun rafn.

[Noneyers c.973-1016³ Lincoln 235]

Hringwulf

Norwich RICNVLF (Cn 2)SCBI
 RICNVLFV (Cn 1)SCBI
 RINCVLV (Cn 2, HCn 2)BEH (HCn BEH Type Ha)SCBI
 RINVLF (HCn 2, HCn BEH Type Ha)SCBI

BEH Harthacnut Type Ha is ostensibly Harold's second type (Fleur-de-lis) in the name of Harthacnut. Lyon et al. and van der Meer's Corrections include this amongst the minor anomalous types of Harthacnut which are to be removed to Harthacnut's coinage in Denmark. Lyon et al. imply in their listing that all the Harthacnut Ha coins were transferred to the Danish series by Hauberg, but in fact he made an exception of the Norwich Rin(c)ulf pennies, and Seaby accepts the Norwich coins of this type in his sequence of English issues 1030-1050 as a true transitional emission between the end of Harold's reign and the beginning of Harthacnut's reign as sole king.

OE Hringwulf PNDB 293. For unvoicing of g see § 97. Loss of g in RINVLF may be due to simple omission; otherwise it could provide a pre-Conquest example of a loss which has in most cases been attributed to Anglo-Norman sound-substitution, cf. PNDB § 81. For loss of w see § 83.

Huna, Hunna

Exeter HVNNI (Cn 3)SCBI (?)

Malmesbury HVNA (Cn 3)BEH
 HVNNA (Cn 2-3)SCBI, (Hr 1, Hr 2 s. Exeter, HCn 1)BEH
 (HCn 2)SCBI

The Exeter coin is problematical and HVNNI does not appear as an Exeter moneyer in Stewart's introduction to Brettel. The mint-signature appears to be ON NEACM or ONN EACM. There is a clear C with an upper horizontal stroke on the SCBI coin, but the final M is irreconcilable with Exeter and it would seem better to attribute the coin to Malmesbury along with the other coins in this moneyer's name.

OE Hūna, Redin 67, though HVNNI would suggest ON Hūni, SPLY 145, if the evidence of this blundered coin is of any value.

[Huniga OE: {Moneyers c.973-1016³ Barnstaple 265}]

[Hundulfr ON: {Moneyers c.973-1016³ York 229}]

Hūnmann

Exeter HVNEMAN (Hr 1)SCBI
 HVENAN (Cn 3)SCBI

Southwark HVNEMAN (Cn 1)BEH

OE Hūnmann PNDB 296. For the parasitic connecting vowel see
 § 51.

[Hūnstan OE: 'Moneyers c.973-1016' Cambridge 245]

Hunwine

Axbridge HVNEPINE (Cn 1)SCBI

Exeter ←
 HVNEPINE (Cn 1)SCBI

Lydford HV[]NE (Cn 1)BEH s. London
 HVPEINE (Cn 2)BEH do.

Watchet ←
 HVNEPINE (Cn 1)BEH

For the attribution of the BEH "London" coins see BNJ XXIX 67.

OE Hūnwine PNDB 296. For the parasitic connecting vowel see
 § 51

['Moneyers c.973-1016' Exeter 263, Totnes 264, Watchet 265, Ilches-
 ter 266]

Hwætman

Bridport HPATEMAN (HCn 1)BEH s. Bridgenorth

Dorchester HPATAMAN (Hr 2)SCBI
 HPATEMAN (HCn 2)SCBI
 ---→

Norwich ←-
 HATAMAN (Cn 2) SCBI
 HATEMAN (Cn 1) SCBI
 HATMAN (Cn 1) SCBI
 HVPAATEMAN (Cn 1) SCBI
 HPATAMAN (Cn 1-2) SCBI
 HPATMAN (Cn 2) SCBI
 PATEMAN (Cn 2) SCBI

OE HwætmannPNDB 297. For initial hw see § 99, for æ > a § 11. For parasitic a, e between elements see § 51.

[Moneyers c.973-1016¹ Norwich 242]

[Hyse OE: Moneyers c.973-1016¹ Warwick 221]

'Iluhl'

'London' but more probably Lund ILVHL (Hr 1/HcN 2) Danish, Hauberg p.114,

Iohannes

Lympne IOVNVS (Cn 1) BEH

The biblical name John first appears on coins in England in the St. Edmund series as IOHANNE, in Ethelstan's reign as IOHANN unminted and IOHAN at Chichester. The form IOHAN also appears at Exeter for Edward the Martyr and York in Edgar's last type. This hapax coin of Lympne presumably aims at a latinisation of the same name.

Biblical and saints' names were not widely current in Anglo-Saxon England and were used mainly amongst ecclesiastics or persons of continental or in some cases Celtic origin. Of all the instances of Iohannes in Searle 319 apart from the moneyers perhaps one is not an ecclesiastic. Amongst the St Edmund moneyers continental names are preponderant; at York continental moneyers were active in the early tenth century but the (Edgar type vi) moneyer's name may rather reflect the Celtic presence there. This unnot example at Lympne is more likely to have a continental origin.

[Moneyers c.973-1016¹ Exeter 264; see SCBI Index for York]

[Ioli ON, or OIr Goll: Moneyers c.973-1016¹ York 231]

Iósteinn

Lincoln ←-
 GVSTAN (Cn 2) SCBI
 GVSTIN (Cn 2) SCBI
 IVSTAN (Cn 1-2) SCBI
 IVSTEGEN (Cn 2) SCBI
 IVSTEIN (Cn 2) SCBI

ON Iósteinn SPLY 158. Frequent in Norway and early in Iceland but soon goes out of use there, Lind 655-6. Found as Iusten in a Swedish runic inscription PNDB 301. For forms in Gu- see § 78. -stan forms show partial anglicisation but for -stegen see § 66 and for -stin § 68.

[Moneyers c.973-1016¹ Lincoln 235]

Iri

York ←-
 IIRE (Cn 2)SCBI
 IRE (Cn 1-2)SCBI

OWN Iri, not found in East Scandinavian. Lind 656 has 'origin uncertain' but see Björkman ZEN under Iri and A.H. Smith, English Place-name elements, where it is translated as 'Irishman'.

[Moneyers c.973-1016' York 229]

Iric

London IRIC (Cn 2)SCBI

Iric is also found in DB PNDB 299; Feilitzen takes it to be a form of Yric, which is used to represent ON Eiríkr in ASC and OE charters. The relationship between Iric, Yrik and ON Eiríkr is problematical. Björkman NPN 35 accepts a derivation from an ON *Yríkr but Feilitzen points out that there is no evidence for such a name in Scandinavian sources and prefers an ON *ǫyríkr, *Eyríkr, for which the elements are known.

[Isengeld CG: 'Moneyers c.973-1016' Southampton 268]

Isengod

Exeter ←-
 ISEGOD (Cn 1)SCBI

CG Isengod, Isengaud, Forssner 166, Morlet 146

[Moneyers c.973-1016' Exeter 263]

Isenward

Winchester ISEWARD (HCn 2)BEH

CG Isenward; Morlet 147-8 Isoardus, Isewardus, or possibly an error for SEWARD.

[Kári ON: 'Moneyers c.973-1016' London 254]

Ketill

Canterbury CNYTEL (HCn 2)BM
 CYTEL (Hr 1-2)BEH
 →

York ←-
 CETEL (Cn 1-2)SCBI
 CETELL (Cn 1-2)SCBI
 CYTEL (HCn 2)BEH
 →

There are presumably two York moneyers with the same name, one beginning to strike coins c.991-97 and continuing in every substantive type up to (Cn 2) and the other first appearing in (HCn 2) and striking Edward's first two types.

The form CNYTEL at Canterbury, though formally possible as a distinct name, a diminutive of Cnut as suggested by Redin 141, is more likely in context to be an error for Cytel, perhaps made in confusion with the king's name.

ON Ketill, Lind 684, DGP 739, common all over Scandinavia and in Normandy. First found in England on a coin of Edwig (955-59) in the Anglicised form CYTEL; for this form see § 24.

[Moneyers c.973-1016['] York 229, Exeter 263]

[Ketilbjorn ON: Moneyers c.973-1016['] York 229, Lincoln 235]

[Knapi ON: Moneyers c.973-1016['] Stamford 239]

Kolbeinn

Chester COLBEINN (HCn 2)BM

ON Kólbeinn, commoner in Norway and Iceland than in the East Scandinavian area; SPLY 177, Lind 701-2, DGP 805-6

Kolgrím

Lincoln COGRIM (Hr 1)SCBI
 COLGRIM (Cn 2-3)SCBI, (Hr 1)BEH, (Hr 2, HCn 2)SCBI
 COLGRM (Cn 3)SCBI
 COLRIM (Cn 3)SCBI
 CONGRIM (Cn 3)SCBI
 CONRIN (Hr 1)SCBI (same die as BEH COVRIM)
 ->
 CONRINE COF (HCn 2)SCBI

York ←-
 COGRIM (Cn 1)BEH
 COLGRIM (Cn 1,3)SCBI
 COLGRRIM (Cn 3)BEH

At Lincoln a Colgrim strikes the three types between c.979-1003 but this is unlikely to be the Cnut moneyer who continues to strike up till the middle of Edward the Confessor's reign. CONRINE COF may contain an attempt at a byname but the legend is already very blundered and COF may simply be a further blundering.

ON Kolgrím, rare in Scandinavia but Lind 705 has a few instances from Iceland. For doubling of letters see § 103. At Lincoln many of the forms are blundered and it is probably unnecessary to explain the loss of medial consonants phonologically, though COGRIM also appears at York and may be due to a simplification of the consonant-group.

[Moneyers c.973-1016['] York 229, Lincoln 234]

Korf

London CORF (Hr 1)BEH, (Hr 2)SCBI, (HCn 2)BEH
 CORFF (Hr 1-2)SCBI
 CORRFF (Hr 2)BEH
 -->

Problematical; known only as this moneyer's name unless present in the placename Corfesgeat, ASC 979. Björkman NPN 87 regards it as Scandinavian, related to OWN kurfr, OSw körver, 'stump, short piece, sausage'.

Krókr

Chester CROC (Cn 2-3, Hr 1)SCBI, (Hr 2)BEH
CROCC (Hr 2)BEH

ON Krókr, an original byname krókr 'crooked'. Rare and late in West Scandinavian as a personal name but earlier and commoner as a byname, SPLY 181, Lind 721. Recorded in Swedish and Danish, DGP 804

Lafdensic

Oxford LAFDENSIC (HCn 1)SCBI

Obscure, unless perhaps Halfden or possibly Lēofthegn, in which case -SIC is still inexplicable.

[Lafe, obscure: 'Moneyers c.973-1016' London 254]

Lēodm̄er

Winchester LADM̄ER (Cn 2-3)SCBI, (Hr 1)BEH, (Hr 2)SCBI, (HCn 1)BEH,
(HCn 2)SCBI
LADM̄ER (Cn 3)SCBI
LEODM̄ER (Cn 2-3)SCBI
LEODM̄ER (Cn 3)BEH
LODM̄ER (Hr 1)BEH

OE Lēodm̄er PNUB 310. The forms with LAD- are curious; they are very numerous and persistent and the dies on which they are present outnumber those with LEOD-. Lad- is not phonologically explicable as a form of Lēod- and it is possible that the name is in fact CG Lad-, Lath(e)mar mistakenly anglicised.

Lēofa

Chester LEOFA (Cn 1)SCBI

Lewes ←
LEEFA (Cn 1)SCBI
LEFA (Cn 1)SCBI
LEOFA (Cn 1)SCBI, (Cn 2)BEH

London LEOFA (Cn 3)SCBI

OE Lēofa, Redin 51, PNUB 310, an uncompounded name or a short form for a name in Lēof-.

For Lef- see § 71; for doubling of letters see § 103.

[Moneyers c. 973-1016' Hastings 261, Lewes do.]

Lēofdeæg

Stamford LEFECDEI (Hr 1)BEH
LEFEDEI (Hr 1)SCBI

LEODEII (Cn 3) SCBI
 LEOFDEI (Cn 3) SCBI, (Hr 1) BEH
 LEOFDEII (Cn 3) SCBI, (Hr 1) BEH
 LEOFDEG (Cn 3) SCBI
 LEOFDEI (Cn 3) SCBI

OE Lēofdæg, PND 311. For Lef- see § 71, for Lefe- § 51. For -dæi, dæii see § 98.

[Moneyers c.973-1016' Stamford 237]

Lēofgār

Hereford ←-(?)
 LEOFGAR (Cn 1-2) SCBI

London LIOFGAR (Cn 2) SCBI

Totnes LEOFGAR (Cn 1) SCBI
 LEOFGAR (Cn 1) SCBI

OE Lēofgār, PND 311. For Liof- see § 72; -gār is probably an error.

At Hereford the moneyer is not known for Æthelred's last type but he appears c.979 and c. 991-1009.

[Moneyers c.973-1016' Hereford 223]

[Lēofgēat OE: Moneyers c. 973-1016' Malmesbury 257]

[Lēofgod CG: Moneyers c.973-1016' Worcester 223, Northampton 249, London 253]
 Cricklade 257.

Lēofhēah

Lincoln LIOFHEH (Cn 2) BMC

OE Lēofhēah, rare though both elements are well attested in OE; one of the charter sources given in Searle 328 for this name is probably authentic, KCD 314, though two others are spurious.

For Liof- see § 72; the coin is not of Lincoln local style. For -hēh see § 57, 16.

[Moneyers c.973-1016' (?) Stamford 238; (Edward the Martyr) London SCBI Index]

[Lēofhelm OE: Moneyers c.973-1016' Shrewsbury 222]

Lēofhere

Hereford LEOFHERE (Cn 2) BEH

OE Leofhere, only found, apart from the moneyer's name, in KCD 688 at Leoferes hagan, Searle 328. I have been unable to trace the Edward the Confessor moneyer cited by Searle from BMC as Lifere. The compilers

cannot have seen the name on any actual coin since it is given without any mint-attribution. The entry must have been copied from some earlier list and may there have been a misreading.

[Lēofhyse OE: 'Moneyers c.973-1016' Dover 260, Ilchester 266 (?).]

Lēofing (Lȳfing)

Canterbury LIFINC (Hr 1)BEH

Chester LEOFIC (Cn 1)SCBI
LIFIC (Cn 1)SCBI
LIFINC (Cn 2)SCBI

Cricklade LIFINC (Cn 3)BEH

Hastings LIFINC (Hr 2)BEH

Hertford LEOFINC (or ? LIOFINC) (Cn 1)BEH
LIFINC (Cn 1)SCBI, (Cn 2) Stockholm Systematic Collection, not
in BEH, (Cn 3)SCBI
LIFNC (Cn 1)BEH
LYFINC (Cn 1)SCBI

Ipswich ←-
LIFIC (Cn 1)SCBI
LIFINC (Cn 2-3, Hr 1-2, HCn 2)SCBI
LIFINCC (Cn 2)SCBI
LIIFINC (Cn 2)SCBI
LYFING (Cn 1)SCBI
->

Lincoln ←-
LEOFINC (Cn 1-2)SCBI
LEOFING (Cn 1-2)SCBI
LICINC (Cn 3)SCBI
LIFINC (Cn 1)BEH, (Cn 2-3)SCBI, (Hr 1)BEH, (HCn 2)BM
LIFING (Cn 3)SCBI
LEOFI (Cn 2)SCBI

London ←-
LIFFINC (Hr 2)BEH
LIFIN (Hr 2)BEH
LIFINC (Cn 1-3)SCBI, (Hr 1)BEH, (Hr 2, HCn 2)SCBI
LIFINCC (Hr 1)SCBI
LIFN (Hr 2)SCBI
LIFNC (Cn 2)BEH
LIFNNI (Cn 3)BEH
LLIFINC (Hr 2)BEH
LYFINC (Cn 1)SCBI
->

Oxford LIFINC (Cn 1-3)SCBI, (Hr 2, HCn 2)BEH
LIFINCC (Cn 2)SCBI, (Hr 2)BEH
LIFNIC (Hr 1)SCBI

Southwark LEOFINC (Cn 2)BEH
LIFINC (Cn 3)SCBI

Stamford LIFINC (Cn 2)SCBI
LIFNCC (Hr 1)BEH

Thetford LIFINC (Cn 2)BEH
 LIFINCC (Cn 2)SCBI
 LIF[](Cn 1) Tingstäde find, Gotland.

Warwick LEOFINC (Cn 3)BEH
 LIFINC (Cn 2-3)SCBI
 LIFNC (Cn 2)BEH
 LIFI[](HCn 2)BEH
 ->

Wilton LIFINC (Hr 2)BM

Winchester LIFINC (HCn 2)BEH
 LIIFINC (Hr 2)BEH
 LYFINC (Cn 1)BEH
 ->

According to Lyon et al. the LYFINC London dies were used in Scandinavia to strike part of an imitative series, but at least one is of English manufacture.

OE Lēofing, Lȳfing, PNDB 312, Redin 167. For Lyfing, Lifing see § 74. For the unvoicing of final g see § 97. LEOFIC, LIFIC at Chester and Ipswich are unlikely to be distinct formations with the -ic suffix since -ing forms are present at the same mints.

[Moneyers c.973-1016¹ Warwick 221, Worcester (?) 222, Lincoln 234, Stamford 237, Norwich 242, Bedford 246, Ipswich 247, Hertford 248, Northampton do., London 253, Canterbury 260]

Lēofm̄ar

†Gothaburh¹: LEOFMER (Hr 1)BEH
 LEOMER (Hr 2)BEH, (HCn 2)SCBI

London LEOMER (Cn 2)SCBI
 LEOMAR (Cn 2)BEH
 LEOMER (Cn 2)SCBI
 LEOMMER (Cn 2)SCBI

OE Lēofm̄ar, PNDB 313. For assimilation of fm see § 79. For -mer, -mar see §§ 11, 16, 17.

[Moneyers c.973-1016¹ Norwich 243]

Lēofmann

Chester LEONENE (Cn 1)SCBI possibly this moneyer or may = Leafwine

Ipswich LEMON (Cn 1)SCBI

London LEMMAN (Cn 2)SCBI
 LEOEMAN (Cn 2)SCBI
 LEOMMAN (Cn 2)SCBI
 LIOFMAN (Cn 2)SCBI

OE Lēofmann, PNDB 313. For -mon see § 2, for eo > e § 71, for Liof- § 72. For assimilation of fm see § 79, and cf. Lēofm̄ar above

[Moneyers c.973-1016¹ Chester 220, Lincoln 234, Caistor 240, Ipswich 247, Oxford 256]

Lēofnōth

Bedford LIOFN (Cn 1)BEH may be intended for this name

Canterbury ←-

LEFENAD (Hr 1)BM
LEOFNOÐ (Cn 1-3)SCBI, (Hr 1)BEH, (Hr 2)SCBI
LIOFNOD (Cn 1)BEH

Chester ←-

LEEFENOD (HCn 2)SCBI
LEFNOD (Cn 2)SCBI
LEOFENOD (Cn 1)SCBI
LEOFN (Cn 1)SCBI
LEOFNOÐ (Cn 1-2, Hr 2)SCBI
LEONOD (Cn 1)BEH

->

Gloucester

LEOFN (Hr 2)BEH
LEOFNAD (HCn 1)SCBI
LEOFNOÐ (Cn 2-3)SCBI, (Hr 2)BEH, (HCn 2)SCBI

->

Hereford

LEFENOOD (HCn 2)BM
LEFFENOD (Hr 1)BEH
LENOD (Hr 2)SCBI
LEOFENAD (Hr 2, HCn 2)SCBI
LEOFN (Cn 1)SCBI
LEOFNOÐ (Cn 3, Hr 1-2, HCn 2)SCBI

->

Lincoln

LEFDM (Hr 1)BEH; possibly an error for this moneyer's name
LEFNOD (Hr 2)BEH
LEOFNOÐ (Hr 1)BEH

->

Northampton

LEOFNAD (Cn 1)SCBI
LEOFNOÐ (Cn 1-2)SCBI

The (Cn 1) coins at Northampton correspond with BEH 1129-30 which appear in van der Meer² as 'not English'. No explanation is given for their exclusion but the obverse dies are of very curious style. Dolley, however, who has noted suspect dies in the relevant Sylloge volumes, passes these without comment.

A coin of the type of (Cn 1) reading LEOFNOÐ MO ÐIN die-links with a CNVT REX DENORVM A coin of the same type, see BEH Cnut 3780 and Hauberg Pl. 1 no.3. It is unlikely that the die represents a real Winchester moneyer Leofnoth since the coin is of (or imitates) the Lincoln style. LEOFNOÐ is also found with the Dublin mint-signature in the Hiberno-Norse series.

OE Lēofnōth PNUB 313. For Lef-, Leef, Leff- see § 71 for OE eo, § 103 for doubling of letters. For Liof- see § 72. For forms in -nath see § 36; for the parasitic vowel in LEOFENOD etc. see § 51. LENOD (Hereford) shows assimilation of fn, see § 79.

[Moneyers c.973-1016] Chester 220, Shrewsbury 222, Cambridge 245, Bedford 246, London 253, Malmesbury 257, Canterbury 260, Lewes 261]

Lēofræd

Hertford LEOFRED (HCn 2)SCBI

London ←-
 LEFRED (Hr 1)BEH
 LEOFRD (Hr 2)SCBI
 LEOFRED (Cn 2-3, Hr 1-2, HCn 1-2)SCBI
 LEOORED (Hr 2)BM
 LIFRED (Hr 2)SCBI
 LIOFRED (Cn 1)BEH, (Cn2, HCn 2)SCBI
 ->

LEOFRED BRVN (HCn 2)SCBI

OE Lēofrēd PND 313, but consistently -rēd at this period, see § 16.
 For Liōf-, Lif- see § 72-3; for lef- § 71. LEOORED is probably *Lēored
 with assimilation of fr > rr > r, see § 79, and § 103 for doubling of letters.
 For Leofred Brun see Double Names above, pp. 24-30

[Moneyers c.973-1016¹ Sudbury 246, Colchester 247, London 253]

Lēofrīc

Axbridge LEOFRIC (HCn 1)SCBI

Buckingham LEOFRIC (Cn 1-2)SCBI
 LEOFRIC (Cn 1)BEH s. Dunwich.

(Canterbury LEOFRIC (Cn 1/Ethelred Small Cross)BEH)

Chichester LEFRIC (HCn 2)BEH
 LEOFRIC (Cn 2-3)SCBI, (Hr 1)BEH, (Hr 2)SCBI
 LIOFRIC (Cn 1)SCBI

Dover LEOFRIC (Cn 3)SCBI 25 851

Hertford LEOFRIC (Cn 3)SCBI
 LEORIC (Cn 3)SCBI

Ipswich LEOFRIC (Cn 1, HCn 2)SCBI
 LIOFRIC (Cn 1-2)SCBI

Lincoln ←-
 LEOFRIC (Cn 1)SCBI
 LIOERIC (Cn 2)Lilla Klintegarda find, Västkind's parish, Gotland.

London ←-
 LEFRIC (Cn 2)SCBI, (Hr 2)BEH
 LEOFRIC (Cn 1-3, Hr 1-2, HCn 2)SCBI
 LEOFRICC (HCn 2)BM
 LEORIC (Hr 1)BM
 LIFRIC (HCn 2)SCBI
 LIOFRIC (Cn 1-3)SCBI
 LIOFRIC (Cn 1)SCBI

Norwich ←-
 LEOFRIC (Cn 1)BEH
 LEOFRIC (Cn 1-2)BEH

Rochester LEOFRIC (Cn 2)SCBI

Southwark LEOFRIC (Cn 1)SCBI, (Cn K)BEH, (Hr 1, HCn 1)SCBI
 LIOFRIC (Cn 1)BEH

Stamford LEFRIC (Hr 1)SCBI
 LEOFRIC (Hr 2)BEH
 LEOFRIC (Cn 2, Hr 1, HCn 2)SCBI
 ->

Thetford ←
 LEOFRIC (Cn 1-2)SCBI

Wallingford ←-
 LIOFRIC (Cn 2)SCBI

(Winchester LVFERIC, LVFRIC (Hr 2)BEH and SCBI are reattributed to Worcester by Dolley BNJ XXXIII 1964 p.47)

Worcester LVFERIC (Cn 2)SCBI, (Hr 2)BEH s.Winchester
 LVFRIC (Hr 1)SCBI, (Hr 2)SCBI and BEH s.Winchester

York (?) LEOFRIC (ONN EONFF) (HCn 1)BEH

Leofric probably also strikes (Cn 3) at Buckingham since there is a fragment in BEH with a moneyer's name ending in C; Buckingham would appear to have been a single-moneyer mint and the (Hr 1) moneyer there is Brihtwine. The Canterbury coin is probably Scandinavian; Lyon et al. summarises "The reverse appears to be a normal Æthelred Last Small Cross die of the Canterbury mint though no true Last Small Cross coin from this die has so far been located... BEH 154 (was) struck from English dies in Scandinavia"

OE Lēofric, PNDB 313. For Lef-, Liof-, Lif- see §71-3, for Luf-, Lufe- 75. For LEORIC see § 79.

[Moneyers c.973-1016] Tamworth 221, Lincoln 234, Norwich 242, Thetford 244, Huntingdon 245, Ipswich 247, London 253, Wallingford 257, Rochester 259, Canterbury do., Lympne 260, Exeter 263, Ilchester 266]

Lēofsige

Bath LEFOS[]GE (Cn 2)BEH

Bedford LIOFSI (Cn 1)BEH

Cambridge ←-
 LEOFSI (Cn 1)SCBI
 LEOFSIG (Cn 1)SCBI
 LEOFSIGE (Cn 1-2)SCBI
 LIFSIGE (Cn 1)BEH
 LIOFSI (Cn 1)SCBI
 LIOFSIG (Cn 1)SCBI
 LIOFSII (Cn 1)SCBI

Chester LEOFS (Cn 1)SCBI
 LEOFSI (Cn 1)SCBI
 LEOFSIGE (Cn 2-3)SCBI
 LEOFSIGIGE (Cn 2)SCBI

Gloucester ←-
 LEOFSIE (Cn 1)BEH
 LEOFSIGE (Cn 1-2)SCBI

Ipswich ←-
 LEOFSIGE (Cn 1)BEH s.Ilchester.

Lewes LIOFSI (Cn 1)BEH

London LEOFSI (Cn 1)SCBI
LEOFSIG (Cn 1)SCBI
LIOFSI (Cn 1)SCBI
LIOFSIGE (Cn 2)SCBI
LIOFSIGI (Cn 2)SCBI

Newark LEOFSIGE (Cn 2)SCBI

Stamford LEOFSIGE (Cn 1-2)SCBI

OE Lēofsige, PND 315. For Liof-, Lif- see §§ 72-3; for the various developments and spellings of -sige see § 98. -sigi was an early form of -sige but is archaic by this time and must merely be an error.

[Moneyers c.973-1016⁷ Shrewsbury 222, Gloucester 223, Cambridge 245, Ipswich 247, Northampton 248, Dover(?) 260 Ilchester 266.]

Lēofstān

Canterbury ←-
LEFSTAN (Hr 1/2)BM
LEOFSTAN (Cn 1)SCBI, (Hr 2)BEH
LIOFSTAN (Cn 1)BEH
→

Chester Leofstan (Cn 1)SCBI xxxiv

Ipswich LEFSTN (HCn 2)BEH
LEOFSTEGEN (HCn 2)BEH
→

London ←-
LEFSAN (HCn 1)BEH
LEFSTAN (Cn 3)SCBI, (HCn 2)BEH
LEOFSAN (Cn 3)SCBI
LEOFSTAI (Cn 1)SCBI
LEOFSTAN (Cn 2-3, Hr 1)SCBI, (Hr 2)BEH, (HCn 1)SCBI, (HCn 2)BEH
LEOSTAN (Cn 2, Hr 2)SCBI
LIFSTAN (Cn 2)BEH
LIOFSTAN (Cn 1)SCBI
LLEOFSTAN (Hr 2)SCBI
→

LEFSTAN SPENC (HCn 2)BEH'

Salisbury LEOFSTAN (Cn 2, Hr 2)SCBI
LVFESTAN (Cn K)BEH

Shaftesbury (?) LIFSTAN (Hr 2)BEH

Shrewsbury LEFSTAN (Hr 1)BEH
LEOFSTAN (Cn 2-3)SCBI, (Hr 1-2)BEH, (HCn 2)SCBI

Winchester LEOFSTAN (Cn 1)SCBI

Worcester LEFSTAN (Hr 2)BEH s. Winchester, (HCn 2)SCBI
LEOFSTAN (Cn 3, Hr 1)SCBI, (Hr 2, HCn 2)BEH

The mint-signature of the Shaftesbury (?) coin is not quite certain but probably reads SCE

SCBI 15 4124 and BEH 3785 give a LEOFSTAN coin of (Cn 3) to Winchester. These two coins are duplicated, and another duplicate is SCBI 15 3970 which is correctly attributed to Worcester; on this last coin the mint-signature is clearly to be read as PIH. For a similar reattribution of the BEH (Hr 2) coin from Winchester to Worcester see Dolley BNJ XXXIII.

OE Lēofstān PNDB 316. For Liōf-, Lif- see §§ 72-3, for Lef- § 71. For Lufestān see § 75, for Leofstegen see §§ 4, 66. For Swenc or Spenc see Double Names, above pp 24-30

[Moneyers c. 973-1016¹ York 228, Norwich 243, Ipswich 247, Colchester do., Northampton 248, London 253, Aylesbury 256, Southwark 258, Canterbury 259, Romney 261]

Lēofsunu

Winchester LEOFSVNV (Cn 1)BEH

OE Lēofsunu PNDB 316.

[Moneyers c.973-1016¹ Shrewsbury 222, Exeter 263, Winchester 270]

Lēofthegn

Bedford LEOFDEGEN (Hr 1)BEH
LEOFDEGN (Hr 2)BEH

Lincoln LEODAN (Cn 2)SCBI
LEFDM (Hr 1)BEH

Maldon or ? Malmesbury LEOFDEGEN (Hr 1)BEH

BEH gives the last instance cited to Malmesbury. The mint-signature is MEL. The usual mint-signatures of Malmesbury from Cnut to Edward the Confessor are NEALME and abbreviations of this, but ON MELMES, BEH Cnut 764, is certainly for Malmesbury. CIOLNOÐ ON MEL, however, must be the same moneyer as CILNOÐ ON MELDV (BEH Cnut 2884-5) and so the mint-signature MEL is ambiguous.

The Lincoln coins are blundered but this seems to be the most likely name to have been intended; cf. Fardan for Farthegn in Domesday TRE, SPLY 80.

OE Lēofthegn is found early as the name of a moneyer in the Northumbrian "styca" coinage of Æthelred II c. 854-58, and the name is also recorded in the early entries in LVD. Later it is found only as an 11th century moneyers' name; in addition to the Cnut and Harold examples cited above, a Leofthegegn strikes Æthelred's last

type at Thetford and a Liofthegen appears again at Bedford c. 1059 though he is not so far known in any of the intervening types. If MEL is Maldon, this later distribution of the name seems to be confined to the southern Danelaw and Lincoln, but other -thegn names are known compounded with OE elements from Winchester in the ninth and tenth centuries, from Worcester charters of the 10th century and possibly from Shropshire in Domesday TRE; see Searle s. Cynethegn, Cuththegn, Wigthegn, Ertein. It seems unnecessary to suggest as Dolley has in BNJ XXXVI that all the -thegn names in OE have originated as a translation of Irish names in Gilla-

[Moneyers c.973-1016¹ Thetford 244]

Lēofweald

London ←-

LEOFOLD (Cn 1-3)SCBI
LEOPOLD (Cn 2)SCBI
LIOFPOLD (Cn 1)SCBI

Northampton ←-

LEOPOLD (Cn 1)SCBI
LIOFPOLD (Cn 1)SCBI

Salisbury LEOFOLD (Cn 1)SCBI

Stamford LEOFOLD (Cn 2)SCBI

Winchester ←-

LEOFOLD (Cn 1)SCBI
LEOFOLD (Cn 1-2)SCBI
LIOFPOLD (Cn 1)BEH

OE Lēofweald PNDB 316. There are no forms with the traditional spelling in -weald. The regular development -wald is also lacking, cf. Elfweald, and only the common variant -wold is found, for which see § 58. For reduction of the combination fw in Leowold, Leofold, see §§ 79, 81.

[Moneyers c.973-1016¹ Warwick 221, Colchester 247, Northampton 248, London 253, Guildford 258, Canterbury 260, Wilton 267, Winchester 270]

Lēofweard

London

LEOFERD (Cn 1)SCBI
LEOFPERD (Cn 2)SCBI
LEOPERD (Cn 1)SCBI
LEOFREERD (Cn 3)SCBI may be for this moneyer or for Lēofrād, q.v.

LIOFPERD (Cn 2)BEH has the mint-signature ON LVDI which Hauberg takes as a criterion of the Danish mint of Lund, Myntforhold og Udmyntninger 113 and pl. II 10. LEOPERD (Cn 1)BEH may be Hiberno-Norse since the coin is very similar in style to SCBI 8 60-1, although there is no die-link.

OE Lēofweard PNDB 316. For -werd from earlier -weard see § 59, and for the reduction of fw in Lēoferd, Lēowerd see §§ 79, 81.

Lēofwīg

Canterbury LEƿƿI (Cn 1)SCBI
LFƿIG (Cn 3)BEH

Chester LEOFPI (Cn 1)SCBI
LEOFPIG (Cn 2)SCBI, (Cn 3)BEH, (Hr 1-2)SCBI
LEOPI (Cn 1)SCBI
LIFPIE (HCn 2) Stockholm, in Systematic Collection but not in BEH

Chichester LEOFPI (Cn 2) but see also Lēofwine

Lincoln LEƿPIGE (Hr 2)BEH
LEƿPII (Hr 1)SCBI
LEOFPIEI (Hr 1)BEH
LEOFPIG (Hr 1)SCBI, (Hr 2)BEH
LEOFPII (Cn 2)SCBI

London ←
LEOFPI (Cn 1,3)SCBI, (Hr 2)BEH
LEOFPIG (Cn 1,3)SCBI
LEPIG (Cn 2)SCBI
LIOFPI (Cn 1)BEH
LIOFPIGE (Cn 2)SCBI
LIOFPIIE (Cn 1)BEH

Warwick LEOFPI (Cn 1)BEH
LEOFPIG (Cn 1-2)SCBI, (Hr 1-2)BEH
LEOFPII (Hr 1)SCBI, (Hr 2)BEH
LEOPII (HCn 2)SCBI
LOFPIG (Cn 1)BEH

LIOFPIIE at London may stand for Lēofwine. LOFPIG at Warwick is on a coin of anomalous style.

OE Lēofwīg PNDB 316-7. For the various spellings of -wīg see § 98. Forms in -wige may be inverted spellings on the analogy of -si < -sige. For loss of f in Leowi, etc. see §§ 79, 81. For Lef-, Liof-, Lif- see §§ 71-3. Lēofwi is probably an inverted spelling for the Kentish change m > ē.

[Noneyers c.973-1016 London --, SCBI Index]

Lēofwine

Axbridge LEOFPINE (Cn 3, HCn 2)SCBI

- Bedford ←
 LEOFPINE (Cn 1,2)SCBI
 LEOPINE (Cn 3)SCBI
 LIOFPINE (Cn 1)BEH s. Thetford
- Bristol LEOFPINE (Cn 3, Hr 1-2)SCBI
 (Hr transitional type, designs of Cn 3 but
 in name of Harold) in an unprovenanced parcel
 numbered 'U 4/4' in Royal Coin Cabinet, Stock-
 holm: BNJ XLVI 95
- Buckingham LEOFPINE (Hr 2)BEH
 →
- Canterbury LEOFPINE (Cn 1-3)SCBI, (Hr 1, HCn 1-2)BEH
 →
- Chester ←
 LEOFPIN (Cn 2)SCBI
 LEOFPINE (Hr 2)SCBI
 LEOFPINE (Cn 1-2, Hr 1)SCBI, (Hr 2)BEH, (HCn 2)SCBI
 LEOPINE (Cn 1)SCBI
 LEONENE (Cn 1)SCBI
 LIPINE (Cn 1)SCBI
 →
- Chichester LEOFPINE (Cn 1-3, HCn 1)SCBI
 LIOFPINE (Cn 1)BEH
- Cissbury LEOFPINE (Cn 1)BEH
- Colchester LEOFPINE (Cn 3)SCBI
- Dover LEOFPINE (HCn 1)SCBI
 LEOFPINE (Cn 1-3, Cn K)SCBI
 LIOFPINE (Cn 1)SCBI
 LVFEPINE (Cn 2)SCBI
 LVFPINE (Cn 2)SCBI
- Exeter LEOFPINE (Cn 2)SCBI, (Hr 2, HCn 2)BEH
 →
- Hastings LEOFPINE (HCn 2)BEH
- Hertford LIFPINE (Cn 2) Djuped find, Styrnäs parish,
 Angermanland
- Huntingdon LEOFPINE (Cn 2)BEH
- Ipswich LEOFPINE (Cn 1-2)SCBI

Manchester ? LEOFϕINE (Cn 2)BEH

Lewes ←-

LEOFϕIN (Cn 1)SCBI
LEOFϕINE (Cn 1)SCBI
LEOFϕNE (Cn 1)SCBI

Lincoln ←-

LECFINE (Hr 2)SCBI
LEFVINE (Cn 3)SCBI
LEOFϕINE (Cn 1-3, Hr 2)SCBI
LEOFINE (Cn 3, Hr 1)SCBI

London ←-

LEFIϕINE (Cn 3)SCBI
LEFϕINE (Cn 2)SCBI
LEIFINE (Cn 2)SCBI, (Hr transitional type = Cn 3 in name of Hr)BM
LEOCDINE (Cn 2)SCBI
LEOFRNE (Hr 2)SCBI
LEOFRNI (Hr 1)SCBI
LEOFϕINE (Cn 1-3, Hr 1)SCBI
LEOFINE (Cn 2, Hr 1)SCBI
LIOFϕINIC (Cn 1)SCBI
LIOFϕIN (Cn 1)SCBI
LIOFϕINE (Cn 1)SCBI
LIOFϕNE (Cn 1)SCBI

Maldon LIOFϕINE (Cn 2)SCBI

Northampton ←-

LEEOFϕINE (Hr 1-2)BEH
LEFϕINE (Hr 2)BEH
LEFϕNE (Hr 2)BEH
LEOFϕINE (Hr 2)BEH
LEOFϕINE (Cn 1-3, Hr 2)SCBI
LIOFϕINE (Cn 1)SCBI

Norwich ←-

LEFϕINE (Hr 2)BEH
LEOFIϕINE (Cn 3)BEH
LEOFϕIN (HCn 2)SCBI
LEOFϕINE (Cn 1,3, Hr 1-2, HCn 2)SCBI
LEOFϕING (HCn 2)SCBI
LEOFINE (Cn 3)BEH, (Hr 2)SCBI
LIFϕINE (Cn 1)BEH

Oxford LEOFϕINE (Hr 1-2)SCBI

Rochester LEOEϕINE (Cn BEH.Type B, Scandinavian)SCBI

Shrewsbury

LEOFIINE (Hr 1)SCBI
LEOFϕINE (HCn 2)SCBI
LEOFϕNE (Hr 2)SCBI
-->

Stamford ←-

LCOEϕNE (Cn 3)SCBI
LEFϕINE (Cn 3)SCBI
LEFϕNE (HCn 2)BEH, (? Hr 2)BEH
LELPINE (Hr 2)BEH
LEOFϕINC (Hr 1)SCBI
LEOFϕINE (Cn 1-3)SCBI

LEOFONE (Cn 1)SCBI
LEOFINE (Cn 3)SCBI

Southampton ? LEOFONE (Cn 1)SCBI

Taunton LEFONE (Hr 2)SCBI

Thetford LEEFINE (HCn 2)SCBI
LEFINE (Cn 1, Hr 1-2, HCn 2)SCBI
LEOFONE (Cn 1, Hr 1-2)SCBI, (HCn 2)BEH
LEOFONE (Hr 2)BEH
LEOFINE (Hr 2)BEH
->

Wallingford LEOFONE (Cn 3, Hr 2)SCBI, (HCn 2)BEH
->

Warwick LEOFON (HCn 1)BEH

Winchester ←
LEOFINE (Cn 1-2)SCBI, (Hr 2)BEH
LEOFONE (Cn 1)SCBI
LEOFINE (Cn 1)SCBI
LEOFINE (Cn 1)BEH

York ←
LEFONE (Cn 1)SCBI
LEFINE (Cn 1)SCBI

BEH 902 gives a coin of Leafwine to Ilchester, reading the mint as GIFLC. In the light of the two coins of this moneyer at Ipswich in SCBI it seems the better reading might be GIPES. Dolley in SNC 1955 159-61 and SCBI 13 1171 fn.3 gives the LEOFONE Quatrefoil coins of Winchester style to Southampton, but Winchester dies are found at Oxford and Leicester, and Northampton, where Leafwine is known, would not seem to be ruled out on that count. The Norwich coin I read as LIFINE is BEH 2949 which is read there as LIFIDYA; see below, "Lifringa".

The London coins reading LEIFINE may alternatively be assigned to Lifinc, see Leofing.

OE Leafwine, PNUB 317-9. For Lef-, Liuf-, Lif- see §§ 71-3, for loss of f §§ 79,81, for -win § 21.

[Moneyers c.973-1016' Chester 220, Tamworth 221, York 228, Lincoln 234, Stamford 238, Norwich 242, Thetford 244, Bedford 246, Sudbury do, Ipswich 247, Maldon 248, Northampton do., London 253, Malmesbury 257, Wallingford do., Dover 260, Romney 261, Lewes do., Taunton 265, Wilton 267, Winchester 270]

Leonic (probable error for Leofing, Leofric, Leofwine ?)

Lincoln LEONIC (HCn 2)SCBI

LEODAN see Leofthegn

LIF- see Leaf-

"Lifringa"

A ghost-form for Norwich (Cn 1) given in SCBI. This is the same die discussed above which BEH reads as LIFIDYA. Quarters 1, 2, and 4 of the

legend are clearly legible but the third quarter seems to be made up of three roughly vertical strokes followed by an A, thus +LI/FPI / (III?)A/ NOR.

[Lind CG: 'Moneyers c.973-1016' London 254]

Lindwin

Lincoln LINDPIN (Cn 2)BEH

Certainly Continental Germanic, since Lind- is not otherwise found as a personal-name element in OE but is common on the continent, Morlet 162.

[Litelman OE: 'Moneyers c.973-1016' Ipswich 247]

Liudramn

Lincoln LIADRAFEN (Hr 2)BM

Probably CG Liudramn, Morlet 160; for anglicisation of the second element cf. Welrafen.

[Luda OE: 'Moneyers c.973-1016' Exeter 263]

LVF- see Lēof-

Lufa

Shaftesbury ←-
LVFA (Cn 1)BEH

This appears to have been regarded as a different name from Lēofa since the two forms do not coincide at the same mint.

OE Lufa PND 321 and Redin 51, where it is suggested that Lufa is a short form of names in Lufe-. Shrewsbury is within the area where the distinct element Lufe- seems to survive, see § 75.

[Moneyers c.973-1016' Shaftesbury 267]

Macsothan

Chester MACSVĒAN (Cn 1)BEH

OIr Macsothainn. Cf. the moneyer's name MĒLSVĒDON, MĒLSVĒAN which appears at Chester for Edgar and Edward the Martyr.

[Moneyers c.973-1016' Chester -- but see SCBI Index]

Mann, Man(n)a

Exeter ←-
MANA (Cn 2)SCBI

MANAN (Cn 2)SCBI
 MANNA (Cn 1)SCBI

Lincoln ←-
 MANA (Cn 1-2)SCBI
 MANNA (Cn 2)SCBI

London MANA (HCn 1)SCBI

Norwich MANA (Cn 1-3, Hr 1)SCBI, (Hr 2)BEH
 MANI (Cn 3)SCBI
 MANN (HCn 2)BM
 MANNA (Cn 1)SCBI 25 683, (Cn 2-3, Hr 1-2)SCBI
 →

Thetford ←-
 MANA (Cn 1)SCBI

Wallingford ←-
 MAN (Cn 1)SCBI
 MANN (Cn 2)SCBI

MANN and MANNA at Norwich would appear to be alternative forms of the same moneyer's name. In some cases this may be OE Mann, Manna PNDB 324 but many of the locations would favour ODan Manni, OSw Manne, SPLY 194. The Norwich form MANI suggests this derivation although the ON i ending is rarely preserved in England and this form may be an error. MANAN at Exeter may be a rare genitive form, cf. GODAN also at Exeter in this type under God above.

[Moneyers c.973-1016¹ Tamworth 221, Worcester 222, Lincoln 234, Leicester 239 (Mani), Thetford 244, Wallingford 257, Romney 261, Exeter 263, Winchester 270]

Mangod

Bedford MANGOD (Cn 2)BEH

CG Mangod, Manegaud, Morlet 166, Forssner 186ff, PNDB 324. For a summary of the element -god as found in England see T.Kisbye in Publications of the Department of English, University of Copenhagen VIII, 1979 pp.12-26.

[Moneyers c.973-1016¹ Exeter 263]

Manning

Dover ←-
 MANINC (Cn 1)SCBI

OE Man(n)ing PNDB 324, Redin 149. For the unvoiced form nc see § 97

[Moneyers c.973-1016¹ Norwich 243, Dover 260]

Manleof

Exeter MANLEOF (Hr 2, HCn 2)SCBI

Probably CG Manleob, Morlet 167, since there is little evidence for OE -leof as a deuterotherme in personal names; cf. Godleof

Mansige

Sudbury MANSIGE (Cn 2)BEH
 MANSII (Cn 1)SCBI
 MASIG (Cn 1)BEH

For the attribution of these coins to Sudbury rather than Southwark see
 Dolley BNJ xviii 1956 p.264 ff.

OE *Mansige. This is the only known instance of this name in Old English,
 Searle 348, though both elements are common. For -sii see § 98, for -sig
 § 21.

[Mantat OE: 'Moneyers c.973-1016' Northampton 249]

[Manwine OE: 'Moneyers c.973-1016' Huntingdon 245, Colchester 247]

[Martin Lat., in OE through continental or Celtic influence: 'Moneyers c.
 973-1016' Shrewsbury 222, Worcester 223]

[Marscale CG: 'Moneyers c.973-1016' Winchester 270]

Matathan

Lincoln MATAN (Cn 2)SCBI
 MATAÐAN (Cn 2-3)SCBI
 MATEÐAN (Cn 1)SCBI
 MATEÐVN (Cn 2)SCBI
 MAÐMN (Hr 1)BEH
 MAÐAN (Cn 3)SCBI, (Hr 2) Lilla Klintegarda find, Västkind's parish,
 Gotland
 MAÐÐAN (Hr 1)SCBI
 MATAÐAN BALLVC (Cn 2)SCBI
 MAÐAN BALVC (Cn 3)SCBI

OIr Matudán, Dolley BNJ xxxvi 1967 p. 43
 For Balluc see Double names, above pp. 24-30

[Merewine OE: 'Moneyers c.973-1016' Lewes 261]

Morulf

Stamford MOROLF (Cn 2)SCBI
 MORVLF (Cn 1-3)SCBI
 NONVLF (Cn 3)SCBI

Probably CG Morulf, Maurulf, PNDB 328-30, where the evidence for an OE
 element from mōr 'moor' is discussed.

Mus see Elfwine Mus

"Nieici"

NIEICI ON ELV (cn 1)BEH s.London

The portrait is anomalous and the legend obscure.

[Northberd CG: 'Moneyers c.973-1016' Norwich 243]

Northmann

Lewes NORDMAN (HCn 1)BEH, (HCn 2)SCBI

PNDB 332 where it is taken to be OE, an original byname from northmann 'man from the north, Scandinavian'. Northman(n) is found fairly frequently in late OE sources but is not recorded before 994. The name is very rarely found in Scandinavian sources but is known in Normandy. North- names including Northman are found in CG, Morlet 174. The origin of this name is not certain; possibly the use of OE northmann as a personal name may have been influenced by continental usage.

[Oban ON?: 'Moneyers c.973-1016' York 231]

a Scandinavian coin of BEH Cn Type B reads OBN and attempts the London mint-signature. The reverse is an Æthelred type and the legend may be partly imitating the York legend above.

Oda, Odda

Ipswich ←
ODEA (Cn 1)SCBI

Wareham ODA (Cn 1)SCBI

Winchester ←
ODA (Cn 1-2)SCBI
ODAA (Cn 2)SCBI
ODE (Cn 1)SCBI

OE Od(d)a, PND 333, Redin 68. At Ipswich a derivation from ON Oddi is possible; in Æthelred's last type there the form is ODE. In some instances OE Od(d)a is a short form for names in Ord-; cf. the moneyer Ordbeorht at Winchester, q.v. For final e < a see § 5; for doubling of letters see § 103.

[Moneyers c.973-1016 Ipswich 247, London 253, Wallingford 257, Winchester 270]

[Oiga CG: 'Moneyers c.973-1016' York 228, Stamford 238]

[Oláfr ON: 'Moneyers c.973-1016' Lewes 262]

Ordbeorht

Winchester ←
ORDBRIHT (Cn 1)SCBI
ORDBRIT (Cn 1)BEH

Possibly the same man as the Winchester Oda above. OE Ordbeorht, not in PNDB but at least three authentic examples of the name as used in OE are to be found at Searle 367. For -beorht > -briht see § 76.

[Moneyers c.973-1016 Winchester 270]

Ordric

Hereford ORDREC (HCn 2)SCBI
 ORDRIC (Cn 1-3)SCBI, (Hr 1-2)BEH

OE Ordric PNDB 336-7. SCBI 18 642 reads quite clearly -REC; it is possible that the E is an anticipatory error for epigraphic angular C corrected to a vowel, but the three horizontals are plainly legible. PNDB § 12 notes -rec for -ric in Bristec < Brihtric but explains this by "the AN tendency to substitute e for i" in a weakly stressed position. In the following paragraph the presence of -led, -lede forms alongside -lid, lida in ON names in -lithr, -lithi already in pre-Conquest sources is noted, but without further comment. The coin-form above is further evidence for a pre-Conquest substitution of e for unstressed i, either because of an imported scribal fashion or a similarity between the sounds. See also above, p.27 for a discussion of pre-Conquest examples from coins, of forms usually attributed to Anglo-Norman influence.

Ornost, Ornst, Orest

Cambridge OREST (Cn 2)SCBI
 ORIST (Cn 1)SCBI
 ORNOST (Cn 1)SCBI
 ORNST (Cn 1)SCBI
 ORST (Cn 1)SCBI

This name is known in English sources only from the several dies of the Cnut Cambridge moneyer. It is found in two main forms, those with n and those without, which is paralleled by the OE noun orest, ornost, 'battle, trial by battle'. On presently available evidence (see above, p.22) it would appear that the n forms occur on dies cut locally in the East Anglian area, whilst those without are on dies of the style associated with London. This may be due to the idiosyncrasies of individual die-cutters but suggests that the London die-cutter associated the name with OE orest, whilst perhaps its bearer and the more local die-cutter may have associated it with the adjective eornost 'earnest, serious' with which the noun was sometimes confused and which caused the mingling of n forms in the noun.

The use of OE eornost as a personal name is probably influenced by the similar usage on the continent of Ernest, Arnost etc. Alternatively we may be dealing with the Continental Germanic name partially anglicised.

Os- see also As-

Osfram

Lincoln ←
 OSFRAM (Cn 2)BEH

OE Osfram PNDB 339

[Moneyers c.973-1016 Lincoln 234]

Ōsgār

Derby ←-
OSGAR (Cn 1)BEH s.Dorchester

The OE name Ōsgār is well evidenced, as in Searle 373. As a moneyer's name it is found at Derby and Bedford in Æthelred's last type. The single instance in DB is also from Bedford and Feilitzen suggests there the influence of ON Ásgeirr, which may also apply in the case of the moneyers' names; cf. PNDB 339, SPLY 22-24.

[Moneyers c.973-1016' Derby 239, Bedford 246]

Ōsgēat

Cambridge OSGET (Hr 1)SCBI

OE Ōsgēat PNDB 339. For -gēat > -get see §§ 53, 16

Ōsmund

Lincoln ←-
OSMVND (Cn 2, Hr 1-2, HCn 2)SCBI
OSNVND (Hr 1)SCBI

London ←-
OSMVND (Cn 1)SCBI

Norwich OSMVND (HCn 2)SCBI
→

Since there are no As- forms for this name at any of the mints at which it appears, the etymon is probably OE Ōsmund, PNDB 340.

[Moneyers c.973-1016' Lincoln 234, London 253]

[Ōspākr ON: Moneyers c.973-1016 Shrewsbury 222, York 230]

Osweald

Norwich ←-
OSPOLD (Cn BEH Type A, Cn 1)SCBI

Nottingham ←-
OSPOLD (Cn 1)SCBI

Stamford OSPOLD (Cn 1)BEH, (Cn 2)SCBI
OSPOLD (Cn 1)BEH

OE Ōsweald PNDB 340; for -weald > -wold see § 58

Although most coins of BEH Cn Type A belong to the Scandinavian series, the Norwich example may be one of a very small group that could have been struck in England; see Lyon ASE 5, 1976 p.203

[Moneyers c.973-1016' Shrewsbury 222, Nottingham 240, Norwich 243, Northampton 249, London 253, Lewes 262]

Osweard

Stamford OSPARD (Cn 3, Hr 1)SCBI
 OSPERD (Cn 2-3) SCBI

OE Osweard PNDB 340. For -ward, -werd see § 59

Oswig

Ilchester OSPi (Cn 1)SCBI
 OSPiE (Cn 1)SCBI
 OSPiG (Cn 1)BEH

OE Oswig PNDB 341. For -wi, -wie see § 98

[Moneyers c.973-1016' Bedford 246, London 253; note Oswing printed there is an error]

Pada ?

Shrewsbury PADA (Cn 1)SCBI

Either OE Pada, PNDB 343, from late OE pad(d)e 'frog, toad', or, reading P as p, OE Wada, PNDB 407

RINCULF see Hringwulf

Runstan ?

Thetford RVNSTAN (Cn 3)SCBI

Probably an error for Brunstan, q.v.

[Regenald ON or CG: 'Moneyers c.973-1016' Lincoln 235, Winchester 270]

[Regenulf CG: 'Moneyers c.973-1016' Winchester 270]

[Riculf CG: 'Moneyers c.973-1016' Chester 220, Shrewsbury 222] (cf. Riculf)

[Rodbert CG: 'Moneyers c.973-1016' Lincoln 236]

Semann

Salisbury ←
 SEMAN (Cn 1)SCBI

OE Semann PNDB 353

[Moneyers c.973-1016' Salisbury 268]

Seward

Winchester SEWARD (HCn 2)BEH
 SEPERD (Hr 2)BEH
 →

OE Sāweard PINDB 354. For -ward, -werd see § 59; on V for w see § 82

Sāwine

Bristol SÆPINE (Cn K, Hr 1-2)SCBI

Exeter ←
SÆPINE (Cn 1)BEH, (Cn 2)SCBI

Huntingdon ←
SÆPINE (Cn 1)SCBI

Leicester SÆVINE (HCn 2)SCBI
SÆPINE (Hr 2)
→

London SÆPINE (Cn 2)SCBI

Lydford SÆPINE (Cn1-2)SCBI

Oxford SÆPINE (Cn 1)SCBI

Shaftesbury ←
SÆPINE (Cn 1)SCBI

Winchester SÆPINE (Cn 1)SCBI, (HCn 2)BEH
→

OE Sāwine PINDB 354. On V for w see § 82

[Moneyers c.973-1016 Huntingdon 245, Cricklade 256, Exeter 263, Wilton 267, Shaftesbury do., Salisbury 268]

Sækollr ?

York SECOLL (Cn 1)BEH

Possibly an error for Selecol (see Selakollr) or Snæcol (see Snækollr) but cf. SECOL, SÆCOLF, a moneyer at Cambridge for Edward the Confessor in SCBI Index.

Sāgrímr

Nottingham SÆGRIM (Cn 3, Hr 1)BEH, (Hr 2, HCn 2)SCBI
SÆIGRIM (Hr 1)SCBI

Thetford SÆGRIM (HCn 2)SCBI
→

ON Sāgrímr PINDB 353, SPLY 284. Probably an Anglo-Scandinavian formation since the name is found in Scandinavian sources only on Danish coins of 1047-75, and in many cases the moneyers of this series may still be English craftsmen who have gone out to Denmark.

[Scot OE ? : 'Moneyers c.973-1016' Stamford 238]

[Searbeorht OE: 'Moneyers c.973-1016' Lewes 262]

Selakollr

York SELECOL (Cn 1) SCBI

ON *Sela-kollr 'head of the seals' or 'Kollr of the seals', SPLY 230, PNDB 357. The name is not found in Scandinavian sources and is therefore presumably of Anglo-Scandinavian formation. One other instance is known, also from Yorkshire, in Domesday TRE.

Seolca

Winchester SEOLCA (Cn 1) BEH

Redin gives this name as "unintelligible" and it is not otherwise known. I have suggested in SCBI 19 cxvi that Seolca might be a short form for a name in Seolc- such as the Seolcwine, Silcwine found as a moneyer's name at Gloucester towards the end of Edward the Confessor's reign, for Harold Godwinsson and for William I. For that name I tentatively proposed an OE etymon *Seolhwine from seolh 'seal'.

[Moneyers c.973-1016' Southampton 268, Winchester 270]

[Serkrlauss ON: 'Moneyers c.973-1016' York 231]

Sibwīg ?

Oxford SIBPIE (Cn 1) SCBI

Possibly OE Sibwīg but more probably an N has been omitted and this form is an error for Sibwine q.v.

Sibwine

Oxford SIBPINE (Cn 1) BEH
SIBPNE (Cn 1) BEH

This is the only instance of this name apart from the moneyer or moneyers of Æthelred at London and Buckingham. Searle 416 records one other instance of the use of the element Sib- as Sibthryth, but the reference he gives to Förstemann shows that the name is continental. Redin 78 denies that OE compounds in Sib- exist. Sib- names are found on the Continent and include Sivuinus, see Morlet 196. The moneyers' name may be an otherwise unrecorded compound in OE sibb 'related, akin', possibly influenced by a similar

continental usage, or alternatively an anglicisation of a name borrowed from continental Germanic.

[Noneyers c.973-1016' London 253, Buckingham ---, but see SCBI Index]

Sidumann

Wareham SIIDENAN (Hr 2)SCBI
ISIDEMAN (HCn 2)BEH

OE Sidumann from OE sidu- 'custom, good conduct'. There are no examples of the name in PNDB but several authentic instances given at Searle 416 including a moneyer of Eadred and Edgar.

For reduction of the final y in the first element of compounds to e see § 40; for the doubling of letters see § 103.

[Noneyers c. 973-1016' Rochester 259]

Siduwine

Cricklade SIDEPINE (Cn 1)SCBI
SIDEPINE (Cn 1)BEH

OE Siduwine PNDB 359. For the reduction of the final y in sidu- to e see § 40, and cf. Sidumann above.

[Noneyers c.973-1016' Cambridge 245, Colchester 247, London 253, Rochester 259]

Sigebeorht

London SIBRHT (Cn 2)BEH

Not in PNDB but the name occurs frequently in OE sources, twice in LVD, in ASC for a king of Wessex in the 750s, in Bede for a king of Essex in the early 7th cent. and in many other instances in Searle 417-8. For Sige- > Si- see § 98; for the developments of -beorht see § 76

Sigeboda

Southampton SIBODA (Cn 1)SCBI
SYBODA (Cn 1)SCBI

Winchester ←-
SIBODA (Cn 1-2)SCBI
SIBDOA (Cn 1)BEH
SIGBODA (Cn 1)BEH

CG Sigibodo, Forssner 225, Morlet 197

[Moneyers c.973-1016'Winchester 270]

Sigegār

Winchester SIAR (Cn 1)SCBI
SIGAR (Cn 1)BEH
SIGEAR (Cn 1)SCBI

Possibly OE Sigegār, though the only other safe instance of this name in OE is Sigegar abbot of Glastonbury d. 995. The ON derivation which PNDB suggests for many of the Domesday instances is less likely for the Winchester moneyer, though a continental derivation from Sigger, Morlet 198 is possible. For reduction of Sige- > Si- see § 98.

Sigenōth

London SINOD (Cn 1)SCBI
SINOÐ (Cn 2)SCBI

OE Sigenōth PNDB 360. For reduction of Sige- > Si- see § 98

Sigeræd

Gloucester ←-
SIREÐ (Cn 1-3)SCBI
SIREDD (Cn 1)BEH

London SIREÐ (Cn 2)SCBI

OE Sigeræd PNDB 361. For reduction of Sige- > Si- see § 98; for -red § 16. For doubling of letters see § 103.

[Moneyers c.973-1016'Gloucester 224]

Sigerīc

Norwich SIRIC (Cn 3)SCBI

OE Sigerīc PNDB 361. For reduction of Sige- > Si- see § 98.

[Moneyers c.973-1016' Watchet 265, Winchester 270]

Sigeward

London SIPERD (Cn 1)SCBI

Southwark SIPERD (Cn 1)Swedish find SHM Inv.23695

Warwick SIPERD (HCn 1)SCBI

OE Sigeward PNDB 361; for reduction of Sige- > Si- see § 98, for -ward see § 59.

[Sigeweald OE: 'Moneyers c.973-1016' Ipswich 247]

[Sigewine OE: 'Moneyers c.973-1016' Chester 220, Worcester 223]

[Sigewulf OE: 'Moneyers c.973-1016' Stafford 221, Wallingford 257]

Skúli

Exeter SCVLA (Cn 2-3)SCBI

York CSVLA (Hr 1)SCBI
 SCVLA (Hr 1)SCBI
 SCVLAA (HCn 2)SCBI
 -->

ON Skúli PNDB 366, SPLY 254. Found fairly frequently in Iceland from the 10th cent. onwards, rarer and later in Norway and also found in a few instances from East Scandinavian sources. An original byname from skýla 'to shelter'.

For final a in ON names ending in i see § 32; for doubling of letters see § 103.

Smeawine

Guildford SMEAPINE (Cn 1)SCBI

Winchester SNEAPNE (Cn 1)BEH may also represent this name.

OE Smēawine from smēah 'wise, subtle'; PNDB 366. Also found for a post-Conquest London moneyer, and in Edward the Confessor's reign at Bristol; see SCBI Index.

Snekollr

York SNECOL (Cn 1)SCBI

ON Snækollr SPLY 258. Found only in West Scandinavian sources.

A SNACOL is found in Æthelred's second type (BEH B1) at York, SCBI 21 65

Snel

Chester SNEL (Cn 1)SCBI, (Cn 3, Hr 1)BEH
 SNELL (Cn 2)BEH, (Hr 1)SCBI, (Hr 2)BEH
 SNEL CARMASNEL (Cn 2)SCBI
 ->

Probably an original byname from OE snell 'sharp, strong'. Snella is found already in LVD but Snel c. 995 KCD 1290 is slightly doubtful as the actual reading is Suel. A Snel appears as a moneyer of Æthelstan (in Type i and at Chester in Types v and vi) in which reign Scandinavian moneyers' names are very rare, but as a byname it occurs in the Festermen list Elewin vel Snel, where Scandinavian names are common. Björkman however concludes that any suggestion of the name being of Scandinavian origin would be unlikely. The last form is unintelligible.

Snelling

Lincoln ←-
 SNEILING (Cn 1)SCBI

Probably OE snell (see preceding name) with -ing suffix, but cf. West Scandinavian Snillingr

[Moneyers c.973-1016'Lincoln 234]

Spearhafoc

Winchester SPARAFVC (Cn 1-2)SCBI
 SPERAFVC (Cn 1)BEH
 SPRAFVC (Cn 1)BEH

An original byname, most probably from OE spearhafoc 'sparrowhawk', PND 369. ON Sporhaukr is found only once, and late (15th cent.) in Norway apart from two possible instances in place-names. Although the Domesday distribution (Suffolk, Notts.) favours a Scandinavian origin for the use of the appellation as a personal name it seems unlikely that its appearance at Winchester is due to any Scandinavian influence.

For Spar-, Sper- see §§ 53, 11, 13-14.

Sperling ?

Sudbury SPIRLING (Cn 1)SCBI
 SPRELINC (Cn 1)BEH
 SPRLINC (Cn 1)SCBI

BEH reads this name as Swirling etc. and a coin of Henry I of the Hastings mint reads SVERLINC, suggesting that in some cases at least

this may be an original byname associated with OE sweora 'neck'. Ekwall, on the other hand in ELPN proposes an OE name *Spyrling, a metathesised diminutive form of sprytel 'a shoot'

[Moneyers c.973-1016' Thetford 244]

Spilemann

Winchester ←-
 SPILEMAN (Cn 1, 3)SCBI, (Hr 1-2, HCn 2)BEH
 SPILEMANN (HCn 2)BEH
 SPILEMMAN (HCn 2)BEH
 SPLEMAN (Cn 1)BEH

BEH and Searle both read Swileman but this is unintelligible; the name is probably from an OE *spilemann, 'player, jester'. The compound is found only in OHG glossing 'histrion', but there is no reason why an independent formation on OE spilian 'to play' should not have existed. See Tengvik 270, 198, where some instances of the byname there cited may go back to an OE personal name.

[Moneyers c.973-1016' Southampton 268, Winchester -- but see SCBI Index]

Spraculf

Winchester SPRACVLF (Hr 2)BEH

BEH, BMC and Searle give this names as Swraculf but the head-form given above would seem the more likely. The Winchester location suggests an OE name in -wulf with loss of w (see § 83) rather than an ON name in -ulfr. The name is not otherwise recorded unless Sperckulf,^{for} a monk of Evesham, Searle 429, is a form of it.

The first element may reflect an OE cognate of ON sprækr 'lively' which may be the etymon of NE dialect sprack 'brisk, in good health and spirits' given in N.E.D. as current mainly in the West Midland and Southwestern counties of England.

Sprunt

Thetford SPRVNT (Cn 1)SCBI

BEH and BMC read Swrunt but this is unintelligible and the name is probably related to sprunt given in N.E.D. as 'n. a convulsive movement, start, spring or bound; adj. brisk, active; vb. to spring or dart'. There are no recorded instances before 1600 but it appears in various dialects and may be related to ON spretta 'to spring'.

Stanner

Huntingdon STANER (or possibly STANMER) (Cn 1)BEH

Thetford STANMER (Cn 1)SCBI

OE Stānmær PNDB 372. For -mer see § 16

[Steinbitr ON: 'Moneyers c.973-1016' Lincoln 235]

Steingrím

Cambridge STEINGRIM (Cn 2)BEH
 STENGRIM (Cn 1)BM
 STENGRIM (Cn 1) Karls find, Tingstäde parish, Gotland

ON Steingrím PNDB 373, SPLY 264. Very common indeed in Iceland, less so in Norway and found in East Scandinavian sources only doubtfully in one Swedish placename. For Sten-, Stæn- see §§ 65, 67

[Steinketill ON: 'Moneyers c.973-1016' Lincoln 235]

Stithwulf

London STIÐVLF (Cn 2)SCBI

OE Stithwulf. The same name is found in the early part of LVD, and Stith- (OE stith 'stiff, strong') is also found in Stithbeorht in 8th cent. charters and according to Symeon of Durham a Stithheard was one of the bearers of the body of St. Cuthbert: Searle 431

[Styr 'Moneyers c.973-1016' York 229. Probably an abbreviation for a name in Styr-, see below.]

Styrkarr

Cambridge STIRCERE (Hr 2)BEH
 York ←-
 STIRCAR (Cn 1)SCBI
 STIRCER (Cn 1)SCBI

ON Styrkarr PNDB 377, SPLY 268. Forms of this name are found in both East and West Scandinavian sources and in Normandy. For Stircer see § 9

['Moneyers c.973-1016' York 229]

Styrkollr

York ←-
 STIRCOL (Cn 1-2, Hr 1-2)SCBI
 STIRCOLL (HCn 2)SCBI
 STYRCOL (Cn 2)BEH, (Hr 1)SCBI
 STRCOL (Cn 2)SCBI
 -->

This moneyer's name appears at York from Æthelred's last type to Edward the Confessor's sixth, i.e. over a period of some forty-five

years. It has however not so far been found on coins of (Cn 3) and it may be that one moneyer of the name ends his career with (Cn 2) and another begins striking for Harold.

ON *Styrkollr. The moneyer's name is the only instance from England and the name is not found in Scandinavian sources, but for Styr- cf. Styrkarr above, and for names in -kollr cf. Bretakollr, Frithkollr, Selakollr

[Moneyers c.973-1016'York 229]

Styrkollr ?

York STIRC (HCn 2)BEH

Probably for Styrkollr as Styrkarr is not found striking so late.

Sumarlíthr, Sumarlíthi

Lincoln ←-

SVMERL (Hr 2)SCBI
 SVMERLDA (Hr 2)BEH
 SVMERLE (Cn 1)SCBI
 SVMERLED (Cn 1)SCBI
 SVMERLIDA (Cn 2, Hr 1)SCBI
 SVMERLD (Cn 1)SCBI
 SVMERLYD (Hr 2)BEH
 SVMERLYDA (HCn 2)SCBI
 SVMLD (Cn 1)SCBI
 SVMREID (Hr 2)SCBI
 SVNDEID (Hr 2)SCBI s. Canterbury
 SVNRDDE (Hr 2)BEH
 SVOIIREID (Hr 2)BEH
 →

London SVMERLED (Cn E BEH var.e, probably Scandinavian)

Norwich ? SVMERDA (Cn 1)BEH

Thetford ←-

SVMERLED (Cn 1)SCBI
 SVMRLD (Cn 1)SCBI
 SVMRLED (Cn 1)SCBI

There is a group of very blundered legends with a form of the Lincoln mint-signature (LIC, LNC, IIC) on coins with Harold Fleur-de-lis obverses of a peculiar style. A coin with the legend SVMREID ON LIC (SCBI 18 257, Mossop pl.lxii 20) belongs to the type BEH B var.c which is now believed to be Danish and it is possible that this whole group may be Scandinavian imitations. The attribution to Lincoln of the SVNDEID 'Canterbury' coin is dealt with in Smart 'Corrections' 165.

A moneyer of this name is not known at Norwich apart from the BEH attribution of a coin reading SVMERDA NOD. This is not a typical mint-signature for Norwich and would omit the copulative, so in fact NO may stand for MO. The presence of a moneyer of this name at Thetford may either indicate his activity in East Anglia and be taken as lending credence to the Norwich attribution, or alternatively NO D may be an error for Ð, the initial of Thetford.

ON Sumarlíthr or a weak form Sumarlíthi; the strong form would give

rise to the endings in -LED, LED and the weak form to those in -LIDA, -LYDA etc. but the two forms seem to have been used side-by-side of the same individual. The name appears to have arisen in the Western Isles, where it later became popular through Somerled, Lord of the Isles. There is one instance of a man of Scottish birth from the early 10th cent., and the several instances from the settlement of Iceland may also have been of adventurers from the isles. The name does not appear in Norway until the 14th cent. and is not found in East Scandinavian; SPLY 270-1.

An original by-name 'summer traveller', or possibly originating as a variation of Vetrlíthi which had the meaning of 'a bear in its second year'.

[Moneyers c.973-1016 York 229, Lincoln 235, Nottingham 240, Thetford 244]

Sunegod

Lincoln ←
SVNEGOD (Cn 1-2)SCBI

CG Sunigaut, Eorásner 226; the first element is sunja 'truth' but in OE it was presumably thought to be related to sunu 'son' as an Æthelred coin from the Swedish Tingstúde find reading SVNVGOD shows. For names in -god in OE, none of which are of native origin, see Kisbye, Publications of the Department of English, University of Copenhagen VIII 1979.

[Moneyers c.973-1016 Lincoln 236, London 254]

Sunnulfr

York SVINOLF (Cn 1)SCBI
SVNOLF (Cn 1-2)SCBI
SVNVLF (Cn 1,3, Hr 1)SCBI

ON Sunnulfr, PNUB 378, SPLY 272. The first form could possibly stand for a distinct name Svinulfr from svín 'pig' but is more likely to be an error. For the variation -olf/-ulf see § 43. Lind suggests that the name may be a side-form of fem. Sunnífa. Rare in Iceland but fairly common later in Norway. A few instances are found in East Scandinavian.

[Moneyers c. 973-1016 York 230, Lincoln 235]

Svafi

Lincoln SPAFA (Cn 3, Hr 1)SCBI
SPAFVA (HCn 2) SCBI
SPAPAFVA (Hr 1)SCBI

ON Svafi SPLY 273, PNUB 380, from the folk-name 'Swabians'. Found as the name of a Danish moneyer 1314-15, Hauberg p.100, and in a Danish place-name Svavested; not known from West Scandinavian.

For substitution of OE -a in ON names in -i see § 32. The last form is a ditto-graphy

Svart

Stamford SPART (Hr 2)SCBI
SPERT (Hr 1, HCn 2)BEH
SPERTT (HCn 2)BEH

ON Svartr, Svarti, SPLY 274, PNDB 379. The strong form was common in Iceland; rare in Norway; there are some East Scandinavian examples.

[Moneyers c.973-1016' York 230]

Svartbrandr

Lincoln SVARTBRAND (Cn 2)SCBI
 SPARTBRAND (Cn 1-2)SCBI
 SPARTEBRAND (Cn 2)SCBI
 SPARTEFAND (Hr 1)SCBI
 SPEARTABRAND (Cn 2)SCBI
 SPEARTBRAND (Cn 2-3)SCBI
 SPEARTBRND (Cn 3)SCBI
 SPEARTEBRAN (Cn 3)SCBI
 SPEARTEBRAND (Cn 3)SCBI
 SPERTBRAND (Cn 3, Hr 1)SCBI
 SPERTEBR (Cn 3)SCBI
 SPERTEBRA (Cn 3, Hr 1)SCBI
 SPERTEBRAD (Cn 3)SCBI
 SPERTEBRAND (Cn 3)SCBI
 SPPEARTABRAND (Cn 2)SCBI

Stamford ←
 SVARTBRAND (Cn 1)SCBI
 SPERTBRAND (Cn 1)SCBI

ON *Svartbrandr, probably an Anglo-Scandinavian formation, SPLY 274-5, PNDB 378-9. For Sweart-, Swert- see § 7.

[Moneyers c.973-1016' Stamford 238]

Svarthofthi

Dover SPEARTAFE (Cn 2)SCBI
 SPERTAFE (Cn 2)SCBI

ON Svarthofthi 'Black-head' is found in East and West Scandinavian and in Normandy; it is particularly common in Iceland, PNDB 379, SPLY 275. A Scandinavian name is unexpected at Dover, but the form of the second element suggests the Norse etymon rather than OE hēafod, although OE sweart has certainly influenced the first element, see § 7.

[Svartkarr ON: 'Moneyers c.973-1016' York 230, Stamford 238]

[Svartkollr ON: 'Moneyers c.973-1016' York 230]

Sveinn

Chester ←
 SPEGEN (Cn 1)SCBI, (Hr 1)BEH
 SPEGN (Cn 1)SCBI

London ←
 SPAN (Cn 3)SCBI
 SPANN (Cn 3)SCBI

Southwark SPEGINN (?) (Cn 1)SCBI

York SPEGEN (Hr 1)BM, (Hr 2, HCn 2)SCBI
 SPEGN (Hr 2)SCBI
 -->

For the Southwark coin SCBI probably follows the BEH reading but I read the BEH coins as SPEGNN and find the SCBI coin uncertain. SPAN at London looks like the OE swān but a Swegen strikes there in Æthelred's last type and this is presumably an anglicisation of the same name.

ON Sveinn, PNUB 380-1, SPLY 276-82. Very common in Norway from the 10th cent. onwards but found only later in Iceland; also common in East Scandinavian. For the representation of ON ei see § 66

[Moneyers c.973-1016'Chester 220, London -- SCBI Index]

Svertingr

Chester ←

SPARTI (Cn 1)BEH
 SPARTIC (Cn 1)BEH
 SPARTINC (Hr 1-2)SCBI
 SPARTNCI (Cn 1)BEH
 SPEARTINC (Cn 2)SCBI
 SPERTII (Hr 2)BEH
 SPERTINC (Hr 1)SCBI
 SPERTING (Hr 2)SCBI

Derby SVARTINC (Cn 2)SCBI, (Cn 3)BEH
 SVERTINC (Cn 2)SCBI
 SPERTINC (Cn 3, Hr 1-2, HCn 2)SCBI
 SPERTIIC (Hr 2)SCBI
 SPRTINC (Hr 2)BEH
 PERTINC (Hr 2)BEH

Lincoln SPARTINC (Cn 3)SCBI, (Hr 2)BEH
 SPEARTINC (Cn 3)SCBI
 SPERTINC (Hr 2, HCn 2)SCBI
 SPERTING (Cn 3)SCBI
 SPRTIIN (Hr 2)BEH
 SPRTIN (Hr 2)BEH

Norwich ←

SPERTINC (Cn 1)SCBI

York SERTINC (Cn 1)BEH
 SVRTINC (Cn 2)SCBI
 SPERTINC (Cn 1)SCBI, (Cn 2)BEH
 SPERTNC (Cn 2)SCBI

ON Svertingr PNUB 381, SPLY 282-3, a derivative of Svartr and found in Scandinavian sources.

Some forms show influence from OE sweart. Many forms show unvoicing of the final consonant, for which see § 97.

[Moneyers c.973-1016'York 230, Norwich 243]

Swēt, Swōt

Bedford SOTA (Cn 3)SCBI
 SPETE (Cn 3)SCBI

SPOT (HCn 2)SCBI
 SPOTA (Cn 3)SCBI, (Hr 2)BEH
 SPOTE (Hr 2)SCBI
 -->

Dorchester SPET (Cn 2)SCBI, (Cn 3)BEH
 SPETA (Cn 3)SCBI

'Eanburh' SPET (Cn 1)SCBI

Shrewsbury SPOT (Cn 1)SCBI
 SPOTA (Cn 1)SCBI

'Eanburh' is an unidentified mint; the mint-signature is EANBYRI. It is known from only one pair of dies, the style of which is that associated with Winchester.

OE Swēt, Swēta, PNDB 381, Redin 15, from OE swēt 'sweet'. Strong and weak forms are found together, presumably denoting the same person. For final e < a see § 5.

For the variation of swēt/swot in OE see § 20.
 See also Godric SPOT.

Swēting

London ← SVETINC (Cn 1)BEH
 SPETINC (Cn 1,3)SCBI
 SPETIC (Cn 1)BEH

There is a coin of Lincoln which reads SPETINC (Cn 2) in the Stora Haglund find, Åland, Sweden, but this is probably an error for SPERTINC, see Svertingr.

OE Swēting, PNDB 381 a derivative of Swēt. For unvoicing of the final consonant see § 97.

[Moneyers c.973-1016' Colchester 247, London 253]

Swētmann

London SPETMAN (Cn 3)SCBI
 SPETMAN (Cn 3)SCBI
 -->

A moneyer of this name appears sporadically at London from Æthelred's last type up till the end of the Anglo-Saxon period.

OE Swētmann PNDB 381

[Moneyers c.973-1016' London 253]

[Swetys; ? = OE Swēthyse: 'Moneyers c.973-1016' London 254]

Swētric

Milbourne Port SPETRIC (Cn 3)SCBI

OE*Swētric, known only from this moneyer and one at Wilton toward the end of Edward the Confessor's reign. In some instances in the Exeter

Thegnwine

Exeter DEGENPINE (Cn 3)SCBI
 DEGNPINE (Cn 3)SCBI, (HCn 1)BEH

Although -thegn appears as a second element in several names of OE origin there is no evidence for Thegn- as a first element. It appears frequently in this position in Continental Germanic names, and Thegnwine is therefore probably to be regarded as continental.

[Theodgār CG: 'Moneyers c.973-1016' Lewes 262]

[Theodgild OE or CG: 'Moneyers c.973-1016' Lincoln 234]

Theodred

London DEODRED (Cn 2)SCBI

Apart from coins, the evidence for the use of Thēod- as a name-element in England is slight, but it is common in CG, cf. Forssner 230, Morlet 67-72 Ekwall, however, in ELPH p.2 argues that it was in use in OE.

['Moneyers c.973-1016' Lincoln 234, London 254]

[Thiothulfr ON: 'Moneyers c.973-1016' London 254]

[Thóraldr ON: 'Moneyers c.973-1016' Chester 220]

Thórfríthr

Norwich DVRVERÐ (Cn 1)SCBI
 DREFRD (Cn 1)SCBI
 DVREFERÐ (Cn 1)SCBI
 DVRFERD (Cn 1-2)SCBI
 DVRFERD (Cn 1)BEH

Thetford DVFRT (Cn 1)Berlin
 DVRFERD (Cn 2)SCBI

BEH 2987 (Cn 1) is read as DVREFIRD but I read DVREFERD.

ON Thórfríthr PND 392, SPLY 303-4. Except in Swedish the name appears in Scandinavian sources only in the syncopated form Thorthr. The unsyncopated form also appears in Normandy in place- and personal names.

For Thur- see § 38; for -ferth see § 34.

Thórgautr

Exeter ←-
 DVRGOD (Cn 1)SCBI

Totnes DVRGOD (Cn 1)SCBI

ON Thorgautr PNDB 393, SPLY 304-5, common in both East and West Scandinavian and also found in Normandy.
For Thur- see § 38. For -god see § 63, but association with OE gōd is also to be considered.

[Moneyers c.973-1016'Exeter 263]

Thórgrímr

Lincoln ðVRGRIM (HCn 2)SCBI
→

York ðVRGRIM (Cn 3, Hr 1-2)SCBI, (HCn 2)BM
ðVRIM (Cn 3)BEH
ðVRRGRIM (Hr 2)SCBI
→

ON Thórgrímr ENDE 393, SPLY 306-7, much more commonly found in West Scandinavian than in East.
For Thur- see § 38

[Moneyers c.973-1016'York 230]

Thórketill

Lincoln ðVRECETEL (Cn 1)BEH
London DORCETEL (HCn 1)
DORCETL (Cn BEH Type A, Cn 2)SCBI
ðVRCIL (Cn BEH Types Ab, Ac, HCn BEH Type C)BEH
Torksey ←
DORCETL (Cn 2)SCBI
ðVRCETEL (Cn 1)SCBI
Stamford ðVRCET (Hr 2)BEH

All the London dies with the exception of (Cn 2) have the mint-signature LVDI which Hauberg gives to the Danish mint of Lund. All these are of irregular types and certainly belong to the Scandinavian series.

ON Thórketill PNDB 394-5, SPLY 309-11, common in all branches of Scandinavian. For Thur- see § 38

[Moneyers c.973-1016'Lincoln 235, Torksey 240, Northampton 249]

Thórred

London DORÆD (Cn BEH Type B)BEH
DORÆD (Cn BEH Type A/E)SCBI

These dies are imitative and belong to the Scandinavian series, see Lyon et al. 240-1. If this is in fact a moneyer's name and not a blundering or fabrication it is a form of Thor(f)røthr, SPLY 302. The name appears later at London as ðVRED as a moneyer of Henry I.

Thørsteinn

Lincoln ðVRSTAN (Hr 1)SCBI
London ðVRSTN (Cn 2)
ðORSTEN (HCn 1)

Norwich ðVRESTAN (Cn 1)BEH

Stamford ðVRESTAN (Cn 1-3, Hr 1, HCn 2)SCBI
 ðVRESTN (Cn 3)SCBI
 ðVRESTANN (HCn 2)BEH
 ðVSTAN (Cn 3, Hr 1)SCBI

BEH gives a coin of Thurstan to Taunton but this is in fact a Stamford coin.. The two London coins from BEH are in all probability Danish. These coins or their die-duplicates appear in Hauberg 113,122; the mint-signature is LVDI and the Harthacnut coin die-links into the "London" ðORCETEL (etc.) coins discussed above, see Thorketill.

ON Þorsteinn PNDB 396. SPLY 313-4. Very common all over Scandinavia and also found in Normandy. For -sten see § 65, for -stan § 69.

[Moneyers c.973-1016 York 230, Lincoln 236, Stamford 238, Norwich 243]

Þorulfr

Stamford ðVRVLF (Cn 2-3, Hr 1-2, HCn 2)SCBI
 -->

ON Þorulfr SPLY 317. Found in both East and West Scandinavian but rare in Norway, and also found in Normandy. The full form Þorulfr is more characteristic of West Scandinavian; in Denmark and Sweden the syncopated form Tholfr is more frequent, for which cf. PNDB 389.

[Moneyers c.973-1016 York 230, Leicester 239]

"Thudinei"

London ðVDINEI (Hr 1)BEH

Probably an error for Duding q.v.

Tidræd

Thetford TIDRED (Cn 2, HCn 2)SCBI
 TIDREDD (Cn 2)SCBI
 -->

OE Tidred, known only from this moneyer's name unless present in the place-name Tidredingford, Searle 453. The moneyer's name Tedredo from the St. Edmund Memorial coinage which Searle normalises to Tidred is more likely to represent Theodred or a CG form of the latter name.

For OE -rād > -red see § 16, for doubling of letters § 103.

Toki

Cricklade TOCA (Cn 1)SCBI

London TOCA (Cn 1)BEH, (Cn 2)SCBI

Southwark TOCA (Cn 2)SCBI

York TOCA (Cn 2)SCBI
TOCAA (Cn 1)SCBI
TOOCA (Cn 2)SCBI

ON Toki PND 385-6, SPLY 287-8, a short-form of compounds in Thór-. Very common in Danish, from where it spread to Sweden and Norway. Rare in Iceland, and found in Norway only from the eleventh century onwards.

For final a in ON names in i see § 32, for doubling of letters § 103.

[Moneyers c.973-1016' Colchester 248, Maldon do., London 254, Cricklade 256, Winchester 270]

Tosti see Elfwine Tosti

Trotan

Chester TROTAN (Cn 1-2)SCBI

OIr Trotan Dolley BNJ XXXVI 41, Redin 110-1.

[Tumi ODan: 'Moneyers c.973-1016' York 230]

[Tuna OE: 'Moneyers c.973-1016' Exeter 263]

[Tunnam OE: 'Moneyers c.973-1016' Southwark 258]

[Tunulf OE: 'Moneyers c.973-1016' Buckingham 255]

Ubbi see \wp VLF \wp I VBI s. Wulfwig

Ucede

York VCEDE (Cn 3, Hr 1-2) SCBI
VCEDEE (Hr 2, HCn 2) SCBI

OE Ucede, an -ede derivative of Ucca. This class of derivatives is rather larger than appears from Redin 161-2; earlier moneyers' names give Bionnede (Edward the Elder) and probably Winede (Edmund) SCBI Index, and Feilitzen in Studia Neophilologica XL p.13 adds Leofede and Ufede, as well as confirming the OE derivation of Ucede upon which Redin cast doubt.

[Ulfr ON: 'Moneyers c.973-1016' York 230, Lincoln 236]

Ulfbjorn

Lincoln ←-
VLFBEORN (Cn 2) SCBI
 \wp LBRN (Cn 2) SCBI
 \wp VLBARN (Cn 2) SCBI
 \wp VLBEORN (Cn 2, Hr 2) SCBI
 \wp VLBERE (Cn 2) SCBI
 \wp VLBERN (Cn 1-3) SCBI, (HCn 2) BEH
 \wp VLBREN (Cn 2) SCBI
 \wp VLBRN (Hr 2) SCBI
 \wp VLFBERN (Cn 1) SCBI

ON Ulfbjorn SPLY 324-5, not found in Scandinavia except on Danish coins 1086-95, when the moneyers may still have been of English descent.

For -bern, barn see § 78. -beorn is either an inverted spelling for -bern or is due to association with OE beorn 'man, warrior'. For Wulf - see Ulfgrimr.

['Moneyers c.973-1016' Lincoln 236]

Ulfketill

Lincoln ←-
VLCETEL (Cn 1-2) SCBI

York ←-
VLCETEL (Cn 1) SCBI

Some coins of mostly irregular types with some form of Ulfciil, Ulfcetl and an approximation of the London mint-signature have in the past been included in the English series by BEH and others. It now seems likely that no coins of this moneyer can be attributed to London. In this group occur Æthelred types in the name of Harthacnut and mules between types of Cnut, Harold, Harthacnut and the first type of Edward the Confessor. There is considerable die-linking within the group and the characteristic Danish mint-signature LVDI is prevalent, as are irregularities in the obverse portrait and legends.

ON Ulfketill P_NDB 399-400, SPLY 326. There are no certain West Scandinavian examples but the name is found in Swedish runic inscriptions and in a few Danish instances.

[Moneyers c.973-1016' York 230, Lincoln 236, Norwich 243]

Ulfgrímr

Lincoln ←-
 pVLGRIM (Cn 1) Leningrad, Hermitage
 pVLFGRIM (Cn 1) Trondheim

York VLFGRIM (Cn 1) SCBI
 VLFGRIM (Cn 1) BEH

SCBI 13 897 reads the same die as the second York example VLFGARIM but the BEH reading seems preferable.

ON *Ulfgrímr, not found in Scandinavian sources and probably an Anglo-Scandinavian formation, SPLY 235. Lincoln has VLFGRIM as well as pVLFGRIM in Æthelred's last type. Wulf- forms are by anglicisation. A possible alternative etymon is CG Wulfgrim but the distribution and the presence of VLF- forms make a Scandinavian derivation more likely.

[Moneyers c.973-1016' Lincoln 236]

[Unbein ON: 'Moneyers c.973-1016' Lincoln 236]

Valgestr

Thetford ←-
 pÆLGIST (Cn 1) SCBI
 pÆLSIT (Cn 1) SCBI
 pLGIST (Cn 1) SCBI

Probably ON *Valgestr. The first element is probably ON vál 'foreign' or possibly valr 'field of battle'. For the second element cf. Frithgestr SPLY 86. There are no examples of the name from Iceland or Norway but from Denmark in the 13th cent. there is a Walegæst DGP 1547.

For æ for ON a see § 8. -gist is probably by analogy with OE gi(e)st.

[Moneyers c.973-1016' Thetford 244]

Vathlauss

Lincoln ÞADLOS (Cn 3)SCBI, (Hr 1)BEH
 ÞAÐLOS (Hr 1)BEH
 ÞEDLES (Cn 3)SCBI
 ÞEDLOS (Cn 3)SCBI
 ÞEDLOVS (Cn 3)SCBI

ON *Vathlauss, an original byname 'without clothes', cf. Broklauss, Toglauss, SPLY 65,286, Serkrlauss 'Moneyers c.973-1016' 231; see also G. Fellows Jensen BNJ XLI p 188. Spellings in ÞED- and -LES show the substitution of OE cognates wæd and læs. For ON au represented by o and ou see §§ 61, 62.

[Vetrlithi ON: 'Moneyers c.973-1016' York 230]

Vikingr

Lydford ÞICINC (Cn 3)SCBI

Also found as a moneyer's name at Exeter in the middle of Edward the Confessor's reign and for Harold II at Worcester.

There are Domesday instances of the name from Suffolk, Cambridge-shire, Warwickshire and Devon, PNUB 405, and several placenames with the personal name are recorded in Yorkshire and Lincolnshire, SPLY 358. Both PNUB and SPLY take the personal name to be ON Vikingr but there is some uncertainty as to whether this is to be derived from the appellative 'viking' - this itself of problematical meaning and derivation. The name may be an -ing derivation of ON names in Vik-, e.g. Vikmaðr, Vikbjorn, Vikarr, cf. DGP 1572. All the ON names with this first element seem to have the connotation 'man from Vik' i.e. the Oslo fjord. The name Viking is known in ODan and OSw but is most common in Norwegian sources.

An OE noun wicing is found in early glosses; Campbell § 566 and n., with the meaning 'pirate' and is likely because of the date to be native rather than a Scandinavian loan. A native derivation might seem preferable for a Lydford name but Scandinavian names are surprisingly plentiful at the adjacent mint of Exeter, see Carla, Ketill, Scula, Thurgod. Lydford took some of its dies from Exeter in (Cn 1) and some moneyers' names appear at both mints.

Vilgrip

Stamford ÞILGRIP (HCn 2)SCBI
 ÞILGRI (Hr 2)BEH
 ÞILGRM (Hr 2)BEH
 -->

There seems to be some confusion in the forms of this name. ÞILGRN appears in Edward the Confessor's second type at Stamford but forms in-GRIP are found at Hertford and Lincoln as well as at Stamford in this reign. CG Wilgrim would account for ÞILGRN, ÞILGRM but the rest of the forms would seem to intend ODan Vilgrip DGP 1573. One would be reluctant to suggest that more than one moneyer is involved, but it is impossible to say how the confusion has arisen though from the proportion of forms in -grip to those in -grm (n), Vilgrip seems to be the original name.

Vithfari

Ipswich \wp IDFARA (Hr 1-2)BEH
 \wp IDFARE (Hr 1)BEH

ON Vithfari, an original byname 'he who travels far and wide', SPLY 333. One instance is known from Iceland in the 10th cent. and several from Swedish runic inscriptions. For final a, e substituted for ON i see § 32.

[Wacer OE Moneyers c.973-1016 Stamford 238]

Wada

Shrewsbury \wp ADA (Cn 1)SCBI

OE un-compounded Wada PNDB 407, Redin 79. See also Pada.

Wedel

Bath \wp EDEL (Hr 2, HCn 1)BEH, (HCn 2)SCBI
 \wp EDELL (Hr 1)BEH, (Hr 2)SCBI
 \wp EDEL (Hr 2)BM
 -->

OE Wedel, an -el suffix derivation of Wada, see above; Redin 110. (Redel, recorded by Redin 139 and derived there from OE Rada exists only as a misreading of this name)

Welrafen

Lincoln \wp ELREFAN (Cn 3)SCBI
 \wp ELREFEN (Hr 1)BEH
 \wp ALRAFEN (Hr 2)BM
 \wp ELREFEN (Hr 1)SCBI

Not originally ON though a few late instances are found in Danish. CG Walahrann, possibly introduced into the Danelaw by Franks who came over with the Scandinavian settlers, PNDB 410. For the representation of ON, CG a by æ see § 8.

[Waltferth OE: Moneyers c.973-1016 Ipswich 247]

[Wengos, uncertain: Moneyers c. 973-1016 York 230]

Widia

London \wp IDIA (Hr 1)SCBI
 \wp IDIGE (Hr 1)SCBI
 \wp IDIIA (Hr 1)SCBI

Steyning \wp IDIA (Cn 3)BEH
 \wp IDIIA (Cn 3)BEH
 \wp VDIA (Cn 2)SCBI
 \wp VDIIA (Cn 2)SCBI

Winchester ꝥIDIA (Hr 1-2)BEH, (HCn 2)SCBI
 ꝥIDIG (Hr 2)SCBI
 ꝥYDIA (Hr 1)SCBI
 -->

See also Godwine ꝥIDIA etc.

OE Widiga, an -iga derivative of OE Wuda, Redin 58, 159. For loss of g or representation by i see § 98. This is possibly a name of great antiquity since a Wudga is mentioned in Widsith. The variation Widia, Wudia may go back to an original Widia becoming Wudia by combinative back umlaut, cf. widu, wudu, Campbell § 218. WYDIA is probably an inverted spelling of unrounded y > i, § 47. For Widia as an additional name to Godwine see above p.26.

[Wigferth OE: 'Moneyers c.973-1016' London 254]

Wihtsige

Winchester ꝥIHTSIE (Cn 1)BEH
 ꝥIHTSIGE (Cn 1-2)SCBI

OE Wihtsige Searle 495; for Wiht- as a first element see PNDB 413-4. For forms of -sige see § 98.

[Moneyers c.973-1016 Winchester 270]

[Wilbert CG: 'Moneyers c.973-1016' Ipswich 247]

[Wilmund OE: 'Moneyers c.973-1016' Cambridge 245]

Wine

Exeter ꝥINE (Cn 1)SCBI

Tamworth ꝥINE (Cn 1)Linde find, Amlings parish, Gotland

Winchester ꝥINE (Cn 2)SCBI
 ꝥINEE (Cn 2)SCBI
 ꝥINNE (Cn 1)BEH

OE Wine PNDB 415, Redin 9. In the Domesday entries Wine appears to be a short form of Wulfwine but Redin cites numerous independent examples. For doubling of letters see § 103.

[Moneyers c.973-1016 Tamworth 221, Stamford 238, Wallingford 257, Southwark (?)259, Canterbury 260, Lympne do., Bridport 265]

Winas

Cadbury ꝥINAS (Cn 1)BEH

Crewkerne ←
 ꝥINAS (Cn 1)SCBI
 ꝥINVS (Cn 2-3)BEH

Problematical; connected with OE Wine, as above? It seems almost

certain that Winas and Winus must refer to the same individual since Crewkerne is a minor mint. Winus alone could be a rare latinisation but Winas grammatically is a plural. For further discussion see 'Moneyers c.973-1016' 265, Redin 10 and Holm 69.

[Moneyers c.973-1016 Crewkerne 265, Ilchester 266, Cadbury do.]

Winedæg

Canterbury ϘIINEDEI (Cn 1)SCBI
 ϘINEDEG (Cn 2)SCBI
 ϘINEDEI (Cn 2-3)SCBI
 ϘINEDEIG (Cn 2)SCBI, (Hr 1)BEH
 ϘINEDEII (Cn 2)SCBI
 ϘINEDE (Cn 1)SCBI
 ϘINEDI (HCn 1)BEH
 ϘINEIGE (Cn 1)BEH
 ϘINEIDEII (Cn 2)SCBI

Known only as this moneyer's name at Canterbury as above and later for William I - Henry I, and at Romney for William I. Probably OE *Winedæg, cf. Leofdæg above.

Winegod

Warminster ϘINEGOD (Cn 2)BEH s. "Worime", (Cn 3)SCBI

CG Winegot PNDB 416. -god may be by association with OE -gōd though Frankish forms are frequently in -god, cf. Adalgaudus, Morlet 16.

Wineman

Salisbury ϘINEMAN (HCn 2)SCBI
 ->

Thetford ϘINEAN (Cn 2)SCBI
 ϘINEMAN (Cn 2-3)SCBI

OE Wineman Searle 501.

Wittherwine

York ϘIIDERINE (Hr 2)SCBI
 ϘIDERINE (Hr 1)SCBI
 ϘIDERϘINNE (Hr 1)SCBI
 ϘIDRIN (Cn 2)SCBI
 ϘIDRN (Cn 2)BEH
 ϘIDRINE (Cn 2)SCBI
 ϘDERϘINE (HCn 1)BM

OE Wittherwine, Feilitzen SCBI 11a x from OE wither 'against'. Feilitzen suggests that the form Wittherwinne is due to association with OE witherwinna 'adversary'.

Wlancthegn

Leicester ϘLACDEGN (Cn 1)SCBI

PLANCDEGEN (Cn 2)SCBI
 PLANCDEGN (Cn 1-2)SCBI

Probably an OE *Wlancthegn but known only from this instance. For -thegn cf. Lēofthegn. Wlanc-, OE wlanc 'proud, glorious' appears also in VLANCEARD, a moneyer of Æthelberht (858-66., see SCBI Index). Wlanctheorht which Searle infers from Vlambreht Piper II 126 is a monk of Chiemsee and certainly Continental, probably from a different element altogether, cf. Flambrant Piper II 213, Flambertus Morlet 89.

“Wororie”

Lincoln PORORIE (Hr 2)SCBI

The reverse die with this reading is known with two obverses both of unusual style, see Mossop Pl. LXIII 17 and 18. The SCBI coin from Copenhagen has the beaded crest to the helmet which BEH designates (though not consistently) a variety Type B var. c. Van der Meer and the editors of SCBI 18 suggest this variety is not English but it may be a peculiarity of some locally-made Lincoln dies. However this may be, the coins are irregular and the name obscure.

[Wulf OE: Moneyers c.973-1016 Canterbury 260]

Wulfgar

London ←-
 PVFGR (Cn 1)BEH
 PVLFGAR (Cn 1)SCBI
 PVLGAR (Cn 2-3, Cn K, Hr 1)SCBI

OE Wulfgar PNDB 419. For loss of f see § 79

[Moneyers c.973-1016 Lincoln 234, Stamford 238, Huntingdon 245, Cambridge do., London 254, Wilton 267]

Wulfgeat

Lincoln ←-
 PALFET (Hr 1)BEH
 PVLFGAT (Cn 1)SCBI
 PVLFGET (Hr 1)SCBI
 PVLCEET (Hr 2)SCBI
 PVLGEET (Hr 2)SCBI

Shrewsbury PVLFEET (Cn 3)SCBI
 PVLFGET (Cn 3, Hr 1)SCBI, (HCn 2)BEH
 PVLFGT (Hr 2)SCBI

BEH has PVFGT for the same die as the last Shrewsbury instance, but as is noted in SCBI "the ligature V is overlooked by Hildebrand".

OE Wulfgeat PNDB 419. For -get see §§ 53, 16; for -gat § 57. For loss of f see § 79. The combination of the similar letter-forms for FGE seems to have given some difficulty to the die-cutters and errors abound.

[Moneyers c.973-1016 Leicester 239]

Wulfgerd ?

Shrewsbury pVLFGERD (Cn 2)SCBI

An OE name *Wulfgeard is possible, though not otherwise recorded; for OE -geard see PNUB 259. At Shrewsbury a pVLFGERD strikes the following type and this form may be an error; see Wulfweard. A French substitution of g for w is not very likely at this period.

Wulfheah

Derby pVLF^hAH (HCn 2)SCBI
pVLF^hEH (Cn 3, Hr 1, HCn 2)BEH

Lincoln pVLF^hAH (Cn 1)SCBI

uncertain mint pVLF^hEH (HCn 2)SCBI cut halfpenny.
pVLF^hEH (Cn 1) in Stockholm Systematic Collection but not in BEH.

The last form cited comes from a coin placed in the tray after BEH 1439. The ticket gives its reading as pVLF^hEH :MM LEC: but the last two letters of the mint-signature are unclear. An MM copulative is not consistent with Chester but it is found at Lewes in this type, and the style of the problematical coin is Southeastern.

OE Wulfheah PNUB 420. For loss of h see § 101. For -eh, -ah < -heah §§ 11, 16, 53, 57.

[Moneyers c.973-1016 Lincoln 234]

Wulfhelm

Ilchester pVLFELM (Cn 1)BM

OE Wulfhelm PNUB 421; for loss of h see § 101

[Moneyers c.973-1016 Cadbury 266, Ilchester do.]

[Wulf^laf OE: Moneyers c.973-1016 Chester 220]

Wulfmar

Cambridge pVLMER (HCn 2)BEH

'Gothaburh' ←
pVLFMER (Cn 1)SCBI
pVLMER (Cn 1)BEH

London pVLFMER (Cn 2)SCBI
pVLMER (Cn 2)BEH

Shrewsbury pVLFMER (HCn 2)SCBI

Oxford pVLMER (Cn 1)BEH

→

Thetford pVLFMER (Cn 1)SCBI

Worcester pVLNER (Cn 1)SCBI
pVLNER (Cn 1)BEH

For the not certainly identified mint 'Gothaburh' see under Carla.
For the coin read in SCBI 13 as pVLFME at Exeter see SCBI Index 79, 81.

OE Wulfm̄r PNDB 421. For -mer see §.16 ; in the Worcester example it is certainly MER not M̄ER that is intended as it appears as M̄E

[Moneyers c.973-1016⁷ Shrewsbury 222, Lincoln 234, Norwich 243,
London 254, 'Gothaburh' 262, Totnes 264, Barnstaple 265]

Wulfnoth

Bristol pVLNOÐ (Hr 2)SCBI

Chichester pVLFNOD (Cn 1)SCBI

Exeter pVLNOÐ (Hr 1)SCBI, (Hr 2)BEH, (HCn 1)SCBI

Gloucester pVLNOÐ (Cn 3, Hr 1)SCBI

Hastings pVLNOÐ (Cn 3)SCBI

Leicester pVLFNOD (Cn 1)SCBI
pVLNAD (HCn 2)BEH
pVLNON (Hr 1)SCBI
pVLNOÐ (Cn 1-2)SCBI, (Cn 3, Hr 1)BEH, (Hr 2, HCn 2)SCBI

Lincoln pVLFNOD (Cn 1)SCBI
pVLNOÐ (Hr 2)BM
pVL[] (HCn 2)SCBI

London pVLFNOOD (Cn 1)SCBI
pVLFNOD (Cn 1)SCBI
pVLNOÐ (Cn 2)SCBI
pVLHN (Hr 1)SCBI

Nottingham pVLNOÐ (HCn 2)BEH

Romney ←
pVLFNOD (Cn 1)SCBI
pVLNOÐ (Cn 2-3)SCBI, (Hr 1-2)BEH, (HCn 1)in Stockholm System-
atic Collection but not in BEH

Shaftesbury pVLNOÐ (Cn K)SCBI

Winchester ←
pVLFNOD (Cn 1-2)SCBI
pVLLNOD (Cn 2)SCBI
pVLNOÐ (Cn 1-3, Hr 1)SCBI, (Hr 2)BEH

York VLFNOD (Cn 2)SCBI
pVLFNOD (Cn 2)SCBI
pVLNOÐ (Cn 2-3)SCBI

In SCBI 5 xxxv Wulfnoth is listed as a Chester moneyer, presumably taking BEH Cn 1435 pVLNOÐ ON LEICST as a Chester coin. Although the

mint-signature is equivocal, the coin is more likely to belong to Leicester since the obverse has features connecting it with the Lincoln area, see above p. 23, and there is no evidence to associate Wulfnoth with Chester in this reign whilst he is known at Leicester. The blundered form ρ VLHN at London may not be for Wulfnoth since all his other coins belong to the first part of Cnut's reign.

OE Wulfnōth PNDB 422. For -nath see § 36, for loss of f § 79. VLFNOD at York is interesting since unless ρ is omitted in error it has substituted the Scandinavian element Ulf- for OE Wulf-. In the type in which this form appears the dies for York were cut locally.

[Moneyers c.973-1016¹ Leicester 239, Thetford 244, Colchester 247, Hertford 248, Northampton 249, London 254, Romney 261, Dorchester 266, Winchester 270]

Wulfrēd

Gloucester ρ VLFRED (HCn 1)BEH

London ←
 ρ VFRED (Cn 3)SCBI
 ρ VLFRED (Cn 1-3, HCn 2)SCBI
 ρ VLFRYD (Cn 1)SCBI
 →

Shrewsbury ρ VLFRED (Cn 1-2, Hr 1)SCBI
 ρ VLFRED (Hr 2)BEH
 ρ VLFRED or ρ VFRED (Cn 2) in Stockholm Systematic Collection but not in BEH

BEH gives a ρ VLFRED coin to Salisbury, reading ON SER but the second letter of the mint-signature is indeterminate and may equally read ON SCR for Shrewsbury where the moneyer is known.

OE Wulfrēd, later -rēd, see § 16. For -ryd see § 18.

[Moneyers c.973-1016¹ London 254, Oxford 256]

Wulfric

Exeter ? ρ VFRIC (Cn 1) SCBI 24 617
 ρ VLFRICT (Cn 1)BEH

Hertford ←
 ρ VLFRICT (Cn 1)SCBI

Lincoln ←
 ρ VLFRICT (Cn 1,3)SCBI, (Hr 1)BEH
 ρ VLFRICT (Hr 1)SCBI
 ρ VLFRICT (Hr 1)BEH

London ←
 ρ VLFRICT (Cn 1-2)SCBI, (Cn 3)BEH
 ρ VLFRICT (Cn 2-3)SCBI

Rochester ρ VLFRICT (Cn 3)SCBI

Shaftesbury ρ VLFRICT (Hr 2)BEH

Southwark ᵠVFRIC (Cn 1)BEH
 ᵠVLFRC (Cn 1)BEH
 ᵠVLFRIC (Cn 1)SCBI

Warwick ᵠVLFRIC (Cn 1)SCBI

Winchester ᵠVFRIC (Cn 1)SCBI
 ᵠVLFRIC (Cn 1)SCBI

York ᵠVLFRIC (HCn 2)BM

The only certain evidence for Wulfric at Exeter is BEH 420 which reads ᵠVLFRIC ON EXC; this is an oddly struck coin with the reverse cross superimposed on the obverse portrait. The coin read in SCBI 24 as ᵠVFRIE is not entirely clear and may in fact read ᵠVFSIE for Wulfsige who is a known Exeter moneyer.

OE Wulfric PNUB 424. For Wufric, Wulric see § 79.

[Moneyers c.973-1016¹ Warwick 221, Worcester 223, York 228, Lincoln 234, Colchester 247, Hertford 248, Northampton 249, London 254, Wareham 266]

Wulfsige

Cambridge

←
 ᵠVFSIG (Cn 1)SCBI
 ᵠVLFSI (Cn 1)SCBI
 ᵠVLFSIG (Cn 1)SCBI
 ᵠVLFSIGE (Cn 1)SCBI
 ᵠVLFSII (Cn 1)SCBI
 ᵠVLSIGE (Cn 2)SCBI

Chester ᵠVILSIE (Cn 2)BEH
 ᵠVLSI (Cn 1)SCBI
 ᵠVLSIE (Cn 1)BEH

Dorchester ᵠVLFSIGE (Cn 1)SCBI

Exeter

←
 ᵠVLFSIE (Cn 1)Brettell 171, ex Argyll ex Lockett

Guildford ? ᵠVLFSIG (Cn 1)BEH

Hereford ᵠVLSIGE (Cn 2)SCBI
 ᵠVLSIGE (Cn 1,3)SCBI, (Hr 1)BEH, (Hr 2)SCBI, (HCn 2)BEH
 ᵠVLSIGEE (Hr 1)SCBI
 ᵠVLSII (Hr 2)SCBI

London ᵠVLSIGE (Cn 3)BEH, (HCn 2)BM

Southwark ᵠVLFSI (Cn 1)BEH

SCBI 9 650 gives the moneyer of a (Cn 1)London coin as ᵠVLFSIE, but this coin is from the same reverse die as SCBI 14 2983. The reading is ᵠVLFRIE N LVND, which may be a blundering of Wulfric or Wulfwine, both names of London moneyers in the relevant type. BEH gives a ᵠVLFSIE at London for (Hr 2) but the coin is not entirely legible and I read ᵠVLSTN, possibly a duplicate of the coin which follows it in BEH.

A mule with a (Cn 1) obverse and an Æthelred BEH Type A reverse of ᵠVLSIGE at York was, according to Lyon et al. 245, struck in Scandinavia from dies cut in England. Wulfsige is an Æthelred moneyer in this type but there is no other evidence to place him as a York

moneyer of Cnut and it seems likely that the dies were paired indiscriminately.

OE Wulfsige PNDB 424-5. For Wuf-, Wul- forms see § 79. For variations in the spelling of -sige see § 98.

[Moneyers c.973-1016¹ York 228, Derby 239, Cambridge 245, London 254, Exeter 263]

Wulfstān

Bristol ꝥVLSTAN (Cn 3)SCBI

Canterbury ←-
ꝥVLFSTAN (Cn 1-2)SCBI
ꝥVLSTAN (Cn 2)SCBI

Exeter ←-
ꝥVLFSTAN (Cn 1)SCBI, (Cn 2)BEH
ꝥVLSTAN (Cn 2-3)SCBI

Huntingdon ꝥVLSTAN (Cn 3)BEH, (HCn 2)SCBI

Leicester ꝥVLFSTAN (Cn 3)BEH, (Hr 1-2)SCBI

London ←-
ꝥVLFSTAN (Cn 1)SCBI
ꝥVLSTAN (Cn 1)SCBI, (Cn 2)National Museum Poznan, published
BNJ xlvii 1976 95, (HCn 2)SCBI
ꝥVLSTN (Hr 2)BEH

Southwark ꝥVLFSTAN (Sc 1)SCBI

Warminster ꝥVLSTN (Hr 1)BEH

York ꝥVLSTAN (Cn 1-2)SCBI

OE Wulfstān PNDB 425. For loss of f see § 79.

[Moneyers c.973-1016¹ Stamford 238, Derby 239, Colchester 247, London 254, Canterbury 260, Dover 260, Hastings 261, Lewes 262, Exeter 263, Winchester 270]

Wulfweard

Exeter ꝥVLFꝥERD (Cn 2)SCBI

Gloucester ꝥVLFERD (HCn 2)SCBI
ꝥVLFꝥERD (HCn 2)BEH
ꝥVLFꝥERD (Hr 2)SCBI
ꝥVLFꝥARD (Hr 2)SCBI
ꝥVꝥERD (HCn 2)SCBI
→

Shrewsbury ꝥVLFꝥERD (Cn 3)SCBI
see also Wulfgerd

Totnes ꝥVLFꝥERD (Cn 2)SCBI

At London \mathfrak{P} VLFERD (Cn 1) is more likely to be a scribal metathesis for \mathfrak{P} VLFRED which is well attested at London. SCBI 18 433 is not London but Gloucester, as is BEH 730, which is a duplicate of it.

OE Wulfweard PNDB 425. For the loss of \underline{f} see § 79. For Wulferd see § 83, for -werd, -ward § 59.

Wulfwig

Canterbury \mathfrak{P} VLF \mathfrak{P} I (Cn 3)SCBI
 \mathfrak{P} VLF \mathfrak{P} IG (Cn 2-3)SCBI
 \mathfrak{P} VL \mathfrak{P} IG (Hr 2)SCBI

 \mathfrak{P} VLF \mathfrak{P} I VBI (HCn 2)SCBI

Huntingdon \mathfrak{P} VLF \mathfrak{P} I (Hr 2)BEH
 \mathfrak{P} VL \mathfrak{P} II (Hr 2)BM

London \mathfrak{P} VLF \mathfrak{P} IE (Hr 2)SCBI
 \mathfrak{P} VL \mathfrak{P} II (Hr 2)BEH
 ->

A coin of Oxford in (Cn 1) reads \mathfrak{P} VL \mathfrak{P} I but this may be an error for Wulfwine who is a known moneyer there, whilst there is no other evidence for a Wulfwig at Oxford.

OE Wulfwig PNDB 426. For loss of \underline{f} see § 79. For variations in spelling of -wig see § 98. For VBI see Double Names, above pp.24-30

[Moneyers c.973-1016 Canterbury 260]

Wulfwine

Bristol \mathfrak{P} VLF \mathfrak{P} INE (Cn 1)SCBI, (Hr 2)BEH, (HCn 2)SCBI
 \mathfrak{P} VLF \mathfrak{P} INNE (HCn 1)SCBI
 \mathfrak{P} VL \mathfrak{P} IINE (Hr 2)SCBI
 \mathfrak{P} VLPINE (Hr 2)BEH
 ->

Cambridge DVLDIIE (Hr 2 var.)SCBI
 \mathfrak{P} VLF \mathfrak{P} INE (Hr 1-2)SCBI
 \mathfrak{P} VLPINE (Hr 2)BEH

Canterbury \mathfrak{P} VLF \mathfrak{P} INE (Hr 2)SCBI

Colchester ←-
 \mathfrak{P} LF \mathfrak{P} INE (Cn 2)SCBI
 \mathfrak{P} VLF \mathfrak{P} INE (Cn 1-3)SCBI, (Hr 2)BEH, (HCn 2)BM
 \mathfrak{P} VLLF \mathfrak{P} INE (Hr 2)SCBI
 \mathfrak{P} VLPINE (Hr 1)SCBI, (Hr 2)BM

Cricklade \mathfrak{P} VLF \mathfrak{P} INE (Cn 2)BEH

Huntingdon \mathfrak{P} VLF \mathfrak{P} INE (Cn 3, Hr 1, HCn 2)SCBI
 \mathfrak{P} VLPINE (Hr 2)SCBI
 \mathfrak{P} VLPNE (Hr 2)BEH

Leicester \mathfrak{P} VLF \mathfrak{P} INE (HCn 2)BEH
 \mathfrak{P} VLPINE (HCn 2)BEH

Lincoln ←-
 \mathfrak{P} VLF \mathfrak{P} INE (Cn 2-3)SCBI

London ←
 pVLFPIINE (Cn 1-3, Hr 1)SCBI
 →

Maldon pVLLFPINE (Hr 1)BEH

Norwich pVLFPIINE (Cn BEH Type B) SCBI

Oxford ←
 pVLFPIINE (Cn BEH Type B)BEH, (Cn 1-3)SCBI
 pVLPINE (Cn 1)SCBI

Wallingford pVLPPIINE (Hr 2)SCBI
 pVLPNE (Hr 2)SCBI

uncertain mint pVLFPIIN[] (HCn 2)SCBI

Coins of BEH Cn Type B are almost certainly Scandinavian imitations.

OE Wulfwine PNDB 427. For loss of f see § 79; for doubling of letters see § 103,

[Moneyers c.973-1016 Lincoln 234, Colchester 247, London 254, Oxford 256, Wallingford -- SCBI Index]

Wynræd

Canterbury pINRÆD (Cn 2)SCBI
 pINRED (Cn 2-3)SCBI, (Hr 1)BEH
 pYNRED (Cn 1)SCBI

Known only as a moneyer's name, from this instance and as a Lewes moneyer for William II and Henry I in the form pINRED. In view of the form in y this is more likely to be OE Wynræd; forms in Cin- for Dover moneyers Cynsige and Cynstan, q.v. show that this unrounding of y is normal in Kent as well as Wessex. Possible, though less likely, is OE Wineræd (cf. the 9th cent. Northumbrian moneyer Winired SCBI Index) with Wyn- in that case an inverted spelling. For -red see § 16.

Wynsige

Bristol pYNSIGE (Cn 1)SCBI

Huntingdon pYNSIGE (Cn 2)BM

London pESIG (Cn 1)SCBI
 pINSI(Cn 1)BEH
 pNSIIEE (Hr 2)BEH
 pNSIGE (Hr 2)BEH
 pNSIEE (Hr 2)BEH
 pYNII (Cn 1)SCBI
 pYNSI (Cn 1)SCBI
 pYNSIE (Cn 1)BEH, (Cn 2)SCBI
 pYNSIG (Cn 1-2, Hr 2)SCBI
 pYNSIGE (Cn 2-3)SCBI, (Hr 1)BEH, (Hr 2)SCBI
 pYNSIGIE (Cn 3)SCBI
 pYNSII (Cn 1)SCBI
 pYNSIIG (Hr 2)BEH
 pYNSIIGE (Hr 1, HCn 1)SCBI

ƳYSIGE (Cn 2)SCBI

ƳYNSIGE ƳAMANEA (Hr 1)BEH

BEH also has the forms ƳVNSI, ƳVNSIG for (Cn 1) at London. These coins are probably from the same dies as those read elsewhere as ƳYNSI, ƳYNSIG, see § 45. The moneyer given by BEH as ƳVNSI at Southwark is in fact MANSI at Sudbury, see Mansige.

OE Wynsige PNDB 429. For Win-see § 47, for Wesig § 46. In Wesig, Wysige n may have been lost in the general simplification of medial consonant groups that took place in late OE, § 79, or may be due to die-cutters' errors. For variations in the form of -sige see § 98. For Wamanea (?) see Double Names, pp. 24-30

[Moneyers c.973-1016¹ Shrewsbury 222, Exeter 263, London 254, Wilton (?) -- SCBI Index]

Wynstān

London ƳNSTAN (Cn 1)SCBI
ƳYNSTAN (Cn 2)SCBI

Salisbury ƳINSTAN (Cn 1)BEH, (Cn 2)SCBI, (Hr 1)BEH, (HR 2, HCN 2)SCBI
→

A coin given by BEH to Hereford in (Cn 2) which reads ƳINSAN ON EREN appears as 'not English' in van der Meer's 'Corrections'. The obverse legend is very blundered. Even if the coin is English the mint attribution is very doubtful and almost certainly not Hereford.

OE Wynstān PNDB 429. For W. Saxon unrounding of y in the Salisbury instances see § 47.

[Moneyers c.973-1016¹ Bath 258, Winchester 270]

REGIONAL ANALYSES

The following analysis of the moneyers' names by mints, grouped together into regions, is constructed on the same principles as those outlined in 'Moneyers c.973-1016,' pp. 218-9. The mints appear in the same order and the same boundaries are used, with the exception that it seems more natural to include Winchcombe in the Western area than in Southern England as formerly.

The old Alfredian boundary of Watling Street and the Severn encloses the Western area. York is treated alone as the only Anglo-Saxon mint north of the Humber. The Five Boroughs area is essentially the northern part of the Danelaw and takes in Torksey, Caistor and Newark as well as the original five. The southern part of the Danelaw includes Mercia east of Watling Street and East Anglia. London is treated separately on account of its superabundant output and the consequently enormous numbers of moneyers employed in it. Lastly, Southern England comprises all the rest of the country, south of the Thames and east of Watling Street, the area preserved by Alfred from Scandinavian domination.

These boundaries are not intended to represent political groupings in the eleventh century. They may in some instances be drawn arbitrarily but they were found in the c.973-1016 study to be generally useful in the exploration of older settlement-patterns which may be seen to survive in the concentration or otherwise of names of non-OE origin amongst the persons employed as moneyers in the mints of late Anglo-Saxon England. These regional groupings do not preclude the recognition of any later movements in nomenclature; in fact they provide a basis for comparison.

Each moneyer's name is represented by a single form which corresponds to the head-form used in the Alphabetical Name List. Each name is accompanied by a chronological table of the types in which it is known. Coins of BEH Cnut type K are included in the HCn 1 column. Although it is not certain that "Cnut K" coins have the same relationship to HCn 1 that "Cnut I" has to HCn 2, and

it is possible that some may actually belong to Cnut's own reign, they are of the same design-type as HCn 1 and belong chronologically between Cn 3 and Hr 1. Brief notes on certain problematical names or attributions appear in the right-hand margin; for fuller details the Alphabetical Name List should be consulted.

A numerical summary is given for each mint with the figures from c.973-1016 for comparison. The figures given here for the earlier period include additional material which has come to light in the fifteen years since the publication of 'Moneyers c. 973-1016.' In some cases there may be a further discrepancy between the numbers appearing in that monograph and the figures quoted here, resulting from a very small number of moneyers' names having been removed from one category and placed in another. This involves only a shift in emphasis in areas already expressed as doubtful in the earlier study. For instance, I would no longer regard it as necessary to suggest a continental etymon for any name Godman because of the occurrence of forms with the interelemental e. Nor would I be quite so definite that biblical or saints' names are invariably to be associated with Celtic influence, especially when Continental Germanic names are present in the area where they occur. The tabular form is perhaps a clumsy instrument for expressing the possibilities and probabilities of alternative etymologies, but it is convenient for indicating general trends.

WESTERN MINTS

=====

CHESTER

<u>Old English</u>	Cn			HCn 1	Hr		HCn 2
Elfnoth	1	2	3				
Elfsige	1	2	3				
Elfstan							x
Elfwine					1		
Ethelric	1		3				
Ceolnoth	1	2	3				
Ealhstige	1						
Godric	1						
Godwine	1	2					
Leofa	1						
Leofing	1	2				2	x
Leofnoth	1	2					
Leofstige	1	2	3				
Leofwig	1	2	3		1	2	x
Leofwine	1	2				2	x
Snel	1	2	3		1	2	
(Wulfnoth)							probably Leicester
Wulfstige	1	2					

Old Norse

Kolbeinn							x
Krokr		2	3		1	2	
Fargrimr							x
Forman							x
Gunleof	1		3				
Sveinn	1				1		
Svertingr	1	2			1	2	
Thu[]d	1						

Old Irish

	Cn		HCn 1 Hr		HCn 2
Gillacrist			1	2	x
Nacsuthan	1				
Trotan	1	2			

OE 17, ON 7, OIr 3 (c.973-1016 OE 15, ON 5, OIr 2)

WARWICK

Old English

Ethelwine	1					
Goda				1	2	
Godwine		2	3			
Leofing		2	3			x
Leofwig	1	2		1	2	x
Leofwine						x
Sigeward				x		
Wulfric	1					

OE 8 (c.973-1016 OE 8)

TAMWORTH

Old English

Elfstan			3		2?	
Leofnoth				1		
Wine	1					

OE 3 (c.973-1016 OE 6, ON 1)

STAFFORD

Old English

Elfric	1	2	3		2	
--------	---	---	---	--	---	--

OE 1 (c.973-1016 OE 5)

SHREWSBURY

Old English

Elfheah						x
Elfhelm	1					
Brungar	1	2	3			
Eadsige	1	2	3			
Godhere				1		
Godwine	1	2	3	1	2	

	Cn		HCn 1	Hr		HCn 2
Leofstan	2	3		1	2	x
Leofwine				1	2	x
Swota	1					
Wada	1					
Wulfgeat		3		1	2	x
Wulfmær						x
Wulfræd	1	2		1	2	
Wulfweard		3				"Wulfgerd" Cn 2

Old Norse

Grimr

1

Old Irish

Crinan

1

OE 14, ON 1, OIr 1 (c.973-1016 OE 14, ON 1, OIr 1)

HEREFORD

Old English

Athelwig	1	2	3		1		
Eadric	1						
Eadstan	1	2	3				
Earnwig					1	2	x
Leofgar	1	2					
Leofhere		2					
Leofnoth	1		3		1	2	x
Ordric	1	2	3		1	2	x
Wulfsige	1	2	3		1	2	x

OE 9 (c.973-1016 OE 10, Celtic 2)

WORCESTER

Elfwine		2					
Elfweald	1	2	3				
Ethelwine.		2	3		1	2	
Garulf	1						
Goda	1	2					

	Gn			HCn 1	Hr		HCn 2
Leofric		2			1	2	
Leofstan			3		1	2	x
Wulfmær	1						

OE 8 (c.973-1016 OE 9, CG 2, Celtic (OIr ?)1)

GLOUCESTER

Old English

Ethelric			3	x	1	2	x
Bolla	1	2					
Godric	1	2	3	x		2	x
Godwine	1	2					
Leofnoth		2	3	x		2	x
Leofsige	1	2					
Sigeræd	1	2	3				
Wulfnoth	1		3	x			
Wulfweard						2	x

OE 9 (c.973-1016 OE 5)

WINCHCOMBE

Old English

Ethelman	1						
Draca							x
Dropa	1	2					

OE 3 (c.973-1016 OE 2, uncertain, see Godeleof, 1)

Summary

The pattern of the moneyers' names in this Western area is generally similar to the one found for the period c.973-1016. On the whole OE names predominate but Chester presents a somewhat different picture from the rest in that Scandinavian-introduced names form a very significant proportion, almost forty per cent of the whole if the Irish names are taken together with the Scandinavian as part of the same settlement.

At Shrewsbury the Cnut-Harthacnut figures are exactly the same as for c.973-1016. The Hiberno-Scandinavian proportion is smaller, (12.5 %) but the presence remains there, in contrast ^{with} the rest of the area. The main difference from c.973-1016 lies in the absence of all non-native names from the other boroughs once Chester and Shrewsbury are left aside. Earlier Tamworth had Fastolf, probably < ON Fastulfr though a CG etymon is also possible. Hereford had two Celtic names; Dilion would appear to be Welsh and derive from the borough's position close to the border but Gyllis is most likely an Irish name in Giolla- and therefore of Hiberno-Scandinavian introduction. Worcester had two names of CG origin; Durand and Leofgod, and seems to have been a staging-post in the career of a moneyer Martin who minted for Edgar at Chester in the 970s and possibly earlier, and is last known at Shrewsbury c. 997. Even if more than one individual is concealed by the signature Martin a family connection is probably to be inferred from the very rarity of the name, and its introduction via Chester suggests an Irish connection. In the period under review here, however, all such exotic names are lacking in these mints and only OE names remain.

With Chester appearing so untypical of the area as a whole the question arises, as it must do in the case of York, Lincoln, London and Winchester, whether these larger centres of population and urban life can be regarded as representative of the areas in which they are set. The nature of the material makes it difficult to compare the major mints with their smaller neighbours since the absence of foreign-origin names in a very small complement is not significant. Nor is it satisfactory to add together the figures from several small mints since except in the case of very rare names one cannot tell how often the same name should be individually counted.

In the case of Chester it seems reasonable to conclude that there are explanations other than its major town status to account for the different character of the moneyers' names there. Chester is isolated, uniquely except for York, from the interlocking network of late Anglo-Saxon mints, none more than thirty miles from its nearest neighbour. It is the most northerly mint on the western side of the country and its position on the Scandinavian trade-route to Ireland might well have made it an attractive entry-point for settlement. It seems more likely, however, that Chester was affected by the considerable Norse settlement in the Wirral that was demonstrated by F.T.Wainwright by plotting the TRE manors in Domesday for Cheshire. Almost fifty per cent in the Wirral and southwards around Chester were owned by men with Scandinavian names. In addition Irish sources, though probably untrustworthy in detail, testify to a large number of Norsemen from Ireland in this area.

Wainwright's examination of the placenames of western Cheshire led him to the conclusion that this settlement was Norse more than Danish, though Danish elements were certainly present. The much smaller linguistic sample offered by the moneyers' names allows no such deductions. All the Scandinavian names with the exception of the Anglo-Scandinavian Fargrim are found both in East and West Scandinavian sources, and if Kolbeinn and Gunnleifr are rather more common in western sources we must take into consideration the fuller nature of the West Scandinavian sources available to us. The presence of Irish names, however, suggests that the account of colonisation by Norsemen from Ireland is correct.

The distribution of moneyers' names in this western region c.973-1042 presents Chester as a mirror, if not a focus, of a heavy Norse colonisation of western Cheshire, fading out moving southwards but still perceptible when a sample can be taken at Shrewsbury. Equidistant from Chester but further east, Stafford, however, is plainly

an English borough; the contrast with its neighbouring mint of Derby is marked. For Stafford and the rest of the mints in this area the evidence of the moneyers' names agrees strikingly with that of place-name studies in the relevant counties that the Alfred-Guthrum treaty-boundary of Watling Street was an effective frontier.

YORK
 =::=

Old English

	Cn			HCn 1	Hr	HCn 2	
Elfhere					2	x	
Elfstan	1	2					
Elfwine			3?		2		doublestruck, possibly Egel- in Cn 3
Ethelwine		2	3		1 2	x	
Beorhtnoth	1	2					
Godman		2	3				
Leofric				x			
Leofwine	1						
Ucede			3		1 2	x	
Witherwine		2		x	1 2		
Wulfnoth		2	3				
Wulfstan	1	2					

Old Norse

Arngrímr			3		2	x	
Arnketill	1	2	3		1 2	x	
Arnulfr		2					
Ásbjörn		2					
Ásgautr	1	2					
Austmathr		2					
Authgrímr	1						
Authunn			3		1 2	x	
Björn			3		1 2	x	
Brandr		2					
Bretakollr	1						
Dagfinnr	1						
Fargrímr	1	2					
Farthegn		2	3				
Fastulfr	1						
Frithkollr	1	2	3				

	Cn	HCn 1	Hr	HCn 2
Grimulfr	2	3	1 2	x
Hildulfr	1 2	3		
Hrafn		3		
Iri	1 2			
Ketill	1 2			x
Kolgrímr	1	3		
Skúli			1	x
Selakollr	1			
Snækollr	1			
Styrkarr	1			
Styrkollr	1 2		1 2	x
Sunnulfr	1 2	3	1	
Svartr			1 2	x
Svertingr	1 2			
Sveinn			1 2	x
Thorgrímr		3	1 2	x
Tóki	1 2			
Ulfketill	1			
Ulfgrímr	1			

Old Irish

Crinan	2			
Crucan	2	3	1	
Dufacan			1	

OE 12, ON 35, OIr 3 (c.973-1016 OE 16, ON 45, OIr 6)

Summary

At York only a quarter of all the moneyers' names are Old English; this is the same proportion as for c.973-1016. A few of the Scandinavian names are found only in West Norse sources (Arngrímr, Kolgrímr, Snækollr) and Iri is suggestive of the mainly Norwegian traffic between York and Ireland. A significant number of the Scandinavian names at York are not found in Scandinavian sources at all and were therefore presumably coined from Scandinavian name-elements

in England. Particularly noticeable is the -kollr group, Frithkollr, Bretakollr, Selakollr, Styrkollr. Of these Bretakollr, Selakollr are formations with a genitive plural, not simple compounds, perhaps suggesting an original name Kollr with an added epithet 'of the Welsh', 'of the seals' alluding to some episode in the man's life. Alternatively the whole name may be such a nickname with kollr 'head' standing for 'man'. It is impossible to determine at what point such original nicknames, peculiarly applicable to one individual and conferred in later life, became names conferred on children at birth or baptism.

There are slightly fewer Irish names in the 1017-42 sample. Under Edgar-Æthelred the Celtic names belonged to the earlier part of the period, mostly in fact to before Æthelred's accession and with the exception of the problematical Oban (if indeed this is Celtic) there were no examples known in the prolific three last types of Æthelred's reign. The Cnut-Harthacnut moneyers' names, however, show that this strain in personal nomenclature in York was not, as might have appeared, dying out. Crucan and Crinan begin to mint c.1025, and Dufacan begins his career under Harold.

THE FIVE BOROUGHS

LINCOLN

Old English

	Gn			HCn 1	Hr		HCn 2
Alfnoth	1	2	3	1	2	x	
Elfric	1						
Ethelmær	1	2	3				
Ethelnoth	1						
Beorhtric		2	3	1		x	
Bruntat	1	2					
Cynewig			3				
Eadric				1		x	
Eadwine				1		x	
Godric	1	2	3	1	2	x	
Godwine	1	2	3		2		
Leofnoth				1	2		
Leofric	1	2					
Leofthegn		2		1?			
Leofwig		2		1	2		
Leofwine	1	2	3	1	2		
Leofing	1	2	3	1		x	
Mana	1	2					
Osfram		2					
Osmund		2		1	2	x	
Snelling	1						
Wulfgeat	1			1	2		
Wulfheah	1						
Wulfnoth	1	2			2		
Wulfric	1		3	1			
Wulfwine		2	3				

Old Norse

		Cn		HCn 1	Hr		HCn 2
Asfróthr	1	2	3		1	2	x
Asleikr	1	2	3		1		
Asgautr	1	2					
Authbjorn					1		x
Authgrímr						2	x
Drengr	1	2					
Grimketill	1	2					
Harthacnú			3		1		
Hildulfr			3				
Iusteinn	1	2					
Kolgrímr		2	3		1	2	x
Sumerlethi	1	2			1	2	x
Svafi			3		1		x
Svartr			3				
Svartbrandr	1	2	3		1		
Svertingr			3			2	x
Thorgrímr							x
Thorketill	1						
Thorsteinn					1		
Thorulfr							In North & BEH but see Smart Corrections 161
Váthlauss			3		1		
Ulfbjorn	1	2	3			2	possibly CG
Ulfgrímr	1						
Ulfketill	1	2					

Old Irish

Crinan	1	2	3			
Matathan	1	2	3	1		

	Cn		HCn 1	Hr	HCn 2
<u>Continental Germanic</u>					
Lindwine		2			
Liudramn				2	
Sunigaut	1	2			

OE 26, ON 23, OIr 2, CG 3 (c.973-1016 OE 32, ON 25, CG 3)

STAMFORD

Old English

Elfheah					2	x	
Elfwig	1						
Elfwine					2?		uncertain reading
Escman	1						
Ethelstan		2					
Brunstan	1						
Brunwine			3		1		x
Eadweard		2	3				
Eadwine	1	2					
Godric	1	2	3	x	1	2	x
Godwine	1	2	3	x	1	2	x
Leofdæg			3		1		
Leofing		2			1		
Leofric		2			1	2	x
Leofsige	1	2					
Leofweald		2					
Leofwine	1	2	3		1	2	x
Osweald	1	2					
Osweard		2	3		1		
Wulfsige	1?						

BEH but mint-signature doubtful

Old Norse

Arnketill						2	
Brandr	1						
Fargrím	1		3		1	2	x

	Cn			HCn 1	Hr		HCn 2
	1	2	3	1	2	x	
Svartr							
Svartbrandr	1						
Thorketill					2		
Thorsteinn	1	2	3	1		x	
Thorulfr		2	3	1	2	x	
Vilgrip					2	x	

Continental Germanic

Godleof	1						
Morulf	1	2	3				

uncertain

Cawelin or Capelin	1	2					
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OE 20, ON 9, CG 2 (3?) (c.973-1016 OE 24, ON 5, CG 3)

LEICESTER

Old English

Elfwig	1						
Ethelwig	1	2	3				
Ethelwine		2	3				
Sæwine						2	x
Wlancthegn	1	2					
Wulfnoth	1	2	3	1	2	x	
Wulfstan			3	1	2		
Wulfwine							x

OE 8 (c.973-1016 OE 7, ON 3)

DERBY

Old English

Blacmæn					1		
Godric						2	x
Osgar	1						
Wulfheah			3	1			x

Old Norse

Asbjorn	1						
Svartingr		2	3		1	2	x

OE 4 (3?), ON 2 (3?) (c. 973-1016 OE 6 (4?), ON 2 (4?))

NOTTINGHAM

	Cn			HCn 1	Hr		HCn 2
<u>Old English</u>							
Blacman		2	3		1	2	x
Bruning	1	2	3				
Osweald	1						
Wulfnoth							x
<u>Old Norse</u>							
Arnketill	1				1	2	x
Sægrímr			3				

OE 4, ON 2 (c.973-1016 OE 1, ON 1)

TORKSEY

Old Norse

Thorketill	1	2					
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ON 1 (c.973-1016 ON 1)

CAISTOR ?

Old English

Elfsige

1							
---	--	--	--	--	--	--	--

Old Norse

Thu[]

1							
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} mint-signature doubtful

OE 1, ON 1 (c.973-1016 OE 1)

Summary

The general overall pattern of distribution in the moneys' names of this area is similar to that of c.973-1016 in that a contrast may be seen between the two major mints of Lincoln and Stamford. At Lincoln almost half of the names are of Scandinavian or Hiberno-Scandinavian origin. At Stamford the Scandinavian names comprise less than a third.

The manning of the other mints in this area was clearly on a much smaller scale but Leicester has eight known moneys and, somewhat surprisingly, all the names there at this period are English. The small numbers at Derby and Nottingham are unsatisfactory statistically and the discovery of one coin with a new moneyer could upset the

balance but on the existing evidence the proportion of Scandinavian names is fairly high. If Osgar at Derby is in fact ON Asgeirr as has been suggested, the Scandinavian names equal the English in number, At Nottingham there are two Scandinavian to four English names, a proportion resembling that at Stamford. Torksey appears to continue as a one-moneyer mint manned by the Scandinavian-named Thurcetel. Whether or not the coins mint-signed CESÐ are to be given to Caistor in Lincolnshire remains doubtful.

In detail there are some differences between the period under review here and the earlier period c.973-1016. At both Lincoln and Stamford the proportion of Scandinavian names has noticeably increased, whilst at Leicester a not inconsiderable former Scandinavian presence has disappeared entirely. At Lincoln two OIr names make an appearance in this area for the first time, though possibly the name Scot on a doubtful Ethelred Long Cross reverse of Stamford may indicate a Hiberno-Scandinavian element there c.997-1003.

Most of the Scandinavian names are known from both East and West Scandinavian sources. A few are found only in East Scandinavian : Arnketill, Vilgrip, Harthacnut (known only in Danish where it is solely a royal name), Svafi, Ulfketill. Ulfbjorn is found in Scandinavia only on Danish coins at the end of the eleventh century, and it is not certain whether this should be regarded as evidence of Danish or Anglo-Scandinavian usage.

Sumerlethi and Kolgrímr on the other hand are not to be found in East Scandinavian sources. Kolgrímr is known only in Iceland and Sumerlethi appears to have originated in the Western Isles. A number of names are not evidenced at all in the Scandinavian homelands and may therefore be of Anglo-Scandinavian formation: Svartbrandr, Vathlauss, and the -grímr compounds Fargrímr, Segrímr, Ulfgrímr.

At Lincoln and Stamford a small Continental Germanic element,

which is not found elsewhere in this area, is maintained at about the same level as was found c.973-1016. At Stamford all these names are confined to Cnut's reign but at Lincoln Liadrafen < CG Liudramn strikes for Harold.

Since only Lincoln, Stamford and possibly Leicester provide figures which can be regarded as significant it is not possible to draw any conclusions as to boundaries within this area, though clearly the more northerly mints provide the denser concentration of Scandinavian influence. Where differences in the origins of names can be distinguished there are signs of a western Scandinavian presence at Lincoln which is lacking at Stamford and elsewhere. There is a small continental element amongst the moneyers of Lincoln and Stamford.

SOUTHERN DANIELAW

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NORWICH

Old English	Cn	HCn 1	Hr	HCn 2
Efic	1		1	
Elfric	1 2			
Elfweald			1 2	
Elfwine			1	
Ethelferth		3		
Eadmund	1			
Eadwacer	1			
Godwine	1			
Hringwulf	1 2			x
Hwatman	1 2			
Leofric	1 2			
Leofwine	1	3	1 2	x
Manna	1 2	3	1 2	x
Osmund				x
Osweald	1			
Sigeric		3		

also BEH HCn Type Ha

Old Norse

Asleikr		2			
Grim			K		
Thorfrithr	1 2				
Thorsteinn	1				

OE 15, ON 4 (c.973-1016 OE 18, ON 3, CG 3)

THETFORD

Old English

Elfwig	1		3		2	
Elfweald			3	1		
Elfwine	1 2	3		1 2	x	
Ethelmær				1		

	Cn		HCn 1	Hr	HCn 2
Beorhtnoth	1				
Brunstan	1	2	3	1	2 x
Ceolwig		2			
Deorwine	1				
Eadric	1	2			2 x
Eadwig	1				
Eadwine	1	2			
Ealdred	1				
Godman	1				
Godwine					x
Leofing	1	2			
Leofric	1	2			
Leofwine	1				
Manna	1				
Sprunt	1				
Stanmæc	1				
Tidred		2			x
Wineman		2	3		
Wulfmæc	1				

Old Norse

Asulfr	1				
Sægrimr					x
Sumarlithi	1				
Thorfrithr	1	2			
Valgestr	1				

OE 23, ON 5 (c.973-1016 OE 26, ON 5, CG 2)

HUNTINGDON

Old English

Ada		2	3		
Elfgar			3		
Elfnoth	1				

	Cn		HCn 1	Hr		HCn 2
Elfwine						x
Ethelweard	1					
Eadnoth	1	2				
Godman		2				
Godric	1					
Leofwine		2				
Stanmæ r	1					
Wulfstan			3			x
Wulfwig					2	
Wulfwine			3	1	2	x
Wynsige		2				

Old Norse

Farthegn	1					
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Continental Germanic

Godleof	1	2				
OE 14, ON 1, CG 1 (c.973-1016 OE 10, ON 1)						

CAMBRIDGE

Old English

Ada	1	2				
Elfwig	1	2	3	1	2	x
Cniht	1		3			
Eadwacer				1		
Eadwine		2	3			x
Godsunu						x
Godwine	1					x
Leofsige	1	2				
Osgat				1		
Wulfmæ r						x
Wulfsige	1	2				
Wulfwine				1	2	

Old Norse

	Cn		HCn 1	Hr	HCn 2
Grimr		2			
Steingrimr	1	2			
Styrkarr				2	
<u>uncertain</u>					
Ornst	1	2			

OE 12, ON 3, uncertain 1 (c.973-1016 OE 17, ON 1, CG 1, uncertain 1)

BEDFORD

Old English

Ethelgeat	1					
Ethelmann		2	3		2	
Godric	1					
Godwine	1					
Leofsige	1					
Leofthegn				1	2	
Leofwine	1	2	3			
Swota			3		2	x

Continental Germanic

Mangod		2
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OE 8, CG 1 (c.973-1016 OE 12, ON 2, CG 1)

SUDBURY

Old English

Brunman	1				
Sperling	1				
Mansige	1	2			
Branting	1				

OE 4 (c.973-1016 OE 10)

IPSWICH

Old English

	Cn			HCn 1	Hr	HCn 2
Ethelbeorht	1	2	3			2
Branting	1					
Eadric	1	2				
Leofing	1	2	3	1	2	x
Leofric	1	2				x
Leofsige	1					
Leofstan						x
Oda	1					

Old Norse

Fastulfr	1					
Vithfari				1	2	

Continental Germanic

Folcard	1					
Gotsalin		2				

OE 8, ON 2, CG 2 (c.973-1016 OE 15, ON 1, CG 1)

COLCHESTER

Old English

Elfwine	1	2				
Brunman	1					
Eadwine	1					
Godric	1	2	3	1	2	
Leofwine			3			
Wulfwine	1	2	3	1	2	x

OE 6 (c.973-1016 OE 17, ON 1)

HERTFORD

Old English

Deorsige	1	2	3	1	2	
Godman					2	
Leofing	1	2	3			
Leofric			3			

		Cn	HCn 1	Hr	HCn 2
Leofwine		2			
Wulfric	1				

OE 6 (c.973-1016 OE 13)

MALDON

Elfwine		2					
Ethelwine	1						
Ceolnoth	1	2					
Godhere		2					
Godman					2		or possibly Malmesbury
Godwine	1						
Leofthegn					1		or possibly Malmesbury
Leofwine		2					
Wulfwine					1		

OE 9 (c.973-1016 OE 6, ON 1)

NORTHAMPTON

Elfwine			3		1	2	x
Cynsige		2					
Eadwine	1						
Godric		2				2	x
Leofnoth	1	2					
Leofweald	1						
Leofwine	1	2	3		1	2	

OE 7 (c.973-1016 OE 15, ON 3, CG 2)

Summary

In this area the pattern again is similar in general outline to that of c.973-1016 though there are differences in detail. Scandinavian names are present but in much smaller proportions than at Lincoln and Stamford and are generally less frequent than in the other mints of the more northerly Danelaw area discussed above, with the exception of Leicester where no Scandinavian names were found at this period.

In the two major and two smaller mints which show the greatest proportion of Scandinavian names, Norwich, Thetford, Cambridge and Ipswich, there has actually been an increase in the proportion since the earlier period c.973-1016. On the other hand Huntingdon shows a slight decline and Bedford, Colchester, Maldon and most significantly and surprisingly Northampton have lost all traces of the former Scandinavian presence amongst their moneyers. At Colchester and Maldon this presence depends solely on the moneyer Toca (ON Tóki) who seems to have moved to the coastal borough c. 997 and to have ended his career there before 1003. At Bedford Grim had ceased striking before Æthelred's accession and Gunni does not appear after c.1003. Turning to Northampton two moneyers Cytel and Thurførth strike only for Edgar and Edward the Martyr* and Thurcetel is known for the Crux type c. 991-997. It must always be kept in mind that these are small mints and their figures are very susceptible to the chances of survival but it certainly appears that in those mints in this area where the Scandinavian presence is lacking c.1017 to 1042 it has already disappeared before 1003.

It would be simplistic to invoke too glibly the massacre of St. Brice's Day 1002 when Æthelred ordered "all the Danish men in England" to be killed, but this is exactly the area where the effect of such an event might be most felt. In such towns as York, Chester and Lincoln, even in Stamford and Norwich, the Scandinavians would have been strong enough to band together for self-protection, whilst in the south of England there would have been few Danes anyway. In the southern Danelaw where it appears they had settled, but in smaller numbers, they would have been more vulnerable.

None of the Scandinavian names in this area can be specifically designated East or West Scandinavian but a few are probably Anglo-

* CYTEL (975-8)BM; DVRFERE (973-5) sold Sotheby 23.5.1966, BNJ xxxvi 1967 p.56.

Scandinavian formations: Sægrimr, Valgestr, and Sumarlithi was probably originally from the Western Isles.

Continental Germanic names are present at Huntingdon, Bedford and Ipswich. In addition, at Cambridge Ornst, Ornost etc., though it frequently has the form of the OE appellative, may be a Continental name anglicised. Similarly Eadwacer at Norwich and Cambridge may well have arisen through Continental Germanic influence.

LONDON

=====

Old English

	Cn		HCn 1	Hr	HCn 2		
Ælfgar	2	3					
Ælfgeat	2						
Ælfheah	2	3					
Ælfnoth				1			
Ælfræd	2	3		1	2		
Ælfric	2	3		1	2	x	
Ælfstan	1	2	3				
Ælfweald				1			
Ælfweard	1	2	3				
Ælfwig	1	2	3				
Ælfwine	1	2	3			x	
Æthelric	1	2				ÆLRIC, possibly = Ælfric	
Æthelweard	1	2				x	
Æthelwig	1	2	3				
Æthelwine	1	2	3	1		x	
Beorhtferth	1						
Beorhtmæc	1	2	3	1	2	x	
Beorhtnoth	1	2	3				
Beorhtwæd		2	3	1			
Beorhtweald	1						
Beorhtwine						x	
Brun	1			x	1	x	
Brungar		2	3		1	2	x
Bruning	1	2	3	x	1		
Brunman	1	2	3	K	1		
Cynwig					1		
Cynweald					1		
Deoring		2					
Deorman					1		

	Cn		HCn 1	Hr	HCn 2
Deorsige	1	1			
Duding			x	1	
Dunstan	1	2			
Eadgar	1	2			
Eadmund	1	2	3		
Eadnoth	1				
Eadræd		2	3	1	
Eadric	1	2	3	1	2 x
Eadweald	1	2	3	x	2 x
Eadweard	1	2	3	x	2 x
Eadwig	1	2	3	1	x
Eadwine	1	2	3	1	2 x
Eadwulf		2	3		
Ealdgar			3		
Ealdræd	1				
Freth/Friðuwinæ	1				
Goda	1	2	3	x	1 x
Godhere	1	2	3		
Goding			3		
Godman	1	2	3	1	x
Godric	1	2	3	1	2 HCn 1/Hr 2 mule
Godric Calic					x
Godsige					2
Godwine	1	2	3	1	2 x
Godwine Stewer				1	
Godsige				1	2 x
Leofgar		2			
Leofmæc		2			
Leofræd	1	2	3	1	2 x
Leofræd Brun					x
Leofric	1	2	3	1	2

	Cn		HCn 1	Hr	HCn 2		
Leofsige	1	2					
Leofstan	1	2	3	x	1	2	x
Leofweald	1	2	3				
Leofweard	1	2	3				
Leofwig	1	2	3			2	
Leofwine	1	2	3		1		
Lyfing, Leofing	1	2	3		1	2	x
Oswulf	1						
Sigenoth	1	2					
Sigeræd		2					
Sigeward	1						
Stithwulf		2					
Swetman			3				
Sweting	1		3				
Theodræd		2					
Widia					1		
Wulfgar	1	2	3	K	1		
Wulfmær		2					
Wulfnoth	1	2			1?		Hr 1 PVLHN
Wulfræd	1	2	3				x
Wulfric	1	2	3				
Wulfsige			3				
Wulfstan							x
Wulfweard	1?						PVLFERD = Wulfæd ?
Wulfwine	1	2	3		1		
Wynsige	1	2	3		1	2	
Wynsige Wamanea					1		
Wynstan	1	2					
<u>Old Norse</u>							
Borsti	1						
Corf					1	2	x
Farmann					1		
Iric		2					
Sveinn ?			3				

	Cn		HCn 1
Toca	1	2	x
Thorsteinn		2	x

Continental Germanic

Colman	1			
Godleof		2		

OE 88, ON 5, CG 2 (c.973-1016 OE 93, ON 7, CG 3)

Summary

The London names are overwhelmingly Old English. The Scandinavian element is very small and most of the names which may be designated as Scandinavian are uncertain or atypical. Thorsteinn, found in the forms DORSTEN, DORSTN, i.e. not anglicised to -stan as at Lincoln and Stamford, is certainly Scandinavian. Toca in Old English is probably derived from ON Tóki, but its distribution as a moneyer's name at this period (found at York but also London, Southwark, Cricklade, and at Winchester under Ethelred) is curiously southern-based for a Scandinavian name and suggests some degree of assimilation into English. Borstig is known from only one coin but is likely to be of Scandinavian origin; Corf is found in several types and like Borstig seems to be of the original byname formation; possibly connected with Scandinavian kurfr, korver, it is not known as a name in Scandinavia and may be native. The coin-form Fareman may represent the Scandinavian name Farmann but the Continental Germanic name Far(a)man is at least as likely as an etymon. In addition, the form DORED is found on a Quatrefoil (Cn 1) reverse in the imitative series; if this is copying a true Quatrefoil coin now lost, it reflects the Scandinavian name Thorróthr at London.

Three names are possibly of Continental Germanic origin; Fareman discussed above, Godleof which is probably an anglicisation of a name in -leub, and Colman which is in southern English sources more usually continental than the Old Irish Colman 'dove'.

London thus, at the stratum from which moneyers were recruited, seems surprisingly uncosmopolitan. There is plenty of evidence for foreign merchants in London from the German empire and northern France, and from Scandinavia¹ but presumably there was very little permanent settlement of a kind which might result in moneyers bearing Continental Germanic or Scandinavian names. A twelfth-century customal which incorporates older matter states that Danes and Norwegians were free to dwell in the city for a whole year, suggesting that a longer sojourn was not usual or to be encouraged. Nor has the accession of the Danish king Cnut brought any increase in the proportion of Scandinavian moneyers over the similarly meagre handful who minted at London for Æthelred.

¹ Sawyer TRHS 1965; Stenton ASE p. 533.

SOUTHERN ENGLAND

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BUCKINGHAM

<u>Old English</u>	Cn		HCn 1	Hr		HCn 2
Beorhtwine				1		
Leofric	1	2				
Leofwine					2	

OE 3 (c.973-1016 OE 3)

AYLESBURY

Old English

Elfweard	1					
Ethelwine	1					
Eadric	1					
Eadweard	1					

OE 4 (c.973-1016 OE 2)

OXFORD

Old English

Elfwine	1	2	3			2	x
Elfweald	1	2	3				
Ethelmer						2	
Ethelric	1	2	3	x			x
Ethelwig				x	1	2	x
Ethelwine				x		2	x
Beorhtwine				K			
Eadwig	1	2	3				x
Eadwine			3				
Godman	1						
Godwine	1	2	3	x	1	2	x
"Lafdensic"				x			
Leofing	1	2	3		1	2	x
Leofwine					1	2	
Sewine	1						

	Cn			HCn 1	Hr		HCn 2
Sibwine	1						
Wulfmæc	1						
Wulfwig	1						
Wulfwine	1	2	3				

Continental Germanic

Colman	1	2	3		2	also Hr 1/2 mule
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OE 18, CG 1 (c.973-1016 OE 14, CG 1)

CRICKLADE

Old English

Elfwine	1?	2	3		2	ÆLPINE in Cn 1 = Æthelwine?
Æthelwine	1	2	3	1	2	x
Godman	1					
Godwine		2				
Leofing			3			
Siduwine	1					
Wulfwine		2				

Old Norse

Tóki	1					
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OE 7, ON 1 (c.973-1016 OE 8, ON 1, CG 1)

MALMESBURY

Old English

Beorhtnoth		2					
Beorhtstan	1						
Godman		2					possibly Maldon
Hunna		2	3	x	1	2	x
Leofthegn					1		possibly Maldon

OE 5 (C. 973-1016 OE 5)

BRISTOL

Old English

Elfweard					1	2	
Elfwine	1						

	Cn			HCn 1	Hr		HCn 2
Ethelstan							x
Ethelwine	1		3		1		x
Godman	1						
Leafwine			3		1	2	
Sæwine				K	1	2	
Wulfnoth						2	
Wulfstan			3				
Wulfwine	1			x		2	x
Wynsige	1						

OE 11 (not known as a mint c.973-1016)

AXBRIDGE

Old English

Elfric	1							
Ethe[]		2						fragment BEH
Goda ?		2						doubtful coin in BM, BNJ xxx p.64
Golda				x				
Goldcyta				x				
Hunewine	1							
Leofric					x			
Leafwine			3					x

OE 7 (c.973-1016 OE 1)

WALLINGFORD

Old English

Elfric						2?	x	ELFRIC (Hr 2)
Elfwine		2	3					
Ethelric ?						2?		ELFRIC
Ethelwig			3	K	1	2	x	
Ethelwine			3		1	2	x	
Brunwine ?							x	BRITWINE
Burhwine	1			x	1	2	x	
Eadweard	1	2	3	K		2		

	Cn	HCn 1	Hr	HCn 2
Eadwine	1			
Godwine		3		
Leofing		2		
Leofwine		3	2	x
Mana	1	2		
Wulfwine		2		
Continental Germanic				
Colman	1	2		

OE 14, CG 1 (c.973-1016 OE 16)

Old English

BATH

Elfric	1	2	3				
Elfweald	1	2					
Elfwig					1		
Elfwine	1	2					
Ethelmar			3	x	1	2	x
Ethelric	1	2					
Ethelstan	1	2	3				
Ethelwine			3	x			
Bruning		2?					
Eadstan	1?						
Leofsige	2						
Wædel				x	1	2	x

unusual mint-signature BÆDEA

do: BAIA

Old English 12 (c.973-1016 OE 10)

GUILDFORD

Old English

Elfweald			3				
Blacman			3	x		2	
Smeawine	1						
Wulfsige	1						

OE 4 (c.973-1016 OE 5)

SOUTHWARK

<u>Old English</u>	Cn		HCn 1	Hr	HCn 2	
Elfgar	1	2				
Elfric					x	
Elfsige	1					
Elfweard	1					
Elfwine	1	2				
Ethelric	1	2				
Ethelwig	1?				x	ELPIC (Cn 1)
Ethelwine	1		3		x	
Beorhtmar	1					
Eadnoth		2				
Eadweard	1					
Eadwine	1	2				
Godwine		2				
Hunman	1					
Leofing		2	3			
Leofric	1			K x 1		
Sigeweard	1					
Wulfric	1					
Wulfsige	1					
Wulfstan	1					

Old Norse

Swegen	1					
Toki	1					

OE 20, ON 2 (c.973-1016 OE 13, ON ?1)

ROCHESTER

Old English

Elfheah	1	2	3	x	1	
Elfweald	1					
Eadnoth	1					
Godwine	1	2	3	x	1	

	Cn	HCn 1	Hr	HCn 2
Leofric	2			
Wulfric		3		

OE 6 (c.973-1016 OE 13)

CANTERBURY

Old English

Elfræd		2	3	x	1	2	x	
Elfric			3		1			
Elfwine	1							
Beorhtræd			3		1			
Eadweald	1							
Eadwine		2						
Godman		2						
Godric	1	2				2		
Godsunu							x?	possibly Cambridge
Godwine		2	3					
Leofing					1			
Leofnoth	1	2	3		1	2		
Leofstan	1					2		also Hr 1/2 mule
Leofwig			3	x				
Leofwine	1	2	3	x	1		x	
Winedæg	1	2	3	x	1			
Wulfstan	1	2						
Wulfwig		2	3			2		
Wulfwig Ubi							x	
Wulfwine						2		
Wynræd		2	3		1			

Old Norse

Ketill					1	2	x
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Continental Germanic

Gyldwine					1	2	x	probably the same moneyer appears as CALDPINE
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OE 21, ON 1, CG 1 (c.973-1016 OE 20)

DOVER

Old English

	Cn		HCn 1	Hr		HCn 2
Elfstan			3			
Beorhtmær	1					
Boga			3 x	1	2	x
Cynsige		2	3			
Cynstan			3 x	1	2	x
Eadsige	1	2	3 K x	1		
Eadwine	1		3 x	1	2	x
Godman	1					
Leofric			3			
Leofwine	1	2	3 K x			
Nanning	1					
<u>Old Norse</u> Swartafe		2				

OE 11, ON (c.973-1016 OE 16)

LYMPNE

Old English

Godric			3			
Leofwine	1					
<u>Continental Germanic ?</u>						
Iounus	1					

OE 2, CG? 1 (c.973-1016 OE 9)

ROMNEY

Old English

Eadmær						2
Eardnoth	1					
Godman			3			
Godric?		2				
Godwine		2		1	2	
Wulfnoth	1	2	3	x	1	2

reading uncertain, Godwine?

OE 6 (c.973-1016 OE 5)

HASTINGS

<u>Old English</u>	Cn			HCn 1	Hr		HCn 2
Alfræd		2	3	x	1	2	x
Alfweard	1	2	3		1	2	x
Ethelsige	1	2					
Brid			3	x	1	2	
Cynwine					1		
Eadsige		2					
Eadwine					1		
Leofing						2	
Leofwine							x
Wulfnoth			3				

OE 10 (c.973-1016 OE 6)

LEWES

<u>Old English</u>							
Alfweard	1	2	3				
Alfwine	1						
Eadweard				x	1	2	x
Eadwine		2	3		1	2	x
Ealdred	1						
Godman	1						
Godwig	1						
Leofa	1	2					
Leofsige	1						
Leofwine	1						

Continental Germanic

Caldewine							x
Collini ?		2					
Godeferth	1	2	3				

<u>uncertain</u>	Cn			HCn 1	Hr		HCn 2
Northman				x			x

OE 11, CG 3? uncertain 1 (c.973-1016 OE 15, ON 1, CG 2)

STEYNING

Old English

Fræthi, Frithu- wine			3	x		2	
Widia		2	3				

OE 2

CISSBURY

Old English

Leofwine	1						
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OE 1 (c.973-1016 OE 2)

'GOTHABURH'

Old English

Ælfweard							x
Leofmær					1	2	x
Wulfmær	1						

Old Norse

Carla	1						
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OE 3, ON 1 (c.973-1016 OE 2)

EXETER

Old English

Æfic			3				
Ælfstan		2					x
Ælfwine		2	3				
Dodda		2					
Eadmær	1	2			1	2	x
Eadsige	1	2	3		1		
Eadsige Ware			3				

	Cn		HCn 1	Hr	HCn 2
Eadwine		3		2	
Ealdabeard	2				
Goda	1	2			
Godwine	1			2	
Hunman		3	1		
Hunwine	1				
Leofwine		2			
Nana		2			
Sæwine	1	2			
Wine	1				
Wulfnoth			x	1	2
Wulftric	1				
Wulfsige	1				
Wulfstan		2	3		
Wulfweard		2			

Old Norse

Carla	1			K	1	
Skuli		2	3			
Thorgautr	1					

Continental Germanic

Godbryt		2				
Hærra				x	1	
Isegod	1					
Manleof					2	x
Thegnwine			3	x		

OE 22, ON 3, CG 5 (c.973-1016 OE 30, ON 3, CG 4)

LYDFORD

Old English

Ælfric				1		
Elfwine					2	x

	Cn		HCn 1	Hr	HCn 2
Bruna	1				
Godric	1				
Hunwine	1	2			
Sæwine	1	2			
<u>Old Norse</u>					
Viking			3		

OE 5, ON 1 (c.973-1016 OE 7)

TOTNES

Old English

Elfwine		2			
Leofgar	1				
Wulfweard		2			

Old Norse

Farmann			K		x
Thorgautr	1				

OE 3, ON 2 (c.973-1016 OE 11)

BARNSTAPLE

Old English

Elfgar	1	2	3		2	
Ata	1	2				
Beorht(?)sige ¹						BYRHSIE

OE 3 (c.973-1016 OE 6)

WATCHET

Old English

Godcild	1	2	3	x	1	2	x
Hunwine	1						

OE 2 (c.973-1016 OE 2)

LANGPORT

<u>Old English</u>	Cn	HCn 1	Hr	HCn 2
Elfweard			1	
Elfsige	1			
Ethelwine	1	3	x 1	
Dunbeard				x
Goda		3		
Godwine	1			

OE 6 (c.973-1016 not known as a mint)

TAUNTON

<u>Old English</u>						
Elfsige	1					
Beorht(?)stan	1					BYRHSTAN
Boga						x
Eadric	1	2			2	x
Leofwine	1		3			

also a coin reading EDPNC in BEH may = this moneyer

OE 5 (c.973-1016 OE 2)

CREWKERNE

<u>Old English</u>					
Beorhtric				1	
Beorhtwig		2	3		
Winas/us	1	2	3		

OE 3 (c.973-1016 OE 1)

BRIDPORT

<u>Old English</u>					
Elfweald		2			
Ethelmær			3		
Godric	1				
Hwætman				x	

OE 4 (c.973-1016 OE 3)

Cn
HCn 1
Hr
HCn 2

ILCHESTER

Old English

	Cn	HCn 1	Hr	HCn 2	
Elfnoth		2			
Elfsige	1				
Elfwine	1	2	3		
Elfwine Mus		2			
Ethelmær	1				
Ethelwig	1	2	3	x	
Ethelwine				x	1
Cæfel			3		
God	1				
Godric			3		2
Godwine	1				x
Leofwine		2?			mint-signature uncertain
Oswig	1				
Wulfhelm	1				

OE 14 (c.973-1016 OE 10)

CADBURY

Old English

Alfhelm							
Winas	1						

OE 2 (c. 973-1016 OE 4)

BRUTON

Old English

Alfhelm	1	2	3				
Elfwine	1						
Godric				x			

OE 3 (c.973-1016 OE 1)

DORCHESTER

Old English	Cn			HCn 1	Hr		HCn 2
Aethelric				x	1		
Godwine						2	x
Hwætman						2	x
Swet		2	3				
Wulfsige	1						

OE 5 (c.973-1016 OE 2)

WAREHAM

Old English

Elfgar			3			
Oda	1					
Siduman					2	x

OE 3 (c.973-1016 OE 6)

WILTON

Old English

Alfræd			3			
Elfstan	1	2	3	1	2	
Elfwine						x
Aethelmær	1					
Goldstan				1	2	
Leofing					2	

ÆLMÆR: possibly = Ælfmær

OE 6 (c.973-1016 OE 11)

WARMINSTER

Old English

Beorhtric			3		
Wulfstan				1	

Continental Germanic

Winegod		2			
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OE 2, CG 1 (c.973-1016 OE 2)

SHAFTESBURY

<u>Old English</u>	Cn			HCn 1	Hr	HCn 2	
Elfwine	1						
Ethelric	1	2	3	x	1	x	
Ethelwine	1						
Bolla	1	2					
Goda	1	2	3				
Leofstan					2?		mint-signature uncertain
Lufa	1						
Sæwine	1						
Wulfnoth				K			
Wulfric					2		

OE 10 (c.973-1016 OE 11)

SALISBURY

<u>Old English</u>	1	2	3		1	2	
Elfnoth	1	2					
Elfræd	1		3		1	2	
Elfwine	1	2					
Eadsige			3?				error for Shrewsbury?
Godwine	1	2	3				
Goldstan				x			
Goldus	1	2					
Leofstan		2		K		2	
Leofweald	1						
Sæman	1						
Wineman							x
Wynstan	1	2			1	2	x

OE 12 (c.973-1016 OE 5)

MILBORNE PORT

Old English

Godwine						
Swetric		2	3			

OE 2 (c.973-1016 OE 1)

SOUTHAMPTON

Old English

	Cn		HCn 1	Hr		HCn 2	
Ælfsige	1						
Ælfweard	1						
Leofwine	1?						possibly Northampton

Continental Germanic

Sigeboda	1						
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Old English 3, CG 1 (c.973-1016 OE 9, CG 1)

CHICHESTER

Old English

Ælfric			3		1	2		
Æthelhelm	1	2	3					
Beorhtnoth	1							
Goda						2		
Godric						2		
Leofric	1	2	3		1	2	x	
Leofwig		2?						possibly = Leofwine
Leofwine	1	2	3	x				
Wulfnoth	1							

OE 9 (c.973-1016 OE 13)

WINCHESTER

Old English

Ælfheah		2	3					
Ælfhelm	1							
Ælfræd				x				
Ælfric					1?			possibly ÆGLRIC
Ælfsige	1	2	3					
Ælfstan	1	2				2?		coin in BEH but missing
Ælfweald	1							

	Cn			HCn 1	Hr		HCn 2
Ælfweard	1						
Ælfwine	1			x	1	2	x
Æthelric	1	2	3	x	1		
Æthelstan		2	3	x	1	2	x
Æthelstan Loc			3				
Æthelwig						2	x
Æthelwine	1						
Beorhtnoth	1						
Brunstan	1						
Burhweald		2					
Cynna	1						
Eadweard	1	2					
Eadwine	1					2	
Goda		2	3				
Godman					1		x
Godric							
Godwine	1	2	3	x		2	x
Godwine Coc/ Ceoca			3	x	1		x
Godwine Cas			3				
Godwine Widia			3	x	1		x
Leodmæc		2	3	x	1	2	x
Leofing	1					2	x
Leofric						2?	perhaps Worcester
Leofsunu	1						
Leofstan	1						
Leofweald	1	2					
Leofwine	1	2				2	
Oda	1	2					
Ordbeorht	1						
Sæweard						2	x
Sæwine	1						x
Sæolca	1						

	Cn			HCn 1	Hr		HCn 2	
Sigegar	1							
Smeawine ?	1				1	2	x	SNÆPINE
Spileman	1		3					
Spraculf						2		
Widia					1	2	x	
Wihtsige	1	2						
Wine	1	2						
Wulfnoth	1	2	3		1	2		
Wulfric	1							

Continental Germanic

Sigeboda	1	2						
Iseward							x	
<u>uncertain</u>								
Sparhafoc	1	2						

OE 48, CG 2 (c.973-1016 OE 43, ON 1, CG 5)

Summary

This is the area where Scandinavian names are fewest, and historically settlement was negligible. However, Scandinavian names do occur here, if not in any great numbers. To some extent they may be due to an increasing popularity of Scandinavian names and a consequent borrowing outside the Danelaw, rather than actual settlement, and this one might expect to happen mainly with the commoner names.

The Scandinavian names in the south are not by any means equally distributed, but appear mainly in two groups, one in the south-eastern peninsula and the other in the extreme south-west. With the exception of Toca at Cricklade, which probably derives from ON Tóki, the central area is devoid of Scandinavian names. In the

western group, to the Cytel and Thurgod (ON Ketill, Thorgautr) and the slightly less certain Carla (ON Karli) who struck at Exeter for Æthelred we have to add Skula < ON Skúli. Thurgod appears again at Totnes along with Farman which may be a Scandinavian name, Carla appears again at 'Gothaburh' which is known to have been in the vicinity of Exeter,¹ and the enigmatic Wicinc is found at Lydford; whatever the precise etymology of this name it is hard to believe it owes nothing to Scandinavian influence.

In the east we find Toca again at Southwark along with the indubitably Scandinavian Swegen. In Æthelred's reign a Scandinavian presence in Southwark is dubious² though both Toca and Swegen belong to the beginning of Cnut's reign. A Scandinavian settlement in Southwark at least by the middle of the eleventh century has been inferred by Professor Brooke³ from the dedication of a church there to St. Olaf; possibly this represents an extension of a London settlement westwards and southwards outside the City itself.

At Canterbury Scandinavian influence appearing for the first time in the Harthacnut and Harold moneyer's name Cytel is reinforced by Swertafe < ON Svarthofthi at Dover. At Lewes a Northman strikes for Harthacnut; etymologies other than Scandinavian are possible, but one recalls Onlaf at Lewes at the end of Æthelred's reign.

As for the earlier period, Continental names are fairly frequent in this area. They occur at Oxford and Wallingford (Colman), Lympne (Iounus),^{with} no fewer than five names at Exeter and three at both Lewes and Winchester, Southampton (Sigeboda) and Canterbury (Gyldewine). The concentration of this category of names tends to be towards the south coast and shows a continuing royal approval of immigrants from the continent.

¹ For the die-linking and other evidence that places this mint in the west country see Dolley in BNJ xxviii 1956 pp. 270-7.

² Moneyers c.973-1016¹ p.259

³ C.N.L.Brooke, London 800-1216, the shaping of a city, p.141-2.

General Summary

Perhaps the most obvious conclusion to be drawn from this study is that there is very little difference to be noted generally between the patterns c.973-1016 and the continuing period up to 1042. This is in some ways only to be expected since the earlier pattern itself was mainly the result of a yet earlier settlement, but it is worth noting that at the level of society from which the moneyers were recruited the establishment on the English throne of a Danish dynasty has left very little mark. This is in contrast with changes amongst the landowning classes¹, and must surely reflect the fact that expertise in striking coins lay with the English and could not easily be supplied from the resources of the largely coinless Danes, whose own infant coinage was dependent on English prototypes and probably for many years to come on English craftsmen.

Only in detail is there any difference in the balance of English and Scandinavian names. At Lincoln and Stamford the proportion of Scandinavian names has increased slightly, and similarly in the southern Danelaw with Norwich, Thetford, Cambridge and Ipswich. On the other hand at certain mints where there had earlier been Scandinavian-named moneyers such names have disappeared; in these cases the post-1016 pattern is a continuation of the situation at the end of Æthelred's reign and may be the result of anti-Scandinavian action in the early years following the millenium. In the extreme south-west and south-east there appears to be a slight increase in Scandinavian names, but they appear only in areas where they were already present before 1016.

York still has the heaviest concentration of Scandinavian names, followed by Lincoln, Chester and Stamford. Moving

southwards into the Danelaw south of the Trent the proportion of Scandinavian names begins to decline significantly and in fact the formal boundary seems to be unimportant since "Danelaw" mints such as Hertford, Northampton, Maldon and Colchester lack Scandinavian names just as do the "English" mints both to the south and the west.

The point was considered whether some of the larger boroughs had a localised effect that made them unrepresentative of the areas in which they are situated. Chester had a higher proportion of Hiberno-Scandinavian names than could be discovered in the rest of the north-west, but other evidence suggests that it is not the presence of a thriving city at Chester which has had this effect but the relatively higher density of settlement by Norse and Irish in the Wirral. The Scandinavian presence in London, and to some extent in Southwark, though small is nevertheless larger than might be expected from purely geographical reasons, but the peculiar historical role of London must certainly be taken into consideration. Exeter appears on the showing of its coins to have been a decidedly cosmopolitan centre and the towns and ports of the south-east may similarly have attracted foreigners, both Scandinavian and continental, but in a way that is quite separate from the earlier colonisation of the north.

Only in a very few individual cases is it possible to distinguish the origin of Scandinavian names in their homelands from the names appearing on the Anglo-Saxon coinage of this period, and no significant distribution-pattern can be plotted.

Continental names, though not numerous, are widespread, lacking only in the north-western area and York. I have noted elsewhere ² the radical difference in this respect between the manning of the York mint in the time of the Norse kings and

at the end of the tenth century, and there has been no new influx of Continental names in the period under review here. Elsewhere they are not confined to coastal towns, though the pattern of boroughs on navigable rivers may have its part to play.

Any Celtic names which appear are in heavily Scandinavianised areas and are most probably to be associated with Scandinavian settlement via Ireland.

In my introduction to volume 28, the cumulative index, to the Sylloge of Coins of the British Isles, I have summarised the developments in the names found on the Anglo-Saxon coinage, and those which appear on the pence of Cnut and his sons are typical of the trends discernable in the last phase of the pre-conquest period. In Old English a certain poverty of invention was setting in. In the bi-elemental compounds the number of productive elements was decreasing and certain stereotyped compounds were in the process of swallowing up the old Germanic practice of free variation. The old suffixes had largely fallen into disuse, so that we come upon a name like Ucede with almost the sense of something archaic. The originally patronymic suffix -ing, however, is the exception and seems to have taken on a new strength, possibly under the influence of Scandinavian names in -ingr and now with a descriptive rather than a patronymic value.

In contrast with the Old English names there is evidence that new name-forming amongst the Scandinavians continued to be vigorous, since many names not found in the Scandinavian homelands appear in northern England which are either formed from Scandinavian elements known in other names or are original bynames drawn from Scandinavian vocabulary. In some non-Scandinavian areas also, original byname or nickname type names occur, and

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although it is often difficult to distinguish between the cognate Old English and Old Norse languages it does seem likely that this type of name-giving was also being practised using English words, possibly from knowledge of the Scandinavian usage, and going some way to amplify the failing stock of traditional Old English names.

¹ Stenton Anglo-Saxon England 407

² In a note on moneyers' names to the Merseyside Museum Sylloge volume, in the press.

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