DOUBLE MONEYERS’ NAMES ON EARLY SCOTTISH PENNIES

By Ian Halley Stewart

One of the most interesting problems in the early Scottish series is whether all or any of the pennies bearing double moneyers’ names on the reverse were issued under joint authority, as seems very likely in some cases, and whether some were issued by one man using a second name or surname to distinguish him from another moneyer of the same name. On early English coins the surname, some abbreviation of it, or, more frequently, an initial is found, and this is almost invariably to distinguish the coins of two similarly named moneyers. Examples of all three forms may be instanced from the short-cross coinage, 1180 to 1247. At Canterbury, in the later issues Johan Chiche, a member of the well-known local family of that name, signed his coins with a full form of both names, IOAN CHIC, as there was another moneyer of longer standing there at the same time called Johan. Philip Aimary of Tours, who came to London in 1180 to design the new coinage, signed himself FIL AIMER, and it may be that the coins reading AIMER only, which continued for a much longer period, were the money of Philip’s son. The pennies of FIL AIMER soon cease, which is to have been expected since Aimary senior is known to have been discharged in disgrace soon after his appointment. Such instances with two full names, or a name and an abbreviation, are much less numerous than names followed by initials. Together with Johan and Johan Chiche at Canterbury we find IOAN F R on a few coins, which is a rare use of two initials. The most outstanding of the cases of one initial after the name is at the London mint in John’s reign, where no less than four moneyers by the name of Willelm were operating simultaneously; three of them therefore put their initial after the name, B, L, or T, while the fourth kept the single name.

On the Scottish pennies of William I and Alexander II, however, double names are more frequently found than single, and there are several strong indications that certain moneyers were jointly responsible for many of the coins, and possibly at more than one mint at the same time. At least, some such explanation is necessary to account for such a multiplicity of double names.

The name of Raul Derlig appears on pennies of William I’s second coinage: this is clearly an essential distinction from Raul, a moneyer at Roxburgh, where some of Raul Derlig’s money was struck. These double names are first to be noticed in number, however, on William I’s third coinage, begun in 1195, with a short voided cross having stars in the angles on the reverse. At Perth, the name of Henri le Roux occurs; he is, of course, a single man and issued also a series of pennies with no mint name. At Roxburgh the combinations Aimer
Adam and Peris Adam are in evidence. By far the largest series of this coinage bears the names Hue Walter, with no mint name, and also without the mint are some rare pence with the names Walter Adam together. The very rare pennies of Alexander II provide these examples: at Berwick, Wale Rob (Walter Robert); at Roxburgh, Alain Andrew and Andrew Ricard Adam; and also, with no mint name, Wilam Iohan.

A brief discussion of this problem of the double moneyers’ names was given by Burns, The Coinage of Scotland, i. 91, and I have written a paragraph on the subject in The Scottish Coinage, p. 15. But the matter was not exhaustively, nor even very decisively, treated by Burns, and my own book was no proper place for more than some general comments. Also, quite the most important piece of evidence on the subject has only recently come to light, and for this reason particularly it would seem to be time for a more complete examination of the question. The new discovery is a William the Lion penny of the third coinage (figured) of the moneyer Hue, struck from the same obverse die as the Perth penny of the moneyer Walter, Burns’s fig. 45e. The coin is as follows:

Obv. Crowned bust left with sceptre, +WILEM.MVREX.

Rev. Short cross voided with stars of six points in the angles, (+) hVE:ONEDE(...). Wt. 16·2 gr. (I.H.S.) (Pl. II).

The obverse die is entirely unlike any of the normal Perth or Edinburgh obverses of this coinage. Of the third coinage of William I the earliest pence were struck at three mints with one moneyer working at each; they are Hue at Edinburgh, Walter at Perth, and Raul at Roxburgh. Hue and Raul had both coined at their respective mints during class 2 (sceptre-head cross pommée) of William’s second coinage, and there is good reason to suppose that Walter of the unique second coinage Stirling penny, class 2, is the same man who struck the third coinage at Perth. It will be remembered that Perth was brought in as an emergency mint in the second coinage, class 1, when Berwick, Edinburgh, and Roxburgh were forfeited to the English (The Scottish Coinage, p. 10), but did not issue class 2 when the three important castles were returned.

This continuity of moneyers’ names proves that the rather large, good style pence of Hue, Walter, and Raul are the earliest of the third coinage. These early issues of the three mints are closely linked by style, and—more concretely—by the newly discovered Edinburgh-Perth die-link, and the Perth-Roxburgh die-link recorded by Burns (figs. 42 b–c). Incidentally, the late Capt. C. H. Dakers, in his instructive article on Die Interchanges Between Scottish Mints, P.S.A.S. lxx. 202, overlooked the Perth-Roxburgh interchange, although Burns had illustrated both coins. As it is, these two William I die-links are about half a century before the earliest recorded by Dakers as under Alexander III.
In view of the same obverse die being used by Hue at Edinburgh and by Walter at Perth, and of the thus demonstrable connexion between the two men, I think it is definite and certain that the Hue Walter coins were a general issue from Edinburgh and Perth, and probably more mints, supervised by and under the general control of Hue and Walter jointly. For a while, after the end of Raul's issues, Hue and Walter may have taken over Roxburgh as well; but then Adam was appointed to Roxburgh, and there are some very rare coins with his name alone. Much more plentiful, though still of some considerable rarity, are pennies with the names Aimer Adam and Peris Adam. It would appear that two men by the names of Aimer and Peris or Peres successively co-operated with Adam. Quite possibly the Aimer was Philip Aimary or his son, both already mentioned in connexion with the English short-cross coinage. Exiles from the London or other English mints seem to have sought employment in Scotland on different occasions; the most notable case is that of Bonagius of Florence, who left the Durham mint in a hurry in 1363, and the following year became a senior officer at the Edinburgh mint.

Adam's next partner always appears as Peres or Peris on William I's coins, but he is apparently the same man as Pieres on the coins of Alexander II. Confirmation of this order that I suggest—Adam, Aimer Adam, Peris Adam—is supplied by the same obverse die being used in connexion with reverses reading both Adam and Aimer Adam (Burns, fig. 67c for the Aimer Adam coin), and in another case the same obverse die being used for coins reading both Aimer Adam and Peris Adam (Burns, figs. 68a and 69).

The presence of Peres's name on these coins, and the close similarity between the obverses of William pennies of Peres Adam and of Alexander pennies of Pieres, indicate that the Roxburgh pence of Peris Adam certainly, of Aimer Adam probably, and of Adam perhaps, belong in fact, although issued in the name of William the Lion, to the reign of Alexander II up to the 1240's (see below). Meanwhile, the joint coinage of Hue and Walter must account for Edinburgh's and Perth's issues during the period; the different number of points to the stars on the reverse of the Hue Walter pence may indicate separate mints of issue, as they do on the second coinage of Alexander III. Henri le Roux issued a similar series of coins, and as his pence present the same combinations of points to the stars on the reverse as the Hue Walter pence, there was evidently a double minting authority which shared the issues at each mint. There is a great difference of style, and it would seem also a considerable gulf of time, between the early Roxburgh coins of Raul and the later ones of Adam and his confederates. In that case Hue Walter coins would have filled the interval. The rare coins with no mint name resembling the later Hue Walter pence but with the names Walter Adam may well

1 An analogous and contemporary example of more than one mint issuing coins for the same moneyer at the same time is at the end of the short-cross and beginning of the long-cross coinage, under Henry III of England, when London and Canterbury both worked for Nichole de S. Albano.
have been a joint issue of Walter and the Roxburgh Adam, perhaps after the retirement of Hue.

Hoard of English short-cross coins buried about 1240, for instance that discovered at Eccles, 1864, contain a regular proportion of about one Scottish coin for every twenty to thirty English. These Scottish coins are primarily Hue Walter pence, but a few of the later Roxburgh coins with William's name appear. In view of this, Alexander II certainly did not issue an autonomous coinage until the 1240's, a conclusion substantiated by the high rarity of his money.

The fact that we can now confidently state that two moneyers' names on the same coin almost invariably indicate separate men means that important evidence is available for classifying Alexander III's first coinage also. On Alexander II's coins we have noted that Pieres continues at Roxburgh, though not in conjunction with Adam; who, however, now combines his name with those of Andrew and Ricard on the same coin. Ricard is not heard of again, but both Adam and Andrew appear individually as moneyers at Roxburgh under Alexander III. Pieres is not known after Alexander II; Alain makes a short appearance in this reign both by himself and with Andrew.

Walter and Robert coined at Berwick together for Alexander II, and both together and separately for Alexander III. Another combination, Willem and Iohan, occurs on an Alexander II penny with the mint name omitted, but there is no doubt about the attribution as Iohan and Willem worked independently under Alexander III at Berwick.

Valuable pointers are supplied by this continuity of moneyers as to the correct sequence of Alexander III's earlier pence. For example, the earliest types of Alexander III's coins must include the moneyers who carried on from the previous reign. Again, it has been supposed that the very rare pennies of Roxburgh and Berwick of Alexander's first coinage which have mullets, not stars, on the reverse were the latest, since mullets were frequently found on Alexander's second coinage: this idea is invalidated by Walter's name on the Berwick coins, for he issued several small varieties, including that with mullets, all with a uniform and early style of lettering. The mullet coins, therefore, along with Walter's other money, must be among the earliest of the reign, a fact which is postulated by other independent evidence.

This serves to show of what great importance it is to the study of a considerable period to know that moneyers definitely combined their names on joint issues. Although it is not within the scope of this paper to elaborate on the theories offered, it has been shown that from this new fact we are able to make many vital discoveries on which accurate and detailed classifications can be built; we have established these points, that: (i) Hue Walter coins started when Hue's and Walter's

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\[1\] This is precisely the same proportion as is found in hoards of the same period unearthed in Scotland, so the two currencies were apparently entirely interchangeable.
individual issues ceased; (ii) these Hue Walter coins certainly came from two mints, Edinburgh and Perth, where the two moneyers had worked previously, and perhaps from other mints as well; (iii) the order—Raul, interval, Adam, Aimer Adam, Peris Adam—is established for the Roxburgh moneyers, and so the other pence of the coinage can be classified with Roxburgh as the key; (iv) on other evidence than that of hoards, certain coins in William's name were in issue probably twenty years after his death; (v) Alexander III's first coinage must commence with an issue including the moneyers who formerly signed his father's coins. These deductions follow directly on the discovery about double moneyers' names. Apart from the evidence supplied, it is certainly a remarkable demonstration of the far-reaching and unexpected importance of a single and, on the face of it, unspectacular coin.