

THE LATER POSTHUMOUS COINAGE OF WILLIAM THE LION

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Introduction

ON 4 December 1214, at the age of seventy, William the Lion died at Stirling Castle, having been ill for some months. His son Alexander, a boy of sixteen, was inaugurated as King Alexander II of Scotland at Scone the following day, and only after a delay of a further four days was the old king buried at Arbroath. The haste to establish Alexander as king hints at the uncertainty in the succession: the principle of male primogeniture was still recent in Scotland, and William's younger brother David, as well as the McWilliam family in the North, were potential rivals for the throne. It is all the more surprising, therefore, that coins in William's name appear to have been issued for some twenty years after his death (though of course this parallels the situation in England, where neither Richard nor John felt the need to remove their father's name from their coins).

The Short Cross coinage issued by William the Lion commenced in 1195, and has been divided by Ian Stewart (Lord Stewartby) into five phases.¹ In Stewart phase (a), coins identifying both moneyer and the mint of issue were struck by Hue at Edinburgh, by Walter at Perth and by Raul at Roxburgh. Phase (b) is a large series in the names of Hue, Walter, and Henri le Rus, but without mint names; at the end of phase (b) Hue is replaced by Adam. In phase (c), all struck at Roxburgh, Adam continued, but Walter is replaced by Peris, Aimer, and then Adam, the latter being joined in phases (d) and (e) (coins in the name of King Alexander II) by other moneyers. The series of Short Cross coins is thought to have ended in 1250, when, as in England a few years previously, it was replaced by the Long Cross coinage.²

The precise order of moneyer activity in phase (c) was thought by Stewart to be Adam, followed by Aimer and Adam, and finally Peris and Adam, with both Adam and Peris (the latter now signing as Pieres) continuing into phase (d).³ However, the assumption that Peris and Pieres are the same man is unproven, although at Durham, for example, Allen notes a moneyer Pieres who signs as Pires in English Short Cross class 4b, Peres in 5a2, and Pieres from 5b onwards.⁴

Which coins were being issued at the time of William's death is somewhat uncertain, but it is likely to have been the end of the long series in the names of the moneyers Hue, Walter, and Henri le Rus, with no mint signature (Stewart phase (b), Burns⁵ group VI), since the coins of Stewart phase (c) from the mint of Roxburgh are accepted as being entirely posthumous issues. Stewart has suggested that, since coins in the name of Alexander were not found in the Eccles hoard of 1864, which can be dated by its English component to 1230, but were present in the Colchester hoard of 1902, dated to 1237, phase (c) coins in the name of William were probably minted until the mid 1230s.⁶ This brief study examines the dies used for the final part of the phase (b) coinage, and the coinage of phase (c), since they all appear to constitute the latter part of the posthumous coinage of William the Lion.

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¹ Stewart 1971, 203–4.

² Stewart 1967, 16.

³ Stewart 1955–57, 278.

⁴ Allen 2003, 168–70.

⁵ Burns 1887, 1, 85–6.

⁶ Stewart 1980, 197.

Results

Eighty coins (listed in the Appendix) were examined, by photograph or by actual coins, from the following sources:

The British Museum
 The National Museums of Scotland
 University of Aberdeen Museums
 SCBI 35 (Ashmolean Museum and Hunterian Museum)⁷
 Coin auction catalogues and major articles in the numismatic literature
 The collection of one of the authors.

Twelve obverse dies and twenty-four reverse dies were identified; they are listed in Tables 1 and 2, and illustrated on **Pl. 5**. One reverse die in Table 2 (C) was described by Burns, but no coin matching the description could be found.⁸

TABLE 1. Obverse dies

<i>Die</i>	<i>Head</i>	<i>Inscription</i>
1	Left	+LEREIWILA°.
2	Left	LEREIWI[]
3	Left	.WILLELMVSRE+
4	Left	.WILLELMV[]JR
5	Left	WILELMVSRE+
6	Left	:WILLELMVSREX:C+: (<i>retrograde</i>)
7	Right	+WILLELMVS.REX:
8	Right	+.:WILLELMVSREX:
9	Right	+WILLELMVSREC.X
10	Left	+LEREIWILAM
11	Right	+WILELMVSREX::
12	Right	WILLELMVS.REX

TABLE 2. Reverse dies

<i>Die</i>	<i>Inscription</i>
A	*WAV:[]
B	*WAV:TER.EhV
(C)	(*WAVTER:..EhV) (not illustrated on Pl. 5)
D	+WAVTER.E.Hv
E	[]:TER.Eh
F	+VVAV.TEREh
G	+WAVTERE.h.V
H	[]E.REh.
I	+WAVTEREh
J	+.V.V.AV.TERE
K	+WALTER:ADAm
L	+WA.LTER:ADAM:
M	+PE[]DAM:DE:ROC:
N	+PERIS.ADAMDEROCI:
O	+PERISADAMONROE
P	+PERIS.ADAM.ONR.
Q	+PERISADAMONRO
R	+PERIS.ADAMON[]OC
S	+PERISADEONRROEE
T	+PERISADAM:ONROC
U	+AIMER.ADAMONROh.
V	+AIMER:ADAMOHRO:
W	+ADAM:OD.ROCE
X	+ADAM:ONRORE:

⁷ Bateson and Mayhew 1987.

⁸ Burns 1887, I, 86.

Extensive die linkages were established (see Fig. 1), enabling a suggested order of die usage to be constructed. The series starts with an obverse die (1) which was clearly reused from an earlier coinage, since it resembles closely the dies of Burns group III in the Hue Walter series, and additionally appears 'hubbed', suggesting reuse, perhaps after storage. Unexpectedly, the style and title of the king does not seem to have chronological meaning: most of the early Hue Walter coins style William as LE REI WILAM, and the later coins and phase (c) style him WILLELMVS REX or a variant, but die 10 (if our order of dies is correct) is anomalous in reading LE REI WILAM. It is also unusual in having a left facing bust, where later busts tend to be right facing.

The reverse dies appear to indicate two periods of coining: an initial period including the late phase (b) coins of Walter Ehu (Hue), Walter Adam and the early Peris Adam coins of phase (c); and a later period, commencing with obverse die 7 (head right) and finishing at the end of phase (c). There does not appear to be any die linking between the two groups, contrasting with the extensive linkages within groups. Stewart thought that the order of moneyer activity in phase (c) was Adam, then Aimer and Adam, and finally Peris and Adam, with both Adam and Peris (now signing as Pieres) continuing into phase (d). However, the pattern of die linkages that has emerged makes this unlikely, and the order appears to be Walter Adam (from phase (b)), Peris Adam, Aimer Adam and finally Adam alone, as he continues to coin for Alexander in the king's own name.

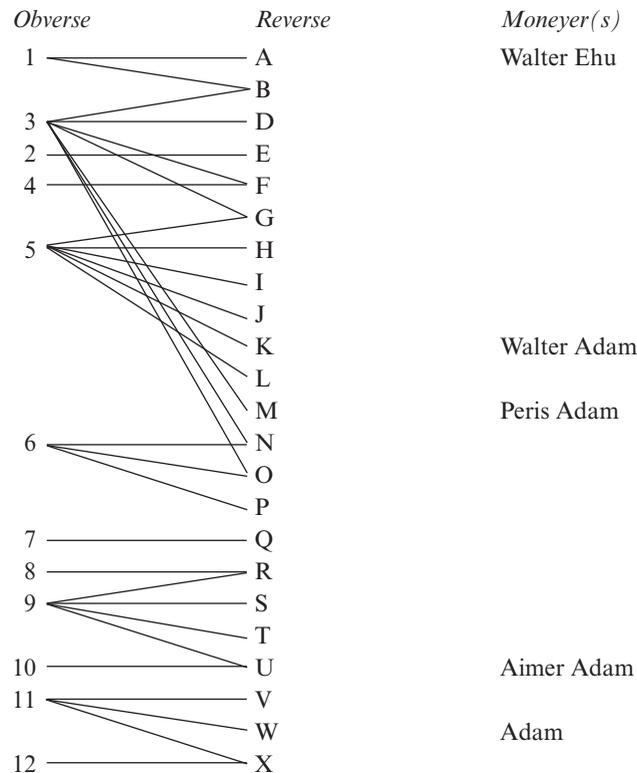


Fig. 1. Die linkages.

The pattern of die linking in Fig. 1 is worthy of note. In the English Short Cross coinage, Allen has investigated the die linkages for class 5, and has found that the smaller, one-moneyer mints tend to show one obverse die linked with two reverse dies (Durham), or three or four dies (Bury and Carlisle).⁹ In the posthumous coinage of William, and later at Roxburgh, two

⁹ Allen 1989, 69–70.

obverse dies link with no fewer than six reverse dies each, in one case covering three pairs of moneyers, while others link to one to four dies, suggesting that mint procedures were less rigorously controlled at this mint (though the period of William's posthumous coinage probably covers some twenty years, far longer than the duration of English Short Cross class 5 minting, which may account for the repeated use of some Scottish obverse dies).

At the end of the Hue Walter series there are a few enigmatic coins, badly engraved and struck, seeming to indicate the moneyers Walter and Eh(u) (Burns group VI). Burns felt that 'the letters EHV are evidently a transposition of the name of Hue' and noted that Lindsay and Wingate had thought one piece '[was] represented as reading on the reverse WALTER ED, and [was to be] attributed to Edinburgh'.¹⁰ During this study it has become apparent that there are no less than nine reverse dies reading Walter and E, Eh or Ehv, which seems to make a mistake in the die cutting improbable. Furthermore, Ehv always follows Walter, whereas Hue invariably precedes Walter in the earlier coins of phase (b). It is certainly difficult to read Ehv as an abbreviation of a name, whether personal or that of Edinburgh (which is variously given at its longest as EDENBVR or EDNEBVR in coins of phase (a)), but the dies are so crudely cut that either is possible. By contrast, the dies of Walter and Adam, which appear on the basis of die linkages to follow those of Walter Ehu, are better cut and usually quite legible.

Conclusions

The pattern of die linkages in the posthumous coinage of William the Lion suggests two phases of coining, with a revised order of moneyers. A sharp division between Stewart phase (b) – coins with no mint named – and phase (c) – coins of Roxburgh – is not tenable, since two reverse dies are used with an obverse die that was used initially in phase (b).

APPENDIX Die Combinations

Abbreviations

BM:	British Museum
Dundee:	Bowers & Ruddy Galleries with Spink sale, 19 February 1976
INJ:	collection of Ian Jones
LaRiviere:	Lucien LaRiviere sale, Spink, 29 March 2006
Lockett V:	R.C. Lockett sale, Glendining, 18 June 1957
Lockett XI:	R.C. Lockett sale, Glendining, 26 October 1960
Murray:	J.K.R Murray sale, Spink, 29 April 1987
NMS:	National Museums of Scotland

<i>Obverse</i>	<i>Reverse</i>	<i>Coins</i>
1	A	INJ (cut)
1	B	INJ
1	C	Burns 1887, I, 86 (not identified)
2	E	INJ
3	B	Dundee lot 10
3	D	Burns 64
3	F	Aberdeen University collection
3	G	INJ
3	L	BM; INJ
3	M	NMS
3	N	NMS
4	F	NMS; INJ
5	G	INJ (3, including 2 × cut ½d.)
5	H	INJ (cut ½d.)
5	I	NMS
5	J	BM; INJ (cut ½d.)
5	K	BM; SCBI 35, 84/A; Lockett XI lot 700, Dix Noonan Webb, 8 October 2002, lot 623; INJ (cut ½d.)

¹⁰ Burns 1887, I, 86.

Obverse	Reverse	Coins
5	L	BM; NMS; Murray lot 60; INJ
6	N	NMS; <i>SCBI</i> 35, 82/A; INJ
6	O	BM; Lockett V lot 32a; INJ
6	P	NMS (× 2); INJ
7	Q	BM (× 6); NMS; <i>SCBI</i> 35, 58/H; <i>SCBI</i> 35, 80/A; Lockett V lot 32, LaRiviere lot 6; INJ
8	R	<i>SCBI</i> 35, 81/A; Christies sale, 4 December 1984, lot 5
9	R	BM
9	S	BM; NMS; Dix Noonan Webb sale, 21 June 2012, lot 931
9	T	NMS
9	U	NMS
10	U	BM
11	V	BM (× 4); NMS; Murray lot 63
11	W	BM; NMS (× 2); <i>SCBI</i> 35, 59/H; <i>SCBI</i> 35, 79/A; Murray lot 64; INJ
11	X	NMS
12	X	BM (× 2); NMS

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ANOTHER DUBLIN PENNY OF RICHARD OLOF

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IN 1964 the present writer contributed a paper to the *Journal* setting out the case for the striking in Dublin during the years 1276–79 of a coinage for Edward I in the name of his father Henry III.¹ We know from the surviving record, limited though it is, that in March 1275 Stephen of Fulbourn, recently appointed bishop of Waterford and treasurer of Ireland, brought with him to the lordship 'two dies ... to make therewith the King's money there'. By the following year and until 1279 the Dublin mint was operative under the charge of Richard Olof, a goldsmith presumably of Ostman extraction. While the resulting coinage had no connection with the major Edwardian recoinage embarked upon in 1280 – from a mint that was now under new management – its *raison d'être* was of a piece and lay in the obligation on Fulbourn to maximize the lordship's exchequer receipts and increase the level of its financial contributions to the English treasury for Edward I's military activities. It is not without relevance that 1276 was the year in which the king embarked on his conquest of Wales.²

The 1964 paper identified five 'Henry III' pennies that, although of the type that had been struck during the Irish recoinage of 1251–54 by Ricard Bonaventure, could be distinguished stylistically from the earlier coins; the more realistic rendering of the king's hair and beard

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¹ Dykes 1964, 73–9. See also Dolley and Seaby 1968, xliii–xliv and Plate X, nos. 464 and 465.

² It is impossible to compute the Irish contributions to the English treasury because of the imperfect nature of the evidence but they must have represented a considerable element of the monies received by the Dublin exchequer. Richardson and Sayles 1962, 93, admitting the defective character of their sources, suggested that between 1278 and 1299, although fluctuating from year to year, the annual average of the transfers amounted to £6,300 but it is likely that they were substantially more than this. Cf. Lydon 1964, 43 and 56.