

catalogues *s.a.* 896 a list of dignitaries who, it seems, died from some kind of plague in the previous three years. One was Ecgwulf, the king's marshal. In the attestations of a charter issued by Alfred at Epsom in 882, an Ecgwulf, possibly the same person, was ranked second in a list of fourteen *ministri* who witnessed it in addition to the king himself, the archbishop, one other bishop and eight ealdormen.⁸ Twenty-five years ago it was noted by Ian Stewart (Lord Stewartby) that *ministri* named Buga and Dudig were among the witnesses to a charter of Edward the Elder dated 901, and the question was raised as to whether they could have been the West Mercian moneyers of those names who minted for Alfred and Edward (and who happen to have shared an early portrait obverse die of Edward).⁹ We do not know how far up the ladder a man could or would want to have the responsibilities of a moneyer in order to profit from the minting process, but Ec[g]wulf is a rare name for a moneyer; it is not recorded for Edward the Elder, nor for any ruler other than Burgred and Alfred in the indexed volumes 1–40 of *SCBI*, and it does not feature at all in the late Anglo-Saxon coinage as indexed by Jonsson and van der Meer.¹⁰ Although that is an insufficient reason to identify Alfred's moneyer with his marshal of the same name, the fact that he was given such an intricate obverse design suggests that the possibility cannot be ruled out.

There remains a need to check the coin's composition to establish its authenticity, though it is hard to see who would have had the knowledge of the series to create it with this combination of designs.

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A FRENCH FIND OF A PAXS PENNY

N.J. MAYHEW

A PAXS penny of William I or II, probably from the Chester mint, moneyer Ælfsi, has been found in excavations at the church of Saint Pierre de Thoan, Calvados, France (Fig. 1).¹ The coin was found in the foundations of the north wall, and appears to have been deliberately deposited at the time of construction of this part of the church. The whole site is of very great

⁸ The charter (Sawyer 345) granted land in Somerset to another *minister* named Athelstan. I am very grateful to Professor Keynes for giving me some years ago a copy of his ring-bound *An Atlas of Attestations in Anglo-Saxon Charters, c.670–1066* (Department of Anglo-Saxon, Norse and Celtic, Cambridge University, 1998) from which the information about its witnesses has been gleaned.

⁹ *CTCE*, 35 n.44.

¹⁰ Jonsson and van der Meer 1990, 123–6.

¹ Delahaye 2015 (online at <<http://vieilleeglisedethaon.free.fr>>). See also Delahaye and Niel 2004, 4–5, for an earlier notice of this coin. For an archaeological discussion of the history of the whole site, see Delahaye 2005 (p. 62 for the coin find). The excavations were directed by François Delahaye (INRAP) in collaboration with Cécile Niel, laboratoire d'anthropologie (CRAHM, CNRS-Université de Caen). The coin was initially identified by Jacqueline Pilet-Lemiere, laboratoire numismatique (CRAHM, CNRS-Université de Caen), though understandably enough the coin was mistakenly attributed to the Leicester mint. (It is worth noting that the currently accepted mint attributions of a number of English mints in this period are sometimes more conventional than objectively demonstrable.)

archaeological interest, having been a place of religious significance from the second/third centuries when a *fanum* (a Gallo-Roman sanctuary) occupied the site. Archaeological evidence of the fourth to fifth centuries has also been excavated on the site, while the earliest Christian burials found date from the seventh century. A new church of the seventh to eighth centuries was erected on the site of these burials. Important modifications to the church occurred in the ninth and tenth centuries. The first Norman church (*église romain*) was built in the late eleventh century and is dated by this penny. The church lies some distance away from the medieval and modern village of Thaon, and it is suggested that it was established as a ‘Minster’ type church serving a wide region, which was subsequently divided into half a dozen separate parishes.²



Fig. 1. PAXS penny found at Thaon (photographs by Jean-Claude Fossey, CRAHM, 2003)

Obv. †PILLELMREX beginning at 7 o'clock.

Rev. †IELFSLIONLEHECE, initial cross aligned fractionally to the right of the upright of the large cross in the field; PAXS in roundels in angles of reverse cross; P in top left quarter.

It may be noted that expert opinion is now inclined to date the PAXS type tentatively to 1087?–c.1090, making it the first type of William II rather than the last of William I.³ Finds of English coins of William I and II on the continent are not common, but the evidence is helpfully collected by Martin Allen, who has also recently estimated the original size of the whole PAXS issue.⁴ A recent English find, from the same dies as the Thaon find, occurred in 2010 from near Spilsby Lincolnshire.⁵

The penny is attributable to the moneyer Ælfsi at a mint conventionally identified as Chester.⁶ However, the attribution of Chester and Leicester pennies in this period is not straightforward, and the best summary of current opinion is provided by Martin Allen.⁷ Edward Hawkins established the basis of the distinction between very similar mint signatures at Leicester and Chester in his publication of the Beauworth hoard.⁸ This distinction was followed by George Brooke in his *BMC*, where he lists two Ælfsi coins at Chester from the Beauworth hoard.⁹ The Thaon find corresponds closely with Brooke's coin no. 586. Ælfsi is elsewhere recorded in the PAXS type at the Chester mint with LECESTRE, LEHECE,¹⁰ and again with LEHECE;¹¹ and with LECESTRI.¹² In passing one might also note that a moneyer named Ælfsi is known in the PAXS type at Colchester.¹³

² See Delahaye 2015, 7 for a map of regions possibly served by the minster. For the role of minster churches before the establishment of parishes in Anglo-Saxon England, see Blair 2005, 4–5.

³ Allen 2014, 92. Types of Edward the Confessor and Harold II proclaiming the peace date to the beginning of these reigns. But see also, Harvey 2014, 308–22, where PAXS is associated with the Norman political crisis occasioned by the threat of Danish invasion in 1084–6.

⁴ Allen 2014, 103–4, and the sources cited there, and Allen 2015.

⁵ I am most grateful to Jim Brown of Dix Noonan Webb, and to the finder for the details of this find, which was properly reported to Dr Rob Collins, the PAS Finds Liaison Officer in the area. PAS record ID: NCL-21FE37.

⁶ I am grateful to Dr Gareth Williams for the reading of the moneyer's name.

⁷ Allen 2012, 55.

⁸ Hawkins 1836, reprinted in Ruding 1840, I, 151–61: see p. 153 for the discussion of the Chester/Leicester problem – suggesting LEHRE = Leicester, but LESTRE, LEHC, LECI, LECES, LEHECE, LECESTRE, and LEHEC, LEHECST = Chester. Specifically, LEHECE and LECESTR on coins of the moneyer Ælfsi = Chester. For Hawkins it is generally the addition of R in the name which indicates Leicester, but this rather arbitrary rule cannot be applied in every case. It is also important to take account of the known activity of named moneyers at the mints concerned, and this is set out clearly by Allen 2012, 71, 75. For the moment, in the PAXS type Hawkins' mid nineteenth-century attribution of Ælfsi at LEHECE to Chester, and only Godric at LEHRE to Leicester (Ruding 1840, I, 155), stands.

⁹ Brooke 1916, II, 110, nos 585 and 586. See also Carlyon-Britton 1907, 65 and pl. VII, 9, 10, listing five coins of AELFSI ON LEHECE from the Beauworth hoard and one from the Tamworth hoard (Carlyon-Britton reads AELFSI as IELFSI).

¹⁰ *SCBI* 5 (Grosvenor Museum, Chester), nos 399–400, read as IELFSI(ge).

¹¹ *SCBI* 17 (Midlands Museums), no. 558.

¹² *SCBI* 64 (Grosvenor Museum Chester II), no. 772, read as IELFSI (Æfsige).

¹³ *SCBI* 29 (Merseyside County Museums), no. 883; and *SCBI* 11b (Stockholm), no. 80.

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A 'MULE' STERLING OF DAVID I OF SCOTLAND FROM THE CARLISLE MINT

N.M.McQ. HOLMES

THE purpose of this note is to place on permanent record in the pages of this *Journal* a remarkable coin belonging to the earliest issues for a Scottish king. It has been recorded in the EMC with the number 2016.0133, has recently been offered for sale at auction,¹ and has previously been recorded in a publication aimed at the metal-detecting fraternity,² but this note is placed here as an appendix to the recently published paper on the early coins from the Carlisle mint by Mattinson and Cherry.³ A full description of the coin is as follows:

David I (1124–53), silver sterling/penny by the moneyer Erebald at Carlisle
Obv.: †DAVIDR[]X (legend commences at 9 o'clock); crowned bust three-quarters right, with sceptre on left.
Rev.: †EREBALD[] (legend commences at 1 o'clock); short cross moline with lis in each angle.
 20.0 mm diameter; 1.49 g; die axis 210°.



Fig. 1. 'Mule' sterling of David I

The obverse belongs to the class categorised by Mattinson and Cherry as 'Scottish group a, quadrilateral on cross fleury',⁴ similar to English issues of Henry I, type 15, but the reverse is as 'group b', which comprises coins of David I copying those of Stephen, *BMC* type 1. This would tend to suggest that the two types were issued, if not contemporaneously, then at least without much time elapsing between them.

This coin is one of several important early Scottish coins which have come to light in recent years and which are gradually helping to shed light on the numismatic history of the period.⁵

¹ Dix Noonan Webb auction 137, 22 Sept. 2016, lot 1492.

² Spencer 2016, 58–9. I am grateful to Martin Allen for this information.

³ Mattinson and Cherry 2013.

⁴ Mattinson and Cherry 2013, 102–3 and Fig. 3.

⁵ See also Holmes 2017.