

AN OXFORD PENNY OF WILLIAM I

IAN STEWART

IN the Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge, from the J. S. Henderson bequest (1933), is a *Two Sceptres* (*BMC* type IV) penny of William I, the reverse reading of which is recorded on the ticket as BEMVSED ON OXEN. Not surprisingly, no known Oxford moneyer is so named. Although correctly read, this inscription was never originally on the coin, which is badly chipped and has been 'repaired' with a small fragment of another coin reading -EMVS- (or -LMVS-) and -PINE-. Whether or not this was deliberately chosen, and inserted obverse to reverse, as an academic jest, the practical effect had been to obscure the existence of an unpublished coin. A moneyer Brihtred is well



attested at Oxford at this period (Brooke notes coins of *BMC* types II, III, VI and VIII of William I, and type II of Rufus), and there is little risk in assuming that B———ED here indicates the same moneyer. I am indebted to Mr T. R. Volk for the photograph.

ST ANDREWS MINT UNDER DAVID I

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THE reappearance of a David I sterling with an unusually legible reverse has made it possible to establish that St Andrews mint was in operation in this reign. As many as seven coins, from four die combinations, have now been recognised.

In the accounts of Alexander III's confirmation of the right of coining to Bishop William Fraser of St Andrews in 1283, it was stated that this right was given as freely as in the time of the king's father or any of his predecessors.¹ It is thus not surprising that this privilege should date back to David I, who initiated the Scottish coinage. St Andrews diocese was the most important in Scotland and David attempted to obtain metropolitan status for the see. St Andrews was a place of pilgrimage and some settlement there doubtless preceded the erection of the bishop's burgh, by leave of David I, which was probably at about the same time as the foundation of the priory, for which papal confirmation was granted in May 1144. A charter records that Bishop Robert made Mainard the Fleming his reeve (*praefectus*) in the burgh, also granting him and his heirs three tofts there, to be held for payment of sixteen pence. This was because Mainard was one of the first to build and stock the burgh, and it required the king's consent, since it was the

king who had given (*tribuit*) to the bishop the vill of St Andrews and also Mainard, his own burgess in Berwick.² The moneyer of the St Andrews coins appears as Me(i?)nard on one die and Menaud on another, and the rarity of the name makes it almost certain that he was the same man as the Mainard of this charter, whose status appears to have been appropriate. The Perth moneyer, on coins with pellet-in-annulet reverse,³ is likewise believed to be a Fleming, Baldwin the lorimer, referred to as the king's client.⁴

The St Andrews coins have a pellet in each quarter of the reverse cross fleury, which is the commonest type in Stewart groups I, II and III. The recorded specimens are all illustrated on the Plate. The collated readings are as follows:

1. Obverse (+)NAVIT (RE)+ or ending TI.(R)+ (retrograde)
Reverse +mE(i?)NARD.I. SA: (S sideways, second A inverted)
 - a. Mrs Murray, ex Dr E. J. Harris and Dr A. N. Brushfield (lot 24a, Glendining, 28 March 1940), pierced and plugged
 - b. British Museum (Plate XLI, 2, in H. A. Grueber, *Handbook of the Coins of Great Britain and Ireland in the British Museum*)

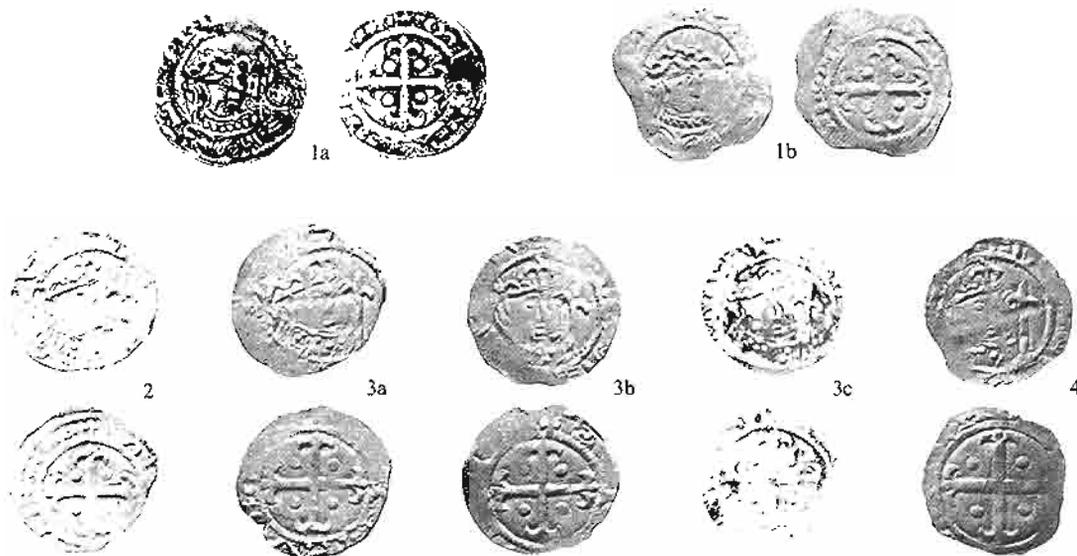
¹ W. Bower, published as *Joannis de Fordun Scotichronicon cum Supplementis et Continuatione Walteri Boweri*, edited by W. Goodall (Edinburgh, 1759), II, 127; *The Original Chronicle of Andrew of Wyntoun*, edited by J. F. Amours, Scottish Text Society (Edinburgh, 1907), V, 126. Both are quoted in E. Burns, *The Coinage of Scotland* (Edinburgh, 1887), I, 159-60 and J. Stewart, 'Scottish Mints', *Mints, Dies and Currency: Essays in Memory of Albert Baldwin*, edited by R. A. G. Carson (1971), p. 220.

² *Early Scottish Charters prior to 1153*, edited by A. C. Lawrie (1905), No. cxix; *A Source Book of Scottish History*, edited by W. C. Dickinson, G. Donaldson and

I. A. Milne, second edition (1958), I, 103-4. The charter is known only from a late transcript.

³ *Coin Hoards I* (1975), Fig. 20.19. These coins are classified as Stewart IVc, IV being the earliest group of the reign - I. H. Stewart, *The Scottish Coinage*, second edition (1967), p. 191.

⁴ For the role of Flemings in this context in Scotland, see R. L. G. Ritchie, *The Normans in Scotland* (1954), p. 313; A. A. M. Duncan, *Scotland: The Making of the Kingdom*, *The Edinburgh History of Scotland*, I (1975), 476-7; W. M. Mackenzie, *The Scottish Burghs* (Edinburgh, 1949), pp. 20, 36.



2. Obverse ()AIVT() or perhaps ()AVIT(), with inverted A
Reverse same die as 1
Dr Stewart
3. Obverse same die as 2
Reverse +2 mENAVD: SAN (S sideways, square A, second N reversed)
a. and b. Dr Stewart
c. R. C. Lockett (I¹⁶ on the complete plates of the Scottish portion, from which it is illustrated. Presumably part of lot 9 in sale V)
4. Obverse same die as 2 and 3
Reverse +()V()SAN (S sideways, perhaps 2 at beginning
Dr Stewart

The cataloguer in 1940 read another N on the obverse of No. 1a, being misled by the serifs of the missing top of the T. Similarly, the right serif of the A may give the impression of being part of the curve of a D, but this must be rejected, although Davit is the normal reading on obverses of Stewart group I. The obverse die of No. 1 and the reverse dies of Nos. 3 and 4 have large well-formed letters with serifs; although differing in the form of the A, they may have been made at the same die-cutting centre, whereas the dies with serifless lettering may have been made locally, by two different hands. Certainly the second obverse die (which may be classed as group II) was of much inferior workmanship to that of No. 1, with worse lettering than the reverse of No. 1, also.

Several features of the better dies indicate a connection with coins of Stewart group III, i.e. those with good lettering similar to group I, but meaningless legends. The Arabic-2 character on the reverse of No. 3 and perhaps No. 4 may be the same as that which Burns described as a reversed

S, on the reverse dies of Figs. 7, 8 and 8A (with some doubt about the first of these).⁵ In the case of these St Andrews dies, however, it is natural to look for a meaningful explanation of the character, in view of the rest of the legend and the presence of a normal S, sideways, in the mint name. In fact, an Arabic-2 form of minuscule R frequently occurs in manuscripts of the period, after O or A, and particularly in the abbreviation for final *rum*. Anderson also shows it followed by superscript t, as a contraction for *respondit*,⁶ and this, or *respondebit*, might have preceded the name of the responsible moneyer in written instructions about dies for St Andrews, and have been copied by the engraver. This must be regarded only as a tentative interpretation, in the absence of any precedent for this formula on a coin.

Perhaps more informative are some of the details of the obverse die of No. 1, as follows:-

- (a) A V of several lines (in this case curved) on the sleeve, to indicate the king's elbow.
- (b) An annulet containing a pellet, on the right shoulder, doubtless representing a brooch securing a cloak. (On some coins of Stewart group III, e.g. Stewart Fig. 4, the drapery is shown behind the brooch: and just such a cloak fastening is depicted for Malcolm IV, in the miniatures of the initial letter of his charter to Kelso Abbey in 1159.)⁷
- (c) The circlet and arcs of the crown are rendered with short strokes at right angles to the lines.

Details (a) and (b) are found on all four of the obverse dies of Stewart group III coins illustrated by Burns and (c) on at least three of them. Moreover, Burns's description 'parrot-nosed' for B Fig.

⁵ Burns, I, 32-5.

⁶ J. Anderson, *Diplomatium et Numismatum Scotiae Thesaurus* (Edinburgh, 1739), No. CXLII.

⁷ Deposited in the National Library of Scotland. Illustrated in Anderson, No. XXIV.

8B also fits the St Andrews die.⁸ These similarities of style are taken to indicate a common source for these dies, without any implication that this need have been at St Andrews. It should also be noted that details (a) and (b) are certainly absent from the majority, if not all, of the well-made Roxburgh and Berwick coins of group I: further work might determine whether the more likely explanation is a change of engraver at a single centre or the use of more than one die-cutting centre. An annulet for the brooch is also present on some Edinburgh coins (e.g. Stewart Fig. 5) of Stewart IVa, i.e. as Stephen Type I, but there the lettering is different. In fact, details (a), (b) and (c) are also found on

⁸ Burns, I, 34.

York coins of the Flag Type, being particularly clear on Mack 217 g.⁹

Acknowledgements

We are particularly grateful to Dr Harris, who recognised the interest of the reverse legend of coin No. 1a, which he bought from a small dealer. He made important progress by identifying the duplicate in the British Museum, which supplied the S of the mint name, before asking for comments from one of us (J. E. L. M.) and subsequently agreeing to sell his coin. We also thank Miss M. Archibald for her help in supplying photographs and casts of the British Museum coin, and in attempts to improve some of the difficult readings. Mr S. Bendall kindly made the casts of Dr Stewart's coins.

⁹ R. P. Mack, 'Stephen and the Anarchy 1135-1154', *BNJ* 35 (1966), Plate VII.

THE GROATS OF EDWARD V

MARVIN LESSEN

IN 1948 Blunt and Whitton listed eleven known obverse groat dies under their type XXII, the sun and rose (S/R) mintmark coins variously attributed to Edward IV and/or Edward V.¹ They further commented that dies 1, 6, 7, 8, and 10 were known with the overstruck boar's head (BH) mintmark. In 1980 Stewart added a BH die link with Blunt and Whitton's die 9, but he was unable to verify a link with die 10.² Die 10 has the characteristics of no fleur on the breast, no pellet under the bust, and unbarred obverse A (reverse barred A in TAS, but unbarred A in ADIVTORE). The S/R and BH die link does exist for this particular obverse die, and the coins are illustrated here with en-

largements of the mintmarks. In the accompanying table this S/R coin is No. 4 under die 11, and the die-linked BH coin is No. 1 under new Stewart die D.

This obverse die link has been established by a very careful examination of the two coins, and the only question that remained was whether or not the second coin's mintmark was indeed a BH and not a blurred double struck S/R. While the coin itself is double struck, this is not a real hindrance to the examination. The right-hand mark, which I shall call a BH, is aligned slightly higher relative to the circle and the C and E on either side of it than is the S/R; the left side of the BH is vertical whereas



S/R (1.5x)



BH (1.5x)

¹ C. E. Blunt and C. A. Whitton, 'The Coinages of Edward IV and of Henry VI (Restored)', *BNJ* 25 (1948), 325.

² I. Stewart, 'The Dies of Edward V's Silver Coins', *BNJ* 50 (1980), 133, which contains a complete bibliography.