

Economic Migrants? Continental moneyers' names on the tenth-century English coinage¹

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It has long been recognised and commented upon, that a significant number of the moneyers of the tenth century coinage in England bear names which are neither Old English, nor Scandinavian, but originated on the mainland continent of Europe. This was particularly evident amongst the intelligible names on the St Edmund memorial coinage of East Anglia² but this class of names also appears widely throughout the country up to Edgar's reform, and to a lesser extent thereafter.

All scholars of personal names, especially those working on the early mediaeval period, will be familiar with Forssner's work on continental names in England, part of that great burst of activity, mostly centred on Uppsala, in the earlier part of the twentieth century, which gave us what are still standard reference works today.³ However, from the point of view of the moneyers' names, at that time there had been little progress after Hildebrand's catalogue of the Stockholm collection⁴ and the British Museum catalogue of the Anglo-Saxon collection of 1887.⁵ Stockholm then had only five coins dating from before Edgar's reform of c. 973, so onomasts were heavily dependent on the British Museum lists. The coins actually in that collection are for the

¹ I would like to acknowledge, with many thanks, the invaluable assistance of Dr C. S. S. Lyon, who read an earlier draft of this paper and was not only able to refine the attribution of coins in western and west central Mercia, formerly all classified as North-western, but to supply information on coins not previously known to me, and generally to offer many helpful suggestions.

² V. Smart, 'The moneyers of St Edmund', *Hikuin*, 11 (1985), 83–90.

³ T. Forssner, *Continental Germanic personal names in England in Old and Middle English Times*, (Uppsala, 1916) [hereafter FCG].

⁴ B. E. Hildebrand, *Anglosachsiska Mynt* (Stockholm, 1881).

⁵ H. A. Grueber and C. F. Keary, *A Catalogue of English coins in the British Museum. Anglo-Saxon Series*, 2 vols (London, 1887-93).

most part accurately transcribed, although there were misreadings which have since been rectified. Less satisfactory are the italicised portions of the lists, which purport to complement the collection with names from other sources. Many of these are difficult to trace, and have, if found, frequently proved to be mistranscriptions or misattributions. In 1916, recourse to the coins themselves in scattered foreign or private collections would have presented considerable difficulty. Moreover, since then the quantity of finds has greatly extended the number of surviving coins, so that it is evident that the information from which Forssner worked was neither complete nor authoritative.

In the second half of the twentieth century Anglo-Saxon numismatics advanced by leaps and bounds. The tenth century is very complex, but a great deal of light has been shed upon it by the publication of the first volume of the present-day British Museum material in the *Sylloge* series⁶ and its invaluable companion volume on coinage in tenth century England.⁷ Christopher Blunt had already published a definitive study of Æthelstan's coinage.⁸ These studies have enabled us to look at the tenth century moneyers in a much more detailed way, especially with regard to locating whereabouts in England they were working. Unlike the post-Reform coinages, where the moneyer is invariably linked with the mint-name, mint-signatures in the earlier tenth century are inconsistent. There is a great swathe of eastern England where they are totally lacking, and elsewhere in those so-called "Horizontal" types, where the legend is displayed across the field of the reverse rather than in circumscription, they are scarcely ever to be found. Even in the Circumscription types many coins have no mint-signature. Blunt and his colleagues, by an intricate exploration of stylistic features, linked to mint-signatures where they exist, and the careers of moneyers, have been able to establish a geographical scheme of die-production. This is of course not always indicative of a specific mint; it can tell us that a

⁶ M. M. Archibald and C. E. Blunt, *Sylloge of Coins of the British Isles*, 34, *British Museum: Anglo-Saxon Coins*, Part 5, *Æthelstan to the Reform of Edgar* (London, 1986) [hereafter SCBI].

⁷ C. E. Blunt, C. S. S. Lyon and B. H. I. H Stewart, *Coinage in Tenth-Century England*, (Oxford, 1989) [hereafter CTCE].

⁸ C. E. Blunt, 'The Coinage of Athelstan', *British Numismatic Journal*, 42 (1973), 38–160 [hereafter Blunt Ath].

given moneyer was acquiring dies from a particular regional centre, and we may assume that it was in the area where he was active.

In the tenth century up to Edgar's reform, there is no single line of coin-types. There was no unified type for the whole country; rather, several types might be current in different areas, and when one area changed type, another might continue with its existing one. The main types which cross all six reigns from Edward the Elder to Edgar are Circumscription, Horizontal, and Bust, Crowned or Diademed (or more rarely Helmeted). A few rare Ornamental issues also exist, with floral or architectural (?) devices.

Having explained a little of the numismatic background, we can begin to look at the moneyers' names. I refer to them as Continental Germanic—in this context they are Frankish or Flemish rather than High German. The Romance names are likely to have come from the territory which is now France, but phonological differences in names of Germanic origin have been largely planed out in the transmission process. As to designating names Continental rather than Old English, in some cases this is a matter only of reasonable probability. Ecclesiastical names, such as Paul, Daniel and Benedict, were not given by the Anglo-Saxons, but in some cases where we find them in the north-west, the bearers may have been from the Hiberno-Scandinavian community rather than from the continent. We can say that some names and name-elements are characteristic of one Germanic area rather than another, but it is dangerous to argue from absence. Nevertheless, enough continental names have come through to be recognised. In the Dictionary appended at the end of this paper, I set out my reasons for considering each name to be continental. Some attributions may be controversial, but nevertheless it will be seen that there is a cumulative corpus of some significance.

We always need to be clear in distinguishing *names* from *persons*, in referring to ethnicity. However, unlike Cnut's thegns or William's Normans, these bearers are not to our knowledge a political elite, and I believe that there would have been little incentive for English families to adopt these names. The fact that there was a tendency to anglicise unfamiliar names, and indeed in some cases to substitute English ones, would suggest that the modern lure of the exotic held little attraction then. We cannot tell how long any immigrant community remained

self-contained, or how far integration took place; intermarriage and godparenting may have spread the names. Nor can we tell whether the continuing appearance of continental names indicates new immigration, or the persistence of family names. For instance, if you asked Marscalc, who began striking coins after Edgar's reform, "where were you born?", would the answer be Winchester, rather than Leiden or Tours?

Forssner's dictionary placed pre- and post-Conquest names in a single sequence, and consequently it is dominated by Domesday Book. If we extract his pre-Conquest references, it appears that there are almost twice as many names evidenced only as moneyers, than persons of other designations. We can now add at least thirty more Germanic names to Forssner's list, plus the Romance and ecclesiastical names which were not in his remit. From Edward the Elder's accession just before the beginning of the century to the death of Edgar in 975, just under 600 individual moneyers' names are recorded. Of these, some 130 can be considered continental.

The context of these is somewhat different from that of the Scandinavian names which appear on the English coinage of this century.⁹ The Scandinavian invasions and settlements are well documented in narrative history, and place-names and artefacts give evidence for their distribution which accords well with the distribution of Scandinavian moneyers' names. There is no comparable narrative for an influx of people from north-western Europe, though there are some references to which I shall return later.

The questions I want to address are how the names are spread through the first three-quarters of the century, what is their geographical distribution—whether there is a meaningful association with the Scandinavians or if proximity to the continent plays any part. Another question must be whether the dominance of moneyers' names within the evidence for continental names in Anglo-Saxon England is truly significant—is continental immigration linked to the moneyer's office,

⁹ See V. Smart, "Not the oldest known list", Scandinavian moneyers' names on the tenth century English coinage', in *Coinage and History in the North Sea world, essays in honour of Marian Archibald*, edited by B. Cook and G. Williams (Leiden, 2006), pp. 297-324.

and if so, in what way? Most fundamentally, can we discover the reason behind the presence of these names on the English coinage?

Before Alfred's reign there are scarcely any continental names on the English coinage. They are lacking also in his earlier types, but in the last type of the reign, among over forty moneyers with Old English names, we find the religious names *Chresten*, *Samson*, *Simon* and *Stefanus*, and Continental Germanic *Iudelbard*, *Abenel* and *Wineger*. In earlier series the exceptional instance can be found: the moneyers of the Northumbrian coins known as stycas all bear Old English names (recorded consistently in an orthography which corresponds to that of the Durham *Liber Vitae*), with the one exception of *Odilo*. Among Offa's thirty-plus known moneyers, one, *Ludoman*, is a continental name, and under Æthelstan I of East Anglia, *Reghelm* and *Regnher* fall into this category.

I have taken three cross-sections of the complements of moneyers, to compare the density and location of the moneyers' names at different times. The first table is for Edward the Elder's reign, when the Continental Germanic (CG) names first begin to become significant. I then look at Æthelstan, omitting the moneyers who previously worked for Edward. This way, we can show whether continental named moneyers were still being admitted at the same strength. An overall view of all the moneyers' names of the reign would obscure this, since the continuation of earlier personnel would indicate only that there had been no deliberate removal of "foreign" moneyers. Similarly, I look next at those names which first appear after 955—that is, mainly Edgar's pre-Reform moneyers, but also taking in the short reign of Eadwig. This method avoids the problems of tabulating in the network of names which flow from one reign to another; the drawback is that it does not catch all the names that can be considered continental, but the list at the end of this paper will gather them all together.

It is apparent that because of historical circumstances, the number of moneyers in each region is by no means equal. For Edward the Elder, Wessex has by far the most, including a good sprinkling of continental names. The North-west Midlands area, centred on Chester, appears at this time to have only Walter.

Table 1: Edward the Elder moneyers by region

(Continental names appear below in **bold** type; Old English (OE) and Scandinavian (Scand) names are in regular type)

E. Anglia. St. Edmund Memorial Coinage followed by pseudoepigraphic or blundered imitative series.

London. Beahred, -stan, Beornwald, -ferth, -helm, Deora, Ealhstan, Eawulf, Ellaf, **Framwis**, Garheard, -wulf, **Grimwald**, **Igere**, Leofhelm, Man, Sigar, Tila.

Kent. Ælfstan, Æthelferth, -stan, **Alfeau?**, Beorhthelm, -red, Beornhelm, Deorwald, Dryhtwald, Dunning, Eadmund, Hereferth, Hunfreth, **Iohan**, Ive, Ossere, **Sigebbrand**, Sigehelm, Torhthelm, Wealdhelm, Wilric.

Wessex. Æthelred, -sige, -stan, -wulf, -wine, Beahred, -stan, Beorhtwulf, Beornhere, -helm, red, -wulf, Bioca, Bionnede, Ceolwulf, **Clip**, Cynwulf, Dryhtwald, Dunning, Eadstan, Eardwulf, Ecglaf, Friothwulf, Frithebert, **Godeferth**, **Hathebald?**, Heardmar, **Helbreht**, **Engelri**, **Iohan**, **Landbriht?**, Nethedan (irregular), Ordwulf, Oslac, Ossere, **Regenold**, **-ulf**, **Rihard**, **Samsun**, **Sigenand**, **Sigot**, Sprou, Sperwe, Thurlac, Wihtulf, Wulfheard, -red.

North-west Midlands. Abba, Boiga, Brece, Cuthberht, Eadmund, -wald, Irfara, Magenfrith, Osulf, Sigeferth, Snel, Tiot, **Walter**, Wulfgar, -sige, -stan.

West Midlands. Æthelwulf, Cenbeorht, Deora, Duding, Eadhelm, -red, -weald, Ealhstan, Eadwulf, **Eofermund**, Fugel, Gunni, Heremod, Hroard, Mathelbeorht, Osbern, **Regther**, **Rodbert**, **Waleman**, Wynbeorht.

North-east Midlands. **Adalbert**, Badda, Beorheard, Beorngar, **Bonus Homo**, Doda, **Gunter**, Hedulf, Hesdebert, **Landuc?**, Manna, Odo, Osgar, Otith, **Pastor**, **Pitit**, **Stefanus**, Tuda, Wealdwulf, Warmer, Willaf, **Winegar**, Wineman.

South-east Midlands. **Agnes**, Eadmund, **Fulrad**, **Gundbert**, Hedulf, **Magnard**, Thurcetul, -lac, Wigheard, Wulfric.

Table 2: Æthelstan moneyers by region
(excluding those listed in Table 1)

York. Athelerd, Regnald

East Anglia.

Norwich: Eadgar, Giongbold, Hrodgar, Manne, **Manticen**, Secge

“Smrie”: Eadbald

Other East Anglian dies: **Fredard**

London area:

London: Ælfwald, Æthelred, Beorhtric, Wulfhelm

Hertford and Maldon: **Abonel**

Other London dies: Æthelwald, Berngar, Beorhtweald,, Cyneweald, Earnwulf (= Eawulf?), **Guntere**, Mathelbriht, Sigewulf, Tidfrith

South-east England (omitting those who were Kent moneyers for Edward)

Canterbury: Alfric, Manna

Dover: **Folcred**

Rochester: Hungar

Other Kentish dies: Beornwig, Ceolhelm, Hunric, Lifing, Manning, Sweartling

Wessex and Oxford (omitting those who were Kent moneyers for Edward)

Bath: **Herewis**

Exeter: **Abun**

Langport: **Wynsige**

Oxford: Æthelmund, Mathelweald, **Regenward**, **Sigeland** (= **Sigenand** Edward), Uthelric, Wynhelm

Shaftesbury: Æthelweald

Wallingford: Æthelmund

Wareham: Wulfsige

Winchester: Æthelhelm, **Amelric**, Leofric, Otic (= Otith North-east Midlands for Edward?)

Other Wessex dies: Ælfstan, Æthelgar, Æthelweald, Cynerof

South-west Mercia (= Western Mercia for Edward)

Gloucester: Æthelmod

Hereford: Ecgbeorht

Shrewsbury: Ecgheard, Frotger, Hubald

Other SW Mercia dies: Bioca, Beornhere, Cynewulf (Wessex for Edward), Mathelweald (= Oxford moneyer?), **Rothward**

North-west Mercia (North-west midlands for Edward)

Chester: Ælfwine, **Boigalet**, Cenapa (=Cnath?), **Efrard/Frard**, Maeldomen,

Maerten, Megred, Oslac, **Paul**, **Raenulf**, Salc, Tidgar

Stafford: Wihtmund

Warwick: Monthe gn

Derby, Nottingham, Tamworth and Leicester

Derby: **Ansum**, Beornard, Boiga, Garward, Giencea, **Martinus**, **Sihar**, Sigwold,

Wethurard

Tamworth: Manna

Nottingham: Æthelnoth

Leicester: Thurstan

“NEIII” not mint-signed but assigned to this area: Arnulf, **Adelmod**, Bernard,

Enelbert, **Heldalt**, Isnel (MNE Edward) **Rotbert** (MW Edward) Siverd (= Sigferth MNW Edward?) Sproc.

Other dies probably from this area: Are, Duran, **Gislemer**, Hldebert (Hesdebert

MNE Edward?), **Warcred**, **Warengot**

Lincoln, Stamford, Southumbrian Danelaw

“NEI”: Are, Arnulf, Asger, Asulf, Belci, Berol, Clac, **Cristign**, **Domenc**, **Durient**

(cf. Nottingham etc)

Eric, Fram, Fugel, **Gislemer** (cf. Nottingham etc), Godfred, Gota, **Harger**,

Hildulf, Incgelbert (=Inga?), **Litilman**, **Nother**, Sprohene, Willuf, Winele

Northampton, SW Southumbrian Danelaw:

“NEII” **Baldric**, Bus, **Fulrad**, Ginard, Gis, Heric, **Magnard**, Smala, Telia,

Thurlac, Uglebart, Wiard

Table 3: Moneys first appearing after 955
 (attributions mostly following Feilitzen Edgar)¹⁰

York: Asculf, **Durand**, Eadfrith (Atferth) Fastolf, **Heriger**, Herolf, Serclos

NE dies I and V, and NE mints

Adelaver, **Adelverd**, **Adelger**, **Andreas**, Aden, Ælfwold, Agulf, Albutc, Asferth,
Capelin, Grith, **Ingolf**, **Igolferth**, **Isembert**, Lenna, Macus, **Mamolet**, Manna,
 Morgna, Ogeman (=Oge?), **Rannvin**, Renn, Wiferth

Newark: Wihtmund

Torksey : Thurcetel

Southern Danelaw

Huntingdon: **Prim**

London & Hertford

London: Ælfnoth, Beorhtsige, Hiltwine

Hertford: Wulfmær

Wessex, inc. Oxford

Bath: Wulfbald

Buckingham: Tunolf

Chichester: Cynsige, **Flodvin**

Oxford: Selewold

Totnes: Burhstan

Wilton: Leofwold

Winchester: Frithemund, Wihtsige

“Hamtun”

Æthelbrand, Hardbrit, Mantat

Western and north-west Midlands

Chester: Aldewine, Deorlaf, **Flodger**, **Flodulf**, Manna, Mælsuthan, Teothuc

Derby: Iole

Tamworth: Spereman

Rosette dies, uncertain mint: **Hrothulf**, **Frothald**, **Grimter**

Uncertain location

Brother, Cytel, Fugetat, Igenc, Saytinc

¹⁰ Olof von Feilitzen and C. E. Blunt, ‘Personal names on the coinage of Edgar’ in *England before the Conquest, studies in primary sources presented to Dorothy Whitelock*, edited by P. Clemoes (Cambridge, 1971) [hereafter Feilitzen Edgar].

The question then is, is there a direct causal link between the presence of these continental immigrants in England and their office as moneyers? Was their settlement in the boroughs perhaps not initially connected with the mint, but that having become burgesses of some standing, they were then eligible, amongst others of similar status, to become moneyers.

It was remarked above that in Forssner's work, adjusted and reinforced by later discoveries, there were twice as many names of moneyers listed than names of people who were not moneyers. Superficially, this might suggest that the reason for the presence of the bearers of these names in England was that they had been attracted or encouraged because of their expertise with coinage. Since the contemporary continental coinage was in this respect anonymous, we have no way of looking for their involvement before they appear here. We also need to take into account the fact that before the Conquest the class from which the moneyers were recruited, that is the upper mercantile class, is very poorly documented apart from the evidence of the coins. The second model, that of selection from among burgesses of standing, would fit better with the linguistic mix found in the moneyers' names in the country at large. It offers a contrast with the St Edmund Memorial pennies, where the names are almost exclusively continental, and it does appear there that the incomers had been given the management of the coinage, and may well have become immigrants for that very purpose.

We know that it is just at this period in the tenth century that many of the English boroughs began to take shape as urban commercial centres, rather than purely places of fortification. It might be helpful to look at a later, though similar, situation which is more fully documented. David I of Scotland, succeeding to the throne after a long spell in England at the court of his brother-in-law Henry I, began to establish or build up burghs in Scotland. It is on record that people of many nationalities flocked to these burghs; men with Norman French, Flemish, Scandinavian and Anglian names are found. The St Andrews moneyer Mainard is specifically designated "the Fleming" in the charter granting him land in the burgh, and it is stated that he was formerly the king's

“own burgess in Berwick”.¹¹ The fact that burgesses were tenants-in-chief of the crown indicates that their settlement in the burghs could not have taken place without the encouragement, or at least the permission, of the king.

If we transfer this scenario to England in the tenth century, it would suggest an explanation for the distribution of the continental names. Although migration from the continent is in no way as systematically recorded as the Viking settlement, there is a good deal of evidence for cultural contact between England and the continent in all kinds of fields throughout the century. Much of this is associated with the attempts of Alfred and his successors to restore civilised life after the devastation of the Viking attacks. Asser refers to the presence of various peoples in England: “*Franci ... Frisones, Galli, Pagani, Britones et Scoti, Armorici...*”.¹² A significant number of continental personal names are found at this time in the records of religious houses, and Stenton remarks how the recovery in art and architecture was strongly influenced from the continent.¹³ There are one or two continental moneyers’ names from the end of Alfred’s reign, but not in the quantity that might have been expected if Franks and Frisians were coming to England at that time in order to be expressly involved with the coinage. Most of the continental names in Edward the Elder’s coinage appear in the Late phase, or at the earliest in Middle II. Their greater role later in the century would support the suggestion that they came in initially as merchants and craftsmen and only subsequently achieved the office of moneyer.

Although the continental names are spread throughout the English kingdom, they are very strong in those areas which were under Scandinavian rule. This is particularly noticeable among the new moneyers who first appear after 955, when the southern mints have only a couple of remaining instances. This raises the question of some relationship between the Scandinavian and continental moneyers. Commenting on the St Edmund memorial coinage, Keary and Grueber suggest three possible explanations for the presence there of continental moneyers’

¹¹ J. E. L. Murray and I. Stewart, ‘The St Andrews mint under David I’, *British Numismatic Journal*, 53 (1983), 178–80.

¹² Asser, *Life of King Alfred*, edited by W. H. Stevenson (Oxford, 1904).

¹³ F. M. Stenton, *Anglo-Saxon England*, 2nd edn (Oxford, 1947), pp. 437–8.

names, two of which depend directly on a symbiosis with the Scandinavian settlers: firstly that the Danish army which settled in the Danelaw contained a large number of Franks gathered during its campaigning on the continent and secondly that it had made Frankish captives who were skilled in metalwork. The other suggests that the continentals were there independently: that the coinage was struck by traders, and that most of the traders in East Anglia at the time were Franks or Flemings. The St Edmund coinage is unique, but some of these comments may be examined in the matter of continental names more generally.

It is indeed possible that there were Franks and others from the north-western seaboard of continental Europe amongst the Danish armies that settled in England. It is unlikely, however, that they were present in large enough numbers to be reflected purely statistically in the mix of names found on the coins. Keary and Grueber's second suggestion relies on the old idea that the people who put their names to the Anglo-Saxon penny were of the serf class, and this has now been discredited. What we now know about the status of the moneyer does not support the idea that the St Edmund moneyers had been enslaved by marauding armies. If most of the "traders" in East Anglia at the end of the ninth century were continentals, they must have come in in great numbers in the previous twenty years, as the moneyers who worked for Edmund in his lifetime all bore English names. The relationship between the Scandinavian rulers of East Anglia with the continental moneyers does appear to have been close. It suggests that either English commercial life had broken down there, or they wished to have a different regime that was of their own making, and so brought in continental workers to manage and operate minting activity.

The position in the existing English boroughs after 900, and later in the recovered boroughs of the Danelaw, must have been rather different. Here it was an English administration that was in charge of minting and of appointing moneyers. It is possible that it is simply the fact that the control of these boroughs—and indeed in some cases the existence of the borough itself—was new, which drew together English, Scandinavian, Frank and Frisian to cultivate commercial life in these centres. It is the tentative conclusion of this study that the opportunities offered by the "new frontier" boroughs would have been attractive to merchants and craftsmen from abroad, and that they were given encourage-

ment by the Crown. Earlier, as shown by the list (Table 1) of Edward the Elder moneyers, it was the southern heartland of the kingdom, recovering from the devastations of the first part of Alfred's reign, which was building up mercantile life with the help of these incomers.

Dictionary

General notes on types, dating and geographical location.

The attribution of non-mintsigned coins in this series centres on the areas in which the dies were produced, rather than on specific mints. For Edward the Elder, the areas are tabulated in CTCE (pp. 56 ff), with the arguments for the attributions being explained in the preceding chapter. These tables also indicate the chronological phases of the coinage of this reign.

K	Kentish Canterbury
L	London
MNW	Mercia North West, probably Chester.
MW	Mercia West, probably Shrewsbury, Hereford and ?Gloucester
MNE	Mercia North East, probably Stamford
MSE	Mercia South East, perhaps Bedford and Northampton
W	Wessex

For Æthelstan to Edgar, the types designated H are “horizontal”, i.e. with the reverse legend laid out horizontally across the field. T “trefoil”, P “pellet”, etc, denote ornaments above or below the legend. Types containing R, e.g. HR “horizontal rosette”, CR “circumscription rosette”, etc, belong to west and central Mercia. Chester was one centre, and Derby-cut dies appear to have been used in a corridor bounded by Tamworth, Derby, Nottingham and Leicester in the north, and Warwick and Northampton in the south, but moneyers in this area were at the same time often also obtaining dies from north-eastern centres. Generally speaking, HR1 in Edmund's reign is common to Chester and Derby, but later is indicative of the Derby centre, Chester producing HR2 and HR3. The NE (i.e. north-eastern) styles, belong south of the Humber in the north-east Midlands. Lyon has suggested that for Æthelstan, NEI is probably associated with Lincoln and Stamford, NEII has a more southerly distribution: Bedford, Northampton, and he gives NEIII to Leicester and

Nottingham.¹⁴ NEIV and NEV replace NEI chronologically. The BC “Crowned Bust” type is widespread, except that under Edmund it appears to have been essentially connected with eastern counties; the only identifiable mint is Norwich. Under Edred the number of moneys in this type increases significantly, and the dies may also have supplied the Lincoln/Stamford area. Only two BC coins are known for Edwig, one with London and the other probably Lincoln mint-signatures, and under Edgar it again acquires a widespread southern distribution. BH indicates that the head is depicted with a helmet instead of a crown.

Most forms of the names listed below can be found in the volumes of SCBI, indexed in SCBI 28 and 41. Additional forms cited in CTCE, Blunt Ath and elsewhere, not found in the Sylloge volumes, are referenced in { } brackets.

Abonel

ABONEL [Æthst HT1, NEI, NEII], ABVNEL [Edm HT1]

Hertford ABENEL [Edwg HT3, Edg BC], ABONEL [Æthst H/CC, BC]

Maldon ABONEL [Æthst BC {Blunt Ath 278}]

The [Æthst] coins show that the NEI group could reach as far south as Hertford and Maldon. An Abunel (etc) also mints in East Anglia for Guthrum and in the St Edmund coinage. As Edgar’s Crowned Bust type appeared early in the reign (CTCE 274) it is possible that only one moneys was responsible for all the above coins. An Abunel appears as witness to a charter (S1205) in 901, in an exchange of land between an Ordric and the monastery of Malmesbury.

Probably an Old French derivative of CG *Abbo*, cf. *Abbonellus* (Morlet I 13).¹⁵

Abun

ABBVN [Edm HT1]

Exeter ABVN [Æthst CC {Blunt Ath 173}]

Another of this mint and type said to read ABBON, in 1868 Forster catalogue, not now traceable (fn Blunt Ath 69).

This name presents some difficulties. Feilitzen Edgar (185) suggests that *Abon* may be non-Germanic; alternatively, where it appears it is sometimes a scribal

¹⁴ Personal correspondence.

¹⁵ M-T Morlet, *Les Noms de Personne sur le Terroire de l’Ancienne Gaule du VI-XII Siecle* (Paris, 1968) [hereafter Morlet, with column number]. Vol I consists of Germanic names, vol II of Romance and Biblical names.

genitive of OE *Abba*, but FCG accepts *Abon* as CG, and Morlet (13) also takes *Abbon* etc. as an inflection of CG *Abbo*. The Exeter connection would seem to rule out a relationship with **Abonel** above.

Adeau

ADEAV [Edm HTP1 {Forum hoard, CTCE 105/1}]

No indication of mint. Perhaps a derivative of CG *Ad-*, but the *-eau* suffix is problematic, cf. **Alfeau**, **Herebeau**.

Adelaver

ADELAVER [Edg HT1 NEV], AÐELAVER [Edg HT1 NEV]

In Edward the Martyr's reign Adelaver is a Lincoln moneyer, which would agree with the North-eastern attribution of the pre-Reform coins.

The first element appears to be CG *Adel-* but the second element is problematical. It is uncertain whether these coins should be associated with ADELVV, ADELVERD also [HT1 NEV], in which case the element could be *-werd* or *-fred* (metathesised *-ferd*), though Feilitzen Edgar (186) rejects this explanation. Feilitzen's ADELOVERD from the British Museum Catalogue no. 62 is corrected in SCBI 34 to ADELVERD, taking the small faint annulet as a field ornament. The suggested form ADELAVERN for Edward the Martyr at Lincoln may represent a dittography in the *Monetarius* formula.)

Adal-

Adel- spellings occur in some names for which the majority of forms point to an OE origin, e.g. *Adel-*, *Adlwine*, *Adelmund* alongside *Æthel-*, which may reflect some continental influence in the management of the coinage, but not necessarily the origin of the name.

Adalbert

ADALBERT [Edw HT1], ADELBERT [Æthst Ornamental type]

The Edward coin is given to the north-east Midland group in the Late II phase. The ornamental design is the Church type which Blunt Ath (48) gives to York, but CTCE (110) notes that other moneyers of this type have associations with Leicester, Shrewsbury and possibly Chester. A moneyer of this name also strikes

coins of the St Edmund Memorial issue. CG Adalbert, Förstemann 163,¹⁶ Morlet 15, Schlaug 48.¹⁷ Widespread and frequent on the Continent.

Adalbrand

ÆDELBRAND [Edg BC]

“Hamtun” ÆDELBRAND [Edwg HT3]

Probably Northampton, regarding the distribution of the BC type. Although the first element appears as OE *Æthel-*, the etymon is more likely CG *Adalbrand*, with the first element anglicised, as *-brand* does not seem to have been used as an element in OE names. See Feilitzen Edgar 187, FCG 14.

Adalger

ADELGER [Edg HT1 NEV]

North-east Midlands. Almost certainly a different moneyer from the *Æthelgar* who is an Exeter moneyer for Edwig, bearing the OE cognate name. CG *Adalger*, F.166, Feilitzen Edgar 186.

Agnes

AGNES [Edw H]

South-east Midlands, Late II phase. Possibly for *agnus*, Latin ‘lamb’, cf. Morlet II, but rare. Alternatively, possibly the simplex form of the element *Agin-* F. 36, Morlet I 25, where *Agno*, *Agano* is quite common; the coin form might then represent the genitive.

Agtard

AGTARD(ES) [Edm HR1, Edr HR1, Edwg HR1]

According to CTCE (120) genitive forms on Edgar’s coinage are “Derby related” and put Agtard in the Derby group on grounds of style and the M (for Mercia) in the field. FCG gives the etymon as *Actard*, a West Frankish form of CG *Ahtard*, F.44. Morlet 27 has *Aictardus* and suggests a false association with names with the second element beginning with *t*, with the *act/aht* variant as in Forssner as an alternative.

¹⁶ E. Förstemann, *Altdeutsches Namenbuch*, (Bonn, 1900) [hereafter cited as F. with column number].

¹⁷ W. Schlaug, *Die Altsächsischen Personennamen vor dem Jahre 1000* (Lund, 1962).

Alberic? Albert?

ALBERI [Edm HT1 NEI]

The style of these coins is north-east Midlands. Both coins (from the same die) have the last letter of the moneyer's name clearly as I, which suggests CG *Alberic*, FCG 18, Morlet I 29. A moneyer for [Edr BC] has been read as ALBERT, but the letters after the R are confused, reading TONAEMI, so that the T might be part of the *monetarius* contraction. A fragment ALBE[] in Edgar's Crowned Bust type from the Grantley collection (CTCE 199) is in itself undecided, but an ALBART is a Cambridge moneyer in Edgar's Reform issue. Two different names are at issue here, but it is difficult to distinguish which forms belong to each. ALBART is CG *Albert*, Feilitzen Edgar 187.

Albutc

ALBVTTC [Edg HT1 NEV]

The form appears on several different dies. First element CG *Alb-*, *Alf-*? Remainder of legend unexplained.

Alfeau

ALFEAV [Edw HT1 Æthst HT, BC], ELFEAV [Edw HT1]

The Edward dies are from Kent, probably Canterbury, Late II phase. The reverse die of the first Edward coin was later used for Æthelstan, thus confirming that this moneyer was working towards the end of Edward's reign. First element CG *Alb-*, *Alf-*, or OE *AElf-*, but the second element is obscure, cf. **Adeau**, **Herebeau**.

Amelinc

AMELINC[Edm HT1 NEI]

North-east Midlands. CG *Amaling*, an *-ing* derivative of *Amal-*, see **Amalric** below. F. 90, Morlet 35. Schlaug's examples are all with the variant *-ung*.

Amelric

Winchester AMELRIC [Æthst BC, CC]

Amal- is not an element used in OE names. CG *Amalric*, F.88,94–5, FCG 25–6, Morlet 34, Schlaug 45. Frequent and widespread on the continent.

Andreas See **Ondrese****Baciager**

BACIAGER [Edm HT1 NEI]

Also found as a moneyer for Anlaf Guthfrithsson during his annexation of the Five Boroughs 940–42. The second element looks like CG *-ger*, but the first element is obscure. F. 231 has the element *Baga-* ‘quarrel’, with *Bac-* forms, but not compounded with *-ger*. Morlet 49 has a *Begingerus* where this same element *Bag-* has interelemental extension in *-n*, a common feature in West Frankish names.

Baldric

BALDRIC [Æthst BH NEII, Edm H{?}1, BH, Edr HT1, HR1 {CTCE pl 13}, Edwg HT1, Edg CC]
 “Hamtun” BALDRIC [Edwg HT3, Edg CC {CTCE pl 21}]

“Hamtun” here is more likely to be Northampton than South-. NEII of Æthelstan is considered to belong to the southern part of the Danelaw, which would agree with a Northampton mint-signature, and also Bedford if the Reform type moneyer BALDDIC is the same man. The use of Rosette dies, which were produced in western and central Mercia, by moneyers who also used dies from the north-east, is quite common.¹⁸ Probably CG *Baldric*, although the Anglian form of OE *Bealdric* is possible, but not well attested. According to Schlaug, a bishop of Liege, and counts of Holland and Cleves, bore this name. In Morlet (50) *Baldricus* is common and widespread. There are well-attested names in *Beald-* in Searle, but apart from the moneyer only the place-name *Baldrices gemero* is recorded with *-ric*, and this is from the 11th century. On the identity or otherwise with BALDDIC at Bedford in Edgar’s Reform type, see Feilitzen Edgar 188.

Baldwin

Baldwin [Æthst H {Blunt Ath 22, not illustrated}]
 BALDVVIN [Edm HT1, Edg BC], BALDVIVIN [Edr HT1]
 BALIṖ INE [Edwg HT1]
 Bedford BALDṖ INE [Edwg HT3]

No indication of place in any of the types except for [Edwg] where Bedford is named. Feilitzen PNDB 191¹⁹ favours CG whilst FCG 41 accepts an OE *Bealdwine* for pre-Conquest examples; *Balduini* appears in LVD. A family connection with **Baldric** q.v. is possible.

¹⁸ See Smart, “‘Not the oldest known list’, Scandinavian moneyers’ names on the tenth century English coinage”, p. 324.

¹⁹ O. von Feilitzen, *The Pre-Conquest Personal Names of Domesday Book* (Uppsala, 1937) [hereafter PNDB].

Barbe

Norwich BARBE [Æthst BC, Edm BC]

This appears to be Old French *barbe* < Latin *barba* ‘beard’. Morlet II 25 has *Barbatus*. Redin suggests this may be an error for **Bardel**,²⁰ but the persistence of the form in two reigns would rather indicate that the form is intentional.

Bardel

Norwich BARDEL [Æthst BC], BVRDEL [Æthst BC]

If we take the former reading as the better, with inverted A in the other, a relationship between this name and the previous might be indicated, since there are only eight named moneyers for Norwich at this time. The element *bard-* may be the Germanic word for ‘beard’; F 245 argues against it but Felder²¹ and Schlaug 56 accept it. Schlaug has the name *Bardilo* with a similar suffix.²² If the second form with V is the correct one, we may be concerned with Old French *Burdel*, a derivative of Latin *burdo* ‘mule’ PND 211.

Baro

Chester BARO [Edm CC]

This appears to be related to *baro* ‘man’ F 246. The *-o* ending is typical for CG names. There are numerous examples in Morlet.

Benedictus

BENEDICTVS [Edm HT1 NEI, Edr BC], BENEDIHT [Edg NEV]

All the styles represented here are attributed to the north-east Midlands, probably the Lincoln-Stamford-Newark area, and are more likely to have a Romance than an Irish connection. Very common all over Frankish territory in Morlet 27. Feilitzen Edgar 188 comments on the medial Ð as reflecting the Vulgar Latin spirant, and cites Campbell, for the OE sound-change *-ht < ct*.²³

²⁰ M. Redin, *Uncompounded Personal names in Old English*, (Uppsala, 1919), p. 131.

²¹ E. Felder, *Die Personennamen auf den Merowingischen Munzen der Bibliothéque Nationale de France*, (Munich, 2003), p. 82.

²² For the possibility of an individual using both Romance and Germanic translations of his name, see V. Smart, ‘Pitit and Litelman, an onomastic conundrum’, *Nomina*, 25 (2002), 133–6.

²³ A. Campbell, *Old English Grammar* (Oxford, 1962), §§ 484, 530.

Bernard

BERNARD [Edr HR 1], BERENARD [Edg HR 1], BERNARDES [Edg CC]
Derby BERENARD [Edg HR 5]

The Rosette style of the first instance is compatible with Derby. Feilitzen Edgar 189 prefers CG *Berenard* to OE *Beornheard*, because of the absence of *Beorn*-forms, and the medial vowel in the Derby example. There are other coins from Æthelstan onwards which read BEORN-, BIORN-, BYRN- and one of Æthelstan reads BERNARHDE alongside BEORN- etc, which make differentiation between the OE and the CG name very difficult.

Berngar

BERNGAR [Edw Late II MNE] {CTCE 62 not illustrated ex Lockett collection}.
[Æthst HT1 {Blunt Ath pl. 2, 30}]

North-east Midlands. Same moneyer as the [St Edm] BERINCAR? CG *Berengar*
F 269, Morlet 53.

Bleseret

BLESERET [Anlaf HT1]

The single example of this moneyer's work is attributed to Anlaf Guthfithsson's hegemony of the Five Boroughs in 940–42. The name is unparalleled. The diminutive suffix with *-r-* extension is typically Frankish. For the root element, cf. *Blaz* < *Blidi*- 'happy' ,F 313. FCG cites an 11th century *Blize* in Kent, which he derives from *Blidi*, or from a West Frankish metathesis of *Bald-* > *Blad-*, but the variation in vowel presents difficulties.

Boigalet

Chester BOIGALET [Æthst CC, CR]

A moneyer, Boiga, is known at this time at Chester and Derby, and that name appears frequently in Edgar's reign and later. It is considered to be OE, but the name with the suffix is not otherwise found. The *-let* suffix denoting a diminutive is not recorded in English until the sixteenth century whilst the common use of *-let* to form diminutives does not take off until the eighteenth.²⁴ The earliest instances are in imitation of French words in *-let* where it is an extension of the Romance suffix *-et*, possibly originally from a misdivision of syllables where the stem word ends in *-l*. The relation here between the moneyers' names Boiga and Boigalet is

²⁴ *Oxford English Dictionary*, edited by J. Simpson and E. Weiner, 2nd edition (Oxford, 1989), s.v. *-let*.

difficult to establish. It is possible that they may denote the same individual, since both forms appear at Chester. Otherwise, the suffix may be used to distinguish between two men, or even denote a family relationship. In any case, Frankish influence is evident.

Boinsulf

BOINSVLF [Edm HR1]

This group is ascribed to western Mercia (CTCE 120), where the principal mint is Chester, and the furthest east Derby. The name is obscure, CTCE noting that on coins of this [HR1] group the moneyer's name is occasionally blundered. The second item would appear to be the *wulf/ ulf* element. The prototheme may be from Latin *bonus*, which appears in Latin/Germanic hybrids as West Frankish names, cf. *Bonofredo*, *Bonemarus* (Morlet I 60) although there is no instance of it recorded with *-ulf*.

Bonus Homo

BONVS HOMO [Edw I HT1]

Three known coins, all of north-east Midlands style, for which the principal mint is Stamford. All belong to the later period of the reign, after 915. This curious latinisation is unique on English coins. *Prima facie* it should be rendering OE or CG *Godman*, but there is no contemporary moneyer with this name, although GODING and MANGOD appear later, for Edmund and Edred respectively. Morlet records the use of *Bonus Homo*, *Bonus Filius*, *Bellus Homo* II 26, 29. The Edward legend may explain the otherwise obscure form BONSOM [Edm HR 1, HTI NEI] where the North-eastern die would indicate activity in the same area.

Brece

BRECE [Edw I HT1, Ornamental]

The Horizontal type coins are Late I and II (i.e. after 915) and north-west Midlands style. The Ornamental types are those with large rosette, and plant design, both ascribable to the north-western area but slightly earlier, from the second phase of the mid period of the reign. The name is thus well attested, but its origin is doubtful. Redin suggests an association with *Breca*, a name found only in *Beowulf*, or alternatively a Celtic derivation.²⁵ F. 335 has a CG *Brecho* but no close parallels, and no certain etymology can be established.

Capelin

²⁵ Redin, *Uncompounded Personal names in Old English*, p. 129.

CAPELIN [Edg HT1 NEV]

NE Midlands, Lincoln or Stamford. Note the appearance of this very rare name at Stamford in Cnut's reign. Feilitzen Edgar associates this name with the sixth century Anglo-Celtic name *Ceawlin*, but there is no evidence for the continuing usage of this name in England thereafter. The epigraphy in the Edgar type would favour P rather than *wyn*); reading CAPELIN a Romance derivation is likely, either Old French *capelin* 'priest' or from *capeline*, a hood covering the shoulders.²⁶

Clip

CLIP [Edw I HP1, HT1]

This name occurs on dies of the Late Middle and Late phases of the reign, and all are ascribed to the Winchester die-cutting centre. Because of the non-use of Winchester dies north and east of Watling Street, I have suggested that this name is less likely to derive from Scand *Klippr* than from CG *Clip* F 369.²⁷

Cristin

CRISTIGN [Æthst HT1 NEI, Edm HT1], CRIS(O) TIN [Edr HT1]
+PISTAN [Edg HT1 NEV]

In the [Edr] example, the O is probably an annulet decoration in the field. I have accepted the [Edg] coin as belonging to this moneyer, as Horizontal type legends are not prefixed by an initial cross, and so am reading the first two letters as the Chi-Rho initial of Christ. The Edgar moneyer ISTAN, YNSTAN is connected with the Southampton area and cannot be considered here. CRISÐIN, CRISTGIN, CRISTIN is a Stamford moneyer in [Æthr II C–D]. Dolley saw this name as a translation of OIr *Gillecrist*, i.e. *Christ-thegn*.²⁸ This is attractive, as it provides explanations for the G in the first example, and the G and Ð (if this is the same moneyer) in the Æthelred coins he cites, which present difficulties if a straightforward adoption of Rom. *Christianus*, cf. Morlet II 33, is to be considered. If the moneyer belongs to Stamford, there are no parallels for Celtic names there, but Lincoln later has a few. For another possible example of translation of a foreign moneyer's name into English in this North-Eastern area see **Litilman** below.

²⁶ See V. Smart, 'Moneyers of the Late Anglo-Saxon coinage; the Danish dynasty', *Anglo-Saxon England*, 16 (1987), 233–308 (p. 259).

²⁷ V. Smart, "'Not the oldest known list", Scandinavian moneyers' names on the tenth century English coinage', pp. 301–2.

²⁸ R. H. M. Dolley, 'OE **Christthegn*, an unsuspected instance of Early Middle Irish influence on OE name-giving', *British Numismatic Journal*, 36 (1967), 40–5.

Daniel

DANIEL [Edg CR]

Another coin on which the legend has been read as ?DANIEL is of the type [Edr BC] but the reading is very uncertain and the SCBI 30 editor renders it as DVNINC?²⁹ [CR] dies of Edgar's reign are known from mint-signed coins of Chester, Derby, Stafford and Tamworth, and the atonymic ones probably also emanate from this area. Amongst the Anglo-Saxons this name was borne only by clerics, but it was in much more common use on the continent, see Morlet II 39.

Dominic

DEMENCE [Edr HR 1, Edwg HR 1, Edg HR 1]

DOMENC(ES) [Æthst HT1 NEI, Edm HT1 NEI], DOMINIC [Æthst HT1]

NEI indicates the Lincoln, Stamford area, but the Rosettes in the HR examples suggest Derby dies. This combination occurs frequently; the moneyer took dies from both east and west and was working at a more central mint such as Derby itself, Nottingham or Northampton. The name was in common use in West Frankish territory, see Morlet II 42. For a discussion of the forms, see Feilitzén Edgar 193. An introduction from Ireland is less likely.

Dregel

DREGEL [Edm HT1 NEI], DREGL [Edm HT1 NEI], DRE[M or A?]L [Edr HT1]

The lettering of the first coin is atypical of [NEI] but both SCBI 34 and CTCE give it to this group on account of the unique moneyer's name. Redin notes this as "probably not native" and refers to F. 1462 where the name's origin is clearly explained as CG *Dregil*, 'servant, retainer'.³⁰

Dudelet

DVDELET [Edr HT1]

No indication of geographical area, but unlikely to be from north-east or north-west Midlands. Although the element *Dud-* is productive in OE, cf. *Duding*, *Dudda*, etc,³¹ the suffix is clearly Romance, and so a better interpretation is probably to assign the whole name to CG *Dudo* etc, F. 1412 which is there classed as deriving from *Theod*, 'people'. The suffix may be Rom *-et* with *-l* extension,

²⁹ J. D. Brady, *Syloges of Coins of the British Isles*, 30, *Coins in American collections* (London, 1982).

³⁰ Redin, *Uncompounded Personal names in Old English*, p. 141.

³¹ *Ibid.*, 16.

which is a common practice in West Frankish, or less likely a diminutive suffix *-let*, cf. **Boigalet** above.

Durand

DVRAINT [Edm HT1 NEI], DVRAND [Edg HT1 “York”], DVRAND(ES) [Edm HR1, Edg CC], DVRAND(IES) [Edg CC], DVRONDES [Edg CC]
Chester DVRAN [Edg HR3]

This name is also found at Worcester in several types of [Æthr II]. Although figuring in the York group and on North-eastern dies, the name is also found at Chester and in the north-western related Rosette group. The name is rare in England, suggesting that the moneyer either took his dies from several sources or was himself peripatetic. Old French *Durand*, probably from Latin *durare*, ‘to endure’. See FCG 62, Morlet II 43, where references are frequent and widespread, and Feilitzén Edgar 193.

E(o)ferh(e)ard

EAFERARD [Edg CC, CR], EFRARD [Edwg HR2], EOFERAD [Edwg HR3]
EOFERARD [Edr HR2, Edg CR]

FRARD [Edm HR1, Edr HR2, Edwg HR3]
Chester EFRARD [Æthst CC, CR], FRARD [Æthst CR]

A unique halfpenny, from the Cuerdale hoard, has the name EVERAT on the obverse and ME FECIT on the reverse. If this is the Chester Æthelstan moneyer, one would have also expected occurrences under Edward the Elder. The predominant Rosette dies [HR, CR] fit well with the mint-signed coins of Chester. Feilitzén Edgar 194 cites CG *Everhard*, anglicised *Eofor-*. FCG 63 notes “It is uncertain whether *Eofor-* ever existed as a native name-element. It is true *Eoforhwaet* and *Eoforuulf* occur in LVD but ... CG names can be found in that document. Otherwise only in coins from Edw I onwards, where a CG influence is highly probable”. There are no instances in OE with *-heard*. Cf Morlet I 77 where *Everardus* is very common and widespread.

E(o)fermund

EOFERMVND [Edw I HT1, Æthst HT1], EOFRMVND [Edw I HT1]
IOFERMVND [Edw I floral]
Shrewsbury EOFERMAND [Æthst CC], EOFRMVND [Æthst CR]
EOFRBMVND [Æthst CC], EOFRMVND [Æthst CC]
Tamworth EOFRMVND [Edg CR, CC {CTCE P1 21 276}]

The Edward coins are late in the reign, and from a mint in the north-west Midlands, which would agree with the later mint-signed Shrewsbury coins and also Edward's Floral type. The Edgar moneyer is probably a different man. The [Edg CR] coin has a unique figure in the reverse field which Lyon tentatively interprets as a crozier. The legend concludes with the letters MBI which with this symbol could possibly indicate a bishop's moneyer from the diocese of Lichfield. CG *Evermund*, with the first element anglicised. See **E(o)ferhard** above for discussion of this first element.

E(o)fer(w)ulf

EFERVLF [Edm HT1, Edr HB1, HR1, HT1, Edwg HR5], IFERVLF [Edwg HR5]
 EFEOROLF [Edg HT1], EFEORVLF [Edg HT1 NEI], EFROLF [Edg HT1 NEV]
 Tamworth EOFRLF [Edg HR 3]

Most of this moneyer's coins are of the HT type which is common to the whole country, but the odd Rosette coin (HR) is a North-west Midlands type, and the mint-signature associates him with Tamworth. North-eastern dies often overlap with Rosette group area. Probably CG *Everulf* F.64 rather than OE *Eoferwulf*; see **E(o)ferhard** above for discussion of this element. Some instances have been anglicised.

Erconbold

ERGIMBALT [Edm BC], ERHEMBALD [Edg BC {Lyon collection bt.1990}]

The Crowned Bust type in Edmund's reign is essentially identified with eastern England and probably more specifically with East Anglia, as the only mint-signed coins of this type are of Norwich. In Edgar's Reform type ERCONBOLD is a Norwich moneyer. CG *Erconbold*, F. 457–9 from *ercan* 'true, pure'. Almost all of Searle's supposed "*Eorcan*"-s are continental, the only exceptions being Earconberct, king of Kent 640–664, his daughter Earcongota, abbess of Brie, and Eorconwald, bishop of London 675–93. Possibly this element was brought across by the colonisers of Kent, its use then being confined to that kingdom, and dying out early in English usage. This name is common in Frankish, Morlet I 124, where forms with *m* are normal. *Ercim*- is found occasionally but parallels in *g* are lacking. Schlaug 79 says "selten und kaum sächsisch".

Etram

ETRAM [Æthst building type]

Æthelstan's Building, Church or Shrine type is attributed to York as the only coins of this type to be mint-signed have the legend: REGNALD MON EBORACA C. They must postdate Æthelstan's capture of York in 927 but their

relationship to the more plentiful Cross issue is problematical. Blunt is inclined to favour the theory that these pictorial coins represent a continuation of the archiepiscopal coinage (Blunt Ath 91). Blunt calls Etram “surely an impossible name” but it appears in this form on three different dies. FCG includes it as a continental name, taking the second element as CG *-hramn* ‘raven’ but calling the first element “uncertain”. F.450 has *Ederam*, where *Ed-* is a side-form of *Aid-*, Morlet I 26 cites *Aideramnus* and several other names listed there in *Aid-* have alternative *Et-* forms, cf. *Etland*, *Etradus*.

Flodger

Chester FLODGER[Edg HR3]

CG *Hlodger*. For Romance *Fl* < CG *Hl*, see Feilitzen Edgar, also F. 859 “sie schienen in ganzen nur ein westfränkische nebenform zu sein”.

Flodulf

Chester FLODVLF[Edg HR3]

CG *Hlodulf*. See **Flodger** above for Romance *Fl* < CG *Hl-*.

Flodwin

Chichester FLODVIN [Edg CC]

CG *Hlodwin*. See **Flodger** above for Romance *Fl-* < CG *Hl-*.

Folchard

FOLCARD [Edwg HT1], FOLCHARD [Edg BC, E Anglian style]
EVL CART [Edm H NE1]

After Edgar’s Reform the distribution of this name seems to be solely East Anglian (Norwich, Thetford, Ipswich and for [Wm II] Lincoln. CG *Folchard*, F. 551 and Morlet I 95. PND 256 records “Genuine OE compounds in *Folc-* are early and rare. The evidence for a native *Folcheard* in Searle 242 is doubtful” and “Folcard... on coins...are presumably all OG.”

Folcred

FVLRAD [Edw I MSE], FOLCRED [Æthst BD, H]
Dover FOLCRED [Æthst H/CC], FVLRAD [Æthst H NEIII, BH NEII]
FOLCRED [Edm HT1], FVLRAD [Edm HT1]

The prosopography of this name is complicated. Blunt Ath. 76 and 137 isolates the form FVLRAD, which occurs in North-eastern types, (Bedford, ?Northamp-

ton) from FOLCRED, whose three Æthelstan coins he gives to Dover. Only one of these latter, the mule, is mint-signed; it carries the others since they are of southern style. The Edward coin is assigned to the south-east Midlands, and belongs to the last issue of the reign, so it is reasonable to assume that this is the same moneyer who is working in Æthelstan's [NEII] as that belongs to the area of the southern Danelaw. There is no indication of regionality for the Edmund coins but the same dichotomy, indicated by *Folcred* v. *Fulrad*, may continue. Probably a CG *Folcred*, F. 547–9 and Morlet I 95; cf. **Folchard** above. *Fulc-* is a common and widespread form in the continental name.

Fredhard

FREDARD [Æthst BC, Edm BC, Edr BC], FREDAD [Edm BC]
FREDRED [Edr BC]

The Crowned Bust gives an eastern indication; although in Æthelstan's reign it was widely produced in southern England it appears to have been confined to East Anglia under Edmund, but under Edred it spread into the Lincoln/Stamford area. Probably CG *Fredhard*, as there are no examples in OE *Frithu/Freothu-*. FCG ascribes the *Fred-* form to Romance influence. In Morlet I 93, but few examples. *Fredred* is formally a different name, CG *Fredred*, but may belong here through a die-cutting error.

Frodger

FRODGAR [Edr HT1], FROTTEOR [Edm HR1], FROTIER [Æthst building]
Bedford FRODGAR [Edwg HT3], FORÐGAR [Edg BC]
Shrewsbury FROTGER [Æthst CC, CR]

This name may belong to more than one moneyer and it is uncertain how the examples which do not name a mint should be assigned. Æthelstan's Building or Church type is associated with York, so FROTIER may not be his Shrewsbury moneyer, but this Rosette type of Edmund is from Chester style dies. The [HT1] type of Edred has no particular local indication but the form of the name used is identical with the Bedford coin. The etymology of the name is also confusing. Whilst it is unlikely that it belongs to the same man as the Norwich moneyer **Hrodgar**, one derivation would take it from the same source. As with *Flod-* < *Hlod-*, cf. **Flodger** CG *Hrod-* can become *Frod-* in West Frankish, but there is also an independent CG element *Frod-* (>*frod*, 'wise'). Morlet I 89 does not consider *Hrod-* but lists frequent *Frot/Frod-gerius/ierius* under *Frod-*.

Frodald

FROÐALD [Edg CR]

The Rosette type indicates the north-west Midlands. Cf. **Frodger**. Feilitzen Edgar 196 gives this as to a Romance form of CG *Hrodwald* but Morlet I 90 prefers *Frod-*.

Fulrad see **Folcred**

Gislehelm

GISLEHELM [Edr HT1 {CTCE pl 12}, HR1]

The Rosette type [HR] gives a north-west Midlands indication. Probably CG *Gislehelm*. FCG includes this name as continental. There are no wholly safe instances of the element *Gisl-* in Searle. Most of his examples are overtly continental, and the few instances from England tend to be clerics or other moneyers; for example, his fabricated *Gislfrith* is in fact *Giselfred*, from the St Edmund coins where almost all the moneyers have continental names.³²

Gislemer

GISLEMER [Æthst HT1, HT1 NE1, Edr HR1]

Probably from the overlap central Mercia area (see above) which takes dies both from Derby and a north-east midlands centre. For the probability of CG *Gisle-* see **Gislehelm** above.

Godeferrth

GODFRED [Æthst HT1 NE1]

GODEFERÐ [Edw I HP1, Edwg HT1, Edg HT1 {CTCE Pl. 18}]

Possibly more than one moneyer is indicated here, as although the Edward coin is late in the reign and would thus offer continuity with Æthelstan chronologically, the Æthelstan coin is of a north-east Midlands style, probably Lincoln or Stamford, whereas the Edward coin is assigned to Wessex. The later coins are without local indications. A Scandinavian derivation from *Guthfrithr* is a possibility in the northern area but unlikely for a Wessex moneyer.³³ CG *Godefrid/fred*, FCG 118, Feilitzen Edgar 197, Morlet I 112. The *-ferð* forms are probably due to anglicisation.

Godsere

GODSERRES [Edwg HR1]

³² W. G. Searle, *Onomasticon Anglosaxonicum* (Cambridge, 1894), pp. 258–9.

³³ Smart, “‘Not the oldest known list’, Scandinavian moneyers’ names on the tenth century English coinage”, p. 303.

This Rosette type has an M in the obverse field, which is characteristic of Derby die-cutting. CG *Gautshere*, F.600 , Morlet I 105 *Gautserius*, *Gozerus*.

Grimwald

GRIMƿALD [Edw I H, BD], GRIMƿALD [Æthst BD] {Blunt Ath pl, 4}

GRIMVVALD [Edm HB1; BC {drawing in Fountaine }³⁴

London GRIMƿALD [Æthst CC], GRIMVALD [Æthst BC]

The Edward coins all belong to the Late phase of the coinage; the die-cutting styles are London, Kent and Wessex. Edmund's Crowned Bust style was struck throughout the reign and is essentially connected with the east of England. Taking the signed coins of Æthelstan into consideration, Grimwald must have been operating in the London area. CG Grimwald; in FCG "the first member does not occur in native personal names". *Grimwaldus*, *-oaldus* is very common in Morlet I 115.

Grimter

GRIMTER [Edg HR1 {CTCE Pl.19}]

Rosette type, with M in obverse field, indicative of Derby die-cutting. The first element is *Grim-*, but the second is problematic. Feilitzen Edgar 197 suggests *Grimbert* blundered. *Grimer* < *-here* is found in Morlet but there is no record of internal extension in *-t*.

Gundbert

GVNDBERT [Edw I H]

South-east Midlands group, and Phase II of the late period, towards the end of the reign. A GVNDIBERTVS is found on coins of a certain SITRIC COMES from a mint SCELDFOR, which may be Shelford near Cambridge. GVNDBERT is also known as a St. Edmund moneyer. CG *Gundbert*, F. 699–700. *Gund-* is not an element found in OE names. Common in Morlet I 116–7, also found at Schlaug 97.

Gundferth

GEVNDFED [Edm HT1], GEVN[] [Edm HR1]

GVNDFERD [Edm HT1, Edr HT1 {CTCE pl 12}], GVNVERD [Edg HT1 NEV]

GVNFRED [Edg HT1 NE1]

³⁴ Sir A. Fountaine, *Numismata Anglo-Saxonica* (Oxford, 1705), pub. in G. Hickes' *Thesaurus*.

Likely to be from the central Mercian corridor, where Derby dies overlap with dies from the north-east midland area. See above for suggested mints. Feilitzen Edgar suggests Scand *Gunn(f)rødr* as a possible derivation for the Edgar moneyer's name (as it is not there represented in GVND- forms) with CG *Gundfrid* as an alternative. If this is the same man as the Edmund-Edred moneyer, where the first element is definitely *Gund-*, the name must be CG, cf. **Gundbert** above. However, two individuals may be represented. CTCE (297) records a form GVNTFRI for Æthelstan, but Blunt Ath does not recognise this. If this is a genuine reading, *Gundfrid* would be a reasonable derivation, but it is more likely a misreading or a blundered legend. FCG 133, Morlet I 117. The second element is anglicised.

Gunter

GVNTER [Edw I HT1], GVNTERE [Æthst HT1]

The Edward coin is Late II in date, and given to the north-east Midlands; CTCE 53 specifies "Danelaw". Blunt Ath suggested Wessex or Kent for the Æthelstan coin but CTCE prefers London style. Hertford or Bedford? CG *Gundhar*, F 702, FCG 136, Morlet I 118, Schlaug 98. Very common.

Hathebald

HAÐEBALD [Edw I HT1; Edm HT1 {CTCE pl 8}]

The Edward coins are from Wessex dies, Early II and Middle I. The name may be OE as *Heathubeald* is attested in LVD, and also in Searle 287, from 803. The form of the name may suggest CG *Hadebald*, F 791–2 but its presence in the early phases of Edward's coinage is unusual for names of CG origin.

Helbreht

HELBREHT [Edw HP1]

Wessex dies, Late I. CG *Helbert*. *Hel-* may derive from *Hild-* 'battle' cf. FCG 145 *Helbodo*, *Helgod*, or from *Heil-* 'health' as in *Helwis*. Morlet has a *Helebertus*; the second element is most commonly *-bert* in Morlet but there are instances there of *-braht*, *-pret*.

Heldalt

HELDALT EBRO [Æthst NEIII/II]

"Ebro" may denote York, Blunt Ath. 87. Probably from CG *Hildald*, F. 837, cf. Morlet 129–31 where there are *Held-* *Helt-* forms for names in *Hild-*. An alternative first element might be *Halid-* 'hero' (cf. modern German *held*); F.742 has a *Helidold*.

Herebeau

HEREBEAV [Æthst H, Edw I]

First element OE or CG but the second element is obscure.

Herebert

HARBERT [Edw H HT1], HEREBERT [Edg HT1 NEV]

The Edward coin is Late I phase but CTCE notes that the style is “anomalous” and is there unassigned. Feilitzen Edgar 198 prefers CG *Herebert* to OE *Herebeorht* because of the form of the second element. In the Edward example, the CG name is also preferable.

Hereger

HARGER [Æthst H NE1]

York ARIGER [Edr HT1, Edwg HT1], ERIGER [Edwg HT1], HARGER [Edg HT1 NEV], HERIGER [Edg HT1, HP1, CC]

Although there are links between some NE1 moneyers and York (Blunt Ath 83), it is unlikely that the Æthelstan moneyer is the same man as the moneyer who first appears c.955 and continues into Edgar’s reign. Hereger (II) took over from Ingelgar as a “master moneyer” at York in the last months of Edred’s reign and worked there with Æsculf throughout Edwig’s, CTCE 131, and most of Edgar’s. Feilitzen Edgar 198 gives this name to CG *Hereger*, FCG 143. The forms would not support an OE **Heregar* which is not certainly recorded.

Herewis

Bath HEREBIS [Æthst CC]

The S on this coin is not a symbol which can be read as G, i.e. *–wig*. *–wis* is a feminine element and usually appears as the deutertheme in feminine names but cf. F. 1622 “eine grosse Anzahl ausschliesslich westfränkischer former auf *–vis*, *ouis* die herher gehören können, meistens ist ihr Geschlecht nicht erkennbar”. Also Morlet has *–uisus* masc., in this name as *Heroisus*, *Hervisus*.

Hrodman

HRODMAN [Edr BC]

This type belongs to eastern England, East Anglia or Lincolnshire. An OE *Hrodman* is not recorded.

Hrothulf

HROÐVLF [Edg HR2]

HRODVVL [Edm BC {CTCE 197, fragment, Sotheby 12/8/1862 not illustrated}]

In view of the gap in time between these instances, they probably do not denote the same individual. Also, a RODVL is a St Edmund moneyer. The Crowned Bust type of the Edmund moneyer is typically East Anglian. The Edgar moneyer uses Rosette dies with annulets, which indicate Chester die-cutting. Origin not certain; CG *Hrodulf* F. 918 and Morlet 138, or perhaps OE *Hroðwulf* which is recorded but not common. A Scand *Hróðulfr* is also possible.

Hubald

Shrewsbury HVBALD [Æthst CC]

FCG *Hugibald*>*Hubald* but could also be OE *Hyge*>*Hy-*, especially as the coin-form could be read as HYBALD.

Igere

IGERE [Edw I BD, Edm HT1], London IGERE [Æthst H/CC, CC, BC/CC, BC]

The Edward coin is also attributed to the London group, Late period II. Presumably in Edmund's reign Igere is still a London moneyer. There are many blundered attempts at this name (IGERET etc) on the East Anglian imitative coinage of Edward's reign. CG **Ighar*. F.947 has an element *Ig-* though no instances with *-har*. The moneyer is the only instance in Searle, and *Ig-* does not appear as an OE element. Morlet I 144 has *Igerius*, *Iggerius*, with *Ig-* suggested as a short form for *Igel-*; Morlet gives the second element to *-ger* but *-har* with assimilation is likely, whilst the coin-form seems definitely to point to *-har* rather than *-ger*.

Ingelbert

ENELBERT, LBERTE [Æthst BC NEIII], INCGELBERT [Æthst H NEI]

ENGBRED, ENGLBRED [Edr HT1], INGELBERD [Edg HR1]

INGELBERT [Edr BC {Lyon collection, bt. Baldwin 1999}, Edg H NEI]

Most of these coins belong to north-eastern groupings. It is not certain whether all these forms could denote the same person. The relationship between CG *Engel-* and *Ingel-* is complicated. F. takes the *Engel-* forms under the head *Angil-* which he derives either from 'angel' (which Kaufmann rejects),³⁵ or from the folk-name.

³⁵ H. Kaufmann, *Ergänzungsband zu Ernst Förstemann Personennamen* (Hildesheim, 1968).

Kaufmann and Morlet cite the folk-name as *Angel-* ‘the Angles’, and Morlet and FCG agree that the *Ing-* and *Eng-* forms (also as *Ang-*) fall together, whatever the ultimate derivation. FCG states “A confusion of the forms is particularly obvious in Old French where *Ingel-* regularly becomes *Engel-* through $\hat{i} > e$ ” whilst according to Morlet “il ne paraît pas que les Gallo-Francs aient fait une nette distinction entre les deux éléments. Nous avons noté l’alternance *Angel/ Ingel* pour un même personnage”.

Ingolferth

IGOLFERÐES, genitive, [Edg CC]

Although not mint-signed, this group is attributed to the north-east, probably Lincoln or Stamford. A moneyer appearing as Ingolf/Higolf strikes mint-signed coins at Newark for Edgar. Feilitzen treats this as the independent name Scand *Ingolfr* but it is just possible, in view of Ingolferth’s north-east Midlands association that this might be an abbreviation for the name here.

CG *Ingelfred*, F. 965, *Ingolfredus* etc, Morlet 145. See **Ingelbert** above for *Ingel/ Engel-*. Here the second element is anglicised.

Ingelgar

INGELGAR [Eric, Anlaf, Edm HT1, HT1York, Edr HR1, HT1York]

Ingelgar appears to have begun his career at York upon Edmund’s recovery of the city in 944, and to have maintained office throughout the vicissitudes of Viking conquest and re-conquest, continuing throughout Edred’s reign until c. 955. CG *Ingel-* (etc) *-gar* F. 965. *Ingelgerius*, *-garius* widespread in Morlet 145. For *Engel-/Ingel-* see above, **Ingelbert**.

Ingelric

ENGELRI [Edw I HT1], INGERI [Æthst HCT1]

INGELRIES genitive [Edg HR1]

Oxford INGELRI [Æthst CC]

Probably two different moneyers here, as the earlier moneyer is linked to Oxford by a mint-signature; probably the Edward moneyer is the same man, as he strikes late in the reign. He uses Winchester derived dies, which would be normal for Oxford. The Edgar moneyer on the other hand uses a Rosette die with M in the field, which indicates Derby die-cutting, and there is no evidence for such dies reaching Oxford. There are no examples for the intervening period. CG *Ingelric*, FCG 74.

Iohan

IOHAN [Edw I HT1], IOHANN [Edw I HT1, Æthst HT1]
Chichester IOHAN [Æthst CC]

In Edward's reign Kentish and Wessex style dies are used by this moneyer, which would agree with the later Chichester mint-signature. The Edward coins belong to the end of the reign, in the Late II phase. Most probably CG as saint's names were not given in Anglo-Saxon tradition; an Irish connection is here less likely. Ultimately Hebrew through Latin *Iohannes*, Old French *Iohan*, Morlet 65

Isembert

ISEMBERT [Edwg HT1 NE1, Edg HT1 NEV]

North-eastern dies, probably Stamford/Lincoln area. The Edgar coin has an obverse die-link to Adelaver, a mint-signed Lincoln moneyer for Edward the Martyr. CG *Isanbert*, FCG 165, Feilitzen Edgar 199.

[Land-

LONDBRIHT [Edw H, Edr HT1], LANDFERD [Edg HR1, R/HR4, HT1 NE1]
LANDVLF [Edm HP1], LANDVVINE [Edm HT1]

The *Land-* names may be OE, see FCG 172; Landfrith and Landbeorht appear in the early part of LVD].

Litelman

LITELMAN [Edwg HT1 NEIV], LITILMAN [Æthst HT1NE1, Edm HT1 NE1]

The forms are all found on coins of north-east Midlands dies, probably Lincoln or Stamford. Perhaps a translation of Old French **Pitit**. See footnote 21.

Magnard

MAGNARD [Edw I H, Æthst HT1 NEII], MEINARD [Edg R/HR1]

The Edward coin is from south-east Midland dies. It is suggested that NEII may originate in the Bedford/Northampton area, which would agree with the earlier example which is from south-east Midlands dies. The Edgar moneyer is probably a different man; the Rosette dies he uses suggest the north-west, and there are no instances in the intervening reigns. CG Maganhard, F. 1076, where he notes "*auf romanischem Boden war die form Magen- üblicher*"(sc. than *Megan-*). See also FCG 181.

Mamolet

MAMOLET [Edg HT1 NEV], MANOLET [Edwg HT1]

North-east Midland area; the indications are Lincoln/Stamford (fn CTCE 159). It is uncertain which is the correct form, but since these are the only instances of either name in Anglo-Saxon England, it is unlikely that more than one person is indicated. A Romance derivation of either CG *Mammo* or *Manno*. For the suffix, see **Boigalet** above.

Mangod

MANGOD [Edr HT1 halfpenny, Edwg HT1]

Exeter MANGOD [Edg CC]

“Hamtun” (probably Southampton) MANNGOD [Edwg HT3]

Winchester MANNGOD [Edwg HT3]

The element *-god* as deuterotheme is not OE *-god* but either Scand *-gautr* or CG *-gaut*.³⁶ There is no *Manigaud* etc. in F. but Morlet (167) has several examples (*Mangodus*, *Mangaudus*) from French cartularies. FCG 186 also claims this name as CG.

Mantat

MANNTAT [Edg CC], MANTAT [Edg BC]

Northampton MANTAT [Edg CC]

Feilitzen Edgar 201 suggests that rather than being CG *Mantet* this name may contain the OE adj. *tat* ‘glad, cheerful,’ but the native element is only certainly recorded in feminine names, and in view of the frequency of continental names amongst tenth-century moneyers, a continental origin is highly probable.

Manticen

MANTICEN [Edg BC]

Norwich MANTICEN [Æthst BC, Edm BC]

The distribution of the Crowned Bust type in Edgar’s reign is widespread in the south, but this moneyer uses a die with a crude style of bust associated with East Anglia, and earlier this rare name is found at Norwich. The moneyer’s name is the only instance in Searle. Feilitzen Edgar 201 finds difficulty with the suffix since “Low German names in *-kin* ... invariably retain the original vowel; in OLG [Old

³⁶ T. Kisbye, ‘*Osgod/Osgot*: the provenance of some names in *-god* reassessed in the light of numismatic evidence’, *Publications of the Department of English, University of Copenhagen* 8 (1979). 12–26.

Low German] sources –*ken*<*kin* is not found until the 12th cent[ury]”. It may however result from the unstressed position of the vowel. This diminutive suffix is found in OE but the primary element here is *Mand-/Mant-* ‘joy’ which does not appear in OE names. Cf. Flemish *Manto* or West Frankish *Mantio*. MANECHIN, MANNECHIN [Edr BC] however may be OE, a diminutive of OE *Man(n)*, although Morlet has examples of *Manekin*, and also *Mennechin*, which corresponds with the *ch* spelling on the coin. MANNEL [Edm HT1] appears to be another diminutive of *Man(n)* which may be OE, see Redin 139

Martin

MÆRTEN, MÆRTENE [Edm HR1], MÆRTEN [Edr HR2]

MARTIN [Edm HT1, Edr HT1, Edg HT1], MERTIN [Edg HR2]

Chester MÆRTENE [Æthst CC], MARTIN [Edg HR3]

Derby MARTINVS [Æthst CC {Blunt Ath 170}]

Winchester MARTIN [Edg CC {found at Winchester; personal communication}]

Presumably more than one moneyer, one working at both Chester and Derby and responsible for the unsigned coins from Rosette dies, consistent with this area. The Winchester moneyer would then be the user of the [Edm, Edr, Edg HT1] dies. Not OE. The Chester connection could indicate influence from Ireland, cf. *Mældomen* at Chester, but Martin was a popular name in Frankish territory (Morlet II 88), because of St. Martin of Tours, apostle to the Gauls and patron saint of the Merovingians. Also, the Latin ending strongly suggests continental influence. See also Feilitzen Edgar 200. A MARTINUS is found on the St. Edmund coins.

Norbert

NORBERT [Edr floral, BC; Edg BC]

CTCE 202 states “Norbert’s coins of the Crowned Bust type are East Anglian in style, and the spray type (i.e. floral) coin could be from that area”. In Edgar’s Reform type a Norbert appears at the Norwich mint. CG *Nordbert*, Feilitzen Edgar 202.

Nother

NODER [Æthst H NE1], NOÐE [Æthst H NE1, Anlaf]

NOÐ[fragment] [Edm BC {CTCE pl 23}]

The coins bearing these legends all seem to belong to the east Midlands. The Edmund coin is tentatively attributed to Bedford (CTCE 191); Edmund’s BC generally belong to eastern England. The Anlaf group (probably Guthfrithsson) belongs to the occupation of the Five Boroughs in 940–942. These forms could represent a CG *Nother*, but it is unusual for the two consonants in separate ele-

ments (i.e. *Not-her*) to be represented by Ð. This however could be the result of intervention by an English scribe or the die-cutter. OE *Nod-* as a first element is well evidenced (Searle 359–60) and one instance of *Nodhere* apart from the moneyer is found as a witness in 844, but the form of the second element is more characteristic of continental names, cf. *Nother* bishop of Luttich F. 1166, *Notherus* Morlet I 173.

Odelcr

ODELER [Anlaf Guthfrithsson Raven type, Edm HT1 NE1]

The Anlaf coin is probably attributable to this ruler's possession of the Five Boroughs 940–42, see CTCE 217. CG *Odelhar/her*, FCG 196, cf. Morlet I 176 *Odellerius*

Odelric

ODELRICES [Edm HB1], OÐELRICES genitive [Edm HR1, Edr HR1]
 OÐELRIES genitive [Edg HR1], OÐIIRICE [Edm HR1]
 Derby OÐELRIE [Edg CR]

The Rosette dies are compatible with the Derby signature. CG *Othelric*, Feilitzen Edgar 203, FCG 196.

Odo

ODO [Edw HT1, Æthst HT1 NE1]

The Edward coin is late in the reign and, like the other, belongs to the north-east Midlands. CG *Odo*, F.186, Morlet I 44. There are coins of [Æthst and Edm HT1 NE1] which read ODA, which may represent an anglicisation of the same name

Ondrese

ONDRES [Edm HR1 {CTCE pl 11}], ONDRESE [Edr HR1]
 ANDREAS [Edg HT1 NEV]

West Midlands area is indicated by Rosette dies, but the Edgar coin is from the north-east. A large group of Midlands moneyers at this time do seem to have sourced their dies from both east and west. This is probably a rendering of the saint's name *Andreas*, as there is frequent interchange of *a/o* in the spelling of this OE vowel. In late OE it is more usually *a* but in Mercian and Northumbrian sources in the tenth century *o* is the preferred spelling.³⁷ The *-s*, *-es* forms may be intended for the genitive, or be a rendering of the *-as* ending. Saints' names were

³⁷ Campbell, *Old English Grammar*, §130.

not part of OE naming practice. *Andreas* is found commonly in Morlet II 19 but as the moneyer is connected to the north-west, a Hiberno-Norse introduction is possible.

Pastor

PASTOR [Edw I HT1]

Late in the reign, north-east Midlands. The Edward moneyer's name is the sole instance of this word used as a name in Searle and it is not cited in FCG. Latin *pastor*, 'shepherd'. The use of Latin is strongly suggestive of Continental usage, but there is no example of the name in Morlet. Could this be a punning translation, cf. **Bonus Homo** in this same type? The corresponding OE word would be *hierd*, which does not appear as a name-element, but Pastor could possibly translate a name in *-weard*, although no suitable moneyer's name in this type can be suggested.

Paul

PAVELS [Edm HR], PAVIVS [Æthst H], PAVLES [Edm HT1]

PAVLS [Æthst H], PAVLVS [Æthst H]

Chester PAVELS [Æthst CC], PAVLES [Æthst CC/CR, CR], PAVLS [Æthst CC, CR]

Although no Edmund coins are mint-signed, the Chester connection is confirmed by the use of Rosette dies. The forms with *-s*, *-es* probably represent the genitive case, although the *-s* ending of the nominative singular was usual in Old French. As with **Martin**, **Ondrese**, an alternative Irish usage is possible in the Chester area. *Paulus* is frequent in Morlet II 88.

Pitit

PITIT [Edw HT1, Æthst HT1 NE1, Edm HT1 NE1]

The Edward coin is also of the north-eastern group, dating from late in the reign. Old French *pitit*, *petit*, 'little'. *Petitus* is recorded once at Morlet II 89. For other instances of Pitit in OE sources, and the coincidence with **Litelman** see footnote 21.

Prim

Huntingdon PRIM [Edg BC]

PIRIM [Edg BC]

Feilitzen Edgar 203 takes this to be OE *Prim*, i.e. the first of the canonical hours, hence 'early morning', citing **DEPN** Primethorpe, Leicester, for the use of the

noun as a proper name. But cf. the use of Latin *Primus* as a continental name, Morlet II 92.

Randulf

RANDVLF [Edr HT1 {CTCE pl 12}]

No specific regional indication but CTCE places this moneyer's work in the general category Midlands and South. CG *Randulf* Morlet 187 frequent and widespread.

Ranwin

RANVVPIN [Edg HT1 NEV]

North-east Midlands. Either CG *Rand-* or (*H*)*ramn-* + *win*. Feilitzen Edgar 203, F. 1247, Morlet I 187.

Regenfred

REINFIRD [Edr HB1, HT1, Edr BC]

BC is an Eastern type for Edred, including Lincoln/Stamford as well as East Anglia. CG *Reginfrid* FCG 211, Morlet I 184. The metathesis and Ð are due to anglicisation.

Regenhar

REINERE ME FECIT [Æthst CC irreg.]

A neat coin but the formula is unique for Æthelstan, although -- ME FECIT is commonly found on the St. Edmund memorial coinage. CG *Regenhar*, *Rainer* PND 347, FCG 210.

Regengrim

REINGRIM [Edm HT1 NE1, Edm BC, Edr BC]

REGGRIM [Edm HT1 NE1 {CTCE pl 10}]

North-east Midlands. CG **Regengrim*; not found as a compound in F. or Morlet though both elements are common.

Regenold

RÆGENALD [Edw I HT1], RÆGENOLD [Edm HT1, Edwg HT1]

RÆGNALD [Æthst HT1], RÆGNOLD [Edr HP1 {CTCE pl. 12}]

Exeter RÆGENOLD [Æthst CC], R[]OLD [Edg BC {CTCE pl. 21}]

REINAD [Edg HT1 NEV] may be attempting this name, although it does not coincide with any of the above types, being of north-eastern style. Few of the unmintsigned coins give stylistic indication of geographical area, but they may all be connected with the southern area. The Edward coin is of Wessex style and dates from the end of the reign. In Edgar's Reform type a REGENOLD strikes at Winchester. CG *Regenold*, FCG 208, Morlet I 185.³⁸ The *æ* is due to anglicisation.

Regenulf

RÆGENVLF [Edw I H, BD, Æthst HT, Edm HR1], REGNVLF [Edm HT1]
 Chester RÆNVLF [Æthst CC]
 Winchester RÆGENVLF [Æthst CC, BC, Edg CC {Lyon collection}]
 RÆGNVLF [Edg CC]

[Æthst HT] coins appear with diverse ornamentation in the field. Two different moneymen appear to be working here but it is uncertain how the unmintsigned legends divide. The HR1 coins are most likely to be assigned to the Chester moneyer on account of the Rosette dies. Most of these examples derive from CG *Regenulf* FCG 211, but a possibility for the north-western moneyer is Scand *Ragnulfr*.

Regenward

Oxford RÆGENPARD [Æthst CC]

CG *Regenward* FCG211. Note a *Regenward mercator* BCS 1216 cited there.

Ricard

RIHARD [Edw I H, Æthst H, Æthst CC/H{Blunt Athelstan pl 5}]
 RIHIARD [Æthst CC]

The Edward coin is of Wessex style, late I and II phase. There is no indication for the Æthelstan coins but the moneyer probably continued to mint in Wessex. CG *Richard*, FCG 213. Very common and widespread in Morlet I 158–9

Riculf

RICCOLF [Edg HT1NEV], RICOLF [Edg HT1 NEV]
 RICVLF [Edr HR1 {CTCE pl 14}]

³⁸ For a discussion of the moneyer Regnald at York, where the derivation is more likely to be Scandinavian *Regnaldr*, see V. Smart, “‘Not the oldest known list’, Scandinavian moneymen’s names on the tenth century English coinage”, pp. 309–10.

In Edgar's Reform type a RICVLF strikes at Stamford, which agrees with the style of the NEV coins. The Edred moneyer uses Rosette dies probably distributed from the Derby area. CG *Riculf* F. 1271, Morlet I 189.

Rodbert

RODBERHT [Edw I HT1 {CTCE 69}], RODBERIHT [Edm HT1 {CTCE pl 8}]
 RODBERTES [Edr HR1], ROTBERT [Æthst NEIII]
 ROTBIRT [Anlaf, style as NE1]
 Winchester ROdBRIHT [Edg CC]

The Edward coin is west Midland style, Late I phase, and the Edred coin is Derby style, with M in the field. More than one moneyer must be represented here; the Anlaf Guthfrithsson coin belongs to his occupation of the Five Boroughs 940–42, and may be by the Æthelstan moneyer, whilst the Winchester moneyer is separated by both time and place. CG *Rodbert* FCG 216. *-briht* is due to anglicisation.

Sigebbrand

SIGEBRAND [Edw I H, Æthst HT1]

The Edward coin is assigned to Kent, Late II phase. Blunt Ath 105 gave the Æthelstan coin to Wessex or Kent on grounds of style; the moneyer is probably working in Kent in both reigns. Probably CG *Sigebbrand*, as *-brand* is not an element commonly used in OE.

Sigeland

SIELAND [Æthst BC {Forum hoard, Blunt Ath 149}]
 SIELAN [Æthst BC {Forum hoard Blunt Ath no.323}]
 SIGELAND [Æthst HT1, BC {Harris coll. Blunt Ath no 322}]
 Oxford SIGELAND [Æthst H/CC Forum hoard, Blunt Ath no 125; CC]

Blunt Ath 67 notes that Oxford occupied a peculiar position as a Mercian borough lately taken into Wessex, and thus the mint shows a combination of Wessex and Mercian features not found elsewhere. Some of Sigeland's coins show features associated with the Derby die-cutting centre, but he is without doubt an Oxford moneyer.

SIGENAND [Edw I H] The Edward coin is from Wessex dies, late II phase.

There is a lack of agreement as to whether *-land* in personal names is a variant of *-nand*.³⁹ (Morlet I 198 has *Siclandus* where the second element is translated as

³⁹ See E. Schroder, 'Roland' in *Zeitschrift für deutsches Altertum*, 73 (1936) 196.

‘*terre*’ but *Siginandus* (ibid) as a separate entry from Gothic *nanths* ‘brave’. The OE reflex of *-nanths* would be *-noth*. In view of the rarity of instances in England and the coincidence of time and place, it seems likely that the forms all apply to the same person.

Stefanus

STEFANVS [Æthst HT1 NE1]

STEFHAN [Edw I H, Edm HT1 NE1 {CTCE pl 10}], STFAN [Edm HT1]

Stefanus (STFAMVS) is found in Alfred’s last issue, and in the forms STEPHAN, STEPHAES, is one of the moneyers of the St Edmund Memorial coinage. This may be the same man who goes on to mint for Edward, Æthelstan and Edmund. The name is not found in the early and middle phases of Edward’s coinage; this could be because the moneyer was then striking his St. Edmund pennies. The Edward pennies are from the Late I and II phases, North-east Midlands dies, which agrees with the Æthelstan and Edmund attributions. Greek *stephanos* ‘crown’ the name of St Stephen the protomartyr (Acts 6–7). Not in use in OE but common in Morlet II 108 where *ph* forms predominate, though there are some forms in *f*.

Theodmær

DEODMÆR [Edr HT1 NE1]

“Derby style of lettering”(CTCE 141) but the north-east Midland mints seem to have frequently taken dies from Derby. The evidence for the use of the element *Theod-* ‘people, nation’ in OE is very slight, see PNDB 383. The moneyer is the only English instance in Searle. Morlet I 69 has *Theodhmarus*, *Teodmarus*. *-mær* shows anglicisation.

Theodred

TEODRED [Edm HR1, Edr HR2], TEODRED [Edg HR2]

The HR2 type indicates Chester dies. For *Theod-* see **Theodmær** above.

Theodulf

DEODVLF [Edm HR1, Edr HR2 and variant]

As with **Theodred** above, HR2 indicates Chester dies. No certain instances in England apart from this moneyer, cf. **Theodmær**.

Wadter

VADTER [Anlaf Guthfrithsson flower type)

CTCE 227 gives the small group of coins of this design to York in the period 949–52. The middle letter of the reverse legend, though blurred and coinciding with the stem of the design, does appear to be a D. Cf. *Wadard* FCG 237, where the first element is *Wad-*, related to *wadan* ‘to go’. The name could then be an unrecorded CG **Wadher*. Alternately an error for **Walther** below.

Walther

PALTER [Edw Orn], PALTER [Edw HT], VALTER [Edr BC]

This Ornamental type (tower or reliquary type) is characteristic of the north-west, probably Chester. The presence of a CG name in the Ornamental type is unusually early, as it is assigned to the Middle I phase, whereas they mostly begin to appear in Late I or II. The Edred moneyer may well be a different person, as the Crowned Bust coins in this reign belong to eastern England, East Anglia or the north-east Midlands. CG *Waldher*, *Walterius* etc, very common in Morlet I 213.

Waleman

VVALEMAN [Edw HT {BMC 57}]

West Midlands, Late II phase. Searle normalises the name to *Wealh-* but there are no instances in OE sources except for the moneyer. More likely is CG *Walaman*, F. 1519, from the cognate *Valha-*.

Warcred

PARCRED [Æthst H {Blunt Ath 104}]

No indication of area. No element *Warc-* is recorded, unless it is a metathesis of *Wrac-* F. 1638, or a variant of *Werc-* ‘work, fortification’, F 1557. +CG *-rad/ -red* or OE *-ræd*.

Warin

VVÆRIN [Edwg HT1], VVARIN [Edr HT1], PARIN [Edr HT1]

PARN [Edm HT1, Edr HR1]

Northampton VVÆRIN [Edwg HT3, Edg CC]

The “Hamton” of the mint-signed coins is almost certainly Northampton; the Edgar coin was found in excavations at Sulgrave, Northamptonshire. Some of Searle’s instances of *Wern-* as prototheme may be OE, but the simplex is not recorded in England except for this moneyer. The uncompounded name is common on the Continent, F. 1540. Morlet I 218 has *Warin-* as an extension in *-n* of the element *War-*; the simplex form in *Warinus*, *Werinus* is common and widespread.

Warengod

VVARENGOT [Æthst H {Blunt Ath pl. 5}]

PARENGOD [Edm HT1, Edr HT1 {CTCE pl.12}]

The Æthelstan coin uses a Mercian form of Ð (diacritic crossing the curve rather than the vertical) in the king's name. The Edred coin at CTCE 140 appears in the general classification "Midlands and South" (i.e. not the north-eastern group but otherwise no indication). CG *Warengaud* F.1543, Morlet I 219 *Warengaudus*. It is possible that **Warin** above could be an abbreviation for this name.

Wethurard

PEÐVRADES genitive [Æthst CC {Blunt Ath 489}]

Legend reads MO TE; Tamworth has been suggested for the mint, but it may simply represent a *monetarius* contraction. Blunt places this coin in the "irregular" group but it is well made and legible. The obverse bears the *Rex Saxonum* title, and the letter M in the reverse field associates it with a Derby die centre. Feilitzén accepts an OE element *wither* in the name of the Harold I moneyer **Witherwine*,⁴⁰ but cf. Morlet I 221 *Widrehadus*, and OSax *Wetherold*, Schlaug 160.

⁴⁰ O. von Feilitzén, 'Notes on the personal names on the coins' in C. E. Blunt and M. Dolley, *Sylloge of Coins of the British Isles*, 11, *University Collection, Reading: Anglo-Saxon and Norman Coins* (Oxford, 1969), p. 10.