THE BURY COINAGE OF EDWARD I WITH THE NAME OF ROBERT DE HADELEIE

G.L.V. TATLER

(GEORGE Tatler died on 30 November 1998. The paper printed here is essentially the text he prepared for his lecture to the Society on 26 March 1974. Some textual amendments, appropriate to the production of a printed version, and the plates, have been added by Robin Eaglen and Peter Woodhead, as also have references to the North Sylloge.1 This die study had been a major interest of Dr Tatler for many years and we can think of no better memorial to him than its publication in this volume.)

Background

Edward I was on his way back from Palestine when his father, Henry III, died on 16 November 1272. He landed at Dover on 2 August 1274 and was crowned at Westminster on 19 August. At first the coinage of the realm remained unchanged and coins continued to be struck in the name of Edward's father. The output of the mints during the first few years of the new reign was modest. In 1279 a complete recoinage was initiated. The Long Cross coinage which had served well for a generation had by now become so clipped and worn that sixteen pence in the pound could be lost in exchanging it.2

The first grant of the right to operate a moneyer at the abbey of Bury St Edmunds of which we have record was made by Edward the Confessor to Abbot Baldwin in 1065.3 This grant of a moneyer, who normally was to have one set of dies at a time, was confirmed by successive kings,4 and, except for certain periods of inactivity, particularly in the reigns of William II and Richard I, the mint struck most of the standard issues up to the early years of Edward III. The recoinage of 1279 was no exception to this, and a writ ordering dies to be prepared for John de Northwold, Abbot of Bury St Edmunds, was issued on 8 November 12795 and Robert de Hadeleie was sworn in as the abbot's moneyer in the Michaelmas term of that year.6

Abbot John asked the king for a 'standard' (or test piece of silver) and instructions as to the weight, purity and number of pennies to be struck out of a pound of silver. After a long discussion within the king's council, it was decided that he should be told the necessary details by word of mouth and ordered to make his money accordingly. These details were supplied by

Acknowledgements: In his original draft Dr Tatler acknowledged the help and co-operation he had received from many individuals and institutions who had been generous in providing access to and information on Robert de Hadeleie coins in their collections. Robin Eaglen and Peter Woodhead, who have had the pleasant task of putting Dr Tatler's text into its final form, would like to add their grateful thanks, particularly to Ian, Lord Stewartby and Jeffrey North who kindly read through the text and gave good advice, to Ms Kate Southwell, to Simon and Robert Tatler, to Marion Archibald who provided unpublished hoard information, and also to the British Museum (Dr Barry Cook), the Fitzwilliam Museum (Martin Allen), the National Museum of Wales (Dr Edward Besly), The Royal Mint Museum (Graham Dyer), Moyses Hall Museum (Dr Christopher Mycock), Dr Eric Harris, and David Palmer, all of whom were most helpful in providing information particularly on weights and die identities.

1 J.J. North, Edwardian English Silver Coins 1279-1313 (Sylloge of Coins of the British Isle, 39), Oxford, 1989. Referred to in this paper as the 'North Sylloge'.
3 BL. Add. Ms 14847, fo. 31 (Registrum Album).
4 There were two or three moneymen operating together under Henry I and Stephen (unpublished research).
5 1279 CR 7 Edward I, no. 96 m.3. See Fox, app. XXXII.
6 BL Harl. Ms 645, fo. 117. See Fox, app. XXXVI.
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Gregory de Rokesley on 8 June 1280 and minting operations commenced on 26 June. The coins which appeared did not, like all the others of the period, bear the name of the mint on the reverse but, instead, had that of Robert de Hadeleie.

That there were some apparent irregularities at the mint was evident from a commission to John de Lovetot and Gregory de Rokesley in July 1283. This was to enquire who were the moneymen who had made the king’s money in the town of Bury St Edmunds and had falsified the die delivered there by the king; to examine the money coined by the said moneymen and also the dies in their possession, and to seize the latter if they were not satisfactory. The findings of the commission are not known but the results may not have been too drastic, for although it is not certain under what circumstances and when Robert de Hadeleie ceased to hold office, there is no record of another moneyer being appointed until 1287, when Richard de Lothbury, was sworn in.

For many years the writer undertook a die study of all Robert de Hadeleie coins to which he had access. During this period at least 281 coins were located. All were recorded by photograph or by cast impression to reduce the possibility of the same coin being registered twice with different owners over the passage of time. These coins have manifested twenty obverse and thirty-five reverse dies, which are believed to have been the great majority of all the dies used for the total issue of coins with de Hadeleie’s signature. A list of available information (1999) on locations and weights will be found in Appendix 1.

There is evidence that when dies were supplied from London they consisted of a set of one standard and two trussels and that, for Bury St Edmunds, a new die set was only issued when the old one was returned. Thus it might be expected to find two reverse die impressions with each obverse and no die links between each set of dies, and two reverse dies have, indeed, been found with most of the obverse impressions. The few obverse dies that are only found with a single reverse die may be purely the result of chance due to the small sample of surviving coins from such obverses or perhaps because the other reverse die broke early. Although identification of the reverse dies of some coins is difficult because the resemblance of some dies within a set is very close, and the progressive emergence of flaws on dies can be confusing, in no case have more than two reverse dies been found struck with the same obverse. The findings, therefore, are fully compatible with the practice of a standard being issued with two trussels. However, there is one case where one of the two reverses (d2) struck with an obverse die of a Fox 3g variety (D) is found struck with another obverse die (R) of the same Fox sub-group. The second obverse thus die-linked is only known from a single surviving coin in the British Museum. How such an event could have occurred in the light of the established practice of exchanging one complete set of dies for another is difficult to explain. The existence of a single known survivor may suggest that the life of that particular obverse die was short. If the die (R) fractured soon after it was put into use, the abbot may have returned it to London, retaining the trussels of the set to be used with the replacement standard (D) when it arrived. But this, of course, is pure conjecture.

With the exception of the product of one set of dies (Gg1 and g3) the surviving coins fit into the accepted classification of the Edwardian sterlings developed by Fox and subsequently extended by North. The individual dies have been identified by labelling each one with a different letter of the alphabet. Upper case letters have been used for the obverse dies and lower case ones for the reverses. Thus the three dies of a set are readily identified by the use of the same letter, upper and lower case, with an arabic numeral subscript to distinguish.

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7 BL Harl. Ms 645, fo. 152. See Fox, app. XXXVII.
8 1283 CPR Edward I, m. 13d. See Fox, app. XXXVIII.
9 BL Harl. Ms 645, fo. 153d. See Fox, app. XLVI.
10 BL Harl. Ms 645, fo. 152. See Fox, app. XXXVII.
between the reverse impressions. The dies were selected for lettering by the arrangement of the first forty-one coins seen in this survey, in order of Fox sub-groups. This sample contained fifteen obverse dies. Coins seen subsequently have only produced five additional obverse dies, and no new ones have been discovered from the most recently located one hundred coins.

The final result of this lettering system is that the alphabetical sequence of the letters is not truly chronological. The last five letters (P, Q, R, S and T) were used to identify new dies in the order in which they were discovered. To have re-lettered the whole series in strictly alphabetical order would have created more problems than it would have solved, since, over the years many coins have attracted considerable notes within various collections and several hoards have been published with Robert de Hadeleie die identifications using the original lettering.\(^{14}\)

To begin to analyse the dies, the coins are placed into Fox sub-groups as now extended by North. This immediately sorts the dies into small parcels. It can be difficult to distinguish different dies within the same sub-group, particularly when examining worn coins, and the process is time-consuming. The difficulty is most apparent when comparing some of the reverses. A careful examination of the impression created by the different irons used in the manufacture of the die is necessary. This enables distinctions to be made as, for example, in Fox class 3g, where a thick-waisted version of the letter S is found as well as one with a thin waist. Sometimes a die will show that a chipped or cracked punch has been used. Sometimes a letter has been punched twice into the same position to give, for example, the appearance of a double serif. The arrangement of the letters on the die may show characteristic spacing. A die may show, by the careful inspection of a series of impressions on different coins, the progressive appearance of flaws.

Many of the dies must have been used to strike large numbers of coins and consequently show signs of wear. However, none of this group shows evidence of rust. Maybe it was easier at a mint working with a single die set to clean and grease the standard and trussel after use. The whole sample is too small to permit a claim that the more worn dies struck significantly greater quantities of bullion than others. Inspection of the single surviving specimen struck from the die-linked reverse (Rd2) shows that it was not struck from a worn obverse die, which may support the suggestion that the life of this particular die was relatively short.

The earliest coins that have been found accord to Fox class 3c and are identified as struck from dies A and B. Which die was the first to be used by Robert de Hadeleie is a matter of some conjecture. Fox discussed this problem at length\(^ {15}\) and decided that it was, probably, what is referred to in this paper as the "irregular" die G. At the time he came to his conclusions on his classification he was almost certainly unaware of the existence of class 3c coins from the mint, for in a footnote he mentioned that he had obtained a specimen too late for illustration. The coin was subsequently published in a supplementary plate in 1913\(^ {16}\) and is struck from the dies Bbi.

Fox considered this to be the earliest coin of Robert de Hadeleie to exhibit regular official workmanship. Fox class 3c coins are also the first that are found from the Lincoln mint, which had begun to strike money before mid-October 1280, having opened sometime after mid-May of that year.\(^ {17}\) Thus it is reasonable to assume that dies A and B were amongst the earliest used by Robert de Hadeleie. A point which should be clarified is the supposed existence of Fox class 3b coins of Bury. One such piece was so described in the Boyton hoard report.\(^ {18}\) This coin, which is now in the British Museum is of class 3c and was clearly struck from dies BB2. The misattribution is easy to make; the drapery is curved but broader on the sinister side, and the spearhead ornaments of the crown appear on a worn coin to be quite like pearls.

\(^{14}\) For example in the BM trays.

\(^{15}\) Fox, BNJ 7 (1911), 115-16.

\(^{16}\) NC XVI (1936), 115 ff.
TATLER: ROBERT DE HADELEIE (2)
Die Analysis

All known dies are illustrated on plates 7 and 8. In many instances differences are slight, especially between the two reverses of a set, and are more easily perceived than described. More conspicuous features which may be of help in identification are mentioned in the listing below. However, it should be borne in mind that wear, whether of the coin itself or of the die, and exigencies of striking can lead to deceptive effects.

(Although the identification letters attributed to the dies by Dr Tatler have been retained unaltered, the dies listed here and presented on the plates are in a slightly different order from that used when the original paper was read. This is so that they can be placed in chronological order and conform with the more sophisticated version of the Fox classification published in the North Sylloge. References to letter forms and stops are as used in the North Sylloge. RJE and PW)

The obverse legend on most coins is EDW R' ANGL' DNS hyB'. The only exceptions to this are die G which used Gothic Ns and has hIB in place of hyB, and die M which reads DN instead of DNS. The reverse legends are indicated in the die descriptions.

Class 3c

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Die</th>
<th>h 2; S 1; R 1; face 2a; long neck. Fox -; North Sylloge 107.</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Die aj</td>
<td>h 2; S 1; R 1. ROBE/RTV/SDEh/ADL' Fox -; North Sylloge 107.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Die a£</td>
<td>h 2; S 1; R 1. Legend as last. Fox -; North Sylloge -.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

These reverses are very similar but may be distinguished by projecting an imaginary line down the centre of the letter V. In aj this points towards the space between the cross and adjacent pellets; in £, more towards the nearest pellet.

Die B

| h 2; S 1; R 2; face 2b; shorter neck. Fox pl. IX, 30; North Sylloge -. |
|-------------------------|---------------------------------------------------------------|
| Die bj                 | h 1; R 1. ROBE/RTDE/hADE/LEIE letter O low on the inner circle and in relation to the adjoining letters, R and B. Fox pl. IX, 30; North Sylloge -. |
| Die b2                 | h 1; R 1. Legend as last. Letter O is higher in relation to the adjoining letters; sometimes a triangular flaw is visible on the outer circle after the second D and a further flaw between L and E. Fox -; North Sylloge -. |

Class 3d

| h 2; S 2; R 1; thick neck. Fox pl. IV, 4, North Sylloge 123. |
|-------------------------|---------------------------------------------------------------|
| Die cj                 | h 1; R 1. Legend as last. Fox -; North Sylloge 123. |
| Die c£                 | h 1; R 1. Legend as last. Fox pl. IV, 4; North Sylloge -.     |

These two reverse dies are closely similar. On £ the letter O is more lozenge-shaped and the foot of the A nestles slightly under the base of the D.

Die T

| h 1; S 1; R 1; thick neck. Letter G has large serif and is positioned below the dexter wedge of the drapery compared with further toward the sinister wedge on die C. Fox -; North Sylloge -. |
|-------------------------|---------------------------------------------------------------|
| Die t£                 | h 1; R 1. Legend as last. Fox -; North Sylloge -.             |

Die t2 has so far been found.

Class 3f

No Bury coins of this sub-class have been found. The coin so described in the Boyton hoard report is almost certainly that in the British Museum struck from dies C£.

Class 3gj (thin-waisted letter S)

| h 2; S 2; R 2; stops 1. Flaw on the dexter portion of the drapery. Usually further flaws between D, N and S and also a flaw lateral to the dexter curve of the hair. Fox -; North Sylloge 171, 172. |
|-------------------------|---------------------------------------------------------------|
| Die f£                 | h 1; R 1. Legend as last. Letter B is completely formed and letter L has a short bottom arm. Fox -; North Sylloge 171. |
| Die f2                 | h 1; R 1. Legend as last. The two commas that form the curved parts of the letter B do not touch each other and letter L has a longer bottom arm. Fox -; North Sylloge 172. |
Class 3g2 (thin-waisted letter S)

Die E  
- h 2; S 2; R 1; (wedge-shaped tail - an important diagnostic feature); stops 3. Fox pl. IV, 16; North Syiloge 189.
- Die e1, h 1; R 1. Legend as last. The serif of the letter T touches the tail of the R. Fox -; North Syiloge 189.
- Die e2, h 1; R 1. Legend as last. The arms of the long cross are relatively short making the letters, particularly the first R and the last E, appear markedly higher than the end of the cross. Fox pl. IV, 16; North Syiloge -.

Die S 
- h 2; S 2; R 1 (fork-shaped tail - an important diagnostic feature); stops 2. Fox -; North Syiloge 188.
- Die s1, h 1; R 2. Legend as last. Next first R; back of E evanesces on D. Fox -; North Syiloge 188.
- Die s2, h 1; R 2. Legend as last. First R with less neat tail. Fox -; North Syiloge -.

Class 3g3 (thick-waisted letter S)

Die D  
- h 2; S 3; R 2; stops 1. Side fleur points to (large) B. Fox -; North Syiloge 198.
- Die d1, h 1; R 1. Legend as last. Clearly barred letter A; swelling on the upright limb of the letter L. Fox -; North Syiloge 198.
- Die d2, h 1; R 1. Legend as last. Large, apparently unbarred, letter A; wedge shaped upright limb of letter L; the second letter D has a serif protruding from its base. Fox -; North Syiloge -.

Die R  
- h 2; S 3; R 2; stops 1; side fleur points between h and Y. Fox -; North Syiloge -.
- This obverse die only found with reverse d2.

Die G  
- An 'irregular' die. h 2; S 3; R 2; stops 3. Both letter Ns in Gothic form and reads HTB instead of HYB. Small crown punch. Fox pl. III, 9; North Syiloge 199 also his fn. 23.
- Die g1, h 1; R 1. Legend as last. Letters B and E clearly separate, D and E overlap. Fox pl. III, 9; North Syiloge -.
- Die g2, h 1; R 1. Legend as last. Letters B and E clearly run into each other, D and E touch. Fox -; North Syiloge 199.

Class 4a1 (Burns A 21)

Die I  
- Letter B open into inner circle. Fox -; North Syiloge 217.
- Die i1, h 2. ROBE/RTVS/DEh/ADL Fox -; North Syiloge -.
- Die i2, h 2. Legend as last. Fox -; North Syiloge 217.
- Closely similar reverse dies, on i1 the tail of the R runs into the O, which is not the case with i2, and the letter E is centred beneath the adjacent three pellets on i1, but further to the right on i2.

Class 4a2 (Burns A 21)

Die H  
- Contraction mark touches back of D. Fox -; North Syiloge 218.
- Die h1, h 1. Legend as last. S squeezed between cross and V. Space between the letters D and E. Fox -; North Syiloge 218.
- Die h2, h 1. Legend as last. S normal. Letters D and E closer than on die h1. Fox -; North Syiloge -.

Class 4a3 (Burns A 20)

Die J  
- Stouter initial cross than on dies H and I; central swelling of letter S prominent. Fox pl. VI, 5; North Syiloge 219.
- Die j1, h 2. Legend as last. Fox pl. VI, 5; North Syiloge 219.
- Die j2, h 2. Legend as last. Fox -; North Syiloge -.
- Similar dies but on j1 the upper wedge of the first letter E is level with the end of the long cross, whereas, on j2, the upper edge projects beyond the end of the cross.

Class 4a4 (Burns A 19)

Die Q  
- h 2; unbarred A. First upright of second letter N slightly double-struck. Fox -; North Syiloge 220, 221.
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Die q₁; h 1; unbarred A. ROBE/RTDE/HADE/LEIE Fox -; North Syllogle 220, 221.
Die q₂; h 1; unbarred A. Legend as last. Fox -; North Syllogle -.
Closely similar reverse dies, but on q₂, the back of the fourth E rests on the foot of L.

Class 4b

Die L

h 2; unbarred A. First letter N unbarred, the second barred; crown encroaches on inner circle. Fox -; North Syllogle -.
Die L₁; h 1; barred A. Legend as last. Fox -; North Syllogle -.
Die L₂; h 1; barred A. Legend as last. Fox -; North Syllogle -.
Closely similar reverse dies but on L₂ the letter R is fused to O.

Die N

h 2; barred A. Crown encroaches on inner circle. Fox pl. VI, 14 (IVc); North Syllogle -.
Die N₁; h 1; R 1; barred A. Legend as last. Fox -; North Syllogle -.
Die N₂; h 1; R 1; barred A. Legend as last. Fox VI, 14; North Syllogle -.
The tail of the letter h is smaller on die N₁ than on N₂.

Die K

h 2; barred A. The crown is within the inner circle; S is both prominent and lies lower than a line drawn at a level with the eyes. Fox pl. VI, 10; North Syllogle -.
Die K₁; h 1; R 1; unbarred A. Legend as last. The form of the letter R with a horizontal tail makes it appear like an L with an upper crescent. Fox pl. VI, 10; North Syllogle -.
Die K₂; h 1; R 1; unbarred A. Legend as last. This has a more normal form of the letter R. Fox -; North Syllogle -.

Die O

h 2; barred A. Flaws by hair and between the initial cross and the letters E and D. Fox -; North Syllogle 236, 237.
Die O₁; h 1; R 1; barred A. Small flaw above the letter L. Legend as last. Fox -; North Syllogle 236, 237.
No coin has yet been found on which the reverse can be confidently identified as O₂.

Die P

h 2; barred A. Developing die flaw adjacent to the first letter E and to where the dexter side fleur and hair meet. Fox -; North Syllogle -.
Die P₁; h 1; R 1; A barred. First R aligned higher than cross end; B resembles letter R. Legend as last. Fox -; North Syllogle -.
Die P₂; h 1; R 1; A barred. First R aligned with cross; lower crescent of B curls under upright. Legend as last. Fox -; North Syllogle -.

Class 4c

Die M

Letter A unbarred. Reads DNhYB. Fox -; North Syllogle - also see his footnote 28.
Die M₁; h 1; R 1; A unbarred. Die crudely engraved with BE and IE overlapping. Fox -; North Syllogle -.
No die M₂ has yet been found.

The ‘irregular’ die, G, and its position in the coinage

The ‘irregular’ die G, listed here under class 3g₃, requires additional comment.¹⁹ Because of its peculiarities, the Gothic N and the I in place of Y in hIB, Fox was inclined to see it as the earliest variety to have been issued by de Hadeleie, the dies having been irregularly manufactured locally. He suggested that the die-sinker might have taken for his model a specimen of the groat, which also has a gothic N and reads hIB(N). He associated the commission of 1283 with the use of the moneyer’s name which had simply been perpetuated, by oversight, from the irregular die. He remarked on the interval of three years between the commencement of the coinage and the commission and commented that no obvious action was taken as a result of the inquiry because Robert de Hadeleie appears to have remained as moneyer until 1287. He suggested that owing to the long dispute over the supply of a standard, the supply of a die could have been overlooked and when Gregory de Rokesley gave his

¹⁹ North Syllogle, 12, concurs with Tatler’s view that the die was probably a late 3g variant.
verbal message to the abbot, he assumed that the die had been supplied at the time the writ was issued and de Hadeleie sworn in. Fox supposed that the new abbot, who had never superintended a coinage, was ignorant of the usual routine, and that when the instructions arrived, the abbey, erroneously, made its own die. This triggered the anomaly of the moneyer's name, and not the mint name, appearing on de Hadeleie's coins.

Stride also felt that the monks may have set about making their own dies unaware of the correct procedures, suppressing the moneyer's name, and that the irregularity was not discovered for some time owing to the circulation of Bury coins being limited to the vicinity of that town. Stride also considered that the name of Robert de Hadeleie disappeared from the coins following the investigation of 1283, and not in 1287 with the appointment of a new moneyer, as had been thought by Fox.

Mate, like Fox, identified the first coins struck by de Hadeleie with the irregular die. However, she pointed out flaws in the Fox argument. She stressed that it was well known that new dies could only be supplied from the London administration. Mate thought it unlikely that the abbot would allow an irregular die to be made after his concern to find out the exact composition of the new money and she cited documentary evidence that one die was delivered to the abbot's sacrist, prior to striking of any coin, on June 26, 1280. Mate raised another possible explanation to account for the existence of the 'irregular' die. According to the warden's accounts, Boniface, the assayer, went to Bury to make the assay and to cut the dies (ad cuneos talliandos). She very reasonably considered that Boniface would not have been cognisant with die cutting and that this could explain erratic workmanship. Mate suggested that this course of action might have been taken to save time, since, at the height of the recoinage in 1280, die-cutting capacity in London might have been over-extended.

It is possible that because of the apparent absence of class 3c coins, Fox initially thought that the 'irregular' die was used between midsummer and autumn 1280. After he had constructed his argument he found coins struck from a 3c die, and since that time survivors from a second 3c die have come to light. The product of these two die sets could well account for the bullion struck into coin during the period of two months or so, as outlined in Table I.

There are certainly no stylistic grounds for considering die G to be the earliest. Gothic forms of the letter N were used on class 1a pennies of London, on groats, and on class 3f pennies with the York mint signature and, indeed, we owe to Mr North the suggestion that die G might be contemporary with 3f. The possibility that the coin could be a Continental imitation has to be considered but the apparent employment of some regular punches in its manufacture make it difficult to accept this idea.

The abbot, by his request for fuller information on the recoinage, would appear to have been more cautious than foolish. Although not directly concerned with the mint there, he had been a monk serving in the abbey before his election. Long Cross coins of Lawrence class 7 had, until as recently as 1278, been struck at the mint by Jocceus the Goldsmith, and other monks as well as the sacrist must have been familiar with the operations of the mint. Dr Mate has

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20 Fox, *BNJ* 7 (1911), 117. This argument places too much emphasis on the role of the abbot. The mint was under the control of the sacrist's department (BL Harl. Ms 643, fo. 260v.).


22 This argument is not very convincing. The composition of several hoards before 1300 is summarised in Table 2 which clearly indicates the Robert de Hadeleie content to be approximately 1.47% of all coins from English mints. Thus the currency of Robert de Hadeleie coins in general circulation in places as far apart as Nottinghamshire, Hampshire and Roxburghshire was at least one coin in a hundred of the whole product of all the English mints at the turn of the fourteenth century. That coins took some time to circulate away from their mint of origin is self-evident and may be seen from the content of the Whiston and Skegby hoards. But the time needed to achieve a uniform distribution was clearly not very great.


24 Exchequer, Lord Treasurer's Remembrancer. Memoranda Roll (E368/53, m. 2d).

25 He had been hostilarius interior, the guest master who looked after visitors from other houses of the Benedictine Order (*The Chronicle of Bury St Edmunds*, 1212–1301, edited by A. Gransden, London (1964), 67–8).

26 1278 KR, 6 Edward I, m. 5d. See Fox *BNJ* 7 (1911), 129.


<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Fox/North classification</th>
<th>Obverse Die</th>
<th>Number of surviving coins recorded</th>
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<tr>
<td>3c</td>
<td>A</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>June to August 1280</td>
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<td></td>
<td>B</td>
<td>19</td>
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<tr>
<td>3d</td>
<td>C</td>
<td>17</td>
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<td></td>
<td>T</td>
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</tr>
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<td>3g₁</td>
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<td>E</td>
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<td>Late 1281</td>
</tr>
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<td>3g₃ (thick S)</td>
<td>D</td>
<td>31</td>
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<td></td>
<td>R</td>
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<td>G ('irregular' die)</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td>20</td>
<td>281</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


shown, as already noted, that the sacrist did receive a die in 1280; and the commission of 1283 referred to a die which had previously been delivered and falsified. Thus it would appear that the commission's concern was not with Robert de Hadeleie's earliest die but with one which was in use later and, indeed, perhaps closer to 1283. Die G was certainly regular to the extent that it was struck with two reverse dies which have not been found linked to other obverses and that some of the punches it uses appear to be regular for other late coins of Class 3g. It would also appear to have been regular, too, in as much as the number of surviving coins is well within the range of the numbers of survivors from other Robert de Hadeleie dies. Could the irregular die simply have been the work of an inexpert official die cutter?

Use of dies

Mate considered that 2,200 coins a day could be struck by working a single set of dies.²⁷ For this she estimated an approximate time of fifteen seconds to strike each coin. With repetition and skill – and shifts of men to wield the hammers – the time taken to insert a blank, strike and remove the coin could well have been a matter of a few seconds, and it is possible that the whole product of a single obverse could have been made within a short time. This, of course, would have depended on demand and could not have been continuous. That the abbot required a new die every week at the height of the recoinage, as suggested by Mate,²⁸ certainly does not

²⁷ Mavis Mate, ‘Coin Dies under Edward I and II’, NC, IX (1969), 214. It is interesting to compare this with the evidence for the striking of £30 worth of coin (approximately 7200 pence) at Durham, which had three sets of dies, on 31 July 1302. See J.J. North, ‘Irregular dies of the Durham mint c. 1300’ BNJ 54 (1984), 77, note 6.
²⁸ BNJ 41 (1972), 48.
tally with the number of dies known to have been used. If— as is likely from the number of surviving coins— twenty sets of de Hadeleie dies were used between 1280 and 1287 (see Table 1), each would have lasted, on average, over four months. Mate herself has shown, however, that thirty-nine dies, equal to thirteen sets each consisting of one obverse with two reverses, were used between September 1281 and October 1283 when, she says, ‘the pressure of recoinage was almost over’. This would equate precisely during that twenty-six month period to an average active life of two months for each set of dies. This strongly suggests that the mint was not abnormally active from June 1280 through to August 1281, and that the use of dies declined significantly after September 1283.

Obviously work must have stopped while the old sets of dies were being exchanged for the new, but this is unlikely to have presented a problem, given the level of activity. When the mint did cease to operate for this reason the monks would have had the patience to wait for a new die, as had been the practice for generations. As is apparent from the die analysis set out above, there is no indication whatever that die sets were in practice allowed to be stockpiled; they are all distinct from each other using the various punches that appeared on dies made for other mints at different times.

The purpose of the commission of 1283

If the ‘irregular’ die, G, is now correctly positioned in the series, the commission of July 1283 could have been a belated reaction to that irregularity. Alternatively, it could have been related to the more obvious irregularity of the moneyer’s rather than the mint name on the coins, even though the dies were supplied from London; or, yet again, it could have been occasioned by other circumstances which are, at present, unknown. If, however, the commission was concerned with the irregular die, Stride’s suggestion that the irregular use of the moneyer’s name was not noticed until 1283 because the circulation of the coins was limited to the vicinity of Bury cannot be accepted. The findings of the commission are, moreover, not known. Probably Robert de Hadeleie was allowed to continue as moneyer until 1287, although we cannot be sure of this. The latest coins that we know of with his name upon them are of class 4c (die M) which may well have been struck in late 1283 or 1284. No coins are known of class 4d, which might suggest a hiatus, and coins are known of class 4e, which could have been struck in 1287–9, from more than one die with a version of the reading Villa Sci Edmundi. Unfortunately the introduction of class 4e cannot be closely dated and since the whole of class 4 was evidently struck during a period of steeply diminishing output following the completion of the recoinage, it would certainly be wrong to postulate any linear relationship between different classes and time.

Phasing of Dies

Taking account of the above evidence, if, as suggested in the last paragraph, it is correct to assume that the coin from die M was issued as one of the thirteen sets between September 1281 and October 1283, the remaining seven dies (or six if the ‘irregular’ die is excluded) will have been issued prior to September 1281. Since there is a good probability that all Robert de Hadeleie dies are represented in the sample we have, those six or seven sets will be the two class 3c dies, A and B, which were probably in use to about August 1280, the two class 3d dies, C and T, which were perhaps used towards the end of 1280, and two or three 3g1 dies, F.
E and S with the thin waisted S (S. 2). It is worth noting that these 3g1 dies are similar in style to the dies of the same sub-group of Chester32 which opened in early 1281 and was closed by Michaelmas of that same year.

The volume of coins struck in the name of Robert de Hadeleie

Between 1280 and 1296/97 it is known that 7120 pounds of silver were struck into coin at Bury St Edmunds.33 At the latter date class 8 was almost certainly being issued.34 A review of the comparatively rare coins of Bury struck in this period and after Robert de Hadeleie’s name ceased to appear on them suggests that:

- for class 4e two die sets were used
- for class 5 two die sets were used
- for class 6 one die set was used
- for class 7 two die sets were used
- and for class 8 perhaps as many as eight die sets were used

This gives a total of fifteen die sets with a version of the reading *Villa Scie Edmvndi*,35 which, together with the twenty Robert de Hadeleie sets that we know of, gives a total of thirty-five, including the ‘irregular’ die. Reducing this total by a purely estimated figure of four to allow for the fact that some of the class 8 sets may have been produced or used after 1296/97, we arrive at about thirty-one sets used to strike a little over seven thousand pounds worth of bullion into coin. Thus we can make an approximation that on average each set struck about £230 of silver into some 55,000 coins. The survivors from the hoards listed in Table 2 clearly indicate that fewer coins survive from *Villa Scie Edmvndi* dies than from Robert de Hadeleie dies. Thus the average production of a set of dies in Robert de Hadeleie’s name may have been in excess of 55,000 and of those reading *Villa Scie Edmvndi* somewhat less. Lord Stewartby, in his second paper on medieval die output, calculated an issue of between four and five thousand pounds struck in the name of Robert de Hadeleie to give an average output from each die at between 60,000 and 75,000 coins.36 A comparison of the proportions of surviving coins known to the author show that at least three quarters of the Bury coinage from Fox class 3 to class 8 inclusive was struck bearing the name of Robert de Hadeleie, a sum approximating to £5340, giving on average £267 per die, equivalent to 64,000 coins, well within the range of Lord Stewartby’s figures. Great care must have been taken with the abbot’s dies to achieve such large production and the dies must have been kept in use for as long as possible. Later, when *Villa Scie Edmvndi* dies were used and Richard de Lothbury was moneyer, the lower pressure of minting would have made it practicable to exchange dies before they were so fully worn. However, preliminary examination of the dies used during the next recoinage of 1300 indicates that the dies were again used to strike large quantities of coins.

Between 1280 and 1283 about one and a quarter million pennies must have been struck bearing Robert de Hadeleie’s name. A significant proportion has survived, certainly well in excess of the 281 coins included in this survey, and the sample will assuredly grow as further hoards come to light. The survival rate of those coins used for this study is between one in four thousand and one in five thousand, fortunately large enough to enable several specimens struck from most dies to be seen. The majority of surviving coins must have been deposited in

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32 North Syllage, 163–166.
33 C.U. Ms Re 3.60, fo. 117v (Pinchbeck Register). See Stride, *SCMB* 444 (May 1955), 128. The pyx trial from which this date is derived specifies 25 Edward I which ended in November 1297.
35 RJE has positively identified 14 obverse dies: 4c, 2: 5b, 3; 6b, 1; 7a, 3; 8a, 3; 8a-b, 1; 8b, 1.
36 B.H.I.H. Stewart, ‘Second thoughts on medieval die output’ *NC*, IV (1964), 293–305.
TABLE 2. Bury St Edmunds coins of Fox classes 3cf to 4c (Robert de Hadeleie) and of 4d to 8b in several hoards compared with numbers of coins of the same classes from all other English mints. Arranged in advancing order of estimated deposit dates.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Hoard Name</th>
<th>Deposit Date</th>
<th>Date Found</th>
<th>English Content (Fox Classes up to 15d, percentage only)</th>
<th>Content Classes 3c to 4c</th>
<th>Content Classes 4d to 8b</th>
<th>Latest Refereces</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>English Mints</td>
<td>Robert de Hadeleie Mints</td>
<td>All Robert de Hadeleie</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Skegby</td>
<td>c. 1290</td>
<td>1967</td>
<td>406</td>
<td>279 5</td>
<td>7 0</td>
<td>5a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Broughton</td>
<td>c. 1290</td>
<td>1964</td>
<td>255</td>
<td>175 2</td>
<td>32 0</td>
<td>5b</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mellendean</td>
<td>c. 1295</td>
<td>1911</td>
<td>698</td>
<td>427 8</td>
<td>153 0</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Coventry No 2</td>
<td>c. 1298</td>
<td>1937</td>
<td>125</td>
<td>87 1</td>
<td>22 0</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Middle PRI</td>
<td>c. 1310</td>
<td>1974</td>
<td>2612</td>
<td>1462 21</td>
<td>317 3</td>
<td>11a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Whittonstall</td>
<td>c. 1311</td>
<td>1958</td>
<td>1144</td>
<td>173 3</td>
<td>79 3</td>
<td>11a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Refrew</td>
<td>c. 1321</td>
<td>1963</td>
<td>451</td>
<td>261 5</td>
<td>26 0</td>
<td>15a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Boyton</td>
<td>c. 1325</td>
<td>1935</td>
<td>3858</td>
<td>524 9</td>
<td>117 1</td>
<td>15c</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Brookham</td>
<td>c. 1326</td>
<td>1953</td>
<td>829</td>
<td>244 9</td>
<td>89 2</td>
<td>15c</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aberdeen I</td>
<td>c. 1330</td>
<td>1985</td>
<td>4064</td>
<td>667 12</td>
<td>215 5</td>
<td>15d</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lochmoulin4</td>
<td>c. 1330</td>
<td>1964</td>
<td>415</td>
<td>77 0</td>
<td>26 0</td>
<td>15d</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Blackhills</td>
<td>c. 1332</td>
<td>1993</td>
<td>1854</td>
<td>239 4</td>
<td>115 1</td>
<td>15b</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bersear</td>
<td>c. 1335</td>
<td>1959</td>
<td>1286</td>
<td>199 2</td>
<td>49 0</td>
<td>15d</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Loch Doon</td>
<td>c. 1335</td>
<td>1966</td>
<td>1722</td>
<td>230 7</td>
<td>95 1</td>
<td>15d</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aberdeen II</td>
<td>c. 1345</td>
<td>1984</td>
<td>2239</td>
<td>361 1</td>
<td>128 1</td>
<td>15d</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Derby</td>
<td>c. 1348</td>
<td>1927</td>
<td>488</td>
<td>367 2</td>
<td>22 0</td>
<td>15d</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Montrave</td>
<td>c. 1340</td>
<td>1877</td>
<td>8229</td>
<td>1450 19</td>
<td>300 6</td>
<td>15d</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kirial</td>
<td>c. 1365</td>
<td>1967</td>
<td>1723</td>
<td>344 3</td>
<td>93 1</td>
<td>15d</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aberdeen</td>
<td>c. 1375</td>
<td>1975-81</td>
<td>187</td>
<td>31 1</td>
<td>12 0</td>
<td>15d</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1 Excluding Berwick.
2 Figures derived from the reclassification published by Stewart and North (see ref.), in which the Macdonald classification is converted into the Fox equivalents. As they show in their paper, small inaccuracies are possible.
3 Burns type A11 and A12 are excluded from these and other hoard 3c figures (when available), since these transitional types between 3b and 3c do not appear at Bury.
4 Figures derived from the reclassification published by Tatler and Stewart (see ref.) in which the Burns classification is converted into the Fox equivalent.

hoards at one time or another. In hoards discovered prior to the twentieth century unwanted coins were sometimes melted down for bullion, but Robert de Hadeleie pennies, because of their reverse readings may, on occasion, have been selectively saved. Table 2 is a list of Robert de Hadeleie coins that have been found in a number of hoards, from which it will be seen that they (classes 3c to 4c inclusive) account for 1.47 per cent of the total comparable output of English coin.

APPENDIX: LIST OF LOCATIONS AND WEIGHTS

The current (1999) locations and weights (where available) of the 281 coins used in this die study are set out below. The following abbreviations are used:

AM Ashmolean Museum
BM British Museum
CUA City/University of Aberdeen
BURY COINAGE OF ROBERT DE HADELEIE

FM  Fitzwilliam Museum
CEB  C.E. Blunt
RJE  Dr R.J. Eaglen
EJH  Dr E.J. Harris
FEJ  F. Elmore Jones sale.
JIN  J.J. North
DP  D. Palmer
IS  Lord Stewartby
GVT  Dr G.L.V. Tatler estate
MH  Moyses Hall Museum, Bury St Edmunds
NMW  National Museum of Wales
PW  P. Woodhead
P  Other private owner
plu  Present location unknown
RCL  R.C. Lockett sale
RMM  Royal Mint Museum
UM  Ulster Museum

(It should be noted that Dr Tatler recorded all locations when he built up his register of coins, although he did not always record weights. In the case of private collections a number have been dispersed since, either in whole (JJN) or in part (PW). The coins in the collection of C.E. Blunt, which included the coins from the Fox collection, were acquired in total after his death by the Fitzwilliam Museum. Dr Tatler’s register, which includes photographs or casts of most of the coins, has been deposited in the library of the British Numismatic Society. Weights not recorded by Dr Tatler have been obtained so far as is possible. Where this has not been possible the coin is annotated ‘wnk’ (RJE and PW).

Weights of coins illustrated on the plates (when known) are given in bold type. Coins marked with an asterisk (*) are clipped or otherwise damaged. Numbers after coins attributed to GVT and, in quotes, after coins attributed to IHS and PW refer to the numbers related to them in Dr Tatler’s register.

Aa 1  (3); 1.23* (RJE), 1.44 (FM), 1.38 (DP ex JJN).
Aa 2  (5); 1.44 (GVT ex PW ’1’), 1.41 (RJE), 1.37 (EJH), 1.28* (plu), 1.43 (RJE).
Bb 1  (6); 1.39 (RJE), 1.26* (GVT ex PW ’7’), 1.42 (BM ex Boyton TT), 1.45 (plu ex Middridge TT), 1.32 (RJE), 1.20 (FM ex CEB).
Bb 2  (12); 1.43 (RJE), 1.43 (RJE), 1.28 (plu ex PW ’9’), 1.36 (IS), 1.13 (GVT 11), 1.20 (GVT 166), 1.16 (GVT 169), 1.35 (RJE), 1.28 (DP), wnk (plu ex FEJ 1265), 1.11* (CUA), 1.00* (HM).
Cc 1  (8); 1.50 (GVT 19), wnk (GVT ex PW ’16’), 1.40 (plu ex Middridge TT), 1.44 (plu), 1.33 (DP ex JJN), 1.15* (RJE), 1.38 (RJE), 1.47 (BM ex Boyton TT).
Cc 2  (6); 1.35 (EJH), 1.64 (FM ex CEB), 1.41 (DP), wnk (plu ex PW ’17’), 1.33 (RJE), wnk (plu ex RCL 3969).

Plus one other coin with obverse die B (plu).

Tt 1  (3); 1.33 (RJE), 1.20 (ex Middridge TT), 1.18* (CUA).
Ft 1  (9); 1.38 (GVT 49), wnk (PW ’48’), 1.35 (IS), 0.98* (FM), wnk (plu ex PW ’179’), 1.25 (P ex JJN), 1.45 (RJE), 1.41 (RJE), 1.46 (P ex JJN).
Ft 2  (2); 1.36 (GVT 50), 1.44 (plu ex Middridge TT).

Plus one other coin with dies Ce 1 and two with Ce 2 (all plu).

Ee 1  (5); wnk (plu ex PW ’42’), 1.18 (BM ex Derby TT), 1.44 (DP ex JJN), 1.33 (RJE), 1.26* (RJE).
Ee 2  (5); 1.43 (GVT 176), 1.45 (FM ex CEB), 1.41 (GVT 43), 1.42 (GVT 177), 1.43 (RJE).

Plus two other coins from obverse die E (plu).

Ss 1  (3); 1.35 (GVT 160), wnk (plu ex PW), 1.42 (P ex JJN).
Ss 2  (3); 1.34 (RJE), 1.39 (plu), 1.05* (RJE).

Plus two other coins from obverse die S (plu).

Dd 1  (21); 1.46 (RJE), wnk (plu ex PW ’26’), 1.37 (RJE), wnk (plu ex PW ’28’), wnk (plu PW ’29’), 1.42 (GVT 30), 1.42 (IS), 1.35 (BM ex Evans), 1.42 (BM ex Parkes Weber), 1.43 (plu), 1.43 (plu ex Middridge TT), 1.25* (RJE), 1.28* (RJE), 1.37 (RJE), 1.42 (GVT 170), 1.37 (GVT 171), 1.32 (P ex JJN), 1.36 (plu ex Middridge TT), 1.39 (plu ex Middridge TT), 1.43 (plu ex Middridge TT), 1.43 (plu).
Dd 2  (3); 1.38 (GVT 32), 1.27 (RJE), 1.47 (BM ex Skegby TT).

Plus three other coins from dies Dd 1 and 4 from Dd 2 (all plu).

Rd 2  (1); 1.29 (BM ex Blackhills TT).
Gg 1  (8); 1.36 (RJE), 1.32 (plu ex PW ’53’), 0.98* (GVT 55), 1.35 (FM ex CEB), 1.42 (RJE), 1.40 (UM), 1.34 (RJE), 1.45 (plu ex Middridge TT).
BURY COINAGE OF ROBERT DE HADELEIE

Gg₂ (7); 1.30 (RJE), 1.31 (IS ex PW ‘54’), 1.44 (BM ex Evans), 1.47 (RJE), 1.33 (RJE ex FEJ 1267), 1.29* (plu ex Middridge TT), 1.16* (DP ex JIN).

Plus one other coin from dies Gg₁ (plu).

Ii₁ (12); 1.42 (RJE), 1.35 (IS), 1.18* (IS), 1.32 (BM ex Moatmove TT), 1.41 (BM ex Blackhills TT), 1.33 (BM ex Oldroyd), 1.22* (FM), 1.35 (RJE), 1.36 (RJE), 1.38 (RJE), 1.15* (RJE), 1.34 (RMM ex Hocking 492).

Ii₂ (13); 1.31 (RJE), 1.35 (P ex JIN), wnk (plu ex PW ‘72’), 1.42 (IS), 1.21 (IS), 1.33 (AM), 1.24 (BM ex Bolton TT), 1.16* (AM), 1.35 (GVT 94), 1.36 (plu ex Middridge), 1.44 (plu ex Middridge), 1.29 (RJE), 1.36 (plu).

Plus 5 other coins from dies Ii₁ and four others from obverse die I (all plu).

Hh₁ (16); 1.47 (GVT 195), wnk (plu ex PW ‘61’), wnk (plu ex PW ‘62’), 1.41 (RJE), 0.90* (GVT 65), 1.39 (IS), 1.36 (BM ex Lawrence), 1.39 (BM ex Newminster TT), 1.41 (GVT 184), 1.44 (P ex JIN), 1.40 (CUA), 1.45 (RJE), 1.37 (RJE), 1.32* (RJE), 1.09 (RMM ex Hocking 493), 1.29 (GVT 260).

Hh₂ (5); wnk (plu ex PW ‘185’), wnk (plu ex PW ‘63’), 1.43 (IS), 1.48 (BM pre 1837), 1.21 (RJE).

Plus one other coin from die Hh₁ and one from Hh₂ (plu).

Jj₁ (9); 1.28 (PW ‘102’), 1.44 (IS), wnk (GVT 99), 1.33 (FM ex CEB), 1.44 (BM ex Blackhills TT), 1.35 (AM), 1.26* (P ex JIN), 1.40 (NMW), 1.45 (RJE).

Jj₂ (8); 1.40 (RJE), 1.36 (RJE), wnk (plu ex PW ‘96’), wnk (plu ex PW ‘97’), 1.17 (GVT 100), 1.36 (GVT 101), 1.09* (RJE), 1.31* (RJE).

Plus three other coins from dies Jj₁ and one other from obverse die J (all plu).

Qq₁ (9); 1.29 (RJE), 1.41 (P ex JIN), 1.42 (BM ‘52220’), 1.34 (RJE), 1.30 (plu ex Middridge), 1.39 (GVT 196), 1.40 (RJE), 1.40 (P ex JIN), 1.30 (RJE).

Qq₂ (4); 1.36 (GVT 152), 1.59 (RJE), 1.37 (GVT 197), 1.39 (FM).

Plus four other coins from obverse die Q (plu).

Ll₁ (6); 1.38 (GVT 129), 1.32 (plu ex JIN), 1.31 (GVT 116), 1.37 (RJE), 1.46 (RJE), 1.35 (plu ex Middridge TT).

Ll₂ (4); 1.39 (RJE), 1.16 (IS), 1.39 (ML), 1.45 (plu).

Nn₁ (3); 1.39 (RJE), 1.34 (GVT 128), 1.50 (FM).

Nn₂ (10); 1.41 (RJE), wnk (plu ex PW ‘125’), 1.37 (GVT 126), 1.42 (GVT 127), 1.23 (FM ex CEB), wnk (plu ex PW ‘204’), 1.39 (RJE), 1.37 (RJE), 1.38 (NMW), 1.55 (P).

Plus three other coins from obverse die N (plu).

Kk₁ (4); 1.40 (RJE), 1.35 (IS), 1.18 (FM ex CEB), 1.31* (RJE).

Kk₂ (1); 1.39 (BM ex Blackhills TT).

Plus one other coin from obverse die K (plu).

Oo₁ (14); 1.27 (GVT 136), 1.39 (plu ex Middridge TT), 1.45 (RJE), 1.33* (RJE), 1.49 (plu), 1.35 (P ex JIN), 1.24 (P ex JIN), 1.43 (BM ex Newminster TT), 1.36 (AM), 1.39 (RJE ex Lockett 3969), 1.41 (plu ex Middridge TT), wnk (plu ex PW ‘135’), 1.42 (EJH), 1.45 (RMM ex Hocking 491).

Plus two other coins from obverse die O (plu).

Pp₁ (4); 1.34 (GVT 143), 1.31 (BM ex Evans), 1.18 (GVT 144), 1.26* (RJE).

Pp₂ (4); 1.15 (GVT 146), 1.33 (BM ex Oldroyd), 1.41 (GVT 145), 1.38 (BM ex Carsphairn TT).

Plus one other coin from obverse die P (plu).

MM₁ (2); 1.42 (RJE), 1.53 (P ex JIN).