

## NEW TYPES AND FINDS FOR OFFA OF MERCIA

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RECENT years have seen the publication of several major works on the coinage of Offa, providing both a revised classification and a fuller understanding of the mints, moneyers and chronology of his issues.<sup>1</sup> The most recent of these was intended, in part, to update Chick's volume in order to take account of new finds which had been made once the Chick catalogue was closed in 2006. However, between the time when this was completed in May 2010 and February 2012 twenty-eight new pennies of Offa have been reported to the Portable Antiquities Scheme and the Corpus of Early Medieval Coin Finds, or come to light by other means,<sup>2</sup> five of which provide examples of previously unknown types. The coins are illustrated on **Pl. 4**.

These twenty-eight new finds constitute a powerful demonstration of the richness and complexity of Offa's coinage. It continues to produce surprises and challenges, and remains an unusually fruitful area of research.

1. EMC 2010.0287 [Chick 13, Offa: London, Æthelweald]

Obv. **OFFA** || **REX** in two lines divided by a beaded bar with a cross at each end.

Rev. **EðEL** || **UÆLO** in two lines divided by a beaded bar with a cross at each end.

Weight: 1.02 g (bent and chipped); axis: 270°.

Found near Papworth ('site 2'), Cambridgeshire, by 2010.

2. EMC 2011.0023 [Chick 13, Offa: London, Æthelweald]

Obv. **OFFA** || **REX** in two lines divided by a beaded bar with a cross at each end.

Rev. **EðEL** || **UÆLO** in two lines divided by a beaded bar with a cross at each end.

No weight; no axis.

Found near Wildhern, Hampshire, January 2011.

Probably same dies as Chick 13n.

3. EMC 2010.0384 [Chick 18, Offa: London, Ciolhard]

Obv. **⊕OFFA REX⊕** around a Roman-style draped and cuirassed bust right with curly hair.

Rev. **⊕CIOL** || **HÆRO** (lozenge-shaped **Θ**) above and below serpent-like creature forming a lateral figure of eight across the field.

Weight: 1.03 g (chipped).

Found at Rendlesham productive site, Suffolk, by 2010.

4. EMC 2010.0387 [Chick 20, Offa: London, Dud]

Obv. **⊕OFFA REX⊕** around a diademed bust right breaking a beaded inner circle, with ornamental spray projecting in front of bust.

Rev. **⊕ / Θ / V / D** divided by four enclosed lobes containing trefoil-headed sceptres; the inner circle contains a cross bottonnée with four petals in saltire.

Weight: 1.25 g.

Found at Rendlesham productive site, Suffolk, by 2010.

Same reverse die as Chick 20a.

*Acknowledgements.* Our thanks are extended to the original finders of the coins, and to Martin Allen and the individual PAS Finds Liaison Officers for both the initial identifications and for bringing these coins to our attention.

<sup>1</sup> Metcalf 2009; Chick 2010; Naismith 2010. All type references given here take the form 'Chick'.

<sup>2</sup> The Portable Antiquities Scheme website can be found at [www.finds.org.uk](http://www.finds.org.uk), and EMC at [www.fitzmuseum.cam.ac.uk/coins/emc](http://www.fitzmuseum.cam.ac.uk/coins/emc). Note that new sales of previously recorded coins have not been included here.

## 5. PAS BUC-F1ADC0 [Chick 27, Offa : London, Dud] (probable modern forgery)

Obv. **OFFÆ** (pellet above **O**) || **REX** (seven pellets dotted around the field) in two lines, divided by a beaded bar, each end terminating in a fleur.

Rev. **†D** (three pellets between **†** and **D**; four pellets visible to left, two to right) || **UD** (**†** beneath between **U** and **D**, with a pellet directly above; five other pellets dotted around the lower part of the field) divided by a beaded bar each end terminating in a fleur.

Weight: 1.48 g.

Found at Sherington, Buckinghamshire, 2010.

The style of the lettering on this penny is very unusual, and more sharply defined than is normally the case with Offa's pennies. It is also extremely heavy for a Light penny. For these reasons, it should probably be dismissed as a modern forgery but is included here for reference.

## 6. PAS DEV-530DA3 [Chick 28, Offa: London, Dud]

Obv. **OFFÆ** || **REX** (with two groups of three pellets and cross above) in two lines, divided by a beaded bar.

Rev. **†D** || **UD** (with cross below and surrounded by groups of pellets) in two lines, divided by a beaded bar, each end terminating in a fleur.

No weight or axis.

Found at Teignbridge, Devon, 1970.

Same dies as Chick 28b.

This is the first known find of a penny of Offa from Devon.

## 7. EMC 2011.0117/PAS SF-1DE6B3 [Chick 48, Offa: London, Ealhmund]

Obv. **†OFFÆ** **REX†** around draped and cuirassed bust right, breaking a beaded inner circle.

Rev. ...**ÆL** / **MV** / **NÐ** around a large lozenge with incurved sides; a central annulet contains a cross bottonnée and four pellets in saltire.

Weight: 1.01 g; axis: 180°.

Found near Bury St Edmunds, Suffolk, March 2011.

## 8. PAS NARC-3B6140 [Chick 55, Offa: London, Ibba]

Obv. **OFFÆ** **REX** around diademed bust right with curved shoulders and collar, without diadem ties.

Rev. **I** / **B** / **B** / **Æ** in angles of a lozenge cross fleury with plain cross in the centre. The initial cross is beaded.

Weight: 1.16 g; axis: 20°.

Found at Cropredy, Oxfordshire, by August 2011.

## 9. EMC 2011.0122 [Chick 103, Offa: Canterbury, Eoba]

Obv. **○** / **F** || **Æ** / **Ṁ** (**F** underlined marking a contraction) in the angles of a beaded long cross terminating in sprays, with a beaded annulet containing a pellet cross at centre.

Rev. **€** / **○** / **B** / **Æ** in angles of a long cross terminating in triangles, with a large annulet at centre containing a small cross with pellets in angles.

No weight or axis.

Found on the Isle of Thanet, Kent, 2011.

Same dies as Chick 103a.

## 10. Fossato di Vico, Umbria, Italy [Chick 106, Offa: Canterbury, Eoba]

Obv. **ṀF** (lozenge-shaped **Ṁ**) in pelleted frame with pellets radiating from each angle || **ÆṀ** below; cross enclosed by two y-shaped ornaments above, with floral ornament on either side.

Rev. **€** / **○** || **B** / **Æ** (lozenge-shaped **Ṁ**) in the angles of a cross fleury, with an annulet in the centre containing a saltire of pellets.

Weight: 1.13 g; axis: 0°.

The coin is illustrated and described in Chiari 2007, 260 (no. 348). No specific information on its provenance survives, but there is good cause to believe it to be a local find.

Same reverse die as Chick 106h.

## 11. PAS BUC-DEC7A8 [Chick 106, Offa: Canterbury, Eoba]

Obv. **ṀF** (lozenge-shaped **Ṁ**) in pelleted frame with pellets radiating from each angle || **ÆṀ** below; Latin cross above and at sides.

Rev. **€** / **○** || **B** / **Æ** (lozenge-shaped **Ṁ**) in the angles of a cross fleury, with an annulet in the centre containing a saltire of pellets.

Weight: 0.90 g.

Found at Longwick, Buckinghamshire, 2011.

## 12. PAS NCL-AF9BE4 [Chick 106 var., Offa: Canterbury, Eoba]

Obv.  $\text{O}^{\text{F}}$  in pelleted frame with pellets radiating from each angle ||  $\text{R}^{\text{M}}$  below; Latin cross above.

Rev.  $\text{E} / \text{O} || \text{B} / \text{A}$  in the angles of a cross fleury, with an annulet in the centre containing a saltire of pellets.

Weight: 1.20 g.

Found at Bardney, Lincolnshire, August 2011.

This coin is a variant of Chick 106, exhibiting a round O on both obverse and reverse rather than the normal lozenge-shaped O.

## 13. EMC 2011.0058 [Chick 125, Offa: Canterbury, Osmod]

Obv.  $\text{+O} / \text{FF} / \text{AR} / \text{EX}$  in the angles of a long cross bottonnée over saltire bottonnée.

Rev.  $\text{O} / \text{SM} / \text{O} / \text{O}$  in angles of a long cross bottonnée with a large annulet at centre containing a rosette.

Weight: 1 g (to one decimal place) (chipped and cracked); axis: 90°.

Found at Badsey, Worcestershire, 1978–82.

Same dies as Chick 125b.

## 14. T. Cleghorn collection [Chick 126, Offa: Canterbury, Pehtweald]

Obv. Ornately detailed bust right with elaborate hairstyle;  $\text{OFFA RE}$  in field before face;  $\text{X}$  behind.

Rev.  $\text{PE} / \text{H} / \text{VA} / \text{LO}$  in angles of celtic cross with a long cross fleury on limbs, over a small saltire cross of petals in centre.

Weight: 1.04 g; axis: 90°.

Uncertain find-spot.

Same dies as Naismith 2010, no. 39.

## 15. PAS IOW-C8BD83 [Chick 91B/133 (new type), Offa: Canterbury, Tirwald]

Obv.  $\text{O} / \text{F} / \text{F} / \text{A}$  (lozenge-shaped O) in the angles of a Celtic cross containing a fleury with  $\text{R}$  at the centre.

Rev.  $\text{T} / \text{IR} / \text{VV} / \text{AG} / \text{D}$  in the angles of an ornate long cross fleury over a cross bottonnée.

Weight: 1.09 g; axis: 270°.

Found at Yarmouth, Isle of Wight, 2010.

No other specimen of this type has been recorded previously, and its design provides some important new evidence regarding the mint attribution of the moneyer Tirwald. The obverse design is most similar to that seen on Chick 91B, for which a single example exists, with  $\text{OFFA}$  in the angles of a Celtic cross and a central  $\text{R}$ .<sup>3</sup> There is also a general resemblance to the obverses of other pennies produced by Tirwald (Chick 132–4) although none is an exact match, and so this coin is within the previous stylistic remits of the moneyer's other known coins. The reverse is paralleled by Chick 133. The principal point is the similarity of the obverse to that of Chick 91B, which is a product of the Canterbury moneyer Babba. Tirwald's attribution to Canterbury, whilst suspected, has remained uncertain but the evidence of this coin provides strong additional support for this proposed attribution.<sup>4</sup>

## 16. PAS LIN-FF2C55/EMC 2011.0218 [Chick 140, Cynethryth: Canterbury, Eoba]

Obv.  $\text{EOBA}$  to right of curly-haired, draped female bust right with Latin cross and pellets behind head.

Rev.  $\text{+CYNEAR YD REGINA}$  around a beaded inner circle containing  $\text{M}$ .

Weight: 1.13 g.

Found near Louth, Lincolnshire, by 2011.

## 17. EMC 2010.0339 [Chick 180, Offa: East Anglia, Wihtrid]

Obv.  $\text{+OFFA+REX+}$  around a curly-headed and draped bust right breaking a beaded inner circle.

Rev.  $\text{+F} / \text{IH} / \text{TR} / \text{ED}$  in the angles of a beaded lozenge cross fleury with a plain cross and a saltire in centre.

Weight: 1.1 g (recorded to one decimal place).

Found near Diss, Norfolk, by 2010.

## 18. EMC 2010.0171 [new type, Offa: East Anglia, Wihtrid]

Obv.  $\text{+OFFA REX+}$  (lozenge-shaped O) around beaded inner circle containing cross pommée on mound consisting of two concentric semicircles, breaking inner circle.

Rev.  $\text{+w} / \text{ih} / \text{tre} / \text{d}$  (runic) in the angles of a lozenge cross crosslet containing a cross of petals over a saltire of petals, with pellet in centre.

Weight not recorded; axis: 0°.

Found near Sturry, Kent, by 2010.

Pennies of Offa's reign bearing an obverse design of a standing cross flanked by two smaller crosses – an allusion to the crosses of Christ and the two thieves at the crucifixion – had been known only for the moneyer Oethelred prior to the discovery of this penny. Stylistically it shows links to both the obverse and reverse designs of Oethelred's types (Chick 174–7), not least in the form of reverse cross and in the pelleted terminals of letters and other devices

<sup>3</sup> EMC 2006.0348.

<sup>4</sup> Chick 2010, 120–1 lists Tirwald under Canterbury; Naismith 2010, Table 4 is more cautious, listing Tirwald under 'Uncertain Moneyers'.

(which were characteristic of at least one East Anglian die-cutter under Offa). Minor differences in obverse design between Wihtred and Oethelred – use of a cross pommée rather than cross potent, and of a mound rather than steps – may indicate an effort to differentiate dies intended for different moneyers, or slightly earlier or later production. Either way, this penny strongly suggests that Wihtred drew on the services of the same die-cutter at Oethelred, albeit temporarily: there are no other close comparisons within the work of Wihtred, although his name is also given in runic script on Chick 181.

19. PAS KENT-56D318 [Chick 203, Offa: London, Ciolhard]

Obv.  $\overline{\text{M}}$  with five pellets visible to each side ||  $\cdot\text{+OFF}\overline{\text{A}}$  (lozenge-shaped O) || REX with three pellets surviving to left, in three lines divided by two beaded bars.

Rev.  $\cdot\text{+CIOL}$  (lozenge-shaped O; single pellet above I and O) ||  $\text{H}\overline{\text{A}}\text{R}\overline{\text{D}}$  divided by a beaded bar terminating at each end with small bars, all within a Boeotian shield-like device.

Weight: 1.23 g.

Found at Lydd, Kent, 2010.

20. PAS SF-660703/EMC 2011.0130 [Chick 203, Offa: London, Ciolhard]

Obv.  $\overline{\text{M}}$  with three pellets visible each side ||  $\cdot\text{+O.FF}\overline{\text{A}}$  (lozenge-shaped O) || REX with one pellet surviving to left, in three lines divided by two beaded bars.

Rev.  $\cdot\text{+CIOL}$  (lozenge-shaped O; single pellet above O) ||  $\text{H}\overline{\text{A}}\text{R}\overline{\text{D}}$  single pellet above H) divided by a beaded bar terminating at each end with small wedges, all within a Boeotian shield-like device.

Weight: 1.13 g; axis: 180°.

Found at Glemsford, Suffolk, 2010.

When the catalogue for *The Coinage of Offa and his Contemporaries* was closed, only a single surviving specimen of Chick 203 was known. These two new finds therefore add substantially to our evidence for the type. Neither of the coins is die-linked to the previous specimen.

21. PAS SUSS-42DD45 [new type, Offa: London, Diola]

Obv.  $\overline{\text{M}}$  with three pellets visible to right, one surviving to left ||  $\cdot\text{+OFF}\overline{\text{A}}$  (lozenge-shaped O) || REX with one pellet surviving to left, in three lines beaded bars.

Rev.  $\cdot\text{+DIO}$  (lozenge-shaped O) with a pellet below the D and O, and three pellets to right ||  $\text{L}\cdot\overline{\text{A}}$  (retrograde) with three pellets to right and two surviving to left in two curved lunettes, with two crosses between.

Weight: 1.14 g; axis: 180°.

Found near Lewes, East Sussex, 2010.

This new type is comparable with other examples of the Heavy coinage whose design places the moneyer's name in two lines, either within lunettes or divided by a bar or cross.<sup>5</sup> For Offa's reign Diola was previously only known from two examples of Chick 204 which show the moneyer's name in the angles of a long cross. This coin is the first example of Diola's coinage using the more typical two-line reverse design of the Heavy coinage, and is firmly within the style of the other London moneyers. One feature of interest on this coin is the nature of the spelling of  $\text{DIOL}\overline{\text{A}}$  which is intended to be read left to right on the top line, and left to right on the bottom, in a similar manner to some contemporary coins of Winoth, another London moneyer for Offa.<sup>6</sup>

22. PAS LIN-040716 [new type, Offa: London, Dud]

Obv.  $\overline{\text{M}}$  with three pellets visible to right, one surviving to left ||  $\cdot\text{+OFF}\overline{\text{A}}$  (lozenge-shaped O) || REX with one pellet surviving to right, in three lines divided by two beaded bars.

Rev.  $\text{D} / \text{V} / \text{D}$  within the angles of a crude cross, each arm composed of three lines around a beaded circle containing a plain cross.

No weight or axis.

Found at Granby, Nottinghamshire, September 2011.

This new type is the first known coin of Dud for the Heavy coinage. The obverse is in the range of typical styles for the London coinage in this phase.<sup>7</sup> The reverse is unparalleled although within the remit of other Heavy coinage London coins.

23. EMC 2010.0364 [new type, Offa: London, Ealhmund]

Obv.  $\overline{\text{M}}$  with three pellets on either side ||  $\text{OFF}\overline{\text{A}}$  (lozenge-shaped O) with three pellets on either side || REX with three pellets to left, all in three lines divided by two beaded bars.

Rev.  $\text{E}\overline{\text{A}}\text{LH}\overline{\text{M}}\text{VN}\overline{\text{O}}$  around a cross pattée standing on tripod, with square superimposed on head.

Weight: 1.41 g; axis: 270°.

Found near Dunmow, Essex, by 2010.

The reverse of this Heavy penny by the probably London-based moneyer Ealhmund is a new departure for this phase of Offa's coinage, and is otherwise most closely paralleled by the East Anglian issues of Oethelred and

<sup>5</sup> Chick 201, 203, 206, 210–12, 215–17, 222, 227–8 and 231–2. Cf. also Chick 45, 54 and 147.

<sup>6</sup> Chick 214.

<sup>7</sup> Chick 202–8.

Wihtried (see above) and, perhaps more pertinently, by two London pennies issued by the moneyer Pendwine in the immediately succeeding coinage of Coenwulf attributable to the years 796–7/8.<sup>8</sup> The latter two coins bear a standing cross on the reverse, surrounded by a moneyer's name with no inner circle, very similar to the reverse design of this new type. However, exact precedents for this form of cross cannot be found: a square frame is found enclosing crosses on the carpet pages which introduce the gospels of Mark and Luke in the Lindisfarne Gospels, but not on physical crosses such as could have been mounted on a stand similar to that shown here.<sup>9</sup> This is, consequently, an important coin both numismatically and iconographically, which demonstrates that creative imagery on pennies of Offa was not restricted to the Light coinage.

24. PAS KENT-566617 [Chick 206, Offa: London, Eama]

Obv.  $\mathfrak{M}$  with three pellets on either side ||  $\text{OFFA}$  (lozenge-shaped O) with Latin cross to left ||  $\text{REX}$  with three pellets to left, all in three lines divided by two beaded bars.

Rev.  $\text{+E}\mathfrak{A}$  /  $\text{M}\mathfrak{A}$  in two lunettes divided by a beaded bar.

Weight: 1.26 g.

Found at Westwell, Kent, 2011.

Same dies as Chick 206b.

25. EMC 2010.0173 [Chick 211 var., Offa: London, Ludoman]

Obv.  $\mathfrak{M}$  with triangle on either side ||  $\text{+OFFA}$  (lozenge-shaped O; pellets in angles of initial cross) ||  $\text{REX}$  with pellets around, upper and lower parts of legend in two lunettes.

Rev.  $\text{+LVD}$  ||  $\text{OMON}$  (lozenge-shaped O) within boeotian shield-like device, divided by a beaded line.

Weight: 1.41 g; axis: 0°.

Found near Devizes, Wiltshire, by 2010.

26. PAS BH-00E844 [Chick 233 var/235 var., Offa: Canterbury, Ethelnoth]

Obv.  $\mathfrak{M}$  with eight pellets to left, three to right ||  $\text{+OFFA}$  (lozenge-shaped O) with three pellets to right ||  $\text{REX}$  with three pellets to left and one to right, upper and lower parts of legend in two lunettes.

Rev.  $\text{+}$  surrounded by pellets ||  $\text{E}\mathfrak{P}\text{ELP}$  with two groups of three pellets between  $\mathfrak{P}$  and  $\text{E}$ , three pellets in a vertical line between  $\text{L}$  and  $\mathfrak{P}$ , and two single pellets to right ||  $\text{NO}$  in three lines with three pellets to left and right; upper and lower parts in two lunettes.

Weight: 1.40 g; axis: 180°.

Found at Barkway, Hertfordshire, January 2010.

27. PAS LIN-278218 [Chick 239, Offa: Canterbury, Osmod]

Obv.  $\mathfrak{M}$  with triangle on either side ||  $\text{+OFFA}$  (lozenge-shaped O; pellets in angles of initial cross) ||  $\text{REX}$  with pellets around, in three lines divided by two plain bars.

Rev.  $\text{+}\mathfrak{E}\mathfrak{E}\text{+}$  ||  $\text{OSMOD}$  || inverted  $\mathfrak{M}$  with triangular symbol either side, in three lines divided by two plain bars.

Weight not taken; axis: 270°.

Found at Irnham, Lincolnshire by April 2011.

Same dies as Chick 239e.

28. EMC 2010.0047 [Chick 244, Offa and Archbishop Æthelheard: Canterbury]

Obv.  $\mathfrak{M}$  with triangle on either side ||  $\text{+OFFA}$  (lozenge-shaped O; pellets in angles of initial cross) ||  $\text{REX}$  with pellets around, upper and lower parts of legend in two lunettes.

Rev.  $\text{ÆDILHE}\mathfrak{A}\text{RD PONTI}$  (NT ligatured; lozenge-shaped O; preceded by three pellets arranged in triangle) around a cross crosslet within a plain inner circle.

Weight not recorded; axis: 120° (bent and chipped).

Found near Harlow, Essex, by 2010.

Same obverse die as Chick 244b.

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<sup>8</sup> Naismith 2011, L5.

<sup>9</sup> British Library, Cotton MS Nero D.IV, fols. 94v and 138v; Anna Gannon, *pers. comm.*.

## A CIRCUMSCRIPTION CROSS HALFPENNY OF EDGAR FROM THE WILTON MINT

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JUST occasionally a remarkable example of a very rare coin emerges from the ground. Such a coin was a halfpenny of Edgar (957/9–75) sold in the Spink, December 2011 auction (Fig. 1).<sup>1</sup> This added a third example to the corpus for the Circumscription Cross halfpenny of Edgar, a type not known until 1972, when the British Museum acquired a specimen of the Chichester mint found during excavations in Chichester the previous year.<sup>2</sup> A coin of the Bath mint is recorded from excavations at the Brooks in Winchester in 1987–88.<sup>3</sup> This new coin (weight 0.53 g, diameter 16 mm) was struck at Wilton by the moneyer Boiga and it was found near Salisbury, Wiltshire, in September 2011. It is in superb condition. The obverse inscription is **†EADGAR REX ANGLO** and the reverse has the legend **†BOIGA MONETA PIL**. The style matches that of pennies of this issue, for which Boiga is a known moneyer at Wilton.



Fig. 1. Edgar, Circumscription Cross halfpenny, Wilton, moneyer Boiga (twice actual size). © Spink & Son Ltd.

The style of this new coin, with small neatly cut letters, is consistent with that found on a group of Circumscription Cross pennies from southern mints with which Wilton is associated, issued before the coinage reform of c.973. The mint signature on this new halfpenny is abbreviated to **PIL** from the more normal **PILTVN** or **PILTVNE** such as is found on a typical Circumscription Cross Wilton penny of Edgar by the same moneyer as the new halfpenny, the reverse of which reads **†BOIGA MONETA O PILTVNE**.<sup>4</sup> The obverse similarly also shows abbreviation, with the last part reading **ANGLO** compared with the penny reading of **†EADGAR REX ANGLORVN**. In both cases abbreviation is most likely due to the small size of the flan.

The emergence of this coin provides further evidence for an issue of Circumscription Cross halfpennies alongside pennies under Edgar at West Saxon mints. The pennies, all with a characteristic neat lettering style, were designated as the Circumscription Cross southern group by Blunt, Stewart and Lyon and range across mints from Canterbury in the east to Bath and Shaftesbury in the west, and possibly also including Bedford, Buckingham and Oxford to the north.<sup>5</sup> They are all thought to be linked to die-cutting centred on Winchester. The new halfpenny firmly belongs to this group both stylistically and geographically.

Of the other two halfpennies noted here for this group, the British Museum halfpenny from the Chichester mint, which is chipped and damaged, has the neat lettering in common with the Wilton coin, but the style differs in some respects with the obverse legend reading **†EADGAR REX** and the reverse not naming a moneyer but simply stating the mint, **†CISE CIFITAS**. The obverse also differs significantly, having a central pellet with four surrounding pellets by the

<sup>1</sup> Spink auction 211, 13 Dec. 2011, lot 72; EMC 2011.0228.

<sup>2</sup> Archibald and Blunt 1986, no. 1076.

<sup>3</sup> EMC 2000.0013 (weight 0.48 g, corroded; diameter 18 mm). Helen Rees, the Curator of Archaeology at Winchester Museums, has very kindly provided images of this coin and information about its discovery.

<sup>4</sup> Blunt, Stewart and Lyon 1989, pl. 21, no 235.

<sup>5</sup> Blunt, Stewart and Lyon 1989, 172.

inner circle in the form of a cross rather than the cross pattée on the Wilton coin. The other halfpenny, from excavations in Winchester, matches the Wilton coin with the obverse **†EADGAR REX ANIL** and the reverse naming the moneyer and mint, **†ÆÐELSIGE M-O BAÐAN†**. The existence of two coins in the same style from different mints confirms that a small issue of Southern group Circumscription Cross halfpennies took place under Edgar.

The issue of round halfpennies, as opposed to pennies cut in half to serve as a halfpenny, seems to have begun in Anglo-Saxon England in the 870s during the Cross and Lozenge coinage of Alfred the Great and Ceolwulf II.<sup>6</sup> They are very much a feature of the tenth-century English coinage before Edgar's reform in c.973 and seem to have been struck in very small quantities throughout this period. Examples are known for all subsequent kings of Wessex and later England up to and including Edgar. These seem to divide into two groups. The first group replicates the widely issued Two-Line type (and its variations) and the Circumscription Cross type pennies with halfpennies noted for Edward the Elder, Æthelstan, Edmund, Eadred, Eadwig and Edgar. A second group reproduces the rarer styles found in the penny coinages of Alfred and Edward the Elder before 924, with London Monogram type halfpennies noted for Edgar, a flower above line type for Edmund, Eadwig, Edgar and a single-line mint name for Eadwig. There is no apparent consistency in the occurrence of 'normal' and 'exceptional' halfpenny types under different rulers, perhaps because so few coins have survived to the present day.

Edgar's reform seems to have set out to bring greater unity to the coinage, creating a single coherent and uniform coinage style for a single English kingdom. The round halfpenny seems to have been a victim of this drive for coherence and uniformity as the production of round halfpennies ceased with Edgar's coinage reform of c.973. After this point no halfpennies are known to have been issued until the reign of Henry I (1100–35), with cut pennies filling the gap for small change.<sup>7</sup> This seems to suggest that the reform of c.973 sought not only to standardize coinage design and production but also to standardize the denomination on the penny. As such the new Wilton halfpenny may be an example of the last gasp of struck small change in the tenth century and it sheds new light on the character of the pre-reform tenth-century Anglo-Saxon coinage.

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<sup>6</sup> EMC 2004.0009.

<sup>7</sup> An Edward the Confessor *Sovereign/Eagles* halfpenny of Chester published by Lyon 1965 was subsequently condemned as a nineteenth-century forgery (Pirie 1975, xxii).

## A REFERENCE TO THE LOCATION OF A MINT IN NORMAN LEICESTER

RORY NAISMITH

THE foundation charter of Leicester abbey was issued by Robert II 'Le Bossu', earl of Leicester (1118–68), and has been dated by David Crouch to February 1139 × May 1140.<sup>1</sup> It survives in two abridged copies of a version which was entered into a fifteenth-century dossier, and – remarkably – in two complete transcripts which only came to light in 1985 and 1991 respectively.<sup>2</sup> The complete version of the charter lists a large number of lands and privileges donated by Robert to the new Augustinian abbey, and among a group of estates in the vicinity of Leicester itself occurs the following grant:<sup>3</sup>

Ad pontem de Norht carrucatam terre que iacebat olim ad cuneos monete  
*At the North Bridge, one carrucate of land which once lay at a mint.*

The term used by the charter to describe the mint – a location *ad cuneos monete* (literally 'at the dies of the mint') – is in line with Norman terminology for minting, as observed in Domesday Book and other sources.<sup>4</sup> Relatively little, however, may be said of its exact physical form or location.

The North Bridge (see Fig. 1) crosses the river Soar a few hundred metres outside the northern walls of Leicester, spanning the Abbey Gate area and a piece of meadowland adjacent to the town known as Frog Island. By the later Middle Ages this suburban area included many properties belonging to the abbey.<sup>5</sup> A position well outside the town walls contrasts with, for example, the location of the moneyers' houses and workshops in the heart of eleventh- and twelfth-century Winchester,<sup>6</sup> or finds of coin-dies (possibly denoting locations of mints) at sites in medieval London and York.<sup>7</sup> A parallel may be found, however, at nearby Stamford, where a moneyer given to Peterborough abbey c. 1024 by Thurkil Hoga was based in a suburb, 'Stamford Baron' (possibly a former fort), across the river Welland, south of the town proper.<sup>8</sup> This suburb was under Peterborough's lordship, and so the location of the abbey's moneyer there reflects above all the geography of local power; it need not preclude minting operations elsewhere in the borough.

Nothing is known of the prior history of the land at the North Bridge, though other lands in the vicinity given to Leicester abbey by Earl Robert are explicitly said to have belonged to other authorities, including the bishop of Lincoln,<sup>9</sup> suggesting that this was not the case for the mint and its surroundings. What tenurial implications there were to its position outside the town, if any, are unknown. There may also, however, have been practical considerations behind the establishment of a mint at the North Bridge. Given the noise, danger and discomfort generated by metalworking of all sorts, there was an incentive for such operations to take place outside the main part of the town,<sup>10</sup> and indeed the northern suburbs of Leicester were already

<sup>1</sup> On dating see Crouch 1987, esp. 3–4.

<sup>2</sup> Crouch 1987 and Vincent 1993, 95–7. The two abridged copies are Oxford, Bodleian Library, Laud misc. 625 (s. xv<sup>2</sup>), f. 5r; and London, British Library, Cotton Vitellius F.XVII (x. xv/xvi), f. 10r. The complete copies are TNA: PRO, E 13/76, m. 69d (1351); and Winchester, Cathedral Library, XXB (c. 1536).

<sup>3</sup> The text of the charter may be found in Crouch 2006, 234–5 (no. 1). It should be noted that Sir William Dugdale (1655–83 II, 313) evidently had access in the seventeenth century to a version of the foundation charter making reference to the mint.

<sup>4</sup> See, for example, the *cuneos monete* bought by moneyers at Shrewsbury according to DB i, 252r.

<sup>5</sup> Squires 2006; Courtney 1998, 119–22.

<sup>6</sup> Biddle and Keene 1976, 396–422. It should be noted that there was (in the time of Edward the Confessor and c. 1110) a minority of moneyers based outside the walls of Winchester, though the majority remained within.

<sup>7</sup> Archibald, Lang and Milne 1995; Blackburn 2004, 338–41. Cf. Courtney 1997, 94.

<sup>8</sup> This grant is reported in summary in the twelfth-century chronicle of Hugh Candidus (Mellows and Bell 1949, 70; Hart 1966, no. 351), and in a separate set of memoranda (Kelly 2009, no. 31(xi)). For discussion see Roffe and Mahany 1983, 200.

<sup>9</sup> The bishop retained substantial lands to the north of the city (Crouch 1987, 4).

<sup>10</sup> Cf. Campbell 1991, 120–4; Geddes 1991, 174–5.



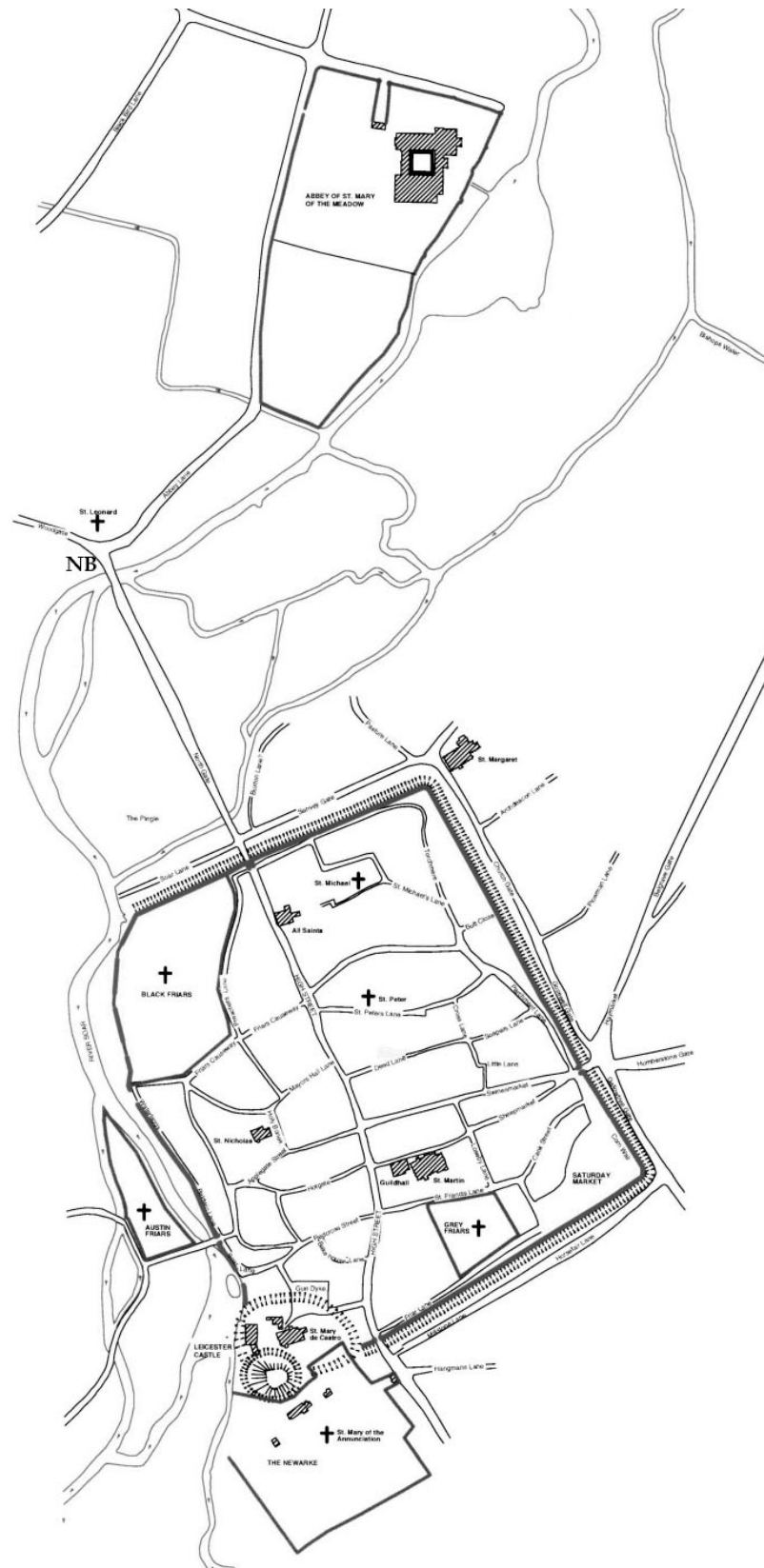


Fig. 1. Map of medieval Leicester and environs ('NB' marks the North Bridge) (reproduced with kind permission of the Leicestershire Archaeological and Historical Society).

in the twelfth century associated with noisome activities including dyeing, fulling and tanning.<sup>11</sup> Unfortunately the tenants and other inhabitants of the suburb in the first half of the twelfth century are largely obscure. The foundation charter gives no hint of who previously produced coin on the land in question, and the formulation indicates that whatever minting had formerly (*olim*) gone on there was now over. But if the land was still referred to in 1139/40 as the location of a mint one may tentatively assume that its activity belonged not too far in the past.

As with other references to late Anglo-Saxon and Norman mints, the property was presumably associated with one of the moneyers named at Leicester on coins of King Stephen (1135–54) or one of his predecessors. Moneyers had worked in Leicester since at least the time of viking rule late in the ninth century, and the city was named on issues of English kings from Æthelstan (924/5–39) onwards.<sup>12</sup> Knowledge of minting at Norman Leicester is chequered, but many gaps in the record are probably a result of limited survival rather than prolonged periods of closure.<sup>13</sup> The latest analysis suggests that in the period 1066–1100 Leicester was normally served by between one and three moneyers, and by one or two under Henry I (1100–35), though there was a marked tendency from the start of William II's reign (1087–1100) for just one to appear regularly.<sup>14</sup> Leicester was one of many locations where moneyers ceased to operate in the last type of Henry I (dated c. 1125–35),<sup>15</sup> but it reopened in the first (*Watford*) type of Stephen (c. 1136–45),<sup>16</sup> when two moneyers are recorded there: Samar and Simun. In the years thereafter it was one of many mints in the Midlands which produced independent baronial and irregular types. Some of these copied Stephen's type 2 (*Cross Voided and Mullets*), a few possibly with the name of Earl Robert II in place of the king's.<sup>17</sup> Leicester is not known from regular specimens of Stephen's types 2 and 6, but reappears in Stephen's last type (*BMC* vii, *Awbridge*) with one moneyer, Simun, and persisted into Henry II's *Tealby* coinage. However, there is no way of knowing which (if any) of the known moneyers of the eleventh or twelfth century might have been based at the mint near the North Bridge.

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<sup>11</sup> Courtney 1997, 94, and 1998, 121–22.

<sup>12</sup> The one known viking penny with a Leicester mint name (an imitation halfpenny of Alfred's Two-Line type) is now in the Fitzwilliam Museum (ex Blunt; Grierson 1955–57, no. 35).

<sup>13</sup> Difficulty of distinguishing between Leicester, Chester and Lewes creates further uncertainty: Allen 2012.

<sup>14</sup> Allen 2012.

<sup>15</sup> Allen 2009. Prior to its closure, in the previous type xiv, it had been home to two moneyers (Chetel and Walter).

<sup>16</sup> On chronology see Blackburn 1994, 194–9.

<sup>17</sup> Blackburn 1994, 153.

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## A NEW MONEYER OF THE SHORT CROSS COINAGE FROM WILTON AND SOME THOUGHTS ON THE WILTON AND WINCHESTER MINTS IN CLASS 1a

B.J. COOK

IN autumn 2005 a penny of the Short Cross coinage was submitted to the British Museum for identification. The coin had been discovered by a metal detectorist in the vicinity of Oxford. It proved to be a coin of the Wilton mint from a previously unknown moneyer. Its details are as follows.

Penny, Short Cross, class 1a1 (1180), wt: 1.09 g; die axis: 300°  
*Obv.*: hEN[ ]CVS RE/X  
*Rev.*: †[ ]hAN.ON.WILT.

The coin (see Fig. 1) is slightly chipped, which inhibits a full recording of its legends. While, thanks to the chipping, the initial two letters of the moneyer's name are unclear, it seems evident that the full reading would be Iohan.



Fig. 1. Short Cross class 1a1 penny of the Wilton moneyer Iohan.

The coin unquestionably has all the diagnostic features established by Mass for his class 1a1: most notably, the 'dot-dash' outer circle, as well as the square letters E and the most common form of break in RE/X.<sup>1</sup> The base of the second upright of the N on the reverse die is unseriffed. It is a different die from known 1a1 obverses from Wilton.

The significance of the coin is its provision of a second moneyer for Wilton in this class, at the very start of the Short Cross coinage. Previously, while two moneyers, Osber and Rodbert, were known at Wilton for classes 1a2, 1a4–5 and 1b1, Rodbert alone was known for 1a1. At the other mints operating in this subclass, Exeter has two moneyers, Northampton three, York and Winchester four each and London six.

<sup>1</sup> Mass 1993, 22–6.

The status of the Wilton mint and its relationship to Winchester has received significant attention. In 1966 Brand and Elmore Jones proposed that the Wilton mint opened on an emergency basis only when the mint at Winchester was destroyed by fire on the night of either 1/2 or 14/15 July 1180.<sup>2</sup> It is certainly the case that, for some reason, two obverse dies of 1a1 and one of 1a2 and one retooled reverse of 1a2 from the Winchester mint were transferred to Wilton for the use of the moneyer Rodbert.<sup>3</sup> However, Brand and Elmore Jones's interpretation was questioned in 1993. In his analysis of class 1a, published in that year, Jeffrey Mass showed that coins of Rodbert were in production from class 1a1, the start of the coinage, although it should be noted that in this paper Mass still accepted the proposal of Brand and Elmore Jones that Wilton was opened on an emergency basis after the fire.<sup>4</sup> However, in an accompanying paper, Martin Allen took on board the implications of Mass's evidence: that Wilton was a functioning mint before the Winchester fire had its supposed impact on mint production.<sup>5</sup> In 2001 Allen continued to accept that Wilton was active from the start of the coinage and also made the point that Winchester and Wilton were both among the mints which had been active during the *Cross and Crosslets* coinage, in the 1160s, so they both had a reasonably recent tradition of activity.<sup>6</sup> The appearance of a second moneyer at Wilton in class 1a1 would certainly appear to give clear confirmation, if this were needed, to the idea that Wilton was indeed operating from the start of the Short Cross coinage and that it was not an emergency mint.

It also seems likely that the moneyer Rodbert was active at both mints at the same time and right from the start of the coinage. The transfer of a reverse die of Rodbert from Winchester to Wilton, where it was retooled to fit the different mint name, is the primary piece of evidence here, confirming the fact of the same moneyer operating at both mints. The obverse dies he used at Wilton had also been used previously by Henri and Gocelm at Winchester, as well as by himself. The only counter-argument to Rodbert having a dual role from the start would be to suggest that Iohan was originally the single moneyer at Wilton, and that his unexpected disappearance in 1a1 was the cause of Rodbert being hastily co-opted from Winchester and given this dual position. However, given that the dies transferred from Winchester include examples for class 1a2, this seems a needlessly convoluted speculation. Instead, it may be correct to view the two mints as having always had a strong connection, with Wilton a subsidiary operation of Winchester, this being, as Martin Allen suggests, either an aspect of Winchester's central role in the organization of the recoinage, or else because Wilton was a mint with the special role of being primarily for the king's use.<sup>7</sup>

At Winchester Rodbert worked alongside Clement, Gocelm, Henri and Osbern in the production of class 1a1, whereas at Wilton his only companion was the newly-discovered moneyer Iohan. By the time 1a2 dies were being used, Iohan has apparently disappeared from Wilton and, during the use of 1a2, the nearly-as-ephemeral Henri also ceased production at Winchester. Given that it is only thanks to this new coin that we know about Iohan at all, it is of course possible that a die for him in 1a2 might still at some point be forthcoming. Although Henri disappeared from Winchester in 1a2, a new moneyer named Adam joined the complement in the same issue, perhaps as his replacement, while at Wilton Iohan would appear to have been replaced by Osber, who commenced activity there in 1a2.

Brand and Elmore Jones suggested that Osber was, like Rodbert, a moneyer working jointly at the two neighbouring mints.<sup>8</sup> There are two assumptions here: first, that the moneyer named on the coins of class 1a1 at Winchester as Osbern is the same individual as the Osber who

<sup>2</sup> Brand and Elmore Jones 1966. The date of the fire as given here follows the discussion of Allen 1993, 53–4.

<sup>3</sup> A reverse die of Rodbert of class 1a4 was also altered in this way, but this was presumably done somewhat later: see Mass 2001, no. 171.

<sup>4</sup> Mass 1993, 36–7, esp. n.41.

<sup>5</sup> Allen 1993, 54–5.

<sup>6</sup> Allen 2001, 1. Wilton was active in *Cross-and-Crosslets* class A, until c.1160, and Winchester continued until class D which, according to Crafter, concluded c.1170: Crafter 1998, 48–56.

<sup>7</sup> Allen 1993, 54–5.

<sup>8</sup> Brand and Elmore Jones 1966.

coins at Wilton in 1a2, 1a4, 1a5 and 1b1–2; and secondly, that the Wilton Osber is the same as the Osber coining at Winchester in 1a3–4 and 1b1. Unlike Rodbert, there is no die link to demonstrate the connections between these three appearances of Osber(n). Martin Allen has pointed out a potential problem of nomenclature in equating the Winchester moneyer named as Osbern on the coins with the *Osbertus monetarius de Wilton* who is mentioned in the Pipe Roll for 1183/4 as owing rent for the use of the moneyers' house at Winchester. The fact that *Osberto monetario* at Wilton is also mentioned in the Pipe Roll for 1184/5 reinforces this question: the name-form was not just a single usage.<sup>9</sup> Although the 1183/4 reference in itself is a strong suggestion that the Osbers of Wilton and Winchester were one and the same, for this to be the case either the reverse die reading Osbern or the Pipe Roll readings *Osbertus* must have recorded the name incorrectly.<sup>10</sup> 'Osber' was not an uncommon name for a moneyer at this time: it is also found at London, Exeter and Worcester during class 1.<sup>11</sup> There is, therefore, the possibility that the moneyer Osber(n) of Winchester and the Wilton moneyer Osber(t?) were different individuals, although the link between *Osbertus monetarius de Wilton* with the Winchester mint would tend to give one pause here. The alternative position would be to accept the moneyer's name OSBERN as a mistake, regard this moneyer as the same as Osber(t), and thus the dual Wilton/Winchester moneyer from later in class 1 and (as Allen suggested) view the Osbern of classes 3–4 as a different individual entirely. The main problem with this is that it has been suggested that it was at Winchester itself that the dies for the coinage were being made, which might make it unlikely that they would misspell the name of a moneyer on the spot.<sup>12</sup> However, one could envisage Winchester's role being a storage, accounting and distribution centre for dies, rather than the actual place of their manufacture.

The simplest and perhaps the likeliest situation, given the certain dual position of Rodbert and the Osber link provided by the Pipe Roll reference, is to accept the idea that there was indeed one single moneyer named Osber(t) active first at Winchester alone in class 1a1 and then at the two mints simultaneously thereafter.<sup>13</sup> A supporting circumstance is provided by the fact that, unlike the other Winchester moneyers, Rodbert, Henri, Gocelm, Clement and Adam (who, apart from Adam, all worked through 1a1 and into 1a2), Osber struck no coins of 1a2 at that mint, while there are such coins at Wilton: Osber might at that time have been setting up his activities at the latter mint, which was, thus, briefly the focus of his operations.<sup>14</sup>

All this may have the capacity to throw some doubt onto the importance of the Winchester fire. Its original significance was seemingly clear: the fire caused two of the existing Winchester moneyers, Rodbert and Osber, to set up a new emergency mint at Wilton, while subsequently coining by them continued at both Wilton and Winchester for some unexplained reason, even though the emergency had passed and there was, on the face of it, nothing to inhibit Wilton's closure. However, Mass was able to show that Rodbert had a joint role at the two mints before this event and this appears to demonstrate that the existence of the Wilton mint was part of the very earliest organization of the Short Cross recoinage. It is also the case that there seems to have been some reorganization in the structure of the moneyers at the two mints occurring in and around the time of the introduction of class 1a2. This may have arisen from, or else had as a consequence, the termination of the position of Iohan at Wilton and maybe that of Henri at Winchester (although the arrival of Adam at Winchester has to be factored in as well). The two mints appear to have ended the period of issue of class 1a2 with the same number of moneyers they had started with in 1a1 (and this is counting both Henri and Adam),<sup>15</sup> in con-

<sup>9</sup> Allen 1993, 54, esp. n.19.

<sup>10</sup> Allen 1993, 54.

<sup>11</sup> However, it thereafter disappears from the moneyers' name-stock, apart, that is, from Osbern at Winchester.

<sup>12</sup> Brand 1994, 31.

<sup>13</sup> This would place the mistake at the door of the mint engraver.

<sup>14</sup> It remains, of course, possible that a coin of Osber from Winchester of class 1a2 might still turn up, to render this point moot.

<sup>15</sup> In 1a1 Wilton had Iohan and Rodbert, and Winchester had Clement, Gocelm, Osbern and Rodbert (five individuals in total), whereas in 1a2 Wilton had Osber and Rodbert, and Winchester had Adam, Clement, Henri, and Rodbert (five individuals in total). Although it is possible that a coin of Gocelm of 1a2 will turn up to expand this number to 6, this is still not taking into account the likelihood that Adam was a replacement for Henri. In 1a5 and 1b1 the total combined complement was definitely up to 6, with a moneyer added to the Winchester total.

trast to the other active mints, London, Exeter, York and Northampton, which received additions to the complement of moneyers.<sup>16</sup> Alongside this, furthermore, there had been some apparent rationalization to the functioning of the Wilton mint, which lost its independent moneyer and was now, seemingly, more explicitly linked with Winchester through the joint moneyers Osber and Rodbert. One argument could be that experience was demonstrating that, unlike the other mint centres, there simply was not the need for so many moneyers at these two physically-close institutions – the scarcity of Iohan's output may also be an indication of this. Nevertheless, the original reason for the establishment of the Wilton mint was still in place and Martin Allen's suggestion that it had a very specific purpose or role seems all the more likely.

The current chronology for 1a is based on the Winchester fire (dated to July 1180) having inspired the transfer of a few dies (two obverses of 1a1 and one of 1a2; and one altered reverse die) used by Rodbert from Winchester to Wilton. From this comes the view that 1a1 was superseded by 1a2 in June/July 1180.<sup>17</sup> This dating rests on the assumption that there could be no other reason for this transfer of dies, and this now seems a little less certain, given the apparently close and evolving links between Wilton and Winchester throughout 1180. An efficiency assessment, some circumstance of Rodbert's activity (since he already had dies being used at Wilton and he would also transfer a Winchester die to Wilton later, in class 1a4), and/or the disappearance or removal of Iohan from the scene could be alternative reasons for consideration. The main sign of a break in the output of coins at Winchester is the disappearance of Henri during the issue of 1a2, but since a new moneyer Adam began in 1a2, this does not seem conclusive.<sup>18</sup>

It is of course the case that, whatever the extent of any damage and disruption, the Winchester fire might nevertheless still have provided the occasion for a transfer of dies and for a Wilton/Winchester reorganization – since, obviously, it looks as though something did. However, there is probably a larger element of doubt over the fire's significance, and especially its chronological implications for the coinage, than has been recognized. In terms of the broader picture, this would not involve a dramatic change, since the whole issue of class 1a probably took place between about May and November 1180 and it seems likely that 1a3 was in use by the end of August at the latest.<sup>19</sup> The main revision would be to consider changes to the organization at Wilton and Winchester at this time as perhaps being driven by questions of administrative policy and not as emergency measures.

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<sup>16</sup> See Allen 2001, 1–3.

<sup>17</sup> Allen 1993, 53–4, 57–8.

<sup>18</sup> The absence of Osber in class 1a2 at Winchester is another possible sign, if this is still the Osbern who issued coins of 1a1. However, as has been suggested above, this could be the consequence of a reorganization, not its inspiration. Gocelm is another moneyer with coins missing from class 1a2, but it is possible these may yet turn up, since he was active in 1a3–5. In such 'missing' subclasses for some moneyers during class 1a, Winchester is no different from the other active mints, and no fire is required to account for it.

<sup>19</sup> Allen 1993, 55.

## A RICHARD II CRESCENT ON BREAST HALFGROAT

WILLIAM MACKAY

INCLUDED in the Spink October 2011 auction was an example of a halfgroat in the name of Richard II which clearly has a crescent on the breast of the king's bust.<sup>1</sup> Until this coin, found at Ford in Northumberland in 2010,<sup>2</sup> emerged, the only coins of Richard II known with this feature were the extremely rare type IV groats.<sup>3</sup> The existence of halfgroats with a crescent on the breast was for long suspected, with a coin formerly in the Walters collection, sold in 1913 and later acquired by the British Museum, cited as an example.<sup>4</sup> That attribution was firmly rejected by Marion Archibald in 1965, who showed that the imagined crescent on the coin was an effect created by carelessly punched cusp ends below the king's bust.<sup>5</sup> The new coin suggests that it is now possible to confirm that crescent on breast halfgroats were indeed struck and should now be added to listings of the English coinage.



Fig. 1. Richard II halfgroat with crescent on breast and detail of obverse enlarged. © Spink & Son Ltd.

The coin has a full flan and weighs 2.04 g. It is uncleaned with lightly corroded surfaces, and all the key details are visible. The obverse has the new style, type IV, Richard II bust with an oval face with bushy hair, and the wide crown 2. The legend omits the French title and has wedge shaped contraction marks after **ANGLI** and **RICARD**. The mint mark is a cross pattée and the legend reads **RICARD DEI GRA REX ANGLI** with a saltire stop after **DEI** and **REX**. The reverse has no contraction marks, unbarred Ns in **LOI DOII** and the mint mark is a cross pattée. The legend reads **POSVI DEVM ADIVTOR MEV**, with a double saltire stop after **DEVM**, and on the inner circle, **CIVI TAS LOII DOII**.

The obverse style and the contraction marks matches Greenhalgh's Richard II type 4 obverse 3 halfgroat, but the sole example that Greenhalgh illustrates is rather corroded and the crescent, if present, is indistinguishable.<sup>6</sup> The reverse type of this new coin is known from a single die and the form with the unbarred Ns has been traditionally attributed to Henry IV. The traditional identification for this new coin would be as a mule of a Richard II type IV obverse with a Henry IV reverse. To accept this though is to ignore the significance of this coin being the first specimen indisputably having a crescent on the breast of the bust, a variety only associated with the type IV groats of Richard II. This issue was dated by Potter to some time after Richard II's French marriage in 1395, a view also accepted by Lord Stewartby, who saw

<sup>1</sup> Spink auction 210, 6–7 Oct. 2011, lot 79.

<sup>2</sup> Recorded with UKDFD (United Kingdom Detector Finds Database), ref. 31762.

<sup>3</sup> See North 1991, no. 1321b and Spink 2012, no. 1681.

<sup>4</sup> Potter 1958–59, 347; Brooke 1950, 259.

<sup>5</sup> Archibald 1965.

<sup>6</sup> Greenhalgh 2010, 45, illustrated as a Richard II type IV/Henry IV heavy coinage mule.

it as dating from late in his reign.<sup>7</sup> Walters thought they were the missing heavy coinage groats of Henry IV, with the crescent as a personal symbol of this king, but this is a view no longer accepted.<sup>8</sup>

The new halfgroat bears comparison with the crescent on breast groat, for which one of the two known reverse dies has in common with this new coin the unbarred Ns in LOIIDOII. Until now, the presence of unbarred Ns on the groat reverse was a feature attributed to issues made under Henry IV. With this new coin firmly linking to Richard II's issues this attribution has to be reconsidered and this reverse is more correctly to be identified as a die of Richard II that was later reused under Henry IV.

Lord Stewartby, whilst attributing the unbarred N reverse style to Henry IV, pointed out that halfgroat mules of Richard II and Henry IV always pair earlier reverses with later obverses.<sup>9</sup> The new coin does the opposite, pairing a Richard II obverse die with what on a traditional interpretation is a later reverse, the unbarred N die, previously attributed to Henry IV. Stewartby, considering this complex series of muled halfgroat issues, observed that the unbarred N reverse die, when occurring on Henry IV halfgroats, always seemed worn and suggested that this might be better linked to the type IV issue of Richard II with the dies reused under Henry IV.<sup>10</sup> This new coin, although with surface corrosion, lends support to this being the case, as it does not seem to have been struck from a worn die. The conclusion from this is that the reverse is not a Henry IV type but is in fact the reverse die for a crescent on breast Richard II type IV halfgroat. This would be entirely consistent with the Richard II type IV groat issue, alongside which were struck similar halfgroats.

The wedge shaped contraction marks, notably that after **ANGLI**, are worthy of comment. The discredited Walters example lacked these but they do occur on the halfgroat illustrated by Greenhalgh as a Richard II type IV/Henry IV mule.<sup>11</sup> They do not occur on the Richard II type IV groats but such marks are found on some small silver denominations such as the type III York pennies.<sup>12</sup> This feature seems to be consistent with the later issues of Richard II.

The final question is where does this coin fit within the chronology of the coinage during the revolution through which Henry IV seized the throne? It seems clear that crescent on breast groats and halfgroats are all very rare – they are considered one of the classic rarities of the English medieval silver coinage – suggesting this was a short lived and limited output. It is known that the London mint continued to use reverse dies of earlier issues after the accession of Henry IV, with halfgroat mules known using Richard II and Edward III reverses paired with later obverses. As this new coin is not a mule, it should be placed firmly within the reign of Richard II. Potter considered the crescent on breast groats as exclusively an issue of Richard II, a view shared here for this halfgroat.<sup>13</sup> It may be time to reconsider the purpose of the crescent which seems so significant on these coins. Whilst the case for this being a personal symbol of Henry IV is very uncertain, it is known from a comment in Holinshed that the crescent was a personal badge worn by Richard II's household members when he was seized at Pontefract on August 19 1399 by the supporters of Henry IV.<sup>14</sup> This would suggest that the crescent groats and halfgroats are an issue associated in some way with this personal mark of Richard II and most probably dated to the very end of his reign in 1398–99. In conclusion, this newly found coin proves the case for an issue under Richard II of crescent on breast type IV halfgroats at the same time as the type IV groats.<sup>15</sup>

<sup>7</sup> Potter 1958–59, 339; Stewartby 2009, 242.

<sup>8</sup> Walters 1904, 335–6.

<sup>9</sup> Stewartby 2009, 246.

<sup>10</sup> Stewartby 2009, 246.

<sup>11</sup> See n.6.

<sup>12</sup> Stewartby 2009, pl. 15, no. 303.

<sup>13</sup> Potter 1958–59, 337.

<sup>14</sup> Cited by Potter 1958–59, 343.

<sup>15</sup> Now added as a substantive variety to Spink 2012 edition within S.1685.



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## AN UNRECORDED HALFGROAT TYPE OF ROBERT III OF SCOTLAND

PHILIP HIGGINSON

THE first silver coinage of Robert III, the heavy coinage, 1390–c.1403, is represented by two issues. Both have a crowned facing bust of the king and three pellets in the angles of the reverse cross. The first issue, struck at Edinburgh only, has a tall rough bust and rather large lettering. The outstanding feature of most of the groats and halfgroats of this issue is that the cusps of the tressure are ornamented with three pellets.



Fig. 1. Robert III heavy coinage halfgroat of Perth.

The second issue struck at Edinburgh, with the addition of Perth and Aberdeen, has a much neater bust with small neat letters and small trefoils on the cusps of the tressure, though in the case of the halfgroats they are sometimes left plain. The coin in Fig. 1 is a halfgroat of Perth which is exceptional in that it combines features from both first and second issues. Of recent discovery and known only from this one example, and hence of some importance and excessively rare, I have called it here the 'initial variety'. The obverse bears a crowned facing bust of the king surrounded by a tressure of seven arcs, the lower arc to the right extending partially across the bust, but rather than being ornamented with trefoils or left plain the points of the tressure are ornamented with three pellets in a manner similar to coins of the first issue, three pellets also on the centre of the king's breast. The lettering to both the obverse and reverse is large, the words divided by saltires and pellets:

Obv. +ROBERTVS.D.G.REX.SCOTTORV  
 Rev. +DNS.P / TECTOR / MS[ ] / BATORM  
 VILL / A.DA / PER / Th+

*Acknowledgments.* I wish to express my gratitude to Nick Holmes of the National Museum of Scotland and to Dr Barrie Cook of the British Museum for their diligence in confirming that neither museum possessed an example of the coin. I also wish to thank Lord Stewartby for his encouragement to write this short article.

In style and size of lettering this new coin corresponds to the earliest round face groats of Perth listed by Burns,<sup>1</sup> which are of a different character from that usually met with on the groats and halfgroats of the second issue. Burns notes that the lettering is very similar to that found on some of the coins of Robert II,<sup>2</sup> although the composite letter 'T' with large drooping top bar is similar to that found on some of the coins of David II. Like coins of the first issue, the diameter of the beaded inner circle measures 15 mm, some 2 mm larger than later second issue halfgroats. On the obverse this results in a large neat bust of the king with broad shoulders and deep arcs to the tressure. Burns begins his classification of the second issue halfgroats of Perth with his Fig. 363 and a group of coins with words divided by saltires and pellets, and continues with a second group having words divided by two crosses.<sup>3</sup> Like this new coin, the first group with words divided by saltires and pellets also has the larger inner circle and larger bust. Burns Fig. 363 also has the large lettering on the reverse and appears to be from the same die as the new coin.



Fig. 2. Robert III heavy coinage halfgroat of Perth, second issue.

It is only in Burns's second group, with words divided by two crosses, that the characteristics associated with the second issue – a neat bust with small neat letters – are found. This second group has the smaller beaded inner circle. Fig. 2 features a halfgroat of Perth from the second group. This exceptional coin with three pellets on the cusps of the tressure would precede Burns Fig. 363, and is probably the very earliest of Perth. At present no other example is known, though in time further examples may come to light and the possibility of a similar groat of Perth cannot be ruled out. Both coins featured are in the author's collection.

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## DANDYPRATS AGAIN

LORD STEWARTBY

SINCE 1972, when Grierson published a discussion of the term dandyprats, as used in the early Tudor period for small coins of inferior quality, the identity of the first dandyprats has been a matter of keen debate. Their earliest recorded occurrence was in connection with Henry VII's expedition to Boulogne in October–November 1492, when the town was besieged by an English force until a peace was concluded with the French king Charles VIII. Grierson correctly interpreted the documentary sources to mean that Henry had arranged for halfgroats of inferior weight (or fineness) to be struck for use in France, in the hope that they could be passed off during the campaign on foreigners unfamiliar with the proper standard of the English coinage.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Burns 1887, I, 295; III, pl. XXVI, figs. 360–1.

<sup>2</sup> Burns 1887, I, 293.

<sup>3</sup> Burns 1887, I, 332.

<sup>1</sup> Grierson 1972.

The latest contribution to the debate about the identity of the dandyprats is contained in an important article by Cavill in volume 77 of this *Journal*.<sup>2</sup> In this he has published the text of a royal proclamation issued not long after the end of the Boulogne campaign. The document sets out candidly why Henry, in order to defray the local expenses of the expedition, had ordered the coinage of a certain sum of 'penys of ijd more feble and of less value' than his coinage in England 'and yet somewhat better in value' than the money of Picardy. However, some of the light coins had been received by soldiers and victuallers of the king's army, who brought them back to England. These were therefore to be redeemed at face value, by exchange for good coin, by Candlemas (2 February), having ceased to be legal tender on 14 January 1493.

'What the proclamation does not resolve', remarks Cavill, 'is what these coins looked like'. One idea has been that the original dandyprats might be coins of Henry VII already familiar to numismatists. In his *Sylloge* of the coins of this reign Metcalf observed in 1976 that the weights of most of the London and York halfgroats with mintmark lis in the Oxford collection fell in a range of 14–16 gr., against the proper weight for a halfgroat at this period of 24 gr.<sup>3</sup> Apart from their weight, these light halfgroats were notable also for an unusual feature of their reverse design, namely a lozenge enclosing a small pellet on the centre of the cross. It would be natural to associate an actual group of light halfgroats with the documentary evidence for the dandyprats; however, in noting this suggestion in 1978 Challis accepted that such an attribution was at odds with notions of the numismatic chronology of Henry VII then current, a position now reiterated by Cavill.<sup>4</sup> But is that still the case?

It is now ninety years since Lawrence published the first systematic account of the coinage of Henry VII.<sup>5</sup> In it he argued that the first gold sovereign struck pursuant to the commission for this new coin of October 1489 was the early type with reverse mintmark cross fitchy; further, he suggested that this supplied a dating for other coins of the period with the same mintmark, which included not only the gold ryal but also some of the early groats with an open crown. Potter and Winstanley (PW) in their study of the coins of Henry VII accepted Laurence's dating of the cross fitchy groats, which implied that the open crown groats (group I) continued until 1491.<sup>6</sup> They then allocated three years (1491–94) to the arched crown groats with no mintmark or mintmark cinquefoil (PW groups II–IIIA), two years (1494–96) to the groats with mintmark escallop (PW group IIIB), and three years (1496–99) to those with mintmark pansy (PW group IIIB–C).

As argued in 1974, these PW dates are in my view too late.<sup>7</sup> Group I groats of Henry VII are significantly scarcer in hoards than the groats of Richard III that immediately preceded them (in a ratio of around 3:5), and measuring this against the mint output figures indicates that the issue of open crown groats probably came to an end in 1488, giving a group I bracket of 1485–88. A likely date for the cross fitchy groats, which come early within the IB phase, would thus be not later than 1487. This would then have the effect of taking back the dates for the start of subsequent mintmarks in the 1490s, an adjustment for which other evidence has subsequently been adduced.

In a paper presented to the International Numismatic Congress of September 1986 in London, Miss Marion Archibald suggested that a medallion jeton,<sup>8</sup> then supposed to have been produced for Perkin Warbeck and manufactured in the Netherlands,<sup>9</sup> was in fact struck from dies made with punches in use for Henry VII's coinage at the Tower mint. The date of 1494 that it carries in its inscription is thus applicable to contemporary English coins. Miss Archibald

<sup>2</sup> Cavill 2007.

<sup>3</sup> *SCBI* 23, p. xix.

<sup>4</sup> Challis 1978, 52–4; Cavill 2007.

<sup>5</sup> Lawrence 1918.

<sup>6</sup> Potter and Winstanley 1962–64.

<sup>7</sup> Stewart 1974; see now also Stewartby 2009, 342 and 396, and for chronology, 385.

<sup>8</sup> Archibald 1986.

<sup>9</sup> Blunt 1949–51.

observes that the latest varieties of groats with mintmark pansy display the same punches as on the jeton but with flaws in a more advanced state. The implication of all this is that the introduction of the pansy mark may have occurred several years earlier than PW supposed.

Reverting now to the lightweight lozenge-marked halfgroats, we find that the earliest of them, PW IIIBa, have trefoil stops and lettering of style D, comparable to groats with mintmark escallop, while later varieties, IIIBb and IIIC, have rosette stops and lettering of style E, as on groats with mintmark pansy. If, as now seems evident, the lozenge halfgroats are to be identified with the dandyprats of 1492, this would suggest that pansy replaced escallop during that year, by no means a difficult proposition to accept, and one that is anyway compatible with the case for a new chronological framework as a result of the earlier dating of mintmark cross fitchy. Unfortunately it is not practicable to define a scheme of dates for the early coinage of Henry VII with any precision because there are no mint accounts for 1489–94 against which the numbers of examples of each type and mintmark could be measured; but a postulated transition from mintmark escallop to mintmark pansy in late 1492, as signalled by the dandyprats, would fall comfortably within that bracket.

As to the dandyprats in circulation, Cavill wondered how ‘those who were simply offered these coins in transactions in England might have been expected to identify them’ – possibly by weight alone. However, it could have been supposed that lightweight halfgroats would carry some identifiable mark of difference, and such is indeed the case. The addition of the lozenge on these coins is the only occurrence of such a material typological variation on halfgroats during the whole period from 1351 until the cross-and-pellets reverse design was finally superseded by a shield in 1504, and it therefore serves to strengthen the supposition that these are indeed the dandyprats of the records.

Cavill gives the figure of £17,392 15s., or more than two million halfgroats, for the sum total of this issue as minted by John Shaw at the Tower of London. No separate total is known for the coinage at York which constituted a parallel issue, based presumably on funds collected in the North of England. This was evidently the only instance of coinage at York for the king’s account during all the reign of Henry VII, again an indication of the exceptional nature of this whole episode.

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## A SIXTEENTH-CENTURY HOARD OF SILVER COINS FROM BARDNEY, LINCOLNSHIRE

ADAM DAUBNEY AND MARTIN ALLEN

INFORMATION on a hoard of silver coins from Bardney in Lincolnshire has recently been found in the 10 May 1844 edition of the *Lincoln, Rutland and Stamford Mercury*.<sup>1</sup> The short article reads as follows:

Very recently, on ploughing some swarth land in the occupation of Mr. Marshall of Bardney Fen, a number of old English coins were turned up: upwards of 150 were obtained by riddling the earth. They had been placed upon a kind of slab, and have undoubtedly been hidden for two or three centuries. All that have been found are silver, and comprise some of the small coins of the Edwards, and large pieces of Henry VIII.

The Bardney hoard has so far escaped publication and the newspaper article appears to be the only record of the discovery. The find spot of the hoard and the identity of the landowner are elusive. The 1841 census returns for Bardney contains an entry for one Mrs Marshall who lived four doors away from John Dawson, Innkeeper at the Nag's Head Inn. Mr Marshall is not listed however, and by the 1851 census there are no Marshalls listed in Bardney at all.

The reference to 'large pieces of Henry VIII' suggests the presence of groats in the name of that monarch in the hoard, issued between Henry VIII's accession in 1509 and the end of his posthumous coinage in 1551. The inclusion of 'small coins of the Edwards' would be difficult to reconcile with this if it is supposed that these were coins of Edward I, II and III struck before 1351, which seem to be completely absent from English hoards deposited after 1500, but this phrase might be no more than a generalized reference to coins of Edwardian type with the facing bust obverse and cross and pellets reverse abandoned on the penny in 1489. In the Maidstone hoard (deposited c. 1535–40) 109 (47 per cent) out of 233 identifiable pence were of the pre-1489 type, but these coins were rapidly eliminated from circulation after the beginning of the open debasement of the English coinage in 1544, and the pre-1489 percentage falls to only eight per cent in the Little Wymondley hoard (c. 1547).<sup>2</sup> An alternative possibility is that the 'small coins of the Edwards' were halfgroats and pence of Edward IV. The Maidstone hoard had 19 halfgroats of Edward IV in a total of 130 identifiable coins (15 per cent) and 97 Edward IV pence in a total of 154 (63 per cent), but the figures fall to four halfgroats (2 per cent) and two pence (also 2 per cent) in the Little Wymondley hoard.<sup>3</sup> The report in the *Lincoln, Rutland and Stamford Mercury* fails to mention the distinctive Sovereign type pence of Henry VII and Henry VIII, which constituted 76 per cent of the identified pence in the Little Wymondley hoard,<sup>4</sup> but this is perhaps not surprising in a brief newspaper article. On the basis of the available evidence it seems to be most likely that the Bardney hoard was deposited at some time between the accession of Henry VIII in 1509 and the 1540s.

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<sup>1</sup> *Lincoln, Rutland and Stamford Mercury*, 10 May 1844, 3 (column 3).

<sup>2</sup> Allen 2005, 51–3; Dolley and Winstanley 1952–54; *Coin Hoards* 1 (1975), 98–9, no. 383.

<sup>3</sup> Allen 2005, 52–3.

<sup>4</sup> See n.3.

