SHORT ARTICLES AND NOTES

THE 'PORCUPINE' SCEATTAS OF METCALF'S VARIETY G

M. A. S. BLACKBURN and M. J. BONSER

In a pioneering study in 1966 Michael Metcalf sought to bring a degree of order to the vast amorphous ‘porcupine’ coinage. He isolated eight distinct varieties (A-G and the ‘VICO’ group) and three more in the related ‘plumed bird’ type (J-L). His classification has been a great aid in the description and analysis of the series, and has enabled students to discuss the origin and chronology of various groups. His varieties are, however, by no means comprehensive; they do not encompass the wide range of later (Secondary) coins represented, for example, in the Barthe hoard, or many earlier coins that have elements borrowed from several different varieties. There are also definitional difficulties in knowing how far the design on a coin may stray from Metcalf’s schematic drawings and yet still be included within a variety. These problems stem in part from the diverse nature of the coinage and from our as yet poor understanding of its structure. As additional material comes available for study, it should be possible to refine the definitions of particular groups. One example is in variety G, where with the help of recent single finds we have been able to define its boundaries more closely and to identify subdivisions within it.

Metcalf’s schematic drawings (fig. 1) show variety G as having on the obverse below the usual ‘porcupine’ curve a triangle and three pellets, with another pellet on the curve at the point where it meets the right-hand side of the triangle. On the reverse the standard is decorated as Metcalf shows it. The outer reverse border is rarely visible, but when it is it has either a cross, a row of pellets, or a reversed N at the centre of the sides (cf. pl. nos 2, 3, 4 and 6). The dies vary in style, but they are generally more refined than those of G2-4. The curve is usually wider and more moulded, while the lines which form the ‘spines’ and triangle are finer, and the pellets smaller than on the other groups. The specimens we have noted are: Aston Rowant hoard (BM, 2: 1.29g and 1.25g); Cimiez hoard? (BNJ 24 (1944), pl. 3.33; 1.25g); Domburg (Macare3 pl. 2.32; de Man4 p. 274; 0.85g – weight suggests either very worn or imitation); Barham, Suffolk (BM, 2: 1.22g and 1.11g); Barrington, Cambs. (MEC 1:648 – an imitation;

FIG 1. Metcalf’s schematic drawings of variety G.

Acknowledgements. We are grateful to Dr D. M. Metcalf for stimulating comments on a draft of this article and for providing photographs and weights of the parcel of coins in the Glendining sale, 17 February 1988. Miss M. M. Archibald and Dr B. J. Cook kindly supplied photographs of coins in the British Museum.

3 C. A. Rethaan Macaré, Verhandeling over de bij Domburg gevondene romainische, frankische, britannische, noorse en andere munten (Middleburg, 1838).
4 M. G. A. de Man, Catalogus der Numismatische verameling van het Zeeuws Genootschap der Wetenschappen (Middleburg, 1907).
Variety G2 (pl. nos 10–15). Similar to G1, but the design in the field right appears to include a right angle and a pellet and probably more, although the coins are well centred and this element is usually off the flan. The dies are in a different style to those of G1; the curve is less tight, the pellets at the base of the ‘spines’ and in the field are larger, the lines are thicker, the pellets on the curve are a little higher, and the right-hand side of the triangle is longer. On a few coins there seems to be only one pellet rather than three at the end of the triangle. The border on the reverse is visible on only one coin, from the 1988 Glendining parcel, which has a cluster of six pellets to the side (a fantail?). The specimens noted include: Saint-Pierre-les-Etieux hoard8 95 (1.21g); Aston Rowant hoard (Sotheby, 18 July 1985, lot 504a); a parcel, ?ex Aston Rowant hoard (Glendining, 17 February 1988, lots 282a, 283a, 283b: 1.23g, 1.30g, 1.33g – the last irregular, lacking bars on standard); Nohanent hoard9 20–21; Bais hoard10 309a (= BNM 24 (1944), pl. 3.36; 1.28g); Domburg (Dirks11 pl. E; De Man, p. 274; 1.10g); Wilbraham?, Cambs.12 (1.25g); Caistor St Edmund, Norfolk (Christie, 4 November 1966, lot 358; 0.90g – left-facing imitation); BMC 58 (NC 1966, pl. 15.15; 1.17g); MEC 1:647 (1.13g); Lockett 216c.

Variety G3 (pl. nos 16–24). This is similar in design and style to G2, save that the three pellets are absent from the field by the triangle. The design in the field right can be more closely identified, although it is still not revealed in its entirety. The symbols working from the top downwards appear as a cross, a line, a pellet, a right angle, and a square (cf. SCBI Norweb 52: pl. nos 16, 17, 19 and 22). These are sometimes neatly arranged with crisp angles, but often they are more slovenly. Various symbols are found in the outer border of the reverse: a cross, a reversed N, several pellets, angled strokes, or a long line (cf. Aston Rowant (1975 sale) 328–40; pl. nos 16, 17, 21 and 22). Specimens noted include: Saint-Pierre-les-Etieux hoard 96–7 (wt not recorded and 1.24g); Aston Rowant hoard (BM, 5: 1.26g, 1.26g, 1.26g, 1.26g, 1.27g; and Glendining, 13 March 1975, lots 238–40); a parcel, ?ex Aston Rowant hoard (Glendining, 17 February 1988, lots 282b, 282c, 283c: 1.27g, 1.26g, 1.23g); Bais hoard 309 (= BNM 24 (1944), pl. 3.35; 1.22g); Lutje Saaksum hoard13 16; Barham, Suffolk (BM, 2: 1.22g and 1.13g); Caister St Edmund 360 (1.21g); Hythe, Kent, (SCBI Midlands Museums 64: 1.19g); Pulborough, Sussex14 (1.17g); Whitby, Yorks. (BNJ 47 (1977), pl. 1.13; 1.17g); MEC 1:649 (1.26g); O.127–8 (1.24g and 1.21g, worn); SCBI Norweb 52 (1.14g).

Variety G4 (pl. nos 25–8). This is similar to G3 (i.e. without three pellets in the field), but less careful in style. The two pellets seem to have slipped off the curve into the triangle making it look more like a face. The curve is tighter and wider, while the ‘spines’ are thinner. The coins are often struck off-centre revealing the design in the field right, which takes the form of a pseudo-inscription +zn. (The cross is evident on the Oxborough and Willingham finds. The second element could be an M, but it looks more like a...
insects' legs. The decoration in the outer border, as on the triangle resembling a face and the inscription like Martin coins.) The result is distinctly zoomorphic, with Norfolk 18 (1.05g); Reculver, Kent is clear on the Reculver, Hampton-in-Arden, and C. J. Hampton-in-Arden, Warwicks. (0.97g); Oxborough, chevron-barred A on the Oxborough find. The square O strokes, and pellets. The following specimens have been G3, may take various forms, a cross, a reversed N, strokes, and pellets. The following specimens have been transferred by copying if say G4 were an imitative group. We do not know what the ' +AZO' on G4 developed from - whether from a more meaningful inscription or, as we suspect, from other symbols that progressively took on letter-like forms. The discovery of a G2 coin struck off-centre could answer this question. Coins of G2 and G3 were present in several Intermediate hoards deposited c.705-10; Saint-Pierre-les-Etieux, Nohanent, Aston Rowant, and Bais. G4 on the other hand appears to have been absent from these suggesting that it is slightly later in date, while its omission from the Cimiez and Hallum hoards, each with only a small number of 'porcupine' sceattas, is probably due to its scarcity. A later dating for G4 is also consistent with the weight distributions (Table 1), for G4 was evidently struck to lighter standard (c.1.10g) than G2 and G3 (c.1.25g).

Metcalf regarded the finer style coins of G1, and especially O.129 with its additional pellets on the standard, as standing at the head of variety G. Their wide deep curve, fine lines and pellets, and the box-like symbol in the field right were, he thought, influenced by coins of his variety E. However, variety E appears to be later than most coins of variety G, since it was absent from all the Intermediate hoards but present in the Cimiez hoard of c.720 and in the Franeker and Barthe hoards which though difficult to date seem to be contemporary with or later than Cimiez. Variety E was also struck to a lighter weight standard (c.1.13g) than most Primary and Intermediate 'porcupine' sceattas. The hoard evidence and the weight distributions are no doubt partly influenced by geographical factors, but none the less variety E seems to belong mainly to the early Secondary phase. It may, however, have commenced during the Intermediate phase, for two coins in the Aston Rowant hoard, derivatives of the so-called 'VER' group, have reverses with four bars and two pellets on the standard, a design also found in variety E. Given the nature of the 'VER' group it seems more likely that these coins were copied from the abundant variety E than vice versa, but one cannot be certain.

Variety G1 was certainly an Intermediate group since it was present in the Aston Rowant hoard, and in so far as there are common elements in the designs of G1 and E we think that the influence must have been from G1. However, their styles and compositions are not in fact very similar. The reputed presence of a specimen of G1 in the Cimiez hoard may suggest that G1 continued into the early Secondary phase, although this piece could have been significantly older than most other coins in the hoard, and there is some doubt as to which sceattas are from the hoard since the Morel-Fatio collection is known to have contained some from other sources.

As between G1 and G2, no stylistic continuity is evident and the symbols in the field right are different, although the reversed N in the border surrounding the standard in G1 is repeated in G3 and G4. This does not of course prove that the two are from different mints, merely that a different hand was probably responsible for the dies. However, it remains an option that G1 and G2 were parallel issues

| TABLE 1  
<p>| Weight distributions of varieties G1-4 |   |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>G1</th>
<th>G2</th>
<th>G3</th>
<th>G1-3</th>
<th>G4</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1.30-1.34g</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.25-1.29g</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.20-1.24g</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.15-1.19g</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.10-1.14g</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.05-1.09g</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.00-1.04g</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>0.95-0.99g</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

No. of coins 11 9 20 40 6

17 'Coin Register', no. 59 below.
18 'Coin Register', no. 60 below.
19 For the dating of these hoards see M. A. S. Blackburn.
20 The Aston Rowant hoard is unpublished, but no specimen of G4 is included in the substantial parcel acquired by the British Museum or among the coins that have been illustrated in sale catalogues.
from different mints, with G1 perhaps continuing later than G2.

The find distributions of G1, G2, and G3 are broadly similar — widely spread in England, some from Domburg, and a number in French hoards. The distribution is very similar to that of the Continental Runic coins (Series D) which finds such as the Escharen hoard\(^{22}\) locate on or south of the Lower Rhine, and we believe that variety G comes from the same general region.

To sum up. Of the four sub-groups identified in Metcalf's variety G, we suggest that G2, G3, and G4 are successive products of a single mint in the Lower Rhine region. There is a considerable degree of uncertainty involved in converting a relative dating for sceat types into absolute dates, but in accordance with the chronology recently proposed\(^{23}\) we would date the varieties approximately as follows:

- G2 c.700–5 (or earlier)
- G3 c.705–10 (or earlier)
- G4 c.710–15

The finer-style group G1 may well head the variety, as Metcalf has suggested, although it could alternatively be a parallel issue from a second mint in the region contemporary with G2 and G3 and perhaps continuing later.

Key to the Plate (c1½)

**Variety G1**
1. Aston Rowant hoard (BM 1971:12-16-44)
2. Aston Rowant hoard (BM 1971:12-16-45)
3. Private collection.
4. SCBI Norweb 51.
5. Reculver find (MEC 1:646).
6. BMC 54.
9. Barrington find (MEC 1:648), imitation?

**Variety G2**
11. BMC 58.
12. BM collection.

**Variety G3**
23. Private collection.
24. Private collection.

**Variety G4**
25. Cambridgeshire find.

See also 'Coin Register', nos 59 and 60 below.

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\(^{23}\) Blackburn, 'Chronology'. PP. 168–74.

Scale: $\times 1\frac{1}{2}$
GRANTHAM – A NEW ANGLO-SAXON MINT
IN LINCOLNSHIRE

KENNETH JONSSON

The Anglo-Saxon penny which is illustrated here (fig. 1) was struck during the reign of Æthelred II (978-1016) and belongs to the First Hand type. The weight is 1.39 g, die-axis 180°, and the legends, which are slightly double-struck, read:

Obv. +ÆDELREðRE +AG
Rev. +MAN(?)EMOGRE

Fig. 1. Æthelred II, First Hand, Grantham Manne. Photo: The Royal Coin Cabinet, Stockholm

Although they identified ten different styles none of them can be connected with the present specimen.

It has not been possible to examine the style in First Hand to the fullest extent because this would involve a complete survey of the material outside the British Museum. However, three more coins exhibiting the style of the coin now under discussion have been identified and a few more may exist. The first is struck at Lincoln by the moneyer Grind. The second is a very crude example, with mirror drawn drapery and only the name of the moneyer, Theodgild, who is prolific at Lincoln during the type but not known at any other mint during this period. The third is confined to the reverse die of the unique Caistor penny by the moneyer Leðofman. Based on this information the style can be connected with the east midlands and Lincoln in particular where the style designated as Midlands B by Dolley and Talvio is dominant in the British Museum collection.

If there is minute evidence of the style during First Hand, the opposite is true for the preceding Reform issue. Some elements of the style are recorded from a (probably late) specimen of Edgar’s Reform Small Cross (c.973-5) at Lincoln. During Edward the Martyr’s Normal Small Cross (975-8) the style is fully developed and is the dominating supplier of dies in Lincolnshire and dies are also known from Northampton, Oxford, and Stamford. A total monopoly seems to have existed in Lincolnshire during Æthelred II’s First Small Cross (c.978-9) and dies

Fig. 2. Æthelred II, First Small Cross, Lincoln, Grind. Photo: The British Museum.

There is no official provenance attached to the coin, but ultimately it probably derives from a hoard found on Gotland in 1980 which was subsequently dispersed by the finder. The coin was acquired in 1987 by the Royal Coin Cabinet in Stockholm which also houses other coins believed to originate from the same hoard. The terminus post quem of the hoard is 995 judging from the coins which so far have been associated with the hoard.

The mint-signature cannot be associated with any of the known mints of the period and the question is thus whether it represents a new mint or is simply blundered. Besides the mint-signature itself there are two important aspects to consider: the style and the name of the moneyer.

The style

The coin is unusually stylized for the late Anglo-Saxon period, and the drapery has no indicated front. The letters are carelessly executed with X rendered as +, and no distinction is made between M and N.

A provisional analysis of the styles of the First Hand coins based on the coins in the collection of the British Museum has been presented by Dolley and Talvio. Although they identified ten different styles none of them can be connected with the present specimen.

It has not been possible to examine the style in First Hand to the fullest extent because this would involve a complete survey of the material outside the British Museum. However, three more coins exhibiting the style of the coin now under discussion have been identified and a few more may exist. The first is struck at Lincoln by the moneyer Grind. The second is a very crude example, with mirror drawn drapery and only the name of the moneyer, Theodgild, who is prolific at Lincoln during the type but not known at any other mint during this period. The third is confined to the reverse die of the unique Caistor penny by the moneyer Leðofman. Based on this information the style can be connected with the east midlands and Lincoln in particular where the style designated as Midlands B by Dolley and Talvio is dominant in the British Museum collection.

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3 SCBI Lincolnshire 33.
4 SCBI Glasgow 815.
6 Dolley and Talvio, p. 60. Four out of five coins in the British Museum belong to this style.
were then also supplied to other mints to the west and north: Derby, Northampton, Stamford, and York. Fig. 2 provides a good example of the style during the Reform issue, and there is no doubt that the dies were cut at Lincoln.

Of all the mints during this period which received dies of the style, Oxford is thus the exception in being located in the south. It is also evident that the style played a minute role in First Hand, when it must have been confined to the very beginning of the type. The distribution of the style was probably also very limited, and it is unlikely that the style would have been used at a mint distant from Lincoln during the First Hand type.

The moneyer
The third letter of the moneyer’s name is uncertain but can hardly be anything else than N, producing the less common spelling of MANNE for the Old English name which can be normalized as Manna. The name is otherwise recorded as a moneyer in the Reform issue (c.973-9) at Leicester (Edgar), Stamford (Edgar and Edward), Tamworth (Edward and Æthelred II), and York (Edgar and Æthelred II) as well as at Nottingham during First Hand. It is striking that all mints are confined to the midlands and the north and it is reasonable to assume that there were two active moneyers with the name Manna, although there remains a possibility that only one moneyer is involved. In any event, it is clear that if the moneyer responsible for the coin published here was also active at other mints, the new mint was no doubt located in the eastern midlands, or further north. The evidence of the name of the moneyer and of the style are thus fully compatible.

The mint
As pointed out above, the dies for the new coin have carelessly executed letters. Mis-spellings are also found during the Reform issue. However, the legends on the present coin are altogether legible (with the single exception of the ethnic ANG in place of the correct Ang). There is thus no reason to suspect that the mint-signature, rendered GRE, is blundered.

The possibility of the mint-signature being a variant spelling for an already known mint would seem to be limited to Cambridge (GRANT-), but that is ruled out for geographical reasons, and furthermore there is no moneyer Manna recorded at Cambridge in this period.

From the above it is clear that the mint GRE- cannot have been located far from Lincoln, but there is no immediate candidate based on the spelling on the coin. Grantham in Lincolnshire (halfway between Lincoln and Stamford) is attractive, but it was rendered ‘Grantham’, ‘Granham’, and ‘Grandham’ in Domedays Book. However, Little Gransden (where a common origin for the first element is plausible) was rendered as ‘Grantadene’ in 973 and ‘Grentedene’ c.1050. The latter spelling is thus evidence of the use of GRE-. It should also be noted that there is no recorded spelling for Grantham before Domesday Book, and Grantham was a borough, and Loyn has pointed out that Grantham is a conspicuous absentee among boroughs which are recorded from Anglo-Saxon and Anglo-Norman coins. The suggestion made here is that the new coin should be attributed to Grantham, which would thus be added to the list of Anglo-Saxon mints. The objection that it would represent a previously unrecorded spelling for the borough must be of less importance since the attribution finds firm support in the style and the name of the moneyer.

The monetary and regional context
There is a remarkable expansion of activities in Lincolnshire during the Reform issue and the First Hand type when new mints were set up at Caistor, Horncastle, Torksey and most probably at Louth. Horncastle and Louth were only active for a very short period, and only Caistor and Torksey are found striking coins beyond this period and then on a very modest scale. The reasons for this expansion of monetary activities is unknown, but if Grantham had a mint in the Anglo-Saxon period the decade following the reform is by far the most likely period for its operation.14

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8 V. Smart, SCBI 28, Cumulative index of volumes 1–20, p. 58.
9 Jonsson, Viking-Age Hoards, pp. 38-41.
11 I am very grateful to Professor Kenneth Cameron for information of the recorded spellings of Grantham.
14 Dr Veronica Smart has very kindly informed me of a Long Cross coin (Kvenden hoard, Otham par., Gortland – Jonsson, Viking-Age Hoards, G 128) of Æthelred II by the moneyer Leofhun with the mint-signature GRE-. The moneyer does not seem to be recorded elsewhere and an association with Grantham is of course possible. It must, however, remain speculative in anticipation of a stylistic analysis of the type and further evidence for an association.
A SMALL HOARD OF PENNIES OF ÆTHELRAED II (978–1016), FROM IRELAND

MICHAEL KENNY

AMONG the additions to the coin collection of the National Museum of Ireland in 1987 were four Anglo-Saxon coins, apparently a small ‘purse’ hoard, acquired from Spink and Son. The coins were stated to be from an Irish provenance, but unfortunately it was not possible to tie them down to any specific find-spot. The reluctance of the seller to divulge any further information would suggest that perhaps the coins were found with the aid of a metal detector.

Several hoards of Anglo-Saxon coins have been found in Ireland during the past few years, most of them quite small in size. The little find under consideration here therefore falls into the general pattern, although one must of course allow for the possibility that the coins which have ‘surfaced’ may represent but a portion of a more substantial hoard.

The fact that three of the four pennies are ‘Hand’ pieces is also of some importance in that such coins do not turn up often in Irish hoards. The vast majority of ‘Hand’ pennies in the National Museum come from just two finds – the Mullingar hoard of 1841 and the Kildare hoard of 1923 – and the only additions in the past few decades have been two pennies in the Dundalk hoard of 1980, two halves in the north Westmeath hoard of 1985 and a few single finds from the Dublin excavations. In the Museum trays, First Hand issues outnumber those of Second Hand, 5:2; in this small hoard the proportions are reversed. The four recently acquired coins are as follows:

First Hand (fragment) probably Derby

1. Obv: - DELRED REX. Bust to right.
   Rev: -PVLFSTAN M- O- on either side of hand.
   Wt. 0.84 g Die-axis 90°.
This coin is interesting, although unfortunately incomplete. The spelling of the moneyer’s name is quite unusual, as it is normally spelled PVLFSTAN or PVLSTAN. The -STEAN ending is not, however, unknown and a moneyer named ALFSTEAN is recorded in Hildebrand, no. 2214.¹ The obverse of the present coin is a die-duplicate of one listed in SCBI, Copenhagen, no. 123.² The reverse of the Copenhagen piece shows it to have been struck by Wulstan of Derby. Mark Blackburn (to whom I am indebted for pointing out both the Copenhagen duplicate and the Hildebrand coin referred to above) has noted that the contraction PVL- (in place of PVLF-) is quite frequently found on coins struck in midland and northern mints but hardly at all on coins struck in the south. Thus, although First Hand coins of PVLSTAN were struck in Stamford, Derby and York, the shorter ‘northern’ spelling is not known for either London or Winchester, the two southern mints which struck First Hand coins in the name of PVLSTAN. The same regional difference in the spelling of this name would appear to hold true also for later issues of Æthelraed II, and mints such as Lewes (Crux), Dover (Long Cross) and Exeter (Helmet) use the longer form.

During the reigns of Cnut (1016–35) and Harold I (1035–39), however, the shorter spelling became increasingly common on coins from southern mints.³ Apart from the spelling of the moneyer’s name, a northern mint is further suggested by the style of the die. The shape of the drapery, the relatively large bust, the treatment of the eye and the position of the arcs which form the ‘sky’ on the reverse certainly point towards Dolley and Talvio’s ‘Northern A’ style which they recorded at Derby, Lincoln and York.⁴ Unfortunately, the missing portion of the coin includes the last few letters of the obverse legend with the abbreviation x, and some of the ‘sky’ on the reverse. The evidence of the obverse die-link, supported by that of spelling and style, point firmly in favour of a Derby attribution.

Second Hand, Chester

2. Obv: +ÆDELRED REX ANGL. Bust to right, with sceptre.
   Rev: +EADRIE M-O LEGCE. on either side. Wt. 1.67 g Die axis 90°.
This coin is perhaps the most important of the four under discussion here, due to the fact that the Chester mint struck so few Second Hand coins. Jonsson⁵

Acknowledgements I would like to thank, most sincerely, Mark Blackburn, Christopher Blunt and Mrs Yvonne Harvey for their help in identifying die duplicates and in assessing the importance or relevance of individual coins.

¹ Bror Emil Hildebrand, Anglosachsiska Mynt I Svenska Kongliga Mynt (Stockholm, 1881), p. 162. Other variants of the -STAN ending include -STIN, -STYN, -STAFN, and -SAN. It is also worth noting that the mint-name Stamford is sometimes spelled STEAN on First Hand coins.

³ Hildebrand, pp. 331–2, 383.
⁵ Kenneth Jonsson, Viking-Age Hoards and Late Anglo-Saxon Coins (Stockholm, 1987), p. 87.
records only six specimens by four moneyers, including one (now in Belfast) by Eadric from the Mullingar hoard of 1841,\(^6\) which is interesting since it is the opinion of the writer that the present group may have originated from the same area. Eadric is also known to have struck First Hand and Crux at Chester.

Second Hand, London

3. Obv: +ÆDELÆÐ REX ANGLœX. Bust to right, with sceptre.
The moneyer is well known and Second Hand coins of London are relatively common.

Crux, Winchester

4. Obv: +ÆDELÆÐ REX ANGLœX. Bust to left, with sceptre.

Mrs Yvonne Harvey, who has made a study of the coins of the Winchester mint, notes that while she has previously recorded both the obverse and reverse dies, she has found them in the present combination only once, on a coin from a Swedish hoard.

This is the latest of the four coins. Since the Crux type is conventionally dated c.991–7, a suggested deposition date of c.995 would seem reasonable. One recognises of course, that with only four coins, possibly part of a more substantial find, there is a greater margin of uncertainty than applies in dating larger hoards.

\(^6\) W. A. Seaby, ‘Anglo-Saxon hoards and coins found in the north of Ireland’, *BNJ* 29 (1959), 53.
The Anglo-Norman coins in the Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge, were studied by Brooke and cited in his British Museum Catalogue of 1916. However, the collection has increased many fold since then, largely through the munificent bequests of J. S. Henderson in 1933 and A. W. Young in 1936. No catalogue of these coins has been published—they were not included in the 1959 Syllage of the collection—and although they will form part of volume 8 of Medieval European Coinage this is not expected to be published for many years. It may be helpful, meanwhile, for students to have a summary listing of the coins, since as a public collection it is probably surpassed only by those of the British Museum and the Ashmolean Museum. There are weaknesses, however, particularly in the reigns of Henry I and Stephen, which it would be most desirable to bolster before the publication of MEC 8 either through modest purchases, though Museum funds are extremely limited, or through gifts.

Most of the coins have unfortunately lost their find provenances, but there are two provenanced groups that call for particular comment.

Shillington hoard

In about 1905 P. W. P. Carlyon-Britton and L. A. Lawrence visited Trinity College, Cambridge, and were shown nineteen coins (seventeen of William II and two of Henry I) that were said to have come from the Shillington hoard discovered on 9 April 1871. These were published in BNJ,1 and until the discovery in 1977 of a parcel of fifty-six coins still in the possession of a local family2 they were regarded as the most representative group from the hoard, for Allen’s original account was very cursory.3 However, there is some uncertainty concerning their provenance.

The acquisition register of the Trinity College coin collection, which is not as detailed or comprehensive as one would wish, contains the following entry:

1871, May 12
Fifteen Silver Pennies, fresh from the die, out of a hoard lately found in Hertfordshire: viz. William Rufus, 10 pieces; Henry I, 5 pieces. Mints & Moneyers names for the most part illegible, but on some Lincoln seems discernible.

Acknowledgements. I am grateful to Philip Grierson and Graham Pollard for encouraging me to publish this summary listing of the collection, and for looking over the typescript.

This seems clear that they were not all part of the original Musgrave presentation, which unfortunately cannot be distinguished in the trays today. The only coin that can firmly be attributed to the hoard is one (no. 151) which came to the Museum via Sir John Evans's collection.

An Italian find of Henry I

Five coins of Henry I's type xv - two of London, one of Norwich, and two of Winchester (nos 201-2, 206, 208-9) - were bought by Philip Grierson from Michele Baronowsky, a coin dealer in Rome, on 6 November 1957. The group was in all probability an Italian find and may well have come from Rome itself in view of the sequence of Anglo-Saxon coin finds from there.4

Summary listing

This listing comprises the coins in the Fitzwilliam Museum collection, including those on long term loan from various Cambridge colleges, and ones in three collections that have not been deposited at the Fitzwilliam; Corpus Christi College, Queens' College, and the Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology. The moneyers' names are given in the forms in which they appear on the coins. The short provenances have been taken from the coin tickets without the further archival research that will be necessary when they are formally published. Further information about the history and sources of the collections will be found in MEC 1, pages 393-414.

WILLIAM I (1066-87)

Profile-Cross Fleury (BMC type i)

1. Canterbury, Eadweard. 1.39g No prov.
2. Canterbury, Manna. 1.34g Young 1936, ex Carlyon-Britton 672.
3. Hastings, Dunnic. 1.29g Henderson 1933, ex Montagu 70.
4. London, Godric. 1.15g No prov.
5. London, Wulfwine. 1.29g Young 1936, ex Carlyon-Britton 677.
6. Romney, Wulfmar. 1.30g Vansittart 1864 (1867 Catalogue, no. 32).
7. Romney, Wulfmar. 1.28g No prov.
8. Romney, Wulfmar. 1.28g Henderson 1933.
10. Stamford, Bunwine. 1.17g Old University Collection.

Profile-Cross Fleury/Bonnet mule (BMC type ii/iii)

11. Stafford, Godwine. 1.09g broken. Acquired before June 1871.

Bonnet (BMC type iv)

12. Chester, Elfsi. 1.27g Young 1936, ex Durlacher 2.
13. Hereford, Brihtric. 1.13g Young 1936, ex Carlyon-Britton 681, ex York (Jubergate) board 1843.
16. Shrewsbury, Eglvic. 1.26g Young 1936, ex Carlyon-Britton 684.
17. Thetford, Godric. 1.23g Chilvers 1967, ex Hamblin.
18. Wallingford, Brihtmer. 1.25g Henderson 1933, ex Evans.
19. York, Alleif. 1.33g Henderson 1933, ex Doulton 25.
20. York, Hatholf. 1.39g Duncanson 1930, ex Smart.
21. York, Othgirm. 1.34g Young 1936, ex Carlyon-Britton 689.
23. York, Swartcol. 1.39g Young 1936, ex Carlyon-Britton 689.

Profile-Canopy (BMC type iii)

24. York, Thorr. 1.28g Henderson 1933.

Canopy (BMC type iv)

25. Exeter, Ælfwine. 1.10g Henderson 1933.
26. Exeter, Ælfwine. 1.16g Young 1936, ex Carlyon-Britton 692.
27. Exeter, Ægelwine. 1.28g Old University Collection.
28. Stanmore, Ælfwine. 1.32g Henderson 1933.
29. Worcester, Eastmar. 1.30g Young 1936, ex Carlyon-Britton 696.

Two Sceptres (BMC type iv)

30. Cambridge, Ælmar. 1.39g Friends of the Fitzwilliam 2 Dec. 1926.
31. Cambridge, Odberan. 1.27g Friends of the Fitzwilliam 24 Nov. 1926.
32. Chichester, Brunman. 1.27g No prov.
33. Cricklade, Leofred. 1.35g Trinity College 1937.
34. Cricklade, Leofred. 1.34g Trinity College 1937.
35. Lincoln, Sihfeorth. 1.39g Vansittart 1864 (1867 Catalogue, no. 23).
36. Lincoln, Thorstan. 1.22g No prov.
37. London, Ælfric. 1.32g Young 1936, ex Durlacher 4.
38. London, Godric. 1.19g Duncanson 1930, ex Smart.
41. Thetford, Cenric. 1.34g Young 1936, ex Carlyon-Britton 701.
42. Thetford, Cenric. 2.18g Vansittart 1864 (1867 Catalogue, no. 34). MODERN CAST OF PRECEDING COIN.
43. Wareham, Scoifman. 1.27g Young 1936, ex Carlyon-Britton 740, ex Lawrence (1902) 52.
44. Winchester, Leofwold. 1.36g Emmanuel College 1938.
45. Worcester, Ælideard. 1.25g Trinity College 1937.

4 C. E. Blunt, 'Anglo-Saxon coins found in Italy', in Anglo-Saxon Monetary History. Essays in Memory of Michael Dolley, edited by M. A. S. Blackburn (Leicester, 1986).
Two Stars (BMC type v)
46. Bristol, Li[w]wine. 1.27g Emmanuel College 1838.
47. Canterbury, Wulfric. 1.29g Emmanuel College 1838.
48. Lancaeston ("Sasgi Stefini"), without moneyer’s name. 1.33g Young 1936, ex Carlyon-Britton 707.
49. London, Ædwine. 1.42g Young 1936, ex Durlacher 18.
50. London, Éadwine. 1.31g No prov.
51. London, Godwine. 1.39g Duncanson 1930, ex Smart.
52. London, Godwine. 1.29g Peterhouse 1960.
53. Norwich, Edwold. 1.21g Henderson 1933.
54. Winchester, Siword. 1.36g Henderson 1933, ex Webb 19.
55. Canterbury. Wulfwine. 1.32g Young 1936, Clark 50.
56. Winchester, Siwold. 1.38g Henderson 1933, ex Webb 10.
57. London, Godwine. 1.18g Young 1936, ex Carlyon-Britton 712.
58. London, Godwine. 1.24g Young 1936, ex Lewis, ex Mrs R. Smith.
59. London, Godwine. 1.24g Young 1936, ex Mrs R. Smith.
60. Winchester, Siwold. 1.36g Henderson 1933, ex Clark 44.
61. Southwark, Osmund. 1.26g Peterhouse 1960.

Profile-Cross and Trefoils (BMC type vii)
62. Dorchester, Oter. 1.21g Corpus Christi College collection, ex Lewis, ex Mrs R. Smith.
63. Salisbury, Cantwine. 1.33g Young 1933, ex Clark 44.
64. Southwark, Osmond. 1.26g Peterhouse 1960.

Profile-Cross and Trefoils/Paxs male (BMC type vi/viii)
65. Maldon, Lifesun. 1.36g Henderson 1933, ex Allen 322.
66. Winchester, Lifewold. 1.36g Young 1936, ex Carlyon-Britton 721.
67. Aldridge, Wulfwine. 1.35g Henderson 1933.
68. Norwich, Edwold. 1.36g Henderson 1933.
69. Winchester, Lifewold. 1.36g Henderson 1933.
70. Winchester, Lifewold. 1.36g Henderson 1933.
71. Winchester, Lifewold. 1.36g Henderson 1933.
72. Winchester, Lifewold. 1.36g Henderson 1933.
73. Winchester, Lifewold. 1.36g Henderson 1933.
74. Winchester, Lifewold. 1.36g Henderson 1933.
75. Chester, Ælfric. 1.34g Henderson 1933.
76. Chester, Bruman. 1.36g No prov.
77. Colechester, Wulfwine. 1.37g No prov.
78. Cricklade, Ælwine. 1.38g Henderson 1933.
79. Dover, Lulfwine. 1.36g Hasluck 1920.
80. Exeter, Lifewin[e]. 1.37g Henderson 1933.
81. Hastings, Dunic. 1.38g Henderson 1933, ex Doulton 24.
82. Hereford, Æglwine. 1.38g Young 1936, ex Carlyon-Britton 729.
83. Hereford?, Lifwine. 1.41g Duncanson 1930, ex Smart.
84. Hereford, Thiedric. 1.43g Young 1936, ex Carlyon-Britton 729.
85. Huntingdon, Ælwine. 1.42g Prov. as last.
86. Sytherne, Edred. 1.34g Prov. as last.
87. Leicester, Lifwine. 1.39g Friends of the Fitzwilliam 21 April 1944, ex Grantley 1251, ex Rashleigh 356.
88. Lewes, Ælfric. 1.36g Prov. as last.
89. Lewes, Oswood. 1.34g Prov. as last.
90. London, Ælfrid. 1.40g W. S. Lincoln.
91. London, Edric. 1.38g Henderson 1933.
92. London, Edric. 1.42g Henderson 1933.
94. London, Edric. 1.42g Old University Collection.
95. London, Edwi. 1.34g Hasluck 1920.
98. Salisbury, Esbirn. 1.40g No prov.
99. Salisbury, Godwine. 1.3g Henderson 1933.
100. Salisbury, Godwine. 1.41g Hasluck 1920.
101. Southwark, Godric. 1.38g Henderson 1933.
102. Southwark, Lifewold. 1.35g Hasluck 1920.
103. Southwark, Osmond. 1.35g Beenan 14 May 1940.
104. Southwark, Osmond. 1.44g Till.
105. Stafford, Godwine. 1.34g No prov.
106. Stafford, Godwine. 1.41g Henderson 1933.
107. Stanford, Brunstan. 1.36g Henderson 1933.
108. Thetford, Godelf. 1.30g Prov. as last.
109. Thetford, Godfrid. 1.30g Prov. as last.
110. Thetford, Godric. 1.37g Jenkinson 1923.
111. Thetford, Godric. 1.39g Hasluck 1920.
112. Wallingford, Æglwine. 1.37g Henderson 1933.
113. Wallingford, Æglwine. 1.36g Young 1936, ex Carlyon-Britton 740.
114. Wallingford, Switric. 1.38g Henderson 1933.
115. Wareham, Âetalfrid. 1.40g Young 1936, ex Carlyon-Britton 740.
116. Warwick, Threcil. 1.44g Prov. as last.
117. Winchester, Æstane. 1.38g Vidler 1964.
118. Winchester, Æstane. 1.35g Bern 1978.
119. Winchester, Godwine. 1.38g Smith 7 Oct. 1942.
120. Winchester, Godwine. 1.39g Henderson 1933, bt. Spink Nov. 1888.
121. Winchester, Lifwine. 1.36g Sanders 1944.
122. Winchester, Lifewold. 1.36g No prov.
123. Winchester, Lifewold. 1.40g Henderson 1933.
124. Winchester, Lifewold. 1.36g Smith 7 Oct. 1942.
125. Winchester, Lifewold. 1.39g Henderson 1933.
126. Winchester, Lifewold. 1.40g Sadd 18 Nov. 1871.
128. Wilton, Ælwine. 1.40g No prov.
129. Wilton, Ælwine. 1.36g Ritchie 1963.
130. Worcester, Baldric. 1.36g Henderson 1933.
131. Worcester, Sewine. 1.36g No prov.
132. Uncertain mint (. . .LI) and moneyer. 1.36g Duncanson 1930, ex Smart.
SHORT ARTICLES AND NOTES

WILLIAM II (1087–1100)

Profile (BMC type i)

133. Canterbury, Brihtwod. 0.98g worn. No prov.
134. Chester, Lifinc. 1.40g Young 1936, ex Carlyon-Britton 744.
136. London, Edric. 1.35g Henderson 1933.
138. Tamworth, Brunic. 1.37g Henderson 1933, ex Cotton 57.

Cross in Quatrefoil (BMC type ii)

140. Lincoln, Ælfwine. 1.42 g No prov.
141. London, Ælfwine. 1.10g Trinity College 1937, ? ex Shillington hoard.
142. London, Brunit. 1.28g Young 1936, ex Carlyon-Britton 753.
143. London, Edric. 1.41g Trinity College 1937, ? ex Shillington hoard.
144. London, Ælfwine. 1.39g Duncanson 1930, ex Smart.
145. Maldon, Wulfwine. 1.29g Young 1936, ex Carlyon-Britton 754.
146. Rochester, Guthred. 1.20g Trinity College 1937. MODERN CAST FORGERY.
147. Tonnes, Dunric. 1.39g Young 1936, ex Carlyon-Britton 760.
148. Warwick, Goldinc. 1.40g Henderson 1933, ex Pownall 66.
149. Worcester, Estmar. 1.34g Young 1936, ex Carlyon-Britton 762.

Cross Voided (BMC type iii)

151. Canterbury, Simsr. 1.35g Trinity College 1937, ? ex Shillington hoard.
152. Canterbury, Simsr. 1.36g Trinity College 1937, ? ex Shillington hoard.
154. Maldon, Wulfwine. 1.29g Young 1936, ex Carlyon-Britton 754.
155. Rochester, Guthred. 1.20g Trinity College 1937. MODERN CAST FORGERY.
156. Tonnes, Dunric. 1.39g Young 1936, ex Carlyon-Britton 760.
157. Warwick, Goldinc. 1.40g Henderson 1933, ex Pownall 66.
158. Worcester, Estmar. 1.34g Young 1936, ex Carlyon-Britton 762.

Annulets (BMC type i)

166. Southwark, Lifwright. 1.41g Henderson 1933, ex Bergne 320.

Annulets/Profile-Cross Fleury mule (BMC types i/ii)

167. Uncertain mint, . . .wine? 1.14g No prov. CONTEMPORARY FORGERY?

Pax (BMC type iii)

168. Ipswich, Lifwine. 1.19g Henderson 1933, ex Montagu 277.
159. Lincoln, Ælfael. 1.35g Prov. as last.
160. Lincoln, [Th]ulfstan. 1.38g No prov.
161. London, Wilfric. 1.36g Young 1936, ex Carlyon-Britton 769.
162. London, Brihtwine. 1.36g Young 1936, ex Carlyon-Britton 769.
163. London, Edric. 1.37g Henderson 1933.
164. London, Ælfric. 1.41g Trinity College 1937, ? ex Shillington hoard.
165. London, Ordgar. 1.41g Prov. as last.
166. London, Wulfwine. 1.35g Young 1936, ex Clark 67.
168. Maldon?, Alfri. 1.36g Trinity College 1937, ? ex Shillington hoard.
169. Norwich, Howar. 1.37g Prov. as last.
170. Winchester, Edwine. 1.37g No prov.
171. Winchester, . . .inc. 1.36g No prov.

Profile/Cross Pattee and Fleury mule (BMC type i/iv)

172. Shrewsbury, Hbst. 1.29g Clarke 29 July 1940, td. at Barton, Cambs. June 1940.

Cross Pattee and Fleury (BMC type iv)

173. Canterbury, Ælfric. 1.26g broken. No prov.
175. Huntingdon, Swatw. 1.37g broken. No prov.
177. Shrewsbury, Wulfric. 1.40g Trinity College 1937, ‘from the Shillington hoard’?
178. Southwark, Algar. 1.13g No prov.
179. Southwark, Algar. 1.33g Henderson 1933, ex Allen 333.
180. Sudbury, Wulfric. 1.17g broken. No prov.
181. Southwark, Sprout. 1.26g broken. No prov.
182. Wallingford, Edword. 1.32g No prov.
183. Uncertain mint (. . .R) and moneyer (Godwine?). 1.27g broken. No prov.

Cross Fleury and Fils (BMC type v)

184. Colchester, Siwigen. 1.34g Collins & Clark 1974, ex J. Wyatt.
185. Hereford, Ordw. 1.36g Young 1936, ex Carlyon-Britton 783.

HENRY I (1100–35)

Pointing Bust and Stars (BMC type vi)

189. Hereford, Adebrant. 1.09g Peters.

Quatrefoil and Stars (BMC type vii)

191. London, Sigar. 1.38g No prov.
193. Winchester, Saet. 1.23g Prov. as last.
Cross in Quatrefoil (BMC type ix)
194. Winchester, Saed. 1.29g Henderson 1933, ex Webb 25.

Full Face-Cross Fleury (BMC type x)
194a. Thetford, Ashetil. 1.31g ‘Buevares’ hoard (Glendinning, 4 Nov. 1987, lot 11).

Star in Lozenge Fleury (BMC type xiii)
195. Norwich, Ulfchitel. 1.38g Trinity College 1937.
196. Wallingford, Osulf. 1.38g Henderson 1933, ex Montagu 300.

Pellets in Quatrefoil (BMC type xiv)
198. Southwark, Lefwine. 1.29g Henderson 1933.
199. Southwark, Lefwine. 1.38g Peterhouse 1960.

Quatrefoil on Cross Fleury (BMC type xv)

Watford (BMC type i)
213. Exeter, Ailric. 1.39g Henderson 1933.
214. Hastings, Rodbert. 1.03g No prov.
215. Hastings, Sawine. 1.37g Young 1936, ex Carlyon-Britton 1445.
216. London, Dereman? 1.44g Corpus Christi College collection, ex Lewis, ex Sotheby 20 July 1881, lot 213.
217. London, Estmund. 1.42g Bubbington 1866 (1867 Catalogue, no. 35).
218. London, Rodbert. 1.12g Henderson 1933, ex Kesteven 16.
219. London, Wulfwine. 1.48g Duncanson 1930, ex Smart.
220. Norwich?, uncertain moneyer. 1.37g Sadd.
221. Norwich, Spein. 1.18g Henderson 1933, ex Webb 34.
222. Stafford, Godric. 1.43g Young 1936, ex Clark 67.
223. Thetford, Ode? 1.44g Young 1936, ex Carlyon-Britton 1459.
224. Warwick?, Edred? 1.20g Young 1936, ex Carlyon-Britton 1460.
225. Winchester, S... 1.34g No prov.
226. Uncertain mint, ...lfric? 1.14g Vidler 1964.

Watford/Cross Voided and Mullets mule (BMC types vii)
227. Rye?, Rawulf? 1.37g Corpus Christi College collection, ex Lewis, ex Clark.

STEPHEN (1135–54)

228. Canterbury, Roqier. 1.47g Henderson 1933, ex Montagu 85.
230. London, Tierri D. 0.76g cut-halfpenny. Henderson 1933.
231. London, ...iine. 1.16g No prov.

Profile-Cross and Piles (BMC type vii)
233. Uncertain mint, ...lfric. 1.34g Queens’ College collection.

Awbridge (BMC type vii)
234. Lincoln, Paen. 1.45g Henderson 1933, ex Clark 66.
235. Lincoln, Paen. 1.18g Trinity College 1937.
236. Norwich, Thor? 1.48g Henderson 1933.

Midland Group: Derby (Mack 175; North 900)
237. Derby, Walchelinus. 1.38g Young 1936, ex Carlyon-Britton 1482.

‘Ornamented’ Group: Two figures (Mack 220; North 922).
238. York, no moneyer. 1.17g Friends of the Fitzwilliam 1953, ex Lockett 1164.

MATILDA

239. Cardiff, Bricmer. 0.82g broken and mended. Coed-y-Wenallt hoard 1980, no. 49.
242. London, Ordfgar. 1.41g No prov.
244. London, Tovi. 1.43g Henderson 1933.
247. Winchester, Godwin? 1.40g Prov. as last.
248. Uncertain mint (W...). 1.00g worn. Henderson 1933.
249. Uncertain mint and moneyer. 1.39g Queens’ College collection.

Halfpenny (BMC – ; North 872)
250. Winchester?, Godwin A. 0.62g Forbes 1952. Unique; BNJ 26 (1951), 280-89.
SHORT ARTICLES AND NOTES

HENRY II (1154-89)

Cross-Crosslet (Tealby) type

References are to nos in BMC Henry II, Cross-crosslets type (London, 1951), where these coins are cited.

240. Bury St Edmunds, Raul (BMC 33a). 1.32g No prov.
241. Bury St Edmunds, Willam (BMC 52, not 49 as recorded in BMC). 1.44g Hasluck 1920.
244. Canterbury, Ricard (BMC 103-10). 1.32g Sadd.
245. Canterbury, Rogier (BMC 160). 1.49g No prov.
246. Canterbury?, uncertain moneyer (-). 1.09g No prov.
250. Exeter, Edwi (BMC 262a). 1.28g No prov.
251. Exeter, Rogier (cf. BMC 269). 1.45g Ritchie 1963. FALSE.
252. Leicester, Rodbert (BMC 373). 1.40g Henderson 1933.
253. Lincoln, Lanfram (BMC 396). 1.44g Hasluck 1920.
254. Lincoln, Rauf (BMC 412a). 1.45g Sadd.
259. Newcastle, Willem (BMC 585a). 1.29g Henderson 1933, ex Robinson 121.
260. Newcastle, Willem (BMC 584). 1.30g Duncanson 1930, ex Smart.
261. Norwich, Gilbert (cf. BMC 638). 1.36g Queens’ College collection.
263. Norwich, Nicol (BMC 664). 1.45g Till.
264. Thetford, Willem (BMC 731). 1.43g Hasluck 1920.
266. Winchester, Herebert (BMC 760). 1.32g chipped. No prov.
267. Uncertain mint and moneyer. 1.44g Peterhouse 1960.
268. Uncertain mint and moneyer. 1.36g No prov.

A CONTINENTAL FIND INCLUDING TEALBY PENNIES

A. DAWSON and N. J. MAYHEW

Finds of Tealby pennies are of sufficient rarity to warrant attention even when the details of such hoards are disappointingly vague. The find here partially published was said to have been discovered near Brussels, and the Tealby portion consisting of sixteen coins which are described below was acquired by Mr Carl Subak in 1984. The English coins make up only a part of the whole find which consisted of sixty to seventy pieces. Apart from the English coins there was a group of deniers of Amiens, and a group of heavy deniers, mostly Cologne and Aachen with their copies. The German element of the find was said to be of almost the same composition as the hoard from Stromberg. Stromberg contained chiefly HITARC Cologne pennies of Archbishop Philip of Heinsberg (1167-91), and Roma Caput Mundi pennies of Friedrich I (Barbarossa) of Aachen or Duisberg. Buchenau cited similar finds from Brussels 1871, from Mont Falhize near Huy 1882, and from Beveren 1891, which last contained many Flemish deniers. None of these finds, dated shortly before and after 1180, contained English coin, though a second little known find from Beveren was of similar composition to the first with the addition of an English element. The appearance of Flemish deniers and Cologne and Aachen pennies together need not occasion too much surprise despite their differing standards. In 1173 the count of Flanders and Barbarossa concluded an agreement specifically permitting the circulation of the heavy German pennies in Flanders. Nor are the Amiens deniers out of place; between 1163 and 1183 Philip of

1 The authors are most grateful to Mr Subak for the opportunity to study and publish this most interesting group.
2 Dr Schulte of Münzen und Medaillen. See H. Buchenau, ‘Münzfind von Stromberg in Hunstrück’, Blätter für Münzfreunde (1914), 5495.
3 RBN 1872, 95; RBN 1892, 211; Bulletin mensuel de Numismatique (1882), 145.
4 We are grateful to M. Glyssens for this information, see A. De Wötte, Revue de Droit International (1894), 75-94.
Aisace, count of Flanders, held Amiens by right of his wife Isabelle of Vermandois, and the Flemish moneyer Simon may have struck at Amiens at this time.6

The present Belgian find fits neatly into this established picture of Imperial-Flemish monetary cooperation, clearly documented by hoards and the written record, but adds a significant new element in the shape of English Tealby pennies. Later in the thirteenth century England's role in the Low Countries' trade, and indeed in north-west Germany, became increasingly significant. The importance of England as a wool supplier for the Flemish cloth industry is well known, and marked in the numismatic history of the period by the imitation and circulation of sterling in mainland Europe, and by the steady flow of silver sent to England to buy the essential raw material. However, the appearance of these Tealby pennies, dated before 1180, near Brussels, seems to provide some numismatic confirmation for the growing impression that the wool-silver link between Britain and the Continent grew in strength appreciably in the last third of the twelfth century.

We know of no published list of continental finds of Tealby pennies. The general impression is that such finds are scarce and widely scattered. There are probably Tealby pennies among the Western coins found in Russia, but Potin's extensive listing does not provide sufficient detail to distinguish Tealby pence from other English coins recorded.7 Tealby pennies are certainly found elsewhere in the eastern Baltic. One occurred as a grave find in south-west Finland,8 while they were more plentiful in Estonia.9 There are two Tealby coins in Polish museums, presumably from other European museums. There is one Tealby penny in Berlin with a Ribnitz provenance,10 though the coin does not feature in either of the two Ribnitz hoards reports.11 Berghaus' celebrated review of English coins in north-west Europe makes no mention of Tealby coins,12 confirming their scarcity in Germany, and there are no Tealby finds listed by Illisch for Westphalia.13 The 'Barbarossa' hoard, currently in the process of publication by Dr Ulrich Klein, contains one Exeter mint Tealby penny, moneyer Guncelin, type C, and one Thetford moneyer Turstein, type A.14 Though of possibly crucading provenance, the other coins of this hoard speak clearly of a German context.

For Sweden, the kindness and efficiency of Lars O. Lagerqvist enables us to record at least one find which included a Tealby penny, namely, that made at Värmland, Växå hårud (hundred), Östra (east) Fågelvik parish, (Stockholm Inventory number 1993). This find, like the new Belgian hoard, also contained pence of Cologne and the Emperor Barbarossa. The Stockholm systematic collection contains one other Tealby penny which may or may not be from this same hoard. However, there can be no doubt that finds with Tealby pence from Sweden are very rare.

Yvon's listing15 of English finds of this period in France records three Tealby finds: hoards nos 10, 14 (possibly Tealby) and no. 21. Yvon no. 10 contains the Elmore Jones parcel16 of sixteen coins said to be a French find, though this is perhaps doubtful; the unusually wide range of mints makes this group look more like a small collection, or perhaps a selection from a much larger hoard. To this tally of French finds we may perhaps add a parcel of six Tealby pennies said to have been found in France, which appeared in the London trade in March 1981, but was lost before any record had been made. A second, similar group was seen briefly by one of us (A.D.) who noted the mints London, Canterbury, Ipswich, Thetford and possibly Lincoln, with two coins of uncertain mint; the types ranged from C to F. Finally we may note the hoard from Rome of 289 coins, consisting of 204 continental deniers (mostly French) and 85 English pennies of which sixteen were Tealby, the remainder Short Cross.

Apart from the rather curious tendency of Tealby pennies to occur in groups of sixteen (cf. the earlier system of 16d. to the ora), this brief review of the evidence suggests that Henry II's first coinage travelled abroad mostly to France, or in the company of French coins. This was also a noticeable characteristic of the earliest Short Cross finds, and is clearly
This new Belgian find, however, may be part of a different flow, generated more by trade than by political links, directed towards the Low Countries and Germany. The documentary and hoard evidence for Short Cross pennies in Germany and the Low Countries has been summarized elsewhere, but it may be that this find with Tealby coins is evidence that ‘easterling’ contacts were important slightly earlier than is usually thought.

There is also one other area of recent work to which this new find may be relevant. Since Metcalf pointed out the very modest size of the Tealby coinage, and observed that in the Short Cross period the volume of the English currency must have been ‘rising like a rocket’, other students have taken up this theme. It has been argued that this phenomenon may not have been restricted to England, but may have occurred also in mainland Europe, and it may be associated with new mining discoveries ending the silver famine of the twelfth century. The argument further suggests that this monetary explosion may possibly have contributed to the rise in prices discernible from the last quarter of the twelfth century, and to the commercial revolution of the thirteenth.

The exact dating of the monetary take-off in England, however, remains obscure. It is apparent from the beginning of Short Cross, but the scarcity of late Tealby finds has made it difficult to refine the chronology of type F, and to determine whether increased quantities of silver may have been coming to England in the 1170s. Something of this kind has already been hinted at, in the form of an increased output in type F especially notable in the East Anglian mints, but the need for further proof was felt. It may be that this new Belgian find is one small piece of new evidence in support of this hypothesis, since the present parcel confirms an impression of increasingly active East Anglian mints in type F. Is it too fanciful to see this Belgian find as a further link in the wool and silver chain joining England’s eastern mints with the Low Countries’ cloth manufacture and newly discovered mines of Saxony?

The coins show few signs of wear, but they are characteristically poorly struck on often irregular and in one case markedly rectangular flans. The attribution of coins to a particular class, mint and/or moneyer is frequently dependent upon the identification of a die-duplicate. Some of the coins illustrated have so little of the reverse legend visible that even establishing a correct die axis has proved difficult. East Anglian issues figure strongly throughout the group, together with London and Canterbury, making it quite geographically compact, yet the period of issue comprises examples representing up to twenty years output. The class A coins of Siwate (no. 3) and Willem Ma (no. 2) of Thetford were presumably struck no later than 1160/61. Pipe Roll evidence suggests that in 4 Henry II (1157/8) there were three moneyers working at Thetford. The recorded number then dropped to two in 5 Henry II (1158/9). The three moneyers are mentioned by name in the Pipe Rolls for Norfolk and Suffolk as being Turstain, William FitzDerewald and William de Wiclewuda. In this instance, the documentary evidence contradicts the hard facts offered by the coins themselves, because of examples of class ‘A’ bearing a fourth moneyer’s signature – namely, Siwate.

It is difficult to see how Siwate fits into the picture, yet he seems to have been quite productive. Either class ‘A’ ran further into the 1160s than previously thought, or the accounting of moneyers in the Rolls is incorrect. Another feasible explanation is that a ‘stop-start’ system was in operation when output reached a peak whereby a moneyer might be dormant for a year or more within the period of a particular class – then take up office again.

Regarding the two ‘Williams’, assuming that William FitzDerewald is the WILLEM:DE whose signature appears on FEJ plate 33/15 (BMC 747) and this does seem to be the accepted view, then it would be logical to assume that William de Wiclewuda is the moneyer behind the enigmatic signature WILLEM:MA: (MAijor?) as it appears on BMC 745. There is little doubt that both Williams struck for class A1 in the early stages of the recoinage (c.1157/8) whereas by the later output of class A (c.1158/61), the signature changes to plain WILLEM. This suggests that the need for a differentiating suffix no longer applied. With the recorded number of working moneyers dropping to two it would further imply that one of the Williams ceased to operate sometime prior to 1159.

We may conclude that the WILLEM:MA coin was probably struck before 1159. This would expand the proposed period of issue by two years. On the other hand, the late class F coin of London (no. 11) on a square flan graphically reflects the confusion of the terminal stages of the coinage approaching 1180.

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22 Mayhew, p. 166.
THE COINS

1. Class A — — — — —
   (Canterbury mint?) possibly from the same obverse die as BMC 144
   (i.e. +RICARD:MON:CAN) but the reverse die differs. Weight: 1.45g

2. Class A —ENRIR— A
   +WILL:LEM:MA:ON:TIF
   Thetford mint. Die-duplicate of BMC 745. Weight: 1.44g

3. Class A2 ?
   +SIWATE:ON:TEFFO
   Thetford mint. The reverse is a die-duplicate of BMC 710 and the reverse die is a duplicate of FEJ pl. 33/1 which is supposed to be from the same reverse die as BMC 710 but is clearly not. Weight: 1.38g

4. Class C2 — — —
   +CODE:FR:ON:LVNDE
   London mint. The obverse die is a duplicate of BMC 483 whereas the reverse die would seem to be unpublished. Weight: 1.35g

5. Class D —HENRIR—
   +[RE]—
   (Norwich or Northampton?) Of all the issuing mints only three have a moneyer's signature beginning with +RE. They are Ilchester, Northampton and Norwich. There is no evidence of the moneyer Renard at Ilchester striking after 1161 and the Northampton moneyer Reimond does not figure after irregular issue of class C. It is therefore reasonable to assume that the coin is most likely to be an issue of REINER of the Northwich mint. Weight: 1.33g

6. Class E —ENRIR—
   +[NICOLE:ON:GIPE « (?)
   (Ipswich mint?) The dies appear not to be published. Weight: 1.47g

7. Class E —ENRIR—
   +TV[R][STAIN:ON:TI]
   Thetford mint. Class E is not represented under Thetford in BMC but this coin is from the same dies as FEJ pl. 33/14 and a specimen from the A.W. Lainchbury collection now in the cabinet of one of the writers (A.D.). Weight: 1.40g

8. Class E2 —EX:
   —[ARD:ON:]

9. Class F +HENRIR— +
   +GOLDH:AVOC:ON:C
   Canterbury mint. From the same obverse die as FEJ pl. 14/31. The reverse die appears to be unrecorded. Neither obverse nor reverse dies are represented in BMC. Weight: 1.47g

10. Class F +HENRIR—
    +NICOLE:ON:GIPE «
    Ipswich mint. This coin is a die-duplicate of BMC 327 and FEJ pl. 22/23. Weight: 1.37g

11. Class F —RE—
    —[LVN]—
    London mint. A very late issue with the obverse die beginning to break up. The dies appear not to be represented in either BMC, FEJ or SCBI. Weight: 1.44g

12. Class F —X: —[LYN]—
    (London mint?) Too weakly struck to show enough features for die matching. Weight: 1.37g

13. Class F —
    —[?]—
    (? Although the obverse and reverse dies are quite distinctive those letters showing on the reverse have broken up so much as to make them almost illegible. The dies appear not to be published. Weight: 1.44g

14. Class F1 —RIREX:
    +TV[R]:STAIN:ON:GIP
    Ipswich mint. The dies are not represented in either BMC, FEJ or SCBI. Weight: 1.46g

15. Class F1 +HENRIR:REX:
    —[DV:ON:](or c) —
    Faint traces of the letter immediately following the initial letter of the mint name would seem to indicate a straight backed vowel, i.e. E or r. If this is the case it would eliminate both London and Canterbury as the likely mints. It must be remembered, how-
A continental Find of Tealby pennies
ever, that uneven flan surfaces can throw up the most convincing yet totally misleading illusions. This coin will most likely prove to be of Ricard of London or Canterbury. The dies appear not to be published. Weight: 1.44g

Class F3 - EN-1:REX
+RA|VL:JON: | EDMV|
Bury St Edmunds mint. From the same dies as BMC 37/38. Weight: 1.45g

AN ISSUE OF FARTHINGS OF RICHARD II

J. P. C. KENT

It is unusual for the exact date, circumstances and amount of an issue of our mediaeval coinage to be known; the following record of the striking of farthings in London in 1382 seems not to have been discussed in numismatic literature.

The shortage of halfpence and farthings was endemic in the Middle Ages, not least under Richard II. In 1380, for example, the Commons petitioned that three-quarters of every pound of silver coined should be in halfpence and farthings, which were required, it was said, for small purchases, especially of bread and beer, for God and for works of charity. The farthing played an important part in fourteenth-century London life. It was, for instance, the toll for a laden horse crossing Holborn Bridge, the price of half a gallon of best ale, the charge for a cartload of general goods coming to Dowgate, the cost of two red herrings or two and a half eggs. In 1380, London imposed a charge of a farthing on every laden horse passing through the city gates, the proceeds to be devoted to road repairs.

An undated proclamation of 1382 by the mayor (John Northampton, alias Comberton) and aldermen, following up the petition of 1380, decreed that in order to help the poor, bakers were to make farthing loaves and brewers to sell ale by farthing measures. To this end, measures had been made and stamped with the letter F to show that they were for farthings-worths. The mayor and aldermen had, furthermore, had farthings made at the Tower to the value of £80 sterling. The brewers were to come on an appointed day to the Guildhall to collect both measures and farthings, and thereafter were forbidden to refuse to sell on demand that amount of best ale, or decline to give change for a halfpenny. And since the parsons of London churches had been raising their customary charges because small money had ceased to circulate, it was decreed that henceforward no-one should offer more than one farthing a mass at vigils of the dead or similar ceremonies. If the parson would not give change for a halfpenny, the entire offering might be refused. On 10 May, a proclamation commanded all bakers, brewers, hostellers and huxters to come to the Guildhall by the following Thursday, when they should receive as many farthings as they required; but like so many official orders, it had to be repeated ten days later.

The situation seems for once to envisage an adequate supply of halfpence. How adequate the 76,800 farthings struck on this occasion proved we cannot tell, though ten years later the Commons were once more complaining of the shortage of halfpence and farthings. With our imperfect documentation, it seems at present impossible to tell which variety of London farthing corresponds to this occasion, or whether this self-help was resorted to at other times or in other places. It may be significant that the event coincides with a period when the internal politics of London were dangerously, and for some fatally, enmeshed with those of a weak government.

2 City of London Record Office. Letter-Books G and H, passim.
3 City of London Record Office. Letter-book H f. exlv, exlv b.
MORE LIGHT ON THE BALGONIE FIND - THE PERTHSHIRE EVIDENCE

VERONICA SMART

In 1971 Dr Ian Stewart drew attention to an account in the *New Monthly Magazine* for 1823 of a hoard of Robert III gold and silver found at Balgonie (now spelt Balgonie) farm, Abernethy parish, Perthshire. Dr Stewart suggests that this find may be identical with one recorded in Lindsay under the year 1822 but simply described there as ‘Perthshire’. The presence of Aberdeen and Dumbarton groats in the account of the ‘Perthshire’ find inclines him to place the date of deposition late in Robert III’s reign, after the weight-reduction of c.1400.

Balgonie at the time of the find was on the Moncrieff estate and some coins from the find were reported in the *New Monthly Magazine’s* account above published by the landowner, Sir David Moncrieffe of that Ilk, the sixth baronet, to the Perth Literary and Antiquarian Society. This society in 1827 ambitiously embarked on the publication of its Transactions, but only one volume ever appeared. This volume however is largely retrospective, and reviews the history of the society since its foundation in the 1780s. Included is a catalogue of the society’s museum (hereafter referred to as the Perth Catalogue) with ‘the names of Donors in such instances as they can be ascertained’. In the general preamble to the catalogue there occurs a note similar to that in the *New Monthly Magazine* though rather less informative, that on 2 December 1824 ‘there were presented by Sir David Moncrieffe several gold and silver coins in fine preservation, of Robert II and III found on his estate near Abernethy’.

It is not immediately obvious how the *New Monthly Magazine* could have published in 1823 a presentation that did not take place until December 1824. It is possible that an error could have been made when the Transactions’ account was compiled retrospectively in 1827. On the other hand, the years 1822-4 were a time of some upheaval for the Society’s collections. In 1822 Thomas Hay Marshall, a prominent Perth citizen and former Provost, offered to construct a new building to house the city’s Public Library and the Literary and Antiquarian Society’s museum. The new premises were opened in the summer of 1824. It is possible that Sir David Moncrieffe, who as a vice-president of the society must have been cognisant of its housekeeping, may have earlier intimated a willingness to present coins from the find, which came to the ears of the *New Monthly Magazine*, but did not actually deposit them until the Society’s collections were safely bestowed in their new home. His reluctance to present them sooner could be explained by the Transactions’ account of the museum’s history, which ingeniously confesses to a good deal of material having gone missing when the collections were housed in a cupboard in the Grammar School.

The actual date of finding is stated neither in the *New Monthly Magazine* nor in the Perth Catalogue. The Ordnance Survey notebooks of 1860, presumably from local information, give the date as 1820, but state that the coins were Roman, an error which appears on all the 6” and 25” Ordnance Survey maps until corrected in the 1970 edition.

Another account of the find occurs in the Rev. Andrew Small’s antiquarian farrago *Interesting Roman Antiquities recently discovered in Fife... and other local antiquities* which was published in 1823. Small was minister of Abernethy at the time of the find; he correctly identifies the find as Scots ‘belonging to one of the Roberts’ and his account is the only one that states the size of the find or mentions a container. As to the date of finding, he writes merely of ‘a short time ago’. He confirms the *New Monthly Magazine’s* account of the find occurring during ploughing and describes ‘a small jar of gold and silver coins. There were a great number of silver coins amounting in all to about 200, consisting of two different kinds, a larger and a smaller, in very good preservation though not of very fine silver; the larger ones above the size of our old shillings though much thinner, and the lesser ones above the size of our old sixpences. The gold ones were about twelve or fourteen in number, about the same sizes and proportions but of very fine pure virgin gold. They are all Scots coins belonging to one of the Roberts; and though not mentioned they are supposed to be Robert II as there were no gold coins said to be coined before his time. On the obverse side is very distinctly engraved “Robertus Scottorum rex Dei Grat:” and “Edinburgh ville” and on some “Perth ville” on others, in an interior circle, nearer the centre of the coin, showing that they had been coined at these places. On the reverse is a St. Andrews cross with that tutelar saint of Scotland suspended on it, and some superstitious legend about the Virgin which I had not time to decipher from the short view I got of them’.

Small’s ‘short view’ must also be to blame for his confusing the types of the gold and the silver. What he seems to have seen are groats and half-groats of Edinburgh and Perth, whilst the gold pieces he recalls are crowns or St Andrews of Robert III, almost

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* My thanks are due to the Curator and staff of Perth City Museum for their patient help with my many queries, and to the Ordnance Survey for information supplied.

1 *BNJ* 40 (1971), 57-61.
certainly of the type with the cross clearly visible and not merely the figure of the saint. From his observations of the size and proportions it would seem that he also saw half-crowns although he does not describe the types. The 'superstitious legend about the Virgin' can be most easily explained if one supposes he read the Lombardic waisted \textit{n} in \textit{vincit} as an \textit{R}, followed by \textit{G} to give \textit{VIRGI}... Small ends his account by stating that all the coins were, at the time of writing, in Sir David Moncrieffe's possession.

Some years ago, through the good offices of Mr N. Q. Bogdan, then in charge of the High Street excavations in Perth on the site of the old Parliament House, and the late Dr Margaret Stewart, also of Perth, I was shown by Miss Elizabeth Moncrieffe a parcel of 101 Robert III groats and two half-groats, which were in her possession at Moncrieffe House. Seventy-three of the groats and the two halves, are of the Edinburgh mint, of which 65 groats are of the first issue of the heavy coinage and 8 of the second. The remaining 28 groats are of the Perth mint. Although there is no family tradition concerning these coins, they can be no other than the Balgonie find. But since the \textit{New Monthly Magazine's} account has no more than six silver and four gold coins presented by Sir David Moncrieffe to the Perth Antiquarian Society, there remain around eighty silver and six or eight gold pieces unaccounted for, if Small's numbers are correct. Here the Ordnance Surveyor's notebooks supply a useful piece of information. In 1860 part of the hord was stated to have been in the possession of Mr John Hay Patterson of Mugdrum. Unfortunately, unlike at Moncrieffe, the house and estate of Mugdrum have passed out of the family and it has not been possible to trace its moveable remains. There is nothing relating to coins in those family papers which were deposited with St Andrews University Library by the late Mrs Hay Neave of Carpow, the heir and direct descendant of John Hay Patterson.

It is noteworthy that none of the local sources that relate specifically to the Balgonie find, Andrew Small, the \textit{New Monthly Magazine}, the Perth Catalogue and now the parcel of coins at Moncrieffe House, has any suggestion of the Aberdeen or Dumbarton groats which characterise the Lindsay 'Perthshire 1822' find. One might reply that an eye which could read in the theologically innocuous Christus \textit{Vincit} legend the dreaded hand of mariolatry can scarcely be trusted to get the mint-signatures right. Sir David's friends among the Perth antiquaries, however, would certainly have been able to distinguish the mints correctly, and it is highly unlikely that Sir David, if he gave a parcel from the Balgonie hoard to his contemporary and near neighbour John Hay Patterson, would have chosen to give away all the rarer groats of Dumbarton and Aberdeen and to keep only the commoner Edinburgh and Perth pieces for himself. There is a large number of Robert III Edinburgh and Perth groats in Perth City Museum, and it is not possible to identify which of these were Sir David's donation.

Thus from the known silver content of the Balgonie find there seems little reason to connect it with the Lindsay 1822 'Perthshire' find, or to place its date of deposition as late as the introduction of Robert III's light coinage.

There is no Robert III gold at Moncrieffe House. In Perth City Museum, the successor and heir of the museum of the Literary and Antiquarian Society, there are four Robert III gold coins, a gold crown or St Andrew, and three half-crowns. Some of these almost certainly have come from Sir David's 1823/4 donation, although there are no tickets to record provenance. In the lists in the Perth Catalogue Sir David is credited with the presentation of two 'gold pence of Robert II' and two St Andrews of Robert III. Since we now believe that Robert II struck no gold, the identification of the 'gold pence' is crucial. Mr Stewart has pointed out that the classification used in the 1820s was most likely that of Cardonnel, and he suggests that they were of the second type of the three gold coins Cardonnel gives to Robert II (i.e. \textit{Numismata Scotiae} plate 1 no. 2) -- the reduced weight crown with Dominus Protector legend and the figure of the saint without a visible saltire, or as Cardonnel puts it, 'extended as on his cross'. There is no example of this type of coin in Perth Museum, and as we have seen (and for what it is worth) Small does not record this type in his account. Small's account, however, does imply half-crowns in the find, and Perth Museum has three examples of the half-crown which Cardonnel attributes to Robert II. The reverse type of these pieces with a cross with emblems in the angles (albeit a saltire rather than the long cross) may very well have suggested the penny type to the Perth cataloguer and given rise to the designation 'gold penny' which does not occur in any of the other accounts. The St Andrew or crown of Robert III in the Perth collection is of the second issue of the heavy coinage. The second example said to have been presented by Sir David is no longer in the collection.

Thus, although the gold content of the Balgonie find is not intact, the local evidence would seem to agree with that for the silver; namely, that the Balgonie find is not in fact the 1822 'Perthshire' find recorded by Lindsay (unless we read Lindsay as the report of two separate finds, Balgonie and another with Aberdeen and Dumbarton groats). It is certainly remarkable that there should have been two Robert III finds in the same county within at most a couple of years -- we must remember that we do not know for certain that Balgonie was found in 1822 -- but it is not impossible. Perthshire covers a large area, from the Firth of Tay almost to the sea-lochs of the West, and shares boundaries with both Dunbartonshire and Aberdeenshire. Abernethy parish, on the other hand, is only just within Perthshire in the extreme south-

\footnote{A. de Cardonnel, \textit{Numismata Scotiae} (Edinburgh, 1786).}
east; in the early years of the nineteenth century part of the parish (though not Balgonie) was in Fife.

A revised summary of the find in the light of the local evidence might appear thus:-

BALGONIE farm, Abernethy parish, Perthshire, c.1822.

c.200 AR and 12–14 AV Scottish. Deposit c.1400 Robert III. Gold: crowns of heavy coinage, at least 1 of second issue. Half-crowns, heavy coinage, second issue, at least 2. Silver: at least 65 groats of the Edinburgh mint, heavy coinage, first issue, and 8 second issue, and at least 28 groats of the Perth mint, heavy coinage; at least 2 half-groats of Edinburgh.

Discovered in ploughing, in a small jar. Four gold and six groats presented by Sir David Moncrieffe to Perth Literary and Antiquarian Society – three of which gold and presumably the silver are now in Perth City Museum; 101 groats and two half-groats in the possession of Miss E. Moncrieffe, Moncrieffe House, Perthshire; a further parcel formerly in the possession of J. H. Patterson of Mugdrum but not now traceable. Published Rev. Andrew Small, *Interesting Roman Antiquities discovered in Fife . . . and other local antiquities* (Edinburgh, 1823), pp. 172–4; *Transactions of the Perth Literary and Antiquarian Society*, 1 (1827), appendix, catalogue of the Society’s museum p. 1, 26; *New Monthly Magazine*, ix (1823), 115; *BNJ* 40 (1971), 57–61.