

are difficulties arising from their similar distribution-pattern.

Against that numismatic background, how should we assess the 'benediction hand' coin historically? The primary phase of English sceattas had established a tradition of coins with a head or bust in sub-classical style on the obverse.¹⁵ Although it was obviously not a portrait, the assumption that this was an icon of the king would follow easily in people's minds. In Series K, beginning soon after the end of the primary phase, a distinction is made: the bust is accompanied by either a hawk or, commonly, a cross. The hawk is plainly a secular symbol, apt for a king, whereas the cross is of universal relevance. There are far too many sceattas with crosses for us to contemplate giving them all to ecclesiastical issuers. But a hand raised in trinitarian blessing is unambiguously priestly. It implies, with no room for doubt, that the person represented by the bust is to be understood as an ecclesiastic. We have rehearsed all the numismatic background, against which this judgement is offered; but almost whatever it had been, the verdict would have had to be the same.

Although the symbolism does not serve to distinguish between an archbishop and an abbot, Iænberht's coins minted a generation later encourage the hypothesis that what we have here is a coin of an earlier archbishop.

If there is one, there are probably others, even if

their designs are not as unambiguous as this precious coin. The implications could spread some way through the sceatta series. Among the varieties attributable to Canterbury, should we be looking for a four-to-two, or even a four-to-three ratio of royal to ecclesiastical coins? The only touchstone upon which we could test the plausibility of such ratios is the proportion of coins of Iænberht to those of Offa alone, and the corresponding proportions for Ecgberht and Eadberht. It is difficult to see the Kentish kings surrendering a third or more of the profits of minting, but perhaps such profits were only a modest proportion of their total income from various sources, e.g. tolls. The hostility between Offa and Iænberht may have curtailed the archbishop's average share for Offa's reign as a whole.

The alloy of the 'benediction hand' coin points to a date relatively very early in Series K and in the secondary phase generally. Translating the relative date into an absolute date depends upon a wide range of considerations.¹⁶ If, as Dr Northover and I argue elsewhere, Series A is the coinage of King Hlothere of Kent rather than King Wihtred, Type 33 may have begun as early as the 690s rather than, say, the 710s. In any case its inception will fall within the pontificate of Archbishop Berhtwald, 693–731, who was abbot of Reculver before his election to the see. He and Wihtred collaborated well in political affairs,¹⁷ and a grant of minting rights is quite thinkable.

¹⁵ Series A, B, and C.

¹⁶ M. Blackburn, 'A chronology for the sceattas', in *Sceattas in England and on the Continent*, pp. 165–74,

suggesting that Series K was introduced c.720.

¹⁷ N. P. Brooks, *The Early History of the Church of Canterbury*, Leicester, 1984, pp. 76–80.

A PLATE OF ANGLO-SAXON COINS FOUND AT RECVLVER, KENT IN THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY

D. M. METCALF

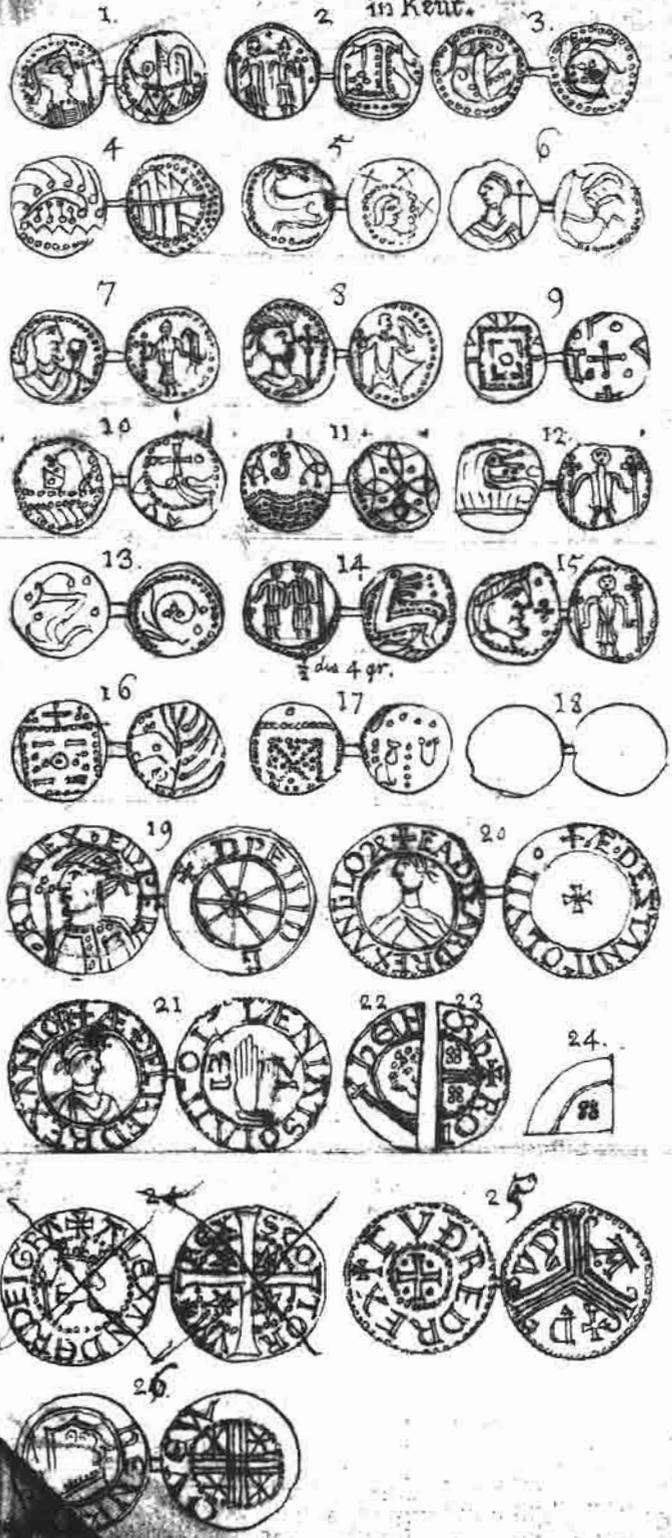
THE purpose of this note is to publish a group of seventeen sceattas which are illustrated, together with eight later coins, on a single sheet of paper preserved in the British Library among the miscellaneous papers of James West (Stowe MS 1049). The coins add to our knowledge of the range of material found at Reculver, which is one of the richest sites in England for finds of sceattas. To some extent they duplicate material already well known from two plates by John White, published as a supplement to Wither and Ryall's *Twelve Plates of English Silver Coins*, in 1756. As the drawings are in both cases somewhat sketchy, an acquaintance with the coins themselves is called for, to decide whether the same specimen is illustrated in both sources. If only one or two examples of a type are now in existence with eighteenth-century provenances, one may feel more confident about the

correspondence between the drawing and the similar coin, although in judging the probabilities one must allow for the possibility that the original has been irretrievably lost. A good number of the actual coins from Wither and Ryall were identified in 1956 by Dolley and Strudwick among the 'undated' coins in the *ancien fonds* of the British Museum (pre-1838), not always convincingly. The plate now published serves to confirm and sometimes correct the earlier identifications. It establishes that several coins from Reculver were acquired by William Hunter, and that at least one other surfaced again after two hundred years, in the Lockett collection. The West coins include seven sceattas which are new to the published list of finds from Reculver.

The coin of Cuthred, no.25 on the plate, was included in their corpus of the coinage of 796–840 by

Silver Coins found at RECUVER in Kent.

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Blunt, Lyon, and Stewart. Three other Anglo-Saxon coins (nos. 19–21) have been noted in the Coin Register (below). They show that the Reculver finds did not dry up completely in the ninth century.

We now proceed to a consideration of the drawings one by one. Where the original coin can be pointed out conclusively, one sees that in the Stowe MS the outer dotted border of the design, which is usually incomplete, has been indicated quite faithfully. This is a useful aid to identification.

1. Series K, Type 33. Only two specimens of this variety are known, and both have pedigrees long enough to make them candidates for a mid-eighteenth century find: *BMC* 157 and *SCBI Glasgow* 101. This must be the coin in the British Museum because it shows the V pattern in the outer border of the reverse at 9 o'clock, which does not survive on the Glasgow specimen, Withy and Ryall 10.

2. Series N, Type 41b. The pointed helmet of the right-hand figure is not known on any existing coins. The pleated appearance of the skirts, and the wire border around the upper half of the obverse encourage one to think that this is WR 5, = *BMC* 175, = Metcalf (*BNJ* 1974), 9. One can see that the domed helmet of the right-hand figure might have been sketched as a pointed helmet.

3. Series M, Type 45. The design does not lend itself readily to the identification of a particular specimen. The type occurs in several sub-types, of which one (e.g. *BMC* pl. 4, 9) is sharply engraved and has an annulet on the reverse. The annulet has been pencilled into the sketch here, but not completed. Very possibly WR 20, on which the animal has long ears (indicated in the sketch?), a row of 4 dots following the rear leg, and 2 above the back.

4. Series E, *Æthilred* porcupine, WR 31. This is *BMC* Mercia, *Æthelred*, 4 which passed through the Tyssen collection (1802).

5. Series O, Type 57. A very incomplete sketch, but as there were only two specimens of the type known until recently, it may be assumed that this = WR 4 = *SCBI Glasgow* 118. The dotted border of the reverse corresponds.

6. Series K? Type 33? Extremely sketchy and inaccurate, as the face should be to the right. The double V of the drapery, with another short panel to the right, should give the clue. The reverse was evidently not understood. Type 33, wolf-head with curling tongue, is one possibility. Cf. *BNJ* 1967, pl. 7, 29? Probably the original was in worn condition.

7. Series K, Type 20. Not in WR, and not readily identifiable today. Note that the staff of the long cross is shown by a series of pellets.

8. Series L, Type 18. The misunderstood detail to the right of the standing figure is plainly repeated in WR 16. The parts of the dotted borders that are on and off the flans (in both drawings) preclude the Dolley and Strudwick identification with *BMC* 101, but fit convincingly with *SCBI Glasgow* 88, which is in any case the only obvious candidate. The drawing in

WR correctly shows the boat-shaped curve on which the figure stands.

9. Series D, Type 8. The drawing is a very good match for *SCBI Glasgow* 50.

10. Series B. Both obverse and reverse were so far misunderstood as to be drawn upside down. As the sub-type is scarce, and variable in style, there need be no doubt that this = WR 3 = Rigold B IIIA, 5 (ex Montagu, lots 164–5).

11. Series K, Type 52. The drawing mistakes the intricacies of the arabesque, which are reproduced better in WR 7, but the outer dotted borders confirm that this = *BMC* 198, bought at the Dymock sale in 1856. The type was in any case excessively rare if not unique through the nineteenth century. See *BNJ* 1986, p. 7 under no. 7.

12. Series O, Type 40. The type is uniform in style. Fortunately, the flan has two flat sections on the edge, which, together with the correspondence of the outer dotted borders, allow one to say that this coin = WR = *BNJ* 1974, pl. 2, J. Not *BMC* 171. Present whereabouts unknown.

13. Series M, Type 45. A different sub-type from no. 3 above, the sinuous shape of the crouching animal (turned through 90°) is matched on, for example, Hamwic 102. WR —.

14. Series N, Type 41b. This specimen surfaced in the Lockett sale, lot 257a = *BNJ* 1974, pl. 2, 19, on which one can see the three dots in front of the monster's jaws, the recurving tail, and the dotted border beneath the two standing figures. Present whereabouts unknown. The weight, if accurate, would be 1.037g.

15. Series L?, Type 68. The very irregular shape of flan, shown less well in WR 9, should make this specimen immediately recognizable. It is evidently from the same stable as *SCBI Glasgow* 91 and Type 32b. Present whereabouts unknown.

16. Series E, 'plumed bird' variant. Of the three reverse types (varieties J, K, and L) that occur with the 'plumed bird' obverse, K is rare. It is seen here in combination with the 'secret mark' of a pelletted annulet under the bird's neck (J normally has a cross pommeé). There need be little doubt that this specimen = *BMC* 74, although the two groups of three pellets in the outer border differ from the straight rows of three pellets on *BMC* 74. WR 18 is certainly a different coin, which was misidentified as *BMC* 74 by Dolley and Strudwick.

17. Series R?, Type 51. A specimen on which the obverse (two standing figures) was, apparently, indistinct. WR —.

Of the seventeen specimens illustrated, seven are supplementary to Withy and Ryall, namely nos. 6, 7, 9, 13, 14, 16, and 17. They may be listed in series order as:

- D, Type 8 (Stowe 9) = *SCBI Glasgow* 50
- E, 'plumed bird' (Stowe 16) = *BMC* 74
- K, Type 20 (Stowe 7)
- K, Type 33? (Stowe 6)

M, Type 45 (Stowe 13)
 N, Type 41b (Stowe 14) = Lockett 257a
 R?, Type 51 (Stowe 17)

These are in addition to the fifty-seven coins listed under Reculver in *Sceattas in England and on the Continent* (edited by D. Hill and D. M. Metcalf, Oxford, 1984), pp. 258–60 and discussed *ibid.*, pp.

203–4. The coins published by Withy and Ryall are stated to have been found 'near and in the Isle of Thanet', but Mr. Pagan has kindly drawn my attention to a copy of the book in the British Library, in which that part of the caption has been altered by the eighteenth-century antiquary Joseph Ames by substituting 'the Reculvers' (*sic*) for 'the Isle of Thanet'.

AN EARLY REFERENCE TO STERLINGS (GUIBERT OF NOGENT 1115)

PHILIP GRIERSON

TWO recent articles, one by F. Dolbeau on the text of Guibert of Nogent and the other by R. Kaiser on the significance of money in Guibert's autobiography, have called attention to a previously unrecognized reference to sterlings, the earliest indeed that we know outside Normandy and its neighbourhood. Since the articles in question are not likely to come the way of many numismatists in this country, it is worth calling attention to them here.

Guibert, abbot of a small community at Nogent near Laon in northern France wrote in 1115 a memoir of his life that is one of the most lively and readable works of the twelfth century, and indeed of its kind. The date of the memoir is certain, for the author, after describing Bishop Godfrey of Amiens's return to his episcopal city in the spring in 1115 and his sermon there on Palm Sunday (11 April), continues to write of him as being still alive, while we know from other sources that he died later in the year (8 November). The work was first published in 1651 by Luc d'Achery, but the standard edition is now that of Labande;¹ there is a good English translation.² In chapter 4 of Book III Guibert describes the circumstances of the election in 1107 of Waldric, chancellor of Henry I of Normandy and England, as bishop of Laon, and of his confirmation by Pope Paschal II. Guibert was the spokesman of the small group of clergy despatched from Laon to put Waldric's case before the pope, who was in France at the time. He was able to assure Paschal that Waldric had a good reputation, that he was in orders, and that he was not of illegitimate birth. Waldric's election was approved, and a group of cardinals assured Guibert afterwards that his speech had given them much pleasure. The

pleasure, Guibert sardonically adds, probably owed less to the quality of the speech than to the prospect of a bribe, for Guibert and his colleague Abbot Adalbert of St Vincent's of Laon had come furnished with £20 apiece to be employed on the bishop-elect's behalf.

Guibert's text has until recently only been known from the seventeenth-century copy in the Bibliothèque Nationale that was used by d'Achery for the first edition, and the wording of the passage referring to the money was at one point defective: *Domine Deus meus, tu scis, quia non tam de elegantia verborum meorum emergebat, quantum de spe optima denariorum extra . . . bensium quibus ille sufficinaturs advenerat.*³ D'Achery states that the copy he used had been made from a medieval original formerly at Laon but now lost, and two of the letters in the word following *denariorum* were illegible. He therefore printed the word as it stood, with the lacuna, but Georges Bourgin, when he republished the text early in the present century, noted that the Paris MS had belonged in the seventeenth century to the great scholar André Duchesne, whose son François had loaned it to d'Achery, and Duchesne had supplied the letters *li*.⁴ It was not clear, however, whether this was a conjectural restoration or a reading derived from another manuscript. There the matter rested until in the 1970s the Israeli scholar Eitan Burstein, in an appendix to a study of Guibert's vocabulary,⁵ proposed, since Waldric came from Rouen, to substitute *Rothomag* for *extra . . . b*, making *Rothomagensium* a qualification of *denariorum*: 'My Lord God, thou knowest indeed that it was not so much the eloquence of my words as the high hope of the deniers of Rouen with which he had come stuffed'. This reading,

¹ Guibert de Nogent, *Autobiographie*, edited and translated by E.-R. Labande (Les Classiques de l'histoire de France au moyen âge 34. Paris, 1981).

² J. F. Benton, *Self and Society in Medieval France. The memoirs of Abbot Guibert de Nogent (1064?–c.1125)* (Harper Torchbooks. New York and Evanston, 1970).

³ L. d'Achery, *Guiberti abbatis S. Mariae de Novigento*

opera omnia (Paris, 1651), p. 499; Labande, pp. 290, 292.

⁴ Guibert de Nogent, *De vita sua*, edited and translated by G. Bourgin (Paris, 1907), p. 142 and note *b*.

⁵ E. Burstein, 'Quelques remarques sur le vocabulaire de Guibert de Nogent', *Cahiers d'histoire médiévale*, 21 (1978), 247–63, at 257–8.