

THE LION COINAGE OF ROBERT EARL OF GLOUCESTER AND WILLIAM EARL OF GLOUCESTER

MARION M. ARCHIBALD

A major coinage of previously unknown lion type for Robert Earl of Gloucester, 1121/22–1147, and his son William Earl of Gloucester, 1147–83, came to light in a hoard found between 1993 and 1994 by Martin Bricknell, detecting with permission at Wadswick Farm, Box, on the western border of Wiltshire (ST 83506895). Mr Bricknell took the first group of his finds to Dr Paul Robinson of the Devizes Museum who recognised their importance at once, reading one of the few clean coins as Robert Earl of Gloucester of the Trowbridge mint (no. 37). Mr Bricknell subsequently devoted many hours to retrieving as many coins and fragments as possible from the widely distributed hoard.¹ The coins were taken to the British Museum where they were cleaned and conserved by Celestine Enderly. Superficially, the coins appeared to be in good condition but recent breaks showed that, internally, they were reduced to a powdery silver oxide held together by the surface patination. It was therefore decided to seal the surface of the coins (by a reversible process) to increase their strength. The then-current treasure trove procedures were followed before all the coins found a place in public collections as indicated in the List of Coins. The complete contents of the hoard will be published in the context of related finds in a forthcoming number of the British Museum's series *English Medieval Coin Hoards*, but the exceptional importance of the lion coins both for numismatics and heraldic studies, and for the administration of the Angevin-held areas of western England, makes it desirable that information on them should be made available in advance of this wider discussion.² The present paper is confined to the lion issue and is not concerned, except incidentally, with other coins which are attributed to the Earls of Gloucester.³

The find has usually been called the Box hoard after the nearest modern town but the discovery was made on an unscheduled area of the deserted village of Hazelbury. At the time of the hoard's deposition, Hazelbury manor was part of the honour of Wallingford held by one of the leading magnates of the Angevin party, Brien Fitz Count (died about 1147–51) by right of his wife, Matilda. The adjacent property of Bocza (Box) was among those confirmed by Empress Matilda in 1144 to another of her prominent supporters, Humphrey de Bohun (died before Michaelmas 1165).⁴

Acknowledgements: I am grateful first and foremost to the finder Martin Bricknell for his efforts and care in the recovery of the coins; to Dr Paul Robinson for much helpful advice in their administration and study; to my former colleagues Celestine Enderly and Michael Cowell for their scientific work on the coins and to Stephen Dodd for making the best of them in the photographs. I am grateful also to Joe Bispham, the late George Boon, Michelle Brown, Professor David Crouch, John Goodall, T.A. Heslop, Professor Edmund King and Ann Payne who have discussed various aspects with me. Joe Bispham, David Crouch and Paul Robinson have kindly read this paper but the identifications and commentary, and any misinterpretations in both, remain my own responsibility.

¹ The hoard comprised a total of 104 coins or fragments: lion type, 62; and provisional totals: Matilda, 20; Stephen, 12; Henri of Neubourg, 1; others, mostly uncertain Angevin and baronial, 9. A further damaged penny of Earl William was published in *BNJ* 70 (2000), CR 133 (numbered 134 on pl. 35) found 'near Wimborne, Dorset. M/D find, March 2000'. It is from the same reverse die as Box hoard coin no. 61.

² The coins were being unearthed just as the third edition of J.J. North, *English Hammered Coinage*, Vol. 1, *Early Anglo-Saxon to Henry III c.600–1272* (London, 1994), was going to press; while it was possible to insert some preliminary details, the account given there is inevitably incomplete.

³ One coin was previously identified as possibly of Earl Robert (R.P. Mack, 'Stephen and the Anarchy 1135–1154', *BNJ* 35 (1966), 94–5, no. 269). Typologically similar to Stephen *BMC* 2, it reads []VND:ON[]JERE. North 1994 (no. 944) interpreted it, almost certainly correctly, as Simund of Leicester and attributed it to Robert of Beaumont, Earl of Leicester, but *pace* his footnote (p. 215, 440a) the discovery of the present coins, in my view, makes it less likely that the coin can be attributed to Robert, Earl of Gloucester. The later coins attributed to William, Earl of Gloucester, are listed in Mack 1966, 83–4, nos 262–8; individual attributions cannot be discussed here. In early numismatic works other coins including those of Robert de Stuteville (Mack nos 227–8) were wrongly given to Robert of Gloucester.

⁴ H.A. Cronne, R.H.C. Davis and H.W.C. Davis (eds), *Regesta Regum Anglo-Normannorum 1066–1154*, Vol III (London, 1968), p. 40 no. 111.

Types and inscriptions

The lion coins are listed below and all except a few of the multiple die-duplicates are illustrated on **Plates 6** and **7**. The numbers in the list are used for reference in this discussion and on the plates. There are 62 lion coins from the hoard: 44 in the name of Earl Robert (36 pennies and eight cut-halfpennies), seven of Earl William (four pennies and three cut-halfpennies) and eleven with illiterate obverses (nine pennies and two cut-halfpennies) probably produced just after Earl Robert's death. The obverse type is a lion with pellets (generally trefoils) in the field contained within an inner circle of which the three main varieties are shown in Fig. 1 (minor details vary from die to die): lion 1 is passant to dexter with facing head and linear tail; lion 2 is passant gardant to dexter with facing head and detailed features including a feathered tail; lion 3 is a plainer version of lion 2 with linear tail. Lions 4 and 5 (not illustrated on Fig. 1) are present only on irregular dies: lion 4 (no. 42) is otherwise illegible but has its front legs breaking through the inner circle and lion 5 (no. 55), is a crudely-drawn version of lion 2 facing to the left. Of the regular varieties, lions 1, 2 and 3 are used for Earl Robert, and only lion 3 for Earl William and on those with illiterate legends. There are no die-links to establish the order of the lion types but as lion 3 is used for Earl William it must be the latest of his father's types, and since it is unlikely that the passant type interrupted the passant gardant varieties, lion 1 is therefore the earliest followed by 2 and then 3.

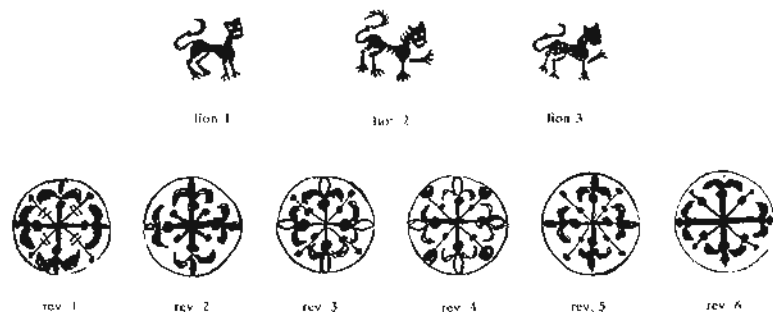


Fig. 1.

A lion type, but with a profile head, is found on the coins attributed to Eustace Fitz John.⁵ On the one coin which bears his name and patronymic (Mack no. 225) the lion is rather contorted but appears to be just passant, while on the other die of different style with Eustace alone (Mack no. 226) the lion is passant gardant and resembles those on the Gloucester coins. The reverses too have a certain likeness. The stylistic similarity is, however, likely to be one of period and common technique rather than evidence of a direct die-cutting connection. (Lions found elsewhere are also close parallels e.g. the lion passant gardant with profile head which is one of the stamps used on the leather cover of the *Codex Wintoniensis* produced c.1150.⁶) Seaby has made a good case for relating the die-cutting of the York group, to which the Eustace coins belong, to issues from Flanders.⁷ They are traditionally dated to the period following the capture of Stephen at Lincoln in 1141, in which case they probably precede the introduction of Earl Robert's coinage, but some have preferred a later date. In any case, there is unlikely to be a direct connection as Earl Robert's coin-type is clearly derived from his seal.

⁵ Mack, *op. cit.* note 3, pp. 80–3, nos 225–6.

⁶ M. Biddle (ed), *Winchester in the Early Middle Ages*, Winchester Studies 1 (Oxford, 1976), Pl. VIII and for detail of the stamp, Pl. X, 17.

⁷ P.J. Seaby, 'Some coins of Stephen and Eustace and the related issues of Western Flanders' in N.J. Mayhew (ed.), *Coinage in the Low Countries (800–1500)*, BAR International Series 54 (1979), 49–53.

The earliest lion on the coins is closely similar to the lion passant with facing head used on the Gloucester seal. All surviving wax impressions are in the name of Earl William (Fig. 2) but it has been suggested that it may have been made originally for Earl Robert as it bears his preferred title of *consul* rather than that of *comes* normally used by his son.⁸ To the numismatic eye, the contrast between the large straggling letters of WILLELM and the smaller, neater letters of the rest of the inscription leaves no doubt that it had been recut on the matrix by a less expert hand over the original name which could, reasonably, only be Robert's. A lion was an unusual choice for a baronial seal at this time and is here a reference to Earl Robert's lineage as the son, albeit illegitimate, of Henry I.⁹ The branch against which the lion is set underlines the allusion to his ancestry cf. Isaiah 11, i, 'And there shall come forth a rod out of the stem of Jesse, and a Branch shall grow out of his roots'. The use of a lion on the coins of Earl Robert followed by those of his son Earl William support the interpretation of a hereditary use of the lion device. The branch is omitted from the coins probably because of their small size.



Fig. 2.

The reverse type is a cross pommée superimposed on a cross fleur-de-lysée over a saltire pommée in the varieties shown in Fig. 1 (again minor details vary from die to die). Of these, reverses 1 (with long-armed saltire) and 2 (with short-armed saltire) are substantive, with the others being essentially uncommon variants of reverse 1. Varieties 1–4 are used on coins of Earl Robert, but Earl William's are confined to reverse 2 except for no. 62 which uses reverse 5. The illiterate obverse die used on nos. 45–50 is paired with an illiterate die of reverse 5, and also on nos 51 and 53 with a recut version of it, reverse 6 (neither found elsewhere), as well as with two literate reverses using reverse 2. The substantive reverse varieties nos. 1 and 2 are, like the different lions on the obverse, found across a range of mints and moneyers. It is clear that the dies were – emergencies apart – being made in one place, presumptively at Bristol, and distributed as required to other mints. There are die-links between coins of the same moneyer but no die-links between moneyers at the same mint or between mints. With the present limited evidence, it is not possible to know whether the absence of some varieties at particular mints or the representation of a mint in only one phase is significant.

⁸ R.B. Patterson (ed.), *Earldom of Gloucester Charters* (Oxford, 1973), pp. 23–4 and pl. XXXI. The best surviving example of the wax seal, in the National Library of Wales, is reproduced here, with kind permission, from a photograph supplied by the library.

⁹ P.D.A. Harvey and A. McGuinness, *A Guide to British Medieval Seals* (London, 1996), p. 43; Patterson, op. cit. note 8, p. 24.

The legends on most dies appear to have been made with the help of punches in the usual metropolitan manner but incorporate a greater amount of engraving than is usual on dies made in the Fitz Ottos' London workshop. M is a distinctive cursive letter not found in the contemporary royal coinage but used on the Cross-and-Crosslets coinage of Henry II and also on the Gloucester seal. C is generally square, although occasionally for both Earl Robert and Earl William it is round (nos 11 and 61); H can be a capital or a lower-case letter; N can be barred transversely or horizontally; S usually lies horizontally on its face or back. Letters may be inverted or retrograde and in one case the whole reverse inscription is retrograde (no. 32). The size and spacing of the letters are inconsistent. Contraction marks are used, especially on early dies and stops may be single, double or absent but their presence or otherwise is often uncertain. There are many extraneous marks among the letters, and guide-lines drawn to assist in spacing the legends are visible on some coins. The latter can take various forms including quite prominent vertical lines so care has to be taken to avoid reading them as additional letters or parts of letters e.g. in the CV mint signature of nos 22–31, and among the letters of the illiterate inscriptions on nos 45–54, or as decorative additions to letters like the round C of GLOC on no. 11. Occasionally radial lines used in setting out the reverse cross are visible (no. 32). Several groups of die-duplicates provide welcome help in deciphering the legends and there are a number of useful pointers: initial crosses on the reverse are consistently aligned on one of the ends of the main cross fleur-de-lysée and Earl Robert's are plain or minimally pattée while Earl William's are, where visible, invariably potent with distinctive bars at the end of the cross-arms.

Coins of Earl Robert

The obverse inscription on Earl Robert's lion coins at its fullest reads unequivocally +ROB'COM'GLOC', Rob[ertus] com[es] Glo[uce]strie. On some, generally later, dies the final C and some or all of the punctuation is lost. The title of earl is translated into the Latin of the legend as *comes*, not the grand and archaic form *consul* favoured by Earl Robert in his own charters and seal, and generally used by his supporters and clients when referring to him. The inscription on the counterseal (an antique gem, not illustrated) used with most surviving specimens of the Gloucester seal in Earl William's name is +AQVILA SV' ET CVSTOS COMITIS (I am the eagle and guardian of the earl).¹⁰ With the title *comes* this signet could have been new for Earl William, but counterseals also are known to have been inherited,¹¹ so it too may have belonged originally to Earl Robert and would not have required alteration to serve for his son. It is as *comes* that Earl Robert features in Matilda's charters. He perhaps used this title on his coins because he was minting coins, not by usurpation of the regal prerogative or even on the basis of the traditional coinage rights of an English earl, but because Empress Matilda had specifically granted them to him. We shall return later to the possible extent of this grant.

Earl Robert's lion coins are from the following mints located on the map (Fig. 3).

¹⁰ An example of the counterseal is illustrated in Patterson, *op. cit.* note 8, pl. XXXI (b).

¹¹ Counterseals and their hereditary use are discussed by Harvey and McGuinness, *op. cit.* note 9, pp. 58–9 and T.A. Heslop, 'Seals' in *English Romanesque Art 1066–1200*, Hayward Gallery exhibition catalogue (London, 1984), p. 308 no. 345. The counterseal used by Earl William was adapted for his daughter Countess Isabel with the legend suitably recut to read '--- D'NE MEE' instead of the inappropriate COMITIS (Patterson, *op. cit.* note 8, p. 24).

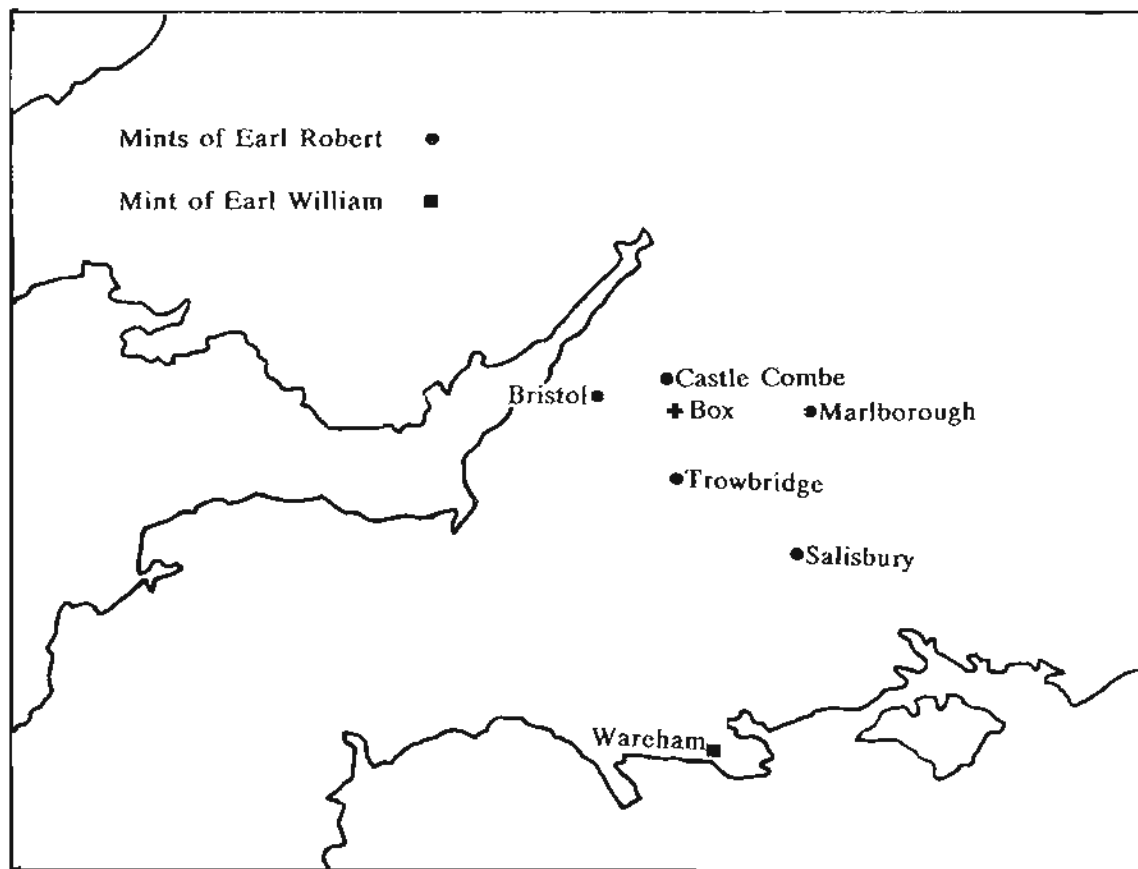


Fig. 3.

Bristol

Bristol was the third city in England after London and York but was described by a contemporary as 'almost the richest city of all in the country, receiving merchandise by sailing ships from lands near and far'.¹² It was the *caput* of Earl Robert's honour of Gloucester (given him by Henry I with its heiress Matilda Fitz Hamon as his wife), and the chief Angevin base held against Stephen without interruption from 1138 until the end of the Civil War. Earl Robert had been granted Bristol castle by his father and the revenue from the town, based on tenures held there since the time of his father-in-law, constituted the largest item in the earl's income.¹³ With twenty-one coins (nos 1–21), it is the commonest mint of the lion issue. There are three moneyers, the usual complement working at any one time during the reigns of Henry I and Stephen: Farthegn (two coins), Iordan (fourteen coins) and Rodbert (five coins). Farthegn and Iordan had earlier worked for Stephen, and Iordan and Rodbert for Matilda at the mint. With the presence of known Bristol moneyers and a clear mint signature from BRITO to BR1, there are no problems of attribution. It is from Bristol that the only coins of the earliest lion 1 type derive: one die used by Iordan and one by Rodbert. Eight coins from Iordan's die are present, paired with two reverses. This high representation may be due partly to other fortuitous factors, but the continued use of Iordan's obverse die after it had developed a severe flaw (compare nos 8 and 5) suggests that output was high. The regular Bristol coins were struck from a total of seven obverse dies and seven reverse dies, all in pairs except for the obverse of Iordan just mentioned and a reverse of Rodbert used with two lion 2 obverses. An additional regular reverse die of Rodbert in a very worn state used with an illiterate obverse (no. 55) was probably also struck at Bristol.

¹² K.R. Potter, ed. and trans., with R.H.C. Davis, *Gesta Stephani* (Oxford, 1976), pp. 56–7.

¹³ Patterson, *op. cit.* note 8, pp. 3–4.

It is always risky to seek to identify moneyers in the written record, but a coincidence of names at Bristol is striking. One of the Bristol moneyers for Henry I between types XI and XV was Herthig or Herthinc (OE Hearing) who is not recorded thereafter. Rodbert, unknown before, is a moneyer for Matilda and now Robert of Gloucester. This suggests that the moneyer Rodbert may have been the wealthy reeve of Bristol, Robert Fitz Harding (dead by 1171) whom Earl Robert enfeoffed with Bedminster and from whom Earl William borrowed 60 marks. His minting connections are confirmed by the unusual grant of a mint with his own moneyer (*moneta cum proprio monetario suo*) in the charter to him by Henry of Anjou in November 1153(?) concerning Berkeley.¹⁴ Robert Fitz Harding claimed Scandinavian blood and descent from the Danish kings so some of the earlier Bristol moneyers with ON names may have belonged to the same family. Reeves, who were financial officials, are likely to have been involved in the coinage elsewhere also.¹⁵

Castle Combe

There are ten die-duplicates of Earl Robert's lion type with the mint signature CV with a contraction mark through the right-hand limb of the V (nos 22–31). There appears to be an upright in less high relief close after the letter C but this is just one of the drafting lines for the legend and is not part of the mint-signature (clear on no. 22). A number of possible places beginning with C (and even I) held by the Angevins at this time were considered, but, taking the common meaning of such a contraction as the omission of a final M, the mint signature is read most straight-forwardly as 'Cum', a compact way of denoting Castle Combe.¹⁶ Although it does not feature in surviving accounts of the Civil War, Combe Castle, Wiltshire, occupied an important strategic position defending the approach to Bristol from the east and there are remains of a large castle.¹⁷ The presence of multiple die-duplicates in the hoard suggests (although it does not require) that the mint is not far distant from the findspot, and Castle Combe would suit this admirably being 9 km (between five and six miles) north of Box. The moneyer Durling (Deorling) is no help in identifying the mint. In the form Derling the name is recorded in Henry I BMC XIV at Huntingdon, but that was held at this time by Stephen. It is also found at Wareham for Henry I intermittently between BMC V and BMC XIV, but different moneyers worked there for Stephen and Matilda. The Anglo-Saxon name is unusual at this late date and a younger member of the original Wareham moneyer's family may have been recruited to serve in the new mint.

Marlborough

The castle at Marlborough, Wiltshire, dominated the junction of two important routes, east-west between Bath and London (both held for Stephen) and north-south between Cirencester and Salisbury. It was the principal base of the Angevin military leader John Fitz Gilbert, Matilda's marshal, who was characterised by the other side as 'that scion of hell and root of all evil'.¹⁸ There is only one lion coin of this mint, with the later lion 3 obverse (no. 32). Marlborough had not been a royal mint since the reign of William II but the retrograde mint signature is the unequivocal MVLEBV. The moneyer's name appears to begin with R (not retrograde) but the vestiges of the letters before ON are not clear and so the identification of the moneyer has to remain open.

¹⁴ Bedminster, Somerset, charter: Patterson, *op. cit.* note 8, p. 171, no. 219, Robert paid 500 marks, the equivalent of 80,000 pence; *re* the borrowed money, *ibid.*, p. 29, no. 72; Berkeley, Gloucestershire, charter, *Regesta*, *op. cit.* note 4, p. 118, no. 310. Robert had a brother called Jordan, and his sons included Jordan and David (*Regesta*, *op. cit.* note 4, p. 117, no. 309). Although these are the names of moneyers, there is no specific evidence that these persons had any hand in the coinage.

¹⁵ For this period, Boon suggests that the moneyer Willelm at Cardiff is probably to be identified with the local reeve in G.C. Boon, *Welsh Hoards 1979–81* (Cardiff, 1986), Part II, Coed-y-Wenallt, pp. 37–82 at p. 49.

¹⁶ One example is the early-twelfth century seal of Westminster Abbey which reads SIGILLV with an identical contraction mark through the V to denote the omitted M (Heslop, *op. cit.* note 11, p. 311, no. 351).

¹⁷ D. Renn, *Norman Castles in Britain* (London, 1968), p. 115.

¹⁸ *Gesta Stephani*, *op. cit.* note 10, pp. 168–9.

Salisbury

The castle of Salisbury (Old Sarum), Wiltshire, was held for the Angevins at this period despite campaigning in the area by Stephen and his son. It was the castle of Patrick, created Earl of Salisbury by Matilda at some time between 1141 and 1147. The castellan until his death in 1143 was his brother William. There are four lion coins certainly of this mint, by two moneyers Lefwine and Wilhelm from three obverse dies and three reverse dies, one pair for Lefwine and two for Wilhelm. On the coin of Lefwine (no. 33) the mint signature SA: can, at this time and general area, be attributed confidently to Salisbury. The last letter of the other moneyer's name, Wilheld, is certainly a capital D (no. 34). This was perhaps the result of a misinterpretation of a round m on the die-cutter's instructions as a lower case d which he converted into a capital to match the other letters of the inscription. Two die-duplicates read (when combined) +WILhELD:ON:SVL, with V for A as on the Marlborough coin (no. 32). On a cut-halfpenny from different dies (no. 36) the legible letters on the reverse are - l h E -. As no other moneyer's name Willem in this series is spelt with an h, this coin can be identified with this mint and moneyer.

Trowbridge

Trowbridge, Wiltshire, was the site of an important Angevin castle situated 12 km (seven and a half miles) from Stephen's stronghold at Bath, and commanding routes south east to Salisbury and south to Shaftesbury and Wareham. The castle was held by Matilda's supporter Humphrey de Bohun, whose father (also Humphrey) had acquired the honour of Trowbridge on his marriage with Matilda, daughter of Edward sheriff of Salisbury. He also held Box, the adjacent manor to Hazelbury where the hoard was found. There is no doubt about the attribution of the three coins (nos. 37-39) to Trowbridge as the mint signature is TROB. All are by the moneyer Salide and share the same obverse die paired with two reverses. On no. 37 the obverse die is fresh but on nos. 38 and 39 it is considerably worn and, at first sight, may appear to be a different die. (What seems like an X before the lion's head is just pellets joined by flaws.) Its later condition suggests that this die had struck a large number of coins. No. 43 may be another coin of this mint and moneyer but the attribution remains uncertain (see discussion in that section below).

A Wiltshire mint

A small fragment of a cut-halfpenny (no. 40) reads HV with traces of the right side of possibly the initial cross before them. This is probably another coin of the Wiltshire moneyer Hubert otherwise represented here only for Earl William (no. 57).

Uncertain mints

All the obverse and reverse dies of the coins from uncertain mints are different from each other and from those of the coins with identifiable mints; a few tiny fragments are too small for die-comparisons to be conclusive. The reverse of no. 41 ends ON in large wide letters followed by a pellet and a final upright. The mint could thus begin with an I, or the I could theoretically be only the first upright of another letter, but this was not a common practice on contemporary dies. Looked at closely, the upright has short horizontals, pointing to the left at the top and to the right at the base so, bearing in mind the short horizontals on the C of the CV signature (no. 22), this letter might be Z intended for S. The moneyer's name seems to start with an A and have a W around the middle and the spacing suggests it might be Aldwine, perhaps here with an intersyllabic E, Aldewine. This name is known at Salisbury for Henry I in type XIV and, although many moneyers were sacked after that type, some do appear later. This coin may thus be of Salisbury, but it is best left for the moment among the uncertain. The cut-halfpenny with the lion's front legs breaking the inner circle (no. 42) has a moneyer's name clearly beginning with an A followed by the base of an L or E but nothing else is legible. This could be another coin by the moneyer of the previous one but it is from a different die and other names are possible.

The reverse of no. 43 reads [JAVID[]. For the moneyer, the choice is between Salide, striking the lion type at Trowbridge, and David, a name otherwise unrepresented in this issue. Looking first at the case for Salide, there might be a lower horizontal after the D indicating an E but it is very doubtful. The V for L is difficult, but may be a die-cutter's misreading of an unusual name, and the L in the Marlborough signature on no. 32 has the limbs at an acute angle although not positioned as a V. The reverse 4 used here (its only occurrence) is characterised by four unusually large pellets at the ends of the long-armed saltires which may have been added at a secondary stage to a die basically of reverse 3, rather than being an original feature, and reverse 3 is known among the present lion coins only for Salide (no. 39). (These pellets are exactly the same size as the undoubtedly additional pellet on the obverse of no. 61 and reverse of no. 58. Their significance is unknown.) Turning to the other candidate, a David is recorded at Bedford, briefly in Angevin hands in the 1140s, for Stephen BMC VII, but this moneyer is likely to be the person of the name who worked for the king at several mints in East Anglia in this type and also earlier during the period the lion coins were being issued. He may therefore be ruled out. One of the putative Bristol moneyer Robert Fitz Harding's family was named David although there is no evidence to connect him with minting activity.¹⁹ On balance, it seems preferable to identify the moneyer with Salide and Trowbridge rather than to create an otherwise unrecorded moneyer and possibly mint, but there is sufficient doubt about the reading for the coin to be left among the uncertain. An incomplete and almost blank cut-halfpenny (no. 44) is attributed to Earl Robert on the basis of the plain reverse cross faintly visible, but none of the letters of either inscription can be read.

Mint organisation and representation under Earl Robert

The coins demonstrate that the lion issue was being organised as well as made in the efficient English royal manner. Earl Robert had not only inherited the expertise of established moneyers and local officials, but he had personal experience of the organisation of royal revenues from having been in charge (with Brien Fitz Count) of the major treasury audit of 1128–9.²⁰ This extensive coinage illuminates the *Gesta Stephani's* disparaging but revealing comment on Earl Robert's refusal to bail out his nephew in 1147, 'huddled like a miser over his money bags'.²¹ Although this coinage was extensive, it was issued over a period of over four years (see 'Dating' below) and was probably, like most earlier medieval coinages, essentially intermittent in character.

Earl Robert's mints, as currently represented, are confined to Bristol and Wiltshire and there may have been further moneyers, and possibly mints, in that county producing coins for him.²² It is notable that no coins are known from mints in some of his personal lands known to have issued coins earlier and later e.g. Gloucester and his honour of Glamorgan, or for other Angevin-held towns which had had productive mints before the start of the civil war e.g. Exeter. One possible view of the evidence is that the Box hoard is simply unrepresentative, its contents drawn largely from its own hinterland and the strong Trowbridge presence perhaps explained by the manor adjacent to the findspot being held by its castellan. As there is evidence of considerable localisation in currency patterns in England at this time, other issues from elsewhere for Earl Robert may await discovery. Alternatively, the earl's coins may really have been relatively restricted in their area of issue. The Box hoard included several earlier coins from South Wales, and might have been expected to contain some of Earl Robert's if they had been produced there in any quantity. The distribution of the lion coins (taking into account the Wareham coin of Earl William) is a corridor from

¹⁹ See note 14.

²⁰ J.A. Green, *The Government of England under Henry I* (Cambridge Studies in Medieval Life and Thought 4th ser., v.3) (Cambridge, 1986), pp. 47 and 93.

²¹ *Gesta Stephani*, op. cit. note 12, pp. 206–7

²² D.F. Allen, *A Catalogue of Coins in the British Museum. The Cross-and-crosslets ('Tealby') type of Henry II* (London, 1951), pp. clix–clx and clxv–clxvi, discusses the entry in the Pipe Roll of 5 Henry II (1158–9) under *Nova Placita* for Wiltshire which lists the debts of six moneyers Ivo, Willelm, Reginald, Hubert, Wineman and Alured. Their mints are not given. Of these names only Wineman and Willelm (if it is the same person) appear as moneyers of Stephen. Hubert is one of Earl William's moneyers (no. 57) and possibly also for Earl Robert (no. 40), so others of the named moneyers may also have worked for the Angevins. The William of the list could be one of them and, as Allen says, need not be the moneyer who worked for Henry II at Wilton.

'sea to sea' but does not include mints in Somerset, Devon or Cornwall and certainly does not cover 'half of England' as the chronicler described Earl Robert's dominion.²³ Another important factor influencing the location of minting places was military requirements. While there was no doubt a commercial and fiscal element in the motivation towards issuing coins, particularly at Bristol, the other mints were in places with strategically important castles in the area where military activity was focussed at this time. The striking of the coins in these cases probably took place within the castles which could be held against the enemy rather than in the towns which could be independently sacked. The new mints of Castle Combe and Trowbridge were just such places, while the reopened Marlborough and long-established Salisbury (Old Sarum) were similar key fortresses in the centre of the warfare. While the chronicler may have ignored the official central authority behind some at least of such coinages, large issues of coins from castles were a reality.²⁴ It is clear that their coins were needed principally to pay troops and finance the rest of the war effort.

Earl Robert appears to have been exercising Matilda's coinage prerogative on the same basis as he was carrying out administrative and military duties on her behalf. There is no formal documentary evidence, but coins in Matilda's name cease with the introduction of the earl's and the first issue of the lion coins coincides with Earl Robert's assumption of the direction of affairs in the English Angevin lands. The restricted representation in the Box hoard is either fortuitous or, more likely, a demonstration that at this juncture the coinage was largely not *pro bono publico* but for military purposes. If the lion issue was in its intention an Angevin national coinage why did Robert, the loyal supporter, not continue to mint in the Empress's name? However it came about, he did not do so and there could be no more graphic and widely disseminated demonstration of where power now lay. Before opting for this model, it ought at least to be considered whether Earl Robert's part in the coinage was more limited in extent. Was it initially an *ad hoc* arrangement to cope with the military need for coin in a particular area, or did the Empress perhaps grant similar rights in coinage, in the manner of the German emperor and the French king, to others among her earls (Baldwin de Redvers of Devon for example) whose local issues from this time are not yet extant? In the light of the lion coins it is perhaps unwise to say so, but formal arrangements along these lines seem unlikely at this time, although unofficial issues cannot be ruled out. Some of Earl Robert's coins were produced at several places in Wiltshire which was not part of his personal earldom or honours. The local lord was Patrick, Earl of Salisbury, also a supporter of Matilda, to whom coins have been uncertainly attributed, but one is from the Winterslow hoard and they are almost certainly later.²⁵ Earl Robert appears to have been aiming to get rid of small local emissions, issued earlier on whatever authority, throughout the area he controlled and to put the coinage back onto a proper state footing as he had known it under his father Henry I. The Box hoard suggests that he succeeded as there are apparently no 'new' issues by minor barons not already represented in the Wenallt find. He may even have hoped that when his sister or his nephew finally came into their own he might retain for himself and his heirs a fief whose independent coinage would be the visible sign of its considerable autonomy such as he knew Normandy and Anjou enjoyed under the French crown. When reunification eventually happened he was dead and his son, powerful as he was, no match for Henry II.

Group with illiterate legends

Ten coins of the lion type (nos 45–54) share the same obverse die which reads cumulatively +NTVHL·IVLVTVN, reading as N all letters where a central bar is inclined, and H where it is not. Six of them share the same reverse 5 die (nos 45–50) with the inscription +VTHNOIL·IVI·LIIVI (last L uncertain). Coins from the same obverse die (nos 51–53) appear to have a different type of cross design (reverse 6) but the reverse inscription is identical in every

²³ *Gesta Stephani*, op. cit. note 12, pp. 148–51.

²⁴ P.G. Walsh and M.J. Kennedy, edd. and trans., *William of Newburgh. The History of English Affairs*, Book 1, Chapter 22, pp. 98–9, 'in England there were in a sense as many kings, or rather tyrants, as there were lords of castles. Each minted his own coinage ...'.

²⁵ Mack, op. cit. note 3, p. 96, no. 271. The attribution and date cannot be discussed here.

respect so it would seem that the central area of the original die has been touched up, most noticeably the arms of the main cross fleur-de-lysée have been strengthened. This suggests, as elsewhere in the lion series noted above, that the dies were being heavily used. These inscriptions make no sense as they stand nor do they do so with alternative interpretations of individual letters or reading them retrograde. The letters H, I, L, N, T and V are permuted on both obverse and reverse, and although the inscriptions are different, they are closely similar. These two legends thus seem to have been nonsense from the start, rather than having devolved from some literate exemplar. The same obverse die is used with a regular reverse die of the moneyer WILLM with an illegible mint signature (no. 54). The only other coin in the present group with the name contracted in this way is the coin of Earl William (no. 60) which has the initial P of a surname or title following, certainly not present here. This coin has no mint signature. The lion 3 on the obverse of nos. 45–54 is rougher in style than those of Earl Robert's coins and the inscriptions are engraved without the use of punches (lettering clear on no. 51). They have not been analysed but the average weight of complete specimens is 1.05 g which is the best of the entire lion issue (see 'Metallurgy' below). This suggests that, while these coins are irregular, they are not fraudulent but were struck as an emergency issue by the moneyer Willm. The illiterate obverse die was more worn when it was used with the Willm reverse (the flaw between the lion's tail and head is more developed) so the illiterate dies were first used as a pair, with the more vulnerable reverse die later recut to prolong its useful life until, beyond repair, it was replaced by an old, regular, reverse die. The place of this issue in the lion sequence is suggested by that fact that the lion 3 is the latest type and that the initial crosses on the illiterate dies are of the Earl Robert type not that of his son.

Another coin seems to belong to this phase. The coin with a retrograde lion obverse (no. 55) has a legend composed of a succession of Vs and pellets and is certainly irregular and not made by the official die-cutters. It is paired with a regular literate reverse die, this time of Rodbert, in a very worn state. The mint name is illegible but is no doubt Bristol. This die is different from the Rodbert die also of reverse 2 paired with an early Earl Robert obverse with lion 1 (nos. 17 and 18). The coin weighs only 0.77 g but, as there is only one specimen, it is difficult to be sure whether this low weight was typical. Although well below the average for the lion series in general, some intact regular coins can also be around this weight (no. 23: 0.73 g, no. 34: 0.78 g and no. 38: 0.74 g). While it would be possible to envisage a siege situation where an emergency issue of coins was required, these coins were probably struck by the moneyers named on the reverse dies at two different places, one of them Bristol which was never under siege at this time. This suggests that the emergency which prompted their production was one which affected both places and, given the likely chronological position of the dies, the most likely time was a short period immediately following Earl Robert's death on 31 October 1147. There is no information on the circumstances of Earl William's succession but it may be that his right to strike coins was not automatic but required a specific grant by the Empress who remained in England for a few more months.

Coins of Earl William

Seven lion coins (nos 56–62), four pennies and three cut-halfpennies (with no die-identities among them) read on the obverse simply WILLELMVS. The absence of a title is no bar to attributing these coins to William after his accession as Earl of Gloucester as later coins of his, of a type shared with the future Henry II and probably struck in the early 1150s, also bear only his name.²⁶ A deterioration in the style of the lion and in the lettering of the dies, as well as other chronological indicators discussed above also suggest that these coins followed Earl Robert's death. Earl William's lion coins were issued for a shorter time than those of his father (see 'Dating' below) and, although again the group in Box may not be representative, probably on a lesser scale.

²⁶ Mack, *op. cit.* note 3, p. 94, Type 3, nos 264–8.

Wareham

One small fragment (no. 56) provides the only mint of Earl William certainly identifiable. The letters WA before the reverse initial cross indicate Wareham, Dorset. This was William's base which he held securely after it was won back for him by his father late in 1142. It was important as the port of entry and departure in communications with Normandy. Nothing of the moneyer's name appears on the coin.

A Wiltshire mint

The legend on the coin of the moneyer Hubert (no. 57) stops short after ON, a mint signature absent from the die. The moneyer's name is not known on regular coins of Stephen or later, but is found on one of the coins in his name with a rosette of pellets before the face but the mint signature is illegible. As Mack remarks, where the mints of coins with this feature are legible, they were at sometime in Angevin-held territory.²⁷ It is possible that a fragment of one of Earl Robert's coins was also by this moneyer (no. 40). In the Pipe Roll of 5 Henry II (1158–9) under *Nova Placita* for Wiltshire, Hubert the moneyer rendered an account of 40s, and his debt was paid off in 7 Henry II (1161–2).²⁸ The entries do not specify the particular mints within the county at which the moneyers had worked, but Hubert may be confidently located in Wiltshire.

Uncertain mints

The moneyer's name on no. 58 starts clearly WI followed by a less clear L and the inscription ends with an S on its face. This last letter is unlikely to be the mint signature as there appears to be a faint E around the middle of the blank area which suggests that the legend reads WILLELMVS, presumably a moneyer and not just an echo the obverse. There is a large additional pellet on the reverse, similar in appearance to a pellet on the obverse of no. 61 and to the four large pellets on the reverse of no. 43. A cut-halfpenny (no. 59) is by a moneyer Will[elm] with room for a mint signature although it is not legible. No. 60 is also by a moneyer William but the spacing suggests the name is in a shortened form (Willm?) as the legend ends :P · ON· with no mint signature. The colon before the P suggests that this is the initial of a surname or similar. The only other coin present with the contracted name Willm (a die with the Earl Robert type of initial cross) is one of those from the illiterate obverse die (no. 54). There is certainly no P after it and the mint signature is illegible. It is not possible to say how many Williams were involved; one of them may be Earl Robert's moneyer at Salisbury (nos 34–6) but there is no direct evidence for this. All that is visible on the reverse of the cut-halfpenny no. 62 is a clear PRE followed by the upper and lower serifs of a following upright. This sequence is not obviously any part of a likely moneyer or mint name. As the moneyer of no. 60, probably Will[el]m, has an initial P following his name, there is possibly a connection with this coin. One solution is to read the letters on both as the beginning of the title *preceptor* (governor), the medieval Latin form of the classical *praeceptor*. This is one of the titles of a castellan e.g. William, brother of Patrick Earl of Salibury was identified as *civitatis Saresbiriae praeceptor eo tempore et municeps* (at that time governor and castellan of the town of Salisbury).²⁹ Unless this is an old die of Earl Robert's time, he is ruled out since he died in 1143, but a successor at Salisbury or another castle seems likely. If this reading is accepted it vindicates in a sense the remark of William of Newburgh about the lords of castles each minting his own coinage.³⁰ Coin no. 60 and the coin in private hands are from the same reverse die but, even together, they do not provide an intelligible reading: A or H[]CV[]IO·. The letter after the V is possibly an R and there is room for another before the IO. The inscription may once again not be the usual name/mint formula. This coin has a large pellet by the lion's tail on the obverse.

²⁷ Mack, *op. cit.* n. 3, p. 182, no. 182 (*BMC* 237).

²⁸ See note 22.

²⁹ *Gesta Stephani*, *op. cit.* n. 12, pp. 148–9 *s.a.* 1143.

³⁰ See note 24.

The rather limited overlap between the minting places of the two earls could be more apparent than real due to the small numbers of Earl William's coins, few of which can be identified. The absence of the old guard Bristol moneyers striking so plentifully for his father is probably more significant. His issues may have been concentrated on his base at Wareham, because his greatest need for coin was there, but until more legible coins appear, this can be only speculation. A possible change of focus also raises the question of where Earl William's dies were cut. They are a little more devolved than his father's but still of the same basic style, so they could have continued to be made in Bristol, or the die-cutter(s) could have travelled elsewhere as required.

Summary of the lion issue

The lion coins are thus currently known of the following mints and moneyers:

<i>Earl Robert</i>	
Bristol	Farthegn (2), Iordan (14), Rodbert (5)
Castle Combe	Durling (10)
Marlborough	R[---] (1)
Salisbury	Lefwine (1), Wilhelm (3)
Trowbridge	Salide (3)
Wiltshire mint	Hu[bert?] (1)
Uncertain	Aldewine (?) (1), A[---] (1), Salide or David(1), uncertain(1)
<i>Group with illiterate obverse legends</i>	
Uncertain	illiterate legend (9), Will[el]m (1)
Bristol	Rodbert (1)
<i>Earl William</i>	
Wareham	Uncertain (1)
Mint in Wiltshire	Hubert (1)
Uncertain	A[---] (1), Willem (2), Willem P (1), -PRE- (1)

The 62 lion coins in the present corpus represent at least the following: six mints and twelve moneyers from 23 obverse and 26 reverse dies. These are certainly minimum figures. There is no way of knowing whether the dies were used to capacity but in a number of instances heavy use can be demonstrated. In view of the uncertainties of the evidence, no realistic estimate of the likely total for the lion coinage can be made, but it was clearly issued on a substantial scale.

Metrology

The average weights of the coins (from intact pennies only) with the numbers involved in brackets are:

	g	gr.	
All lion coins (35)	0.98	15.1	
<i>Earl Robert:</i>			
Bristol (12)	1.01	15.6	
Castle Combe (5)	0.96	14.8	
Malmesbury (1)	0.97	14.9	
Salisbury (4 probable)	0.89	13.7	
Trowbridge (2)	0.89	13.7	
Illiterate/ Willem (6)	1.05	16.2	} 1.01/15.6
Illiterate/Rodbert (1)	0.77	11.8	
Earl William (4)	1.04	16.0	

The average weights of the lion coins are fairly consistent although there is considerable individual variation. The main mint, Bristol, has the highest weight of Earl Robert's coins and the illiterate group are the best of all. Earl William's coins are also high, but their edge over his father's may just be fortuitous, as a result of the low numbers. Corrosion has affected the weights so it is useful to compare these results with the weights of other coins in the hoard whose currency

weight is established from other sources. The Matildas in the hoard weigh on average just under the lion coins at 0.96 g (14.8 gr), probably because they had been in circulation longer. Her coins in good condition from other sources weigh about 1.10 g (16.9 gr), considerably below Stephen's English coins of type I which have an average currency weight of about 1.42 g (21.9 gr), down from a nominal weight of $22\frac{1}{2}$ gr (1.46 g). It can therefore be concluded that the lion coins were struck to the same lower weight standard which had been established by Matilda. Four of the coins were analysed for treasure trove purposes by M.R. Cowell of the British Museum Research Laboratory: Earl Robert of Castle Combe (no. 29), 93% silver; Marlborough, R[— —] (no. 32), 81%; Salisbury, Wilheld (no. 34), 77%; and Earl William, Willm P (no. 60), 94%. It thus appears that the earls' monetary silver standard was set at traditional English sterling level but, while some of their moneyers met it, others were falling seriously below it.

The Matilda coins analysed by Dr Peter Northover for the National Museum of Wales, principally from the Wenallt hoard, showed that they generally matched the traditional English silver standard although some just failed to reach 90% fine.³¹ The one Matilda coin from the Box hoard so far analysed was 93% silver which supports this, but a wider range of her coins and the lion issue need to be investigated. The Earl William coin no. 60 of good silver and reasonable (Angevin) weight was worth in bullion terms about 74% of Stephen's coins of average currency weight (21.9 gr), but the Salisbury coin of Earl Robert (no. 34) which was of poorer silver and low (Angevin) weight was worth only 46% of Stephen's coins. In such circumstances Stephen's better coins would have been a target for culling but a few survived in the Box hoard alongside the Angevin issues of Matilda and the earls. Some of the bullion may have come from non-numismatic sources and booty but it is likely that much was extracted by Earl Robert's heavy taxation.³² Any old English money which this contained would be increased in face value by at least a quarter on re-coining into the Earl's lion coins. If he insisted on blanch payments, as followed his audit of the English treasury in 1128–9, he would have made another profit on some of his own coin when it came back to him.

Dating

The *terminus post quem* for the start of Earl Robert's coinage is provided by the Wenallt hoard from South Wales, dated about 1142, which represented the same range of types present in Box with the exception of the lion coins. It included Bristol coins of Matilda, and might have been expected to contain a few of Earl Robert's coins from this mint if they had already been in production. It is therefore likely that Earl Robert's issues did not begin until after his return to England from a visit to Normandy at the end of 1142. His increasing role in the administration of the Angevin area at this time is confirmed by the *Gesta Stephani's* long account of the events of 1143 which does not allude to the Empress Matilda once; it is the 'Robert Earl of Gloucester and *his* supporters' (my italics) who are mentioned, and it is he who is identified as the leader of the Angevin party and directing its affairs.³³ The lion coinage thus probably began in 1143, issued first in Bristol only (if the present material is representative) using the lion passant type, and then extended, on the introduction of the new passant gardant lion type, to other mints. The lion coins in Earl William's name probably began shortly after he acceded to the title on his father's death in 1147. Other coins in his name (not present in Box) with a facing bust between two stars, issued in parallel with coins of Duke Henry (the future Henry II), were probably produced after the latter's return to England in January 1153. There are further coins attributed to Earl William whose precise dating is uncertain, but which certainly fall between the two other issues.³⁴ Both these post-Box issues of Earl William occurred in the 1802 Winterslow, Wiltshire, hoard along with coins of

³¹ Boon, *op. cit.* note 15, pp. 59–60

³² *Gesta Stephani*, *op. cit.* note 12, pp. 150–1, *v.a.* 1143, 'This Lordship of his the earl [Robert] greatly adorned by restoring peace and quietness everywhere, except that in building his castles he exacted forced labour from all and, whenever he had to fight the enemy, demanded everyone's help either by sending knights or by paying scutage.'

³³ *Gesta Stephani*, *op. cit.* note 12, pp. 144–65.

³⁴ Mack, *op. cit.* note 3, pp. 93–4, no. 262.

Stephen types 1–3.³⁵ Although this hoard was deposited in Wiltshire, the lion issue was not represented which suggests that its currency had ceased some time previously. A date of c.1149 is suggested for the end of the production of the lion coins with an effective end to their circulation soon afterwards. The lion coinage thus probably lasted around six years, over four years for Earl Robert and less than two for Earl William.

Conclusions

Until its discovery, it would not have been credited that an English coinage of such scale and significance could have remained totally unknown to numismatic science until the end of the twentieth century. It has, however, revolutionised our understanding of the role of coinage in Angevin England at this time. The replacement of a coinage in Matilda's name by one in Earl Robert's officially introduced an element of continental practice into the English coinage system while its traditional mint and moneyer basis was retained. Statements in the chronicles about the coinage, while undoubtedly exaggerated, are nearer the truth in some areas than would readily have been accepted before the discovery of the Box hoard. The significance of the lion coinage extends beyond numismatics. The choice of a lion type for his coins by Earl Robert and its continuance by his son provide sound new evidence for the early hereditary use of a lion device in the English royal line. The change from a lion passant to a lion passant gardant on the coins in the mid-1140s marks the first appearance in a royal context of the type which was eventually to become substantive in the arms of England. The organisation and scale of the coinage demonstrate the financial sophistication of English Angevin administration under the earls of Gloucester. It supports the view that in this area, as in others, the Angevin part of England was being run as a fully operational separate state along similar lines to the royal government in London. Above all it underlines the achievement of Robert Earl of Gloucester and epitomises the dominant position he occupied in the mid-1140s.

LIST OF COINS

The second column denotes the form of lion type/cross type as numbered in Fig 1 or as described. Coins illustrated on Plates 6 and 7 (all listed except some of the multiple die-duplicates) are denoted by an asterisk. Letters of the inscriptions, whether wholly or partially visible, whose interpretation is considered to be certain or likely are recorded in the nearest appropriate Roman or lower case type. Punctuation and marks of contraction are shown as far as they can be seen, but these may not fully represent the die. Illegible letters and punctuation are indicated by empty square brackets. All die-identities are noted; where illegible letters or punctuation can be supplied by die-duplicates they are given within the square brackets of the first of the duplicates so that the fullest available details of the die may be recorded in one place. All coins are pennies (or fragments of pennies) unless noted as cut-halfpennies ($\frac{1}{2}d$). The weights in grammes are given in the right-hand column. Notes on damage are standardised as 'chipped' or 'fragment(s)'. All coins are in the British Museum unless noted otherwise. Further possible but uncertain attributions are discussed in the main text above.

Robert, Earl of Gloucester (1121/2–1147)

BRISTOL

1.* Faretein (Farthegn)	3/2	+RO[]C-G]LO Same dies as next	[+]FARETEIN-O]N·BRI]	1.05
2.*		+ []GLO Same dies as last	+F[]ON·BRI	1.07
3.* Jordan	1/1	+ROB·CO[]M·GL]OC· Same dies as next	+IOR[-]AN[- N·BR]I·	0.93
4.		[]OM·GL[]O·GLO[] double struck Same dies as last	uncertain double struck	1.01 chipped
5.*		+ROB·CO[]OC· Same dies as last	+IO[]N·BRI·	1.06 chipped
6.		[]COM·GLOC· Same dies as last	+IO[]	Devizes 0.86 chipped

³⁵ Mack, *op. cit.* n. 3, p. 102.

7.	$\frac{1}{2}d$	[]B·C[] Same dies as last, same obv. die as next	+ [] rest illegible		0.42 frags.
8.*	1/2	+R[OB·C]OM·GLOC· round-backed C Same obv. die as last, same dies as next	+IO[]AN·ON·BRI		0.92
9.		[]ROB[]M·GL[] Same dies as last	[]·BR[]	Devizes	0.81 bent
10.*		+RO[]COM[] Same dies as last	+I[]ON·B[]	Devizes	0.87 chipped
11.*	2/1	+ROB·[C]O[M]·GL[]OC Same dies as next	[]AN·ON·[BR -]		1.03
12.*		+ROB[]G[]C Same dies as last	[]A[]·ON[]	Devizes	1.08
13.*	$\frac{1}{2}d$	+RO[]COM[]L[] Same dies as last	[]ON·BR[]	Devizes	0.48
14.*	3/2	[+R]OB·CO[M]·GLOC] Same dies as next	[- R -]AN·[ON·B]RIT		1.02
15.*		+RO[]GLOC Same dies as last, edge torn not cut	[]R[]AN·ON·BRI[]		0.95
16.*		[]M]·GL[] Same dies as last	[]ON·BRI[]	Cambridge	1.10
17.*Rodbert	1/2	+ROB·[C]O[M]·G]LOC· Same dies as next	+RODB·ON·BRI·		1.03
18.*		[]OB·COM[] Same dies as last	+R[]I·	Devizes	0.93
19.*	2/1	[]ROB·COM[]	+ []ON·BRITO Same rev. die as next		1.01 chipped
20.*		[+RO]GLOC· Same dies as next	Legend almost illegible Same rev. die as last		1.02
21.*	$\frac{1}{2}d$	+RO[] Same dies as last	+R[]O·		0.41

CASTLE COMBE

22.*Durling (Deorling)	2/1	[+RO]B·COM·GLOC· Same dies as nos. 23–31	+DVR[L]]G·ON·CV'		0.93 frags.
23.		[]COM·GLO[]	+DVRL[]N·CV'		0.73 bent, chipped
24.		+ []OM·GLO[]	+DVRLI[]		0.99
25.*		+ROB·COM·GLO[]	+DVRL[]G·ON·CV'		0.88

The following, nos 26–31, are die-duplicates of nos 22–25:

26. Glasgow, 0.92 chipped; 27.* Devizes, 0.93; 28. Cambridge, 1.01; 29. Cardiff, 1.01; 30. Devizes, frag. 0.48 g;
31.* Devizes, cut-halfpenny 0.47 g.

MARLBOROUGH

32.*R[---]	3/2	+RO[]M·RGLOC	+R[]·ONM·VLEBV: Legend and most letters retrograde		0.97
------------	-----	---------------	---	--	------

SALISBURY

33.*Lefwine(?)	3/2	+ROB·COMGL[]	+LE[]E·ON·SA: letter after LE possibly F		0.89
34.*Wilheld (Wilhelm)	3/2	+ROB·COM[]LOC Same dies as next	[]WIL]hELD·ON·SVL possibly reads SVL		0.78
35.*		+ROB·COM[] Same dies as last	[]WILhE[]ON[]		0.83
36.*	$\frac{1}{2}d$	+ []OC:	[]ILhE[]		0.48

TROWBRIDGE

37.*Salide	2/2	+ROB·CO[M]GLO Same obv. die as next	[]S]ALIDE·ONTRO[]		1.04
------------	-----	--	---------------------	--	------

38.*		[]OB-COMGL[] Same obv. die as last, same dies as next	[]SALIDE[]O[]	Devizes	0.74
39.*	2/3 ½d	[]ROB'COM[] Same dies as last	+SALID[]OB		0.52
WILTSHIRE MINT					
40.*Hubert(?)	3?? ½d	[]OC[]	+HV[]		0.18 frag.
UNCERTAIN MINTS					
41.*Aldewine?	2/2	[]R[]B:COM[]	+A[]W[]ON- (or S?)		1.06
42.*A---	4/2 ½d	[]C[] Lion's front legs break inner circle	+A[]		0.47
43.*David or Salide	2/4	[]GLO	[]AVID[] rev. 3 with 4 large pellets added		0.76 chipped
44. Uncertain	3?? ½d	[]LOC	[] Traces of uncertain letters	Devizes	0.42 chipped
ILLITERATE OBVERSES					
45.*Uncertain	3/5	[+]NTVHL-IV[LVTNVN] Initial cross at 5 o'clock, same dies as nos 46-50, same obv. as nos 46-54	+VTHN[OIL-IV-L]DVI rev. same state as nos 46-50		1.07
46.*		+NTVHL[] Same dies as no. 45	+VTH[]DVI		0.99
47.		[]HL[] Same dies as no. 45	[]VNT[]		0.62 frags.
48.	½d	+N[]VN Same dies as no. 45	[]VNT		0.27 frags.
49.	½d	[]HL[] Same dies as no. 45	[]VI[]		0.18 frag.
50.*		[]NTVHL-[]VT[] Same dies as no. 45	[]NOIL-IV-L[] rev. die worn		1.11
51.*	3/6	[]VHL-IVLVTN[] Same obv. die as nos. 45	+VTHNOIL-[]VI rev. die of nos 51-3 recut		1.08
52.*		+NTVHL-IV[] Same dies as no. 51	+VTHNO[]	Cambridge	0.96 chipped
53.*		[]VHL-[V]LVTNV[] Same dies as no. 51	+VT[]DVI	Devizes	0.99
54.*Will[e]m	3/2	+NTVHL-IV[]V[] Same obv. die as nos. 45-53	+WILLM-ON[]		1.08 chipped
55.*Rodb[(Rodbert)	5/2	[]I-V-IV[]-I-IVC[] Lion to left	[]ODB[]		0.77
William, Earl of Gloucester 1147-83					
WAREHAM					
56.*Uncertain	?/2 ½d	*W[]	*[]WA		0.15 frag.
WILTSHIRE MINT					
57.*Hubert	3/2	*WILLE[]MVS	*HV[]RT-ON		1.06
UNCERTAIN MINTS					
58.*Willem	3/2	[]WILLE[]	*WI[]E[]S large pellet in 2nd numismatic quarter.		1.02
59.*Willem	3/2 ½d	[]ILLI[]	[]WILL[]		0.51
60.*Willm P (Willem P)	3/2	*WILL[]LMVS-	*WILL[]:P-OM- N transversely barred		1.05
61.*A---(?)	3/2	*WIL[]S- Large pellet by lion's tail	[*]A[]CV[R(?) IO-] areas in brackets from same rev. die, CR 2000, 133 (134 on pl. 35)		1.02
62.*Uncertain	3/5 ½d	*[]VS	[]PRE[]		0.46