

TWO NEW MONEYERS FROM ECGBERHT'S WEST SAXON MINT

RORY NAISMITH

A CATALOGUE published late in 2011 contained details of nine moneyers named on a total of thirty-two surviving coins issued under Ecgberht, king of the West Saxons (802–39), from a mint (or mints) in Wessex.¹ This rare West Saxon coinage first emerged under Beorhtric (786–802) and can be traced down to the reign of Æthelred I (865–71).² Following the lead of Michael Dolley, it has been customary to attribute these pennies to either Southampton or Winchester.³ However, no mint signature was ever used.

Since the 2011 catalogue was completed, two significant new specimens of the West Saxon coinage have come to the author's attention, both furnishing important new evidence for the complement of moneyers. One provides the name of a completely new moneyer; the other confirms and completes the reading of a fragment recorded in 1919 and never seen since.



Fig. 1. Ecgberht penny, West Saxon mint, moneyer Cuthbald (NUMIS, Geldmuseum, Utrecht).

Obv. **HECGBEORHT REX** (lozenge-shaped O) around a beaded inner circle containing a monogram for *Saxon*.

Rev. **HEVTHBÆLD** around a beaded inner circle containing a cross pattée with wedges in angles.

Found at Bloemendaal, Noord-Holland, Netherlands, 1994 (NUMIS (Geldmuseum, Utrecht) 1004875). 1.36 g, 180°.

The first coin (Fig. 1) was found in 1994 by a metal-detectorist in the Netherlands. Its moneyer, Cuthbald, is otherwise unknown. It also differs from all other extant specimens of Ecgberht's West Saxon coinage in its placement of wedges in the angles of the reverse cross. This feature is found on West Saxon pennies of Æthelwulf (839–58), perhaps indicating a relatively late date for Cuthbald's penny.⁴ The epigraphy and form of the monogram are paralleled among other pennies of this issue for Ecgberht.⁵ A curious feature is the spelling of the moneyer's name, as the phoneme /θ/ was normally represented with the runic letter þ or ð. The spelling *th* was, however, used occasionally in early West Saxon Old English sources, including early manuscripts of 'Alfredian' translations.⁶

It is virtually certain that the second coin (Fig. 2) is by the same moneyer as that named on a fragment recorded in Spink's *Numismatic Circular* in 1919.⁷ There, the reading of the name was given as **HEVHTVV...Ð MOE**, from an evidently badly damaged coin. This new, whole

¹ Naismith 2011, W4–12.

² Blackburn 2003, 208–12; and Naismith 2011, I, 43–6.

³ Dolley 1970.

⁴ Naismith 2011, W13–14.

⁵ Naismith 2011, W4h (a coin of the moneyer Beornheard) is closest: it has the same twelve o'clock alignment of the outer legend relative to the monogram, and also a lozenge-shaped O in the king's name.

⁶ *Pers. comm.* Dr Philip Shaw.

⁷ Naismith 2011, W12a; *NCirc* 27 (1919), col. 361, no. 74703.



Fig. 2. Ecgberht penny, West Saxon mint, moneyer Withnoth (Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge).

Obv. **HEGEBEORHT REX** (lozenge-shaped **O**) around a beaded inner circle containing a monogram for *Saxon*.

Rev. **WVIHTNOÐ MOE** (square **O**) around a beaded inner circle containing a cross pattée.

Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge. Found near Warminster, Dorset, 2012 (EMC 2012.0169). 1.02 g (chipped), 30°.

coin shows that what was read in 1919 as a second **VV** was an **N**, forming part of the orthodox, if rare, Old English name Wihtnoth. It is worth noting that a second West Saxon moneyer active under Beorhtric and Ecgberht had the same first name-element (Wihthun),⁸ raising the possibility that the two may have been somehow connected.⁹

The emergence of these two coins brings the total of securely known moneyers from Wessex under Ecgberht to ten. For a mint known from so few surviving coins, this is a surprisingly large number of moneyers; sufficiently so to raise questions concerning the nature of the West Saxon mint. Finds are too scarce to provide any secure evidence for origin within Wessex, and stylistic considerations are ambiguous: there are variations within the coinage, but these tend to span several moneyers and are not mutually exclusive. None, in other words, obviously reflects the work of a separate mint-place, although this possibility cannot be ruled out. However, it now seems probable that the West Saxon coinage was produced throughout Ecgberht's long reign,¹⁰ and even a relatively small on-off operation based in one place could quite feasibly have cycled through ten moneyers and several die-cutters over this near forty-year period. These two finds therefore add to the impression of the West Saxon coinage as a small but intriguing group, from a mint or mints which operated in a looser fashion than those of the southeast.

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⁸ Naismith 2011, W2 and W11.

⁹ Naismith 2012, 146.

¹⁰ Naismith 2008; Naismith 2011, I, 43–5.

THE LATER POSTHUMOUS COINAGE OF WILLIAM THE LION

IAN JONES AND KEITH SUGDEN

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.

Acknowledgements. The authors wish to thank the National Museums of Scotland and the University of Aberdeen Museums for permission to illustrate coins in their collections. Coins from the British Museum are reproduced by kind permission of the Trustees of the British Museum.

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	+WILELMVSRECX::
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[]JOC
S	+PERISADEONROREE
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.

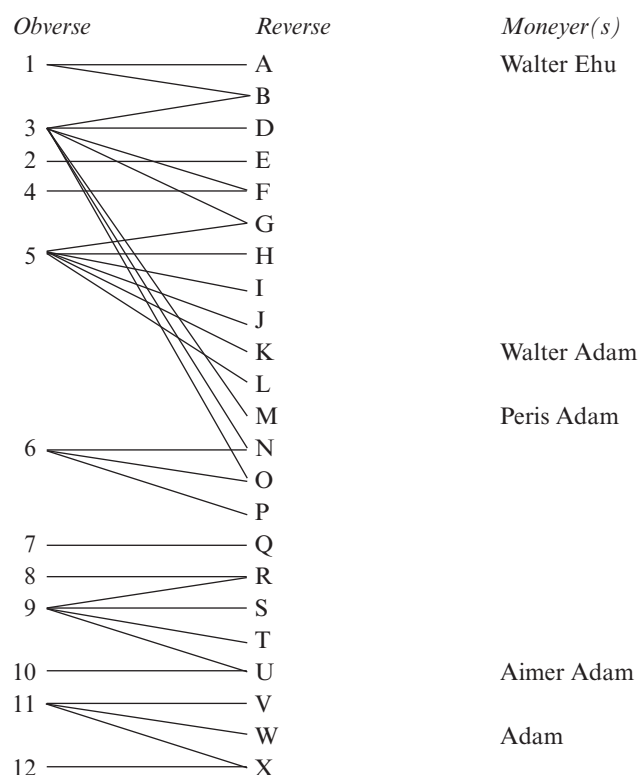


Fig. 1. Die linkages.

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.

<i>Obverse</i>	<i>Reverse</i>	<i>Coins</i>
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

Acknowledgements. My thanks are due to David Guest and Philip Skingley for their help over the provision of illustrations.

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.

and, on three of the coins, the presence of a Lombardic 'U' in place of a 'V'³ linking them to Lawrence class VII (c.1275–78), the last of the English Long Cross coinage.⁴ While no accounts have survived for the three years of Olof's stewardship of the mint the fact that all five of the recorded coins were from different obverse and reverse dies suggests that their present limited number does not reflect the extent of the original issue.⁵ This belief had been strengthened by the year 2000 by the appearance of two⁶ more pennies that are both struck from unrecorded dies:

(a) Offered for sale in *NCirc*, September 1992, no. 4935; Whyte's *Millenial Collection* sale, April 2000, lot 62:



No provenance recorded.

Obverse: HENRI/CVSR/EX III; Roman 'V' in 'HENRICVS'.

Reverse: RIC/ARD/OND/IUE; Lombardic 'U' in 'DIUE'.

Weight: 1.26 g.

Image reproduced by courtesy of Spink and Son Ltd.

(b) Offered for sale in *NCirc*, February 1998, no. 51:



No provenance recorded.

Obverse: HENRI/CUSR/[EX III]; Lombardic 'U' in 'HENRICVS'.

Reverse: RIC/ARD/OND/IUE; Lombardic 'U' in 'DIUE'.

Weight: not recorded.

Image reproduced by courtesy of Spink and Son Ltd.

Last summer David Guest of the Classical Numismatic Group kindly drew my attention to a third penny (c):



Provenance: From an Irish collection.

Obverse: HENRI/CVSR/EX III; Roman 'V' in 'HENRICVS'.

Reverse: RIC/ARD/OND/IUE; Lombardic 'U' in 'DIUE'.

Weight: 1.36 g.

Image reproduced by courtesy of Classical Numismatic Group Inc.

³ (i) Obverse only: Lombardic 'U' in 'HENRICVS'; (iv) both obverse and reverse: Lombardic 'U's in 'HENRICVS' and 'DIUE'; (v) reverse only: Lombardic 'U' in 'DIUE'.

⁴ Lawrence 1912, 153; Fox and Fox 1910, 93–5. It is also not without significance that, as Dolley noted, no 'Richard Olof' pennies were found in the Irish portion of the Brussels Hoard (deposited c.1265) when it was sent to the Ulster Museum for examination in 1966: Dolley and Seaby 1968, xlv and lv.

⁵ The rarity of the issue doubtless results from the complete demonetization of the Long Cross series in August 1280 and the short period that those coins that had escaped the clutches of the Irish Treasury for onward transmission to England had to find their way into hoards; most still in circulation in 1280 would, of course, have been melted down.

⁶ There may possibly be three but only the two described here are positively known to the writer.

The new coin is badly double struck but is clearly a die duplicate of (v) in the 1964 paper, an Ulster Museum penny acquired in 1962 with the purchase of Raymond Carlyon-Britton's Irish cabinet (*ex* Duke of Argyll collection).⁷ It weighs 1.36 g, comparable to the weight of (v) and accords with both the median and the average weight (1.37 g) of the pence of the 'Olof' series.⁸ When I wrote my original paper I suspected that because of its inferior style (v) might be a contemporary forgery but on seeing the actual coin shortly after publication – I had originally relied only on a photograph – I came to the conclusion that it was probably genuine and it was recorded as such in the Ulster Museum *Sylloge* volume.⁹ The adequate weight of the coin, now borne out by the CNG piece, leads me to confirm this latter view and I believe that both (v) and its newly-found die duplicate are genuine if rather barbarous and careless productions of Richard Olof's mint.

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THE DATE OF ALEXANDER III'S SECOND RECOINAGE

LORD STEWARTBY

IN the twelfth and thirteenth centuries Scottish coinage was struck to the same weight and standard as the English, giving the two currencies interchangeability in each other's jurisdiction. A consequence of this was that when the English king reformed the design of his coinage the Scottish king found it necessary after an interval to follow suit. As the economic ties between the two realms became closer, so did such intervals become shorter. In England the first coinage of Henry II (1154–89) was replaced in 1180 but an equivalent change to a Short Cross type in Scotland was not implemented until 1195. After the Short Cross coinage in England came to an end in 1247 and was then replaced by the Long Cross type, an equivalent change was made in Scotland under Alexander III in 1250. Finally, the long voided cross was displaced by a new type with a single cross in Edward I's great monetary reform of 1279. The English recoinage is thoroughly documented but none of the written records related to the Scottish recoinage have survived. There is, however, a means of determining an approximate date for the Scottish recoinage that inevitably followed.

The clue lies in the contents of an early Edwardian hoard found at Northampton in 1873.¹ This hoard was stated to have consisted of 199 coins, two of them being of Alexander III and all the rest of Edward I. The hoard was principally of interest to English numismatists with regard to the debate under way in the nineteenth century about how to separate the respective

⁷ Carlyon-Britton had himself tentatively classified (v) and (i) of my 1964 paper with the early issues of Edward I. The two coins are also illustrated in Dolley and Seaby 1968, Plate X, as nos. 465 and 464 respectively. These images are better than those in Dykes 1964, 75 and 74, a paper appearing at a time of financial stringency when the publication standards of the *Journal* left much to be desired.

⁸ The 'Richard Olof' coins range from 1.26 g to 1.45 g, the notional weight of the series being of the English standard of c.1.45 g (Allen 2012, 145–7).

⁹ Dolley and Seaby 1968, Plate X, no. 465

¹ Neck 1882.

issues of the three Edwards. To the extent that the two Scottish sterlings from Northampton were seen as relevant to this debate it was because Alexander III was a contemporary of Edward I and died many years before him. The English coins in the find, all of which have the king's name shortened to *Edw*, could therefore safely be regarded as attributable to Edward I. Burns, in *The Coinage of Scotland*, has some useful observations on the mints represented in the Northampton hoard and their possible implications for the dating of the hoard.²

Northampton is undoubtedly the earliest English find of the Edwardian era, although quite how near the start of the new coinage the treasure was deposited has not always been appreciated. This may, at least in part, be due to the rather wide bracket of dating that has often been proposed: for example, Thompson's *Inventory* gives 'c.1280–90',³ Dolley says 'before 1285',⁴ and Allen suggests '1280s'.⁵ Fortunately, in recording the English coins in the find Neck included details of individual varieties and the numbers of coins of each mint. From this information we can deduce that the coins belonged to classes I (1279), II (1279–80) and III (1280–c.1282) according to the Fox classification.⁶ The totals recorded for each mint were as follows:

London	107
Canterbury	59
Lincoln	9
Bristol	8
York royal	8
Durham	5
Bury St Edmunds	1

The single coin with the name of Robert of Hadleigh is important in providing a *terminus post quem* for the burial date of the hoard since the monastic records at Bury St Edmunds record that the new coins (IIIc) were first minted there in June 1280. At Lincoln, the other new mint of IIIc, a keeper of dies was appointed between May and October 1280.

Three mints of class III do not feature in the Northampton list: Newcastle and the bishop's mint at York, both commencing with IIIe; and Chester in IIIg only. Cash was sent to Newcastle in August 1280 to float the exchange there, and in the same month two dies were authorized for Archbishop William Wickwane at York. Cash was not sent to float the exchange at Chester until December 1280.⁷

Although the numbers of coins in the Northampton hoard from each of the recoinage mints are not very large, the fact that none of the last three mints of class III to open is represented in the hoard, whereas products of all the other mints of the group are included, renders it likely that the hoard was assembled in the summer of 1280, or thereabouts (say, the third quarter of the year), and that the contents roughly reflect the general composition of the currency at that point. The range of mints suggests that specimens of the new coinage quite quickly became mixed in circulation.

That such circulation embraced in quite a small hoard two examples of Alexander III's Scottish type, which itself must therefore have been available in the summer of 1280, means that the recoinage in Scotland looks to have been in operation probably by mid-year, or perhaps even earlier, barely a year after the launch of the English recoinage in 1279. It should also be noted that the two Alexander coins in the hoard do not belong to the earliest class in the Scottish series, because they have the letter *e* open, and the spelling *Alexander* (without an *s*), neither of which are characteristic of the rare class A. Presumably therefore they would have been attributable to class B or to early class M in the modern classification.⁸

² Burns 1887, I, 188–90, 192–3.

³ Thompson 1956, no. 290.

⁴ Dolley 1968, 249.

⁵ Allen 2012, 479, no. 262.

⁶ Stewartby 2009, 120.

⁷ See Stewartby 2009, 120 on the inception of class III, and 109–12 on the recoinage in general.

⁸ Stewart and North 1990.

The speed with which Alexander III mounted his own recoinage in 1280 is testimony to the competence of the Scottish administration, and perhaps also to the closeness of cooperation with the English at policy and operational levels. Both countries will have had to recruit continental professionals experienced in the organization and production of recoinages, and the detailed English records give an impression of the complexity of the task that must have faced the Scots in following the English model within so short a span as a single year.

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A LATE THIRTEENTH-CENTURY HOARD FROM CAITHNESS

N.M.McQ. HOLMES

A HOARD of forty-six silver pennies was discovered in January 2012 by Mr Mikie Aitken with the aid of a metal-detector. The find-spot was close to the west end of the Loch of Wester, some six miles NNW of Wick. Although small by the standards of Edwardian period hoards, this one is of interest on account of its location, its date and its internal profile.

Very few hoards have been reported from as far north within the British Isles as Caithness, the only two from that county previously recorded being that from Duncansby Head (1969) and another from Braemore (believed to be from the place of that name in Caithness). Both of these were discussed by Stewart in 1973.¹ The eighty-two coins from Duncansby Head included two of Robert Bruce, and Stewart estimated the date of deposit at about 1320. Only six coins from what must have been a larger hoard from Braemore were examined by Stewart, and these gave a *terminus post quem* of 1301.

The Loch of Wester hoard appears to be earlier than either of these. The latest English coin is of class 4e, now dated to c.1287–89, and all the Scottish coins are of Alexander III's second coinage, believed to have been struck between 1280 and about 1286 or slightly later. The *tpq*, however, is provided by the single continental sterling in the hoard, which is an issue of Jean d'Avesnes of Hainaut from the mint at Mons, dated by Mayhew to 1291–c.1296.² The date of deposit must therefore be no earlier than 1291, and the absence of any English pennies of the very common class 9b of 1300 indicates a date of burial prior to this year. The intervening English issues are sufficiently small for their absence from a hoard of this size not to be significant. The absence of any coins of John Baliol, usually dated to the period 1292–96, from a hoard containing twenty coins of Alexander III may carry more weight, however, and a date of deposit in the very early 1290s seems probable on that basis.

It is this high proportion of Scottish issues (43.5 per cent) which distinguishes Loch of Wester from virtually every other Edwardian period hoard from Scotland. The normal proportion of Scottish issues varies from about five to ten per cent. The reason for this abnormality may lie in the remote location of Loch of Wester, the early date of deposit or a combination

¹ Stewart 1973, 134–7 (Duncansby head), 138–9 (Braemore).

² Mayhew 1983, 38, 42.

of the two. The large number of Edwardian hoards of the early decades of the fourteenth century found in the south of Scotland are normally considered to result from the military activity and general instability in that region during the Anglo-Scottish wars, but both date and location suggest that the concealment of this hoard in Caithness may have been occasioned by other factors now impossible to determine.

Within both the English and Scottish elements of the hoard are small groupings which might appear statistically improbable. The twenty-five English pennies include five from the royal mint at York, three of them being of the relatively uncommon class 3b. There are, however, no issues at all from the other northern mints of Durham and Newcastle, both of which produced relatively prolific issues within class 3, so there is no suggestion of a predominantly northern source for the English coins in general. Of the twenty coins of Alexander III, seven are of type E2/D with 26-point reverses. Both of these groupings may suggest that the owner of the hoard had acquired batches of newly-minted coins from time to time, and that some of these had found their way into a savings hoard rather than having entered circulation.

LIST OF COINS

England (Edward I pennies; North 1989 classification)

	<i>Bristol</i>	<i>Wt. (g)</i>
1	2b	1.44
2	3b–3g1; obv. double-struck, bust area flat, corroded	1.40
3	3g2; S3, stops 1	1.36
	<i>Bury St Edmunds</i>	
4	3g2; S2/h1, stops 3	1.36
	<i>Canterbury</i>	
5	3g2 or 3g3; S3?, stops 4?; corroded	1.41
6	Another similar; S3, stops uncertain	1.36
7	4a2	1.31
8	4b	1.37
9	Another similar; broken hair	1.36
	<i>London</i>	
10	1c; <i>W/N; DMS'hYB</i> ; crown 1, no sinister ornament	1.39
11	1d; <i>N/IN</i> ; face 1	1.37
12	2b	1.31
13	3g1; S2, stops 1	1.41
14	Another similar; S2, stops 2?	1.35
15	Another similar; S2?, stops 2	1.38
16	Another similar; S2/S?, stops 2	1.38
17	3g3?; S3, stops 1; obv. slightly double-struck	1.42
18	4a3	1.36
19	4d	1.39
20	4e	1.33
	<i>York (Royal)</i>	
21	2b	1.33
22–23	3b; crescent and comma marks; rev. of 2b	1.45, 1.16
24	3b; crescent and comma marks; no dexter pellet in crown	1.36
25	3e	1.39

Scotland (Alexander III second coinage pennies; Stewart and North 1990 classification)

26	B2; hair punch b	1.43
27	Ma/A2	1.43
28	Mb3; 24 points	1.34
29	Mb3/E; 25 points	1.32
30	Mc2?/E; 24 points; chipped, corroded	1.36
31	E1; 20 points; plain rev.	1.29
32	E1 or E2; 20 points; extra points in <i>SCO</i> and <i>VM+</i> quarters; bust rubbed flat	1.36
33	E(2?)/M; 26 points	1.42
34	E2; 20 points; plain rev.; <i>ALEXANDER</i>	1.36

35	E2; 20 points; plain rev.	1.35
36–37	E2; 26 points	1.40, 1.37
38–44	E2/D; 26 points; 42 and 44 slightly chipped	1.42, 1.41, 1.38, 1.37, 1.35, 1.34, 1.31
45	D1; no. of points on rev. unclear; corroded	1.40
Continental		
46	Hainaut: Jean d'Avesnes, Mons mint (Mayhew 1983, type 34)	1.28

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AN UPDATED LISTING OF THE FOURTEENTH-CENTURY HOARD FROM LLANDDONA, ANGLESEY

EDWARD BESLY

IN the *British Numismatic Journal*, volume 72 for 2002, I published a list of 311 silver coins found in 1999–2000 on the beach near Llanddona in Red Wharf Bay, Isle of Anglesey. These had been found with the use of metal detectors and were declared treasure in 2000.¹ In 2005–06, the original finder, Graham Williams, revisited the site on several occasions in the company of Chris Andrews; thanks to shifting of the sands since the original discovery, the two were able to recover a further 659 silver coins, thereby more than tripling the size of the find to 970 coins, or just over six marks (£4) in value.² The new finds were declared treasure on 3 May 2007 but acquisition by a museum proved impracticable and by arrangement with the Crown Estate, owner of the foreshore, the coins were returned to the finders.

This note provides a revised listing of the Llanddona find to August 2006, *including* those coins listed previously, thereby superseding that in the note in *BNJ* 72. It is of course possible that future searching following movement of the beach may produce more coins. The composition of the hoard remains broadly as previously published, though the new finds have increased the proportions of London and Canterbury relative to Durham.³ The Chester mint is added, and amongst the Continental issues is a sterling '*au chatel brabançon*' of John III of Brabant introduced in 1318.⁴ The latest coins remain London, Bury and Durham issues of class 15c (c.1321–27/8). As previously, the condition of the coins is uniformly poor, a result of their burial environment.

¹ Besly 2002.

² *TAR* 2005/6, 230, no. 1255.

³ Besly 2002, 170, notes the high percentage of Durham coins (16.7 per cent) and the relatively weak representation of London and Canterbury coins in the finds of 1999–2000.

⁴ Mayhew 1983, 48–9.

Llanddona, Anglesey: cumulative catalogue of finds to 2006**ENGLAND
Edward I–II***London (412: 42.5% of the hoard)*

1c (4); 1c/d; 1d (2); 1d or 2a (2); 2a (5); 2b (8); 3c (3); 3c–d; 3d (4); 3d? (2); 3f (3); 3g (4: one with reversed, pellet-barred Ns on obv.); 3d–g (2); 3g? (4); 3 (4); 3 or 4 (2); 4a1 (2); 4a2 (2); 4a2?; 4a3 (3); 4a4; 4a (8); 4b (7); 4b?; 4c; 4d (7); 4e (4); 4 (5); 5a; 7a, double-barred Ns throughout, composite S; 8a; 8b, double-barred N in **DON**; 8c; 9a1 (7); 9a2 (8); 9a; 9b1 (19); 9b2 (13); 9b (5); 10ab1 (2); 10ab2 (5); 10ab3 (2); 10ab5 (14); 10ab (2); 10ab with crown cf1; 10cf1 (39); 10cf2 (30); 10cf3a (23); 10cf3b (42); 10cf3b? (2); 10cf3? (2); 10cf4; 10cf5 (22: one irregular?); 10cf3–5 (3); 10cf (3); 11a1(5); 11a2 (5: one **hYB**: same obv. die as *SCBI* 39, 783); 11b1 (9); 11b2 (7); 11b3 (10); 11; 12; 13 (5); 14 (11); 15a (4); 15b (4); 15b? (3); 15c (3)

Canterbury (242: 24.9%)

2b; 3b; 3c; 3c?; 3d (2); 3g (3); 3g?; 3 (2); 4a2; 4a4 (2); 4a (3); 4a?; 4a–c (2); 4b; 4c; 4c?; 4d (6); 4e (2); 4 (6); 9a1; 9a2 (3); 9b1 (5: one reads **CAS-TOR**); 9b2 (5); 9b (3); 10ab2 (2); 10ab3 (3); 10ab5 (6); 10ab5?; 10ab (5); 10cf1 (17); 10cf1 or 2; 10cf2 (21); 10cf3a (10); 10cf3a?; 10cf3b (11); 10cf3b?; 10cf3 (4); 10cf4?; 10cf5 (6); 10cf3–5 (4); 10cf (4); 11a2 (7: one with rev. corrected from **GLVI-TAN-TO** to **GLVI-TAS-CA**); 11b1; 11b2 (5); 11b3 (17); 11b3? (2); 11b (3); 11c; 11d; 13 (10); 13 or 14; 14 (17); 15a (8); 15b (12); 15 (2); uncertain (2)

Durham (138: 14.2%)

Plain cross: 3e; 3g (2); 9b2; 9b; 9b–c; 9c, double-barred N, rev.; 10ab2; 10ab3, **EDWARD REX** variety; 10cf2 (2); 10cf Bek (cross Moline): 4b; 4; 9b1; 9b (2); 10ab5 (3); 10ab?; 10cf1 (2); 10cf2 (2); 10cf3b (7); 10cf3 (4); 10cf3?; 10cf3b–5 (2); 10cf5 (2); 11a2 (2)
Kellawe (crozier head, rev.): 11a; 11b1 (3); 11b2 (2); 11b3 (3); 11b; 11b?; 11c; 11
Beaumont (lion and lys): 13 (2); 14 (4); 14? (2); 15a? (2); 15b (2); 15b?; 15c (15); 15c? (2); 15 (6); 15?; 13–15 (5)
Uncertain mark: 9b2; 9b?; 9 (2); 10ab (2); 10cf3a (2); 10cf3; 10cf3–5; 10cf5; 10cf (7); 10?; 11a; 11 or later (3); 11b3?; 11–15; 13?; 14?; 14–15; 15c (4); 15c?; 15 (3); 15?; uncertain (3)

Bristol (17: 1.8%)

2b (2); 2b or 3; 3b–c; 3c (2); 3c?; 3d? (2); 3f?; 3g1 (2); 3g2 (2); 3g (2); 9b1

Bury (54: 5.6%)

3, Robert de Hadeleie, irreg. dies: same obv. die as *SCBI* 39, 199; 4a, Robert de Hadeleie; 9a2 (2); 9b; 10ab3; 10cf1; 10cf2; 10cf3a (2); 10cf3a? (2); 10cf3b (3); 10cf3? (2); 10cf5 (2); 10cf 5?; 11a1 (3); 11a2 (4); 11a3; 11a; 11b1; 11b3; 11b; 11c; 11 or later; 13 (3); 14 (5); 14?; 15a (2); 15b (3); 15c/b; 15c (4); uncertain

Chester (2: 0.2%)

3g; 9b1, same dies as *SCBI* 39, 391

Exeter (2: 0.2%)

9b2 (pothook/Roman N); 9b2?

Kingston upon Hull (3: 0.3%)

9b1; 9b (2)

Lincoln (4: 0.4%)

3c; 3d; 3g1?; 3g?

Newcastle (9: 0.9%)

3e; 9b1 (4); 9b2; 10x or 10ab1; 10ab2 (2)

York (23: 2.4%)

2a?; 2b; 2b? (2); 3b; 3e (3); 3 (4); 9b1 (9); 9b1 archiepiscopal; 9b2

Berwick (15: 1.5%)

1, **hYD**; 3a; 3; 4a (4); 4b (4); 4c (2); 4; 5

Uncertain (9: 0.9%)

10cf3 (Durham?); 10cf?; 11 or later (Durham?) (3); uncertain (4)

Irregular (5: 0.5%)

‘London’, unattributed: (i) **EDWRÆ** series with ‘ugly’ portrait, as *SCBI* 39, 1185–9; (ii) **EDWRÆ**...; (iii) **EDWRAN-GLDNSHYB**, trifoliate crown/**DIVITAS LONDON**, all Ns and S reversed; (iv) uncertain
‘Canterbury’, unattributed: ‘10ab’, as Mayhew 377

IRELAND (11: 1.1%)

Edward I

Dublin: A1a?; A1b?; A1 (2); B2?; C3; G2/2; uncertain

Waterford: A2?; B2; D?

SCOTLAND (17: 1.8%)

Alexander III

sterlings: group B2, 24 points; group E, 28 pts, stars; 26 pts, 2 stars (3); 24 pts; 20 pts with added pellets in **SCO** (1) and **VM+** (2) quarters; group M, 24 pts, 1 star; group M?, 24 pts; M/D, 24 pts; E/D, 25 pts, stars; B/M, 24 pts?; uncertain, 23 pts, one star

John Baliol

sterlings: first coinage S.5065, 4x6 pts; second coinage S.5701, 4x6 pts (2); S.5071?, 4x5 pts

CONTINENTAL (7: 0.7%)

John of Louvain (1285–1309), crockards, Herstal, Mayhew 82, Mayhew 84

Valéran (I) of Ligny (1304–53), sterling, Serain, as Mayhew 220

Gaucher de Châtillon (c.1313–22), sterlings, Yves, Mayhew 239, Mayhew 245 (2)

Brabant, John III (1312–55), sterling ‘*au chatel brabançon*’, Brussels; Chautard, pl. IX, 9; Mayhew, 48–9 (fn); after 1318.

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COUNTERFEIT CHARLES I COINS IN RURAL COUNTY DURHAM

FRANCES MCINTOSH AND EMMA MORRIS

Introduction

IN 2011, whilst still the Finds Liaison Officer for the North East, Frances McIntosh recorded a genuine shilling of Charles I, a counterfeit shilling and half crown (both having copper alloy cores with silver plating), and a counterfeit blank for a half crown. The coins were all found by one metal detectorist (Peter Heads) in close proximity to each other, in an area now covered in concrete. They are recorded on the Portable Antiquities Scheme (PAS) database (www.finds.org.uk/database) database as DUR-CF3B20, DUR-471E06, DUR-CF0ED6 and DUR-CE8740, and they are listed in the Appendix.

What can be said for certain is that the discovery is exceptional in terms of its composition and could represent part of a forger's stock that was lost. This discovery therefore provides a basis for a short discussion of counterfeit coins of the reign of Charles I recorded on the PAS database. This note aims to discuss how common counterfeit coins were in the post-medieval period, particularly in Charles I's reign, as well as highlighting the discovery of this important group of coins.

The PAS data primarily represents the material from rural areas in England and Wales, as these are the areas where metal detecting usually takes place. There is a fairly even distribution across the country, with some notable gaps. Most of these gaps can be explained as due to the presence of:

Acknowledgements. Huge thanks are due to Edward Besly for his comments on early drafts of this work, and the provision of hoard data and advice. Thanks also to the following for responding to our queries: Bowes Museum, Craven District Council, Durham University Museums, East Riding of Yorkshire, Harrogate Museum, Scarborough District and York Museums Trust.

1. National Parks: Exmoor and Dartmoor in the South West; the Lake District and North Yorkshire Moors in the North.
2. Land not suitable for detecting: the Pennines in the North, and parts of Wales.
3. Practices of recording and detecting in the area.

As of 19 February 2012 there were 19,099¹ post-medieval coins recorded on the PAS database (from Henry VIII to William III): 8,043 of these coins span the period from 1489 to 1660,² and of this 2,150 were from the reign of Charles I (1625–49). This note will focus mainly on the coins of Charles I, and the counterfeits of coins from his reign.

Counterfeit coins in hoards and the PAS database

In order to draw conclusions the PAS data can be compared with hoard evidence that has been published, as well as a contemporary account of the circulation of counterfeit coins. To examine the local context museums in County Durham and North and East Yorkshire were contacted to ask about counterfeit coins in their collections. A search was also carried out of the *Yorkshire Archaeological Journal* and the Yorkshire HER (Historic Environment Record), with no new coins being noted.

Edward Besly, in his 1987 British Museum Occasional Paper on hoards of 1625–60, states that counterfeit coins are not common in such hoards.³ Some examples from the *British Numismatic Journal* illustrate this point clearly. The 1987 Ryhall treasure, for example, dates from 1643 and contains 3,220 silver coins from the reigns of Edward VI to Charles I, of which only one coin was a counterfeit, imitating a shilling of Charles I.⁴ The 1991 Kelso hoard, which was made up of a total of 1,375 coins, including ten gold coins, contained only two certain forgeries of silver coins, both imitating coins of Charles I.⁵ Finally, the Middleham hoard, found in three pots, of which the first two had a *terminus post quem* of 1645–46 and the third dates from after 1646, contained only thirty-nine counterfeits in a total of 5,099 coins. Twenty-two of these forgeries were counterfeits of coins of Charles I,⁶ which is still a comparatively low number when considering the total number of coins in the hoard.

The group of coins under discussion contrasts significantly in comparison with the above examples. It is perhaps to be expected that people would only want to save or hoard official coins which have an intrinsic metal value as well as their recognized monetary value. Some copies might have seemed genuine and would therefore have slipped through the net. Blatant copies, however, would not have been seen as worth hoarding.

The hoard data can be compared with the results of a search of the PAS database. Out of the c. 20,000 post-medieval coins on the database, only 134 counterfeit coins have been recorded (see Figure 1).⁷ Thirty-five of these counterfeits were of Charles I (including the three found by Peter Heads). Although this is a small proportion of all Charles I coins on the PAS (less than two per cent) they account for almost a quarter of the counterfeits from the post-medieval period. So finds of counterfeits of Charles I coins appear to be more common than counterfeits of the preceding and following periods, which is consistent with the evidence from the Ryhall, Kelso and Middleham hoards.

The PAS data seems to indicate that counterfeit coinage was more common as an occurrence during the reign of Charles I than in the preceding and following periods. A contemporary account supports the idea of a widespread problem and gives further weight to the suggestion. A diary kept by Adam Eyre, a Yorkshireman, between 1647 and 1648 gives an account of his

¹ The advanced search function was used, with 'Coin' as the object type, and 'Post Medieval' as the period.

² The numismatic search function was used, and the group 'Early Modern' was chosen.

³ Besly 1987, 66.

⁴ Clough and Cook 1988, 97.

⁵ Bateson 1991, 82.

⁶ Barclay 1994, 84, 87, 91, 94–5, 97.

⁷ The advanced search function was used with 'Coin' as the object type, and either 'Counterfeit' or 'Copy' as the object description. 'Post Medieval' was selected as the period.

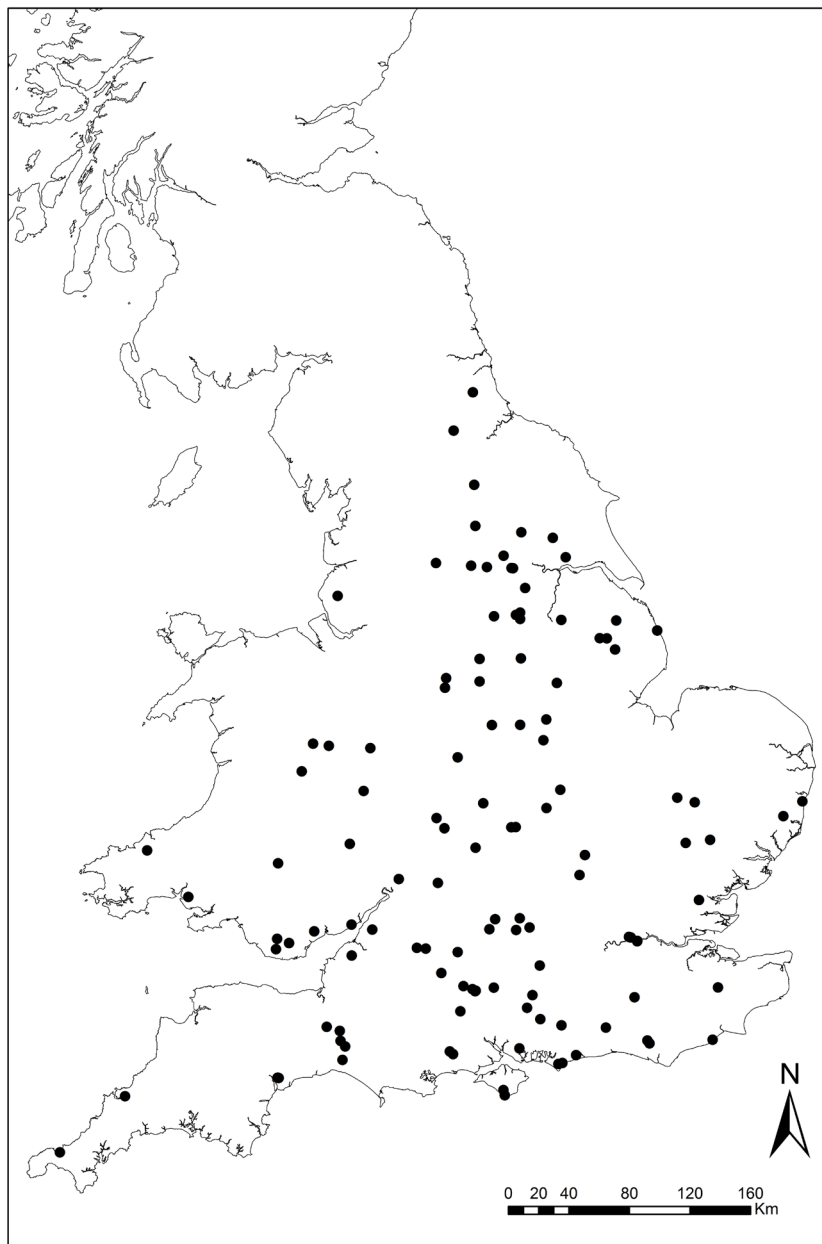


Fig. 1. The distribution of post-medieval counterfeit coins recorded on the PAS database.

daily activities, including his expenditure. He makes a note of any counterfeit coins he comes across. Eyre refers to these coins as ‘ill money’, ‘light money’ or ‘bad money’ at various points throughout the diary, also mentioning a ‘brass shilling’.⁸ The diary spans around twelve months, and there are eight instances in which counterfeit coinage is mentioned. In some cases, such as when he receives a loan from one Francis Haighe, he returns the counterfeit coinage and receives legal currency to replace the forgeries.⁹ This example from the contemporary literature demonstrates that counterfeit coinage was present in everyday life, and that people were able to recognize at least some of it.

⁸ Jackson and Morehouse 1877, 61

⁹ Jackson and Morehouse 1877, 40–1.

The PAS database provides evidence of another possible forger's hoard, from Stocksbridge in South Yorkshire (Treasure Case 2006 T298, recorded on the PAS database as SWYOR-AEF0A6). This find comprises silver clippings (probably of Charles II hammered coins of 1660–62), pieces of plate silver and two counterfeit coins, which the report identifies as probably Charles I shillings. The hoard most likely dates to 1660–62, perhaps indicating that the forgery of Charles I coins continued until that period.

It is difficult to know whether counterfeits of the coins of Charles I are contemporary with the issues they copy. Many issues continued to circulate for long periods, up until the recoinage of 1696, and could have been counterfeited until then. Nevertheless, analysing the counterfeit Charles I coins in the PAS database according to when the prototypes were made might possibly give us an idea as to how much of an effect the Civil War (and the upheaval in the official minting system this led to) had on counterfeiting. Unfortunately, many of the coins on the database could not be narrowed down to a date specific enough, due to a lack of detail on the coins. It is at least worth noting, however, that although the Civil Wars only occupied the last seven years of Charles's twenty-four year reign there are nine coins identified from that period, as opposed to seven from the previous seventeen. Perhaps the increased output of coinage at the start of the 1640s impacted on the amount of counterfeiting.¹⁰

TABLE 1. Charles I counterfeits recorded on the PAS by period of prototype

<i>Period</i>	<i>Coins</i>
Pre-Civil War (1625–42)	7
Civil War (1642–49)	9
Undetermined period	19
Total	35

Figure 2 shows the thirty-five counterfeit coins of Charles I recorded on the PAS database. It is difficult to show patterns of distribution with only thirty-five coins but some general comments can be made. The coins are not evenly distributed across the map. They fill in some of the gaps in the hoard distribution and push the distribution further into the North East. The east of England, which is thickly populated with dots on the map of all finds of Charles I coins, is extremely sparse.

Conclusion

The presence of counterfeit coins in hoards is usually relatively low and in the PAS database counterfeit coins also constitute only a very small percentage of the coins from the post-medieval period. Counterfeiting of the coins of Charles I was, however, probably more endemic than the norm. There is a higher percentage of counterfeits of coins of Charles I recorded on the PAS database than in hoards, although they still account for less than two per cent overall. The small hoard found in County Durham by Peter Heads, perhaps best described as a purse drop, is extremely rare in terms of its composition. It offers an insight into counterfeiting in this period, possibly showing the forger's work in progress.

COIN LIST

1. Fragment of a shilling of Charles I (1625–49), North 1991 no. 2231, Group F, initial mark Triangle-in-Circle (1641–43)
Silver
Obv: crowned bust facing left with XII behind the head; CAROLVS D G MAG [---] REX
Rev: shield; CHRISTO AVSPICE REGNO
Weight: 2.7 g.
(PAS DUR-CF3B20)

¹⁰ Besly 1987, 57, discusses the output of the Tower mint between 1638 and 1649.

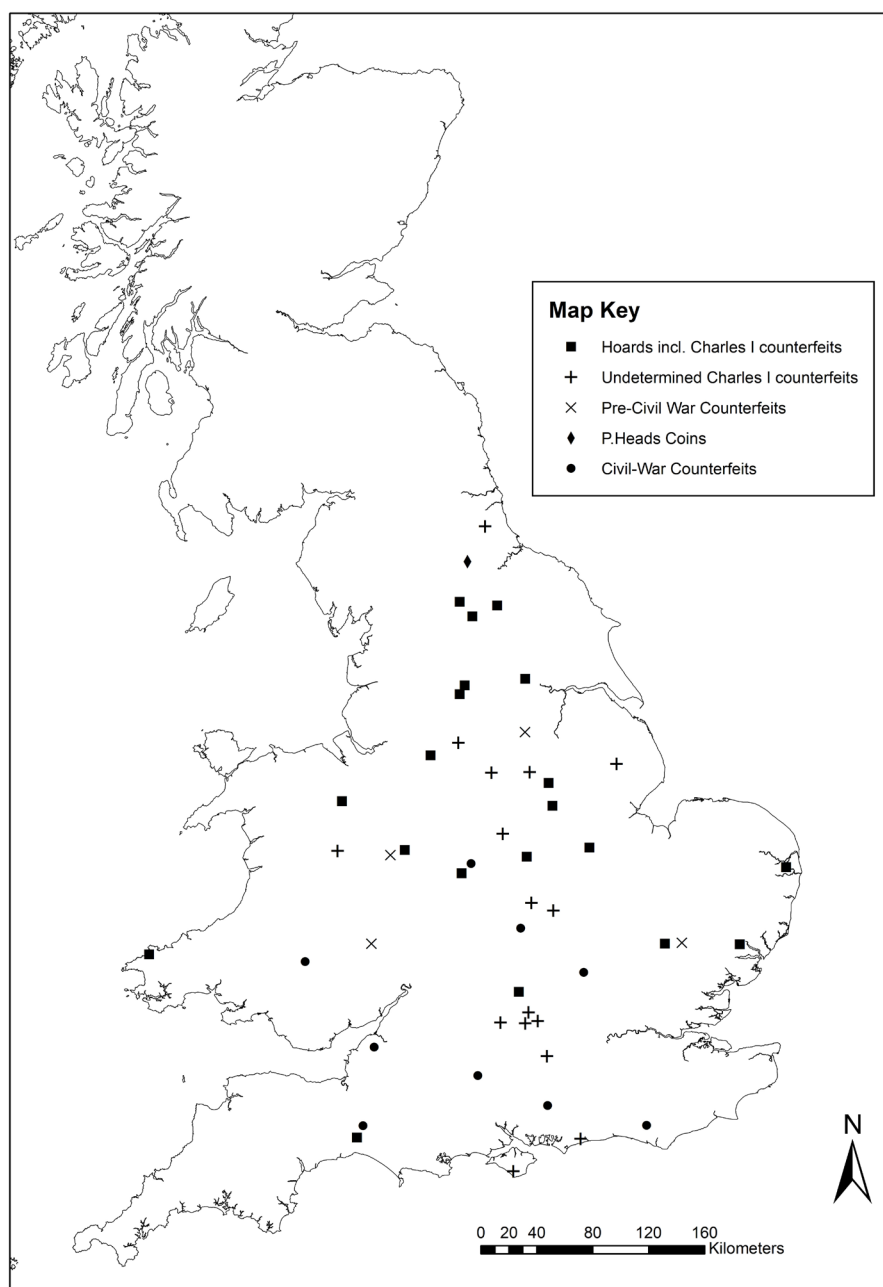


Fig. 2. Distribution of counterfeits of Charles I coins recorded on the PAS database compared with the hoard data provided by Besly.¹¹

2. Half crown (counterfeit) of Charles I (1625–49), initial mark (R), 1644–45 or later
 Silver plated with copper alloy core
Obv: king on horseback right; CAROLVS:D:G: [MAG'] BRI' [FRA'ET.HIB:] REX
Rev: round garnished shield; CHRISTO AVSPICE REGNO
 Weight: 11.4 g.
 (PAS DUR-471E06)

¹¹ To obtain the PAS data the numismatic search function was used, choosing Early Modern, then Charles I, with either counterfeit or copy in the object description. The hoard data are from Besly 1987.

3. Shilling (counterfeit) of Charles I (1625–49), as North 1991 no. 2231, Group F, initial mark Triangle-in-Circle, 1641–43 or later.

Silver plated with copper alloy core

Obv: crowned bust facing left with XII behind the head; CAROLVS D G MAG [---] REX

Rev: shield; CHRISTO AVSPICE REGNO

Weight: 5.8 g.

(PAS DUR-CF0ED6)

4. Half crown counterfeit blank, probably of Charles I (1625–49)

Silver plated with copper alloy core

Weight: 11.4 g.

(PAS DUR-CE8740)

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A NOTE ON VIOLET'S ANSWER

MARVIN LESSEN

IN 1653 Thomas Violet was asked by the Corporation (or Company) of Moneyers at the Tower of London to gather together for publication a document-based narrative explaining from the Corporation's point of view the circumstances surrounding the 'tryall' (competition) ordered by the Commonwealth Committee for the Mint in the summer of 1651, and its aftermath.¹ This competition took place at the Tower and Drury House in 1651. All of the action was initiated by Blondeau's petitions to provide new and superior coinage after he was invited to England by the Council of State in 1649.

Machine coinage was once again under consideration to replace the hammer methods; hence the trial of the established moneyers, represented by David Ramage, a moneyer himself, who claimed to be able to produce machine products better than Simon; versus the die making process by Thomas Simon, with his use of a machine process and Peter Blondeau's edge marking methods.² The 1651 pattern coins of the Commonwealth are the result; halfcrowns, shillings and sixpences. No matter, an insolvent government was not going to undertake new coinage methods, not for quite a few years.

How these coins were made is not always clear.³ Ramage, who was a worker at the Tower, would have had access to machinery there, such as some types of mechanical press (screw or rocker/*Taschenwerk*, but not roller press, for his coins do not have roller characteristics), using manual or horse or maybe water power, or perhaps even a hammer to a loose upper die, most likely the equipment Briot used for his Charles I machine (mill) coins, and his many medals – after all he had worked with or for Briot. This does not include Tower equipment supposed to have been shipped to Briot at York but intercepted at Scarborough around 1642. Ramage's

¹ See e.g. *Calendar of State Papers, Domestic Series (1653–53)*, vol. 35, 280 (15 April 1653 Council of State, Day's Proceedings) and Henfrey 1877, 79 (Interregnum State Papers, Council Draft Order Book, No. 69. Friday, 15 April 1653) for the order 'That S^r James Harington bee desired humbly to present to y^e Parl^t y^e Propositions made by Peter Blondeau on y^e one part, and y^e Moneyers of y^e Mint on y^e other part, Concerning y^e Coyning of money in a way differing from w^t hath beene hitherto practised and used in this Com⁻onwealth and w^{ch} is propounded to bee for y^e securing of Coyne from being Counterfeited or Clipped.'

² Pagan 1988 is important on the Simon brothers, but does not address this trial subject; see Gaspar 1976 on edge-marking.

³ For discussions on dies and machinery from Mestrelle onwards, see Hocking 1909.

coins, a dozen or so in total, may have been struck within a steel band constrained in a single collar (evident from the resultant square letter bases of the coin legends and the single vertical line seen on the edge of a sixpence), bands that had their edge markings incuse, resulting in relief edge lettering, stars or graining.

What Simon used is not certain either, but we know that the work was done at Drury house in Wych Street off the Strand (his own house?) using some mechanical (screw) press, or *balancier*, again using manual or horse or water power. His experience we know was mainly medallic, and the equipment must have been what he used for that purpose; he too worked for or with Briot in the late 1630s. His 300 or so Commonwealth patterns were struck unrestrained by a collar (evident from the bifurcated letter bases), instead being first edge-marked using Blondeau's secret parallel bar edge marking equipment and techniques,⁴ later in the century to be known as Castaing's machinery, and likely at the same location and with the same machinery used for the Cromwell coins several years later. That of course is how the Charles II coinage was eventually done by Blondeau, with Roettiers dies. In all respects, everything derived from the French.

Violet's publication, *The Answer of The Corporation of Moniers in the Mint...* (Fig. 1), was initially issued solely as a forty-one page pamphlet, printed for the Corporation of Moneyers, and dated 1653. Blondeau wrote memoranda promoting his product (Henry Slingsby is a reasonable candidate as Blondeau's sponsor, translator, writer or helper in the written pamphlets and petitions), and Violet answered them negatively, sometimes in communications to the government, and sometimes in his commercial pamphlets and books, but this paper only addresses this particular publication. H.W. Henfrey thoroughly mined the records, and transcribes and discusses the many petitions by Blondeau on the subject at this time; as does George Vertue.⁵ Much of the data may be found abbreviated or referenced in the *Calendar of State Papers, Domestic*.⁶ However, amid the mass of contemporary material, it is not yet possible to find the actual request to Violet to write his *Answer*, an order that would have come from Sir James Harrington, Council of State, Chairman for the Committee of the Mint.

The structure of the *Answer* is in discrete sections. Pages 1–3 are a letter from Violet to the clerk of the moneyers, John Benfield, and his reply, which asked Violet to respond to Blondeau, dated 25 and 27 January 1652. Pages 4–10 are a reprint of the *Humble Representation of Peter Blondeau...*, which can probably be dated to around February 1651/2, but I have not uncovered any original pamphlet, which would be paginated 1–7. Pages 11–20 are a reprint of *A Most Humble Memorandum from Peter Blondeau*, after the competition, undated but c. February 1652/3.⁷ The remainder, pages 20–41, contain: the 14 June 1651 warrant to Ramage from Harrington and Chaloner to make patterns; Violet's discussion calling Blondeau a traitor; the humble proposition of the provost and moneyers of the mint to Harrington of 28 February 1650/1; the 8 May 1651 order to Blondeau and Ramage to make their trials; the provost and moneyer's answers to the objections of Blondeau of 18 November 1651; the discussions and the accounting by the moneyers for the Ramage trials; and ending with a list of the fifty moneyers, Symon Corbet Provost being number 1, and Ramage being 44, plus fifty-one labourers, dated 27 January 1652. These were 1651 and 1652 materials, and he must have presented these before 15 February 1652/3 (see below).

This note is to put on record a preliminary or proofing version of page 39 having an interesting parenthetical clause of Violet's, inked out, cancelled, and thus not included in the final distributed printing, for obvious reasons. It reads '(through the ignorance of our head officers)' (Fig. 2).⁸ The final and corrected published version is shown as Fig. 3. Violet was a part of the establishment, the Corporation, and this is the first evidence of tensions between the moneyers and their officers.

⁴ See Gaspar 1976.

⁵ See Henfrey 1877, 62–80, and Vertue 1780.

⁶ See esp. vols. 4 (1651–52) and 5 (1652–53) (1877–78).

⁷ This is the British Library Thomason 1139.C.16 pamphlet, transcribed by Hamilton 1839.

⁸ Collection (USA), from Peter Murry Hill, cat. 128 (303), December 1974.

THE ANSWER

OF

The Corporation of Moniers in the Mint,
at the Tower of *London*, to two false
and scandalous Libells printed
at *London*, and lately come
forth without date.

THE FIRST INTITULED,

*The humble Representation of Peter Blondeau, as a
warning touching severall disorders hapning by Money
ill-favouredly coyned, and the only means to prevent them.*

THE SECOND INTITULED,

A most humble Memorandum from Peter Blondeau.

Which not only intends maliciously to sandall Us
the Corporation of Moniers, of the Common-
Wealth of *England* : But also most falsly to
imprint in the hearts and mindes of all People
in Christendome, and more especially the
good People under the obedience of the
Parliament of *England*; That (by Us the Cor-
poration of Moniers) the Moneys of this
Common-Wealth, both for Gold and Silver,
are not justly made, according to Our Indenture.
Set forth to undeceive all the good People
that have seen or read the said *Peter Blondeau's*
false and scandalous Libells.

PRINTED for the Corporation of Moniers. 1653.

Fig. 1. Title page of T. Violet's *Answer of the Corporation of Moniers in the Mint*, 1653 (text area 12 × 21 cm, page area 26.4 × 17 cm).

(39)

we with all humility humbly leave it to the right honorable Sir *James Harrington* the Chair-man of the Committee, to examine whether he had not all these Papers now printed, delivered unto him according to the severall dates put down by us the Corporation of Moniers in the States Mint, about two years since.

Ninthly, Whereas *Peter Blondeau* saith, That our Corporation is now but of thirty Fellowes or Masters, who are all rich and have lands or houses and other waies of maintenance without the work of the Mint; and when the State hath much monie to coyn they were wont to hire some journey-men at 18.d. 15.d. and 12.d. for half a dayes work. To answer to this great untruth, We can speak it with a great deal of grief, that almost twenty of our Fellowes are fallen to so great decay (~~that they are almost~~ ~~fallen to so great decay~~) that both themselves and families are brought to great distres and poverty for want of imployment in the Mint, they all of them having been bound Apprentices for the least seven years to this Trade, and having no other calling or way to get their living but only upon the mistery and way of making of monies: many of them that are fellow Moniers having no other subsistence then what we of the Corporation amongst our selves collect for them, to keep them from starving: And that this is true, we can produce hundreds of witnesses; and many of us finde it to our insupportable charge, we thinking our selves bound in conscience not to see any of our fellow Moniers perish for want of food and clothes.

Here follows the true list of Fellows and Workmen and Laborers imployed in the Mint 27. Jan. 1652. and sometimes we imploy four times as many Laborers, viz.

L

The

Fig. 2. Preliminary or proofing version of Violet's Answer, p. 39 (text area 11 × 22 cm).

Sometime later in 1653 the publication was re-issued, probably from existing stock pages, in a larger and more commercially viable venue, and probably not for the original purpose, having various miscellaneous new Violet tracts, of his usual complaints and subjects, appended after the original forty-one pages. Neither version of *The Answer* seems to be entered in the Stationers Company Register. The whole new issue was continually paginated to 110, but none of the additional material was related to this coinage subject. Page 110, the FINIS page signed Tho. Violet is dated 15. Feb. 1652 (thus 15 February 1652/3). Yet, interestingly enough, its title page of 1653 ends 'Also the true causes and grounds how the Mint in the Tower of London comes to be obstructed through the ignorance of some of their Officers', so he had his say nevertheless.

Ninthly, Whereas *Peter Blondeau* saith, That our Corporation is now but of thirty Fellowes or Masters, who are all rich and have lands or houses and other waies of maintenance without the work of the Mint; and when the State hath much monie to coyn they were wont to hire some journey-men at 18.d. 15.d. and 12.d. for half a dayes work. To answer to this great untruth, Wee can speak it with a great deal of grief, that almost twenty of our Fellowes are fallen to so great decay; that both themselves and families are brought to great distres and poverty for want of imployment in the Mint, they all of them having been bound Apprentices for the least seven years to this Trade, and having no other calling or way to get their living but only upon the miffery and way of making of monies : many of them that are fellow Moniers having no other subsistence then what we of the Corporation amongst our selves collect for them, to keep them from starving : And that this is true, we can produce hundreds of witnesses ; and many of us finde it to our insupportable charge, we thinking our selves bound in conscience not to see any of our fellow Moniers perish for want of food and clothes.

Fig. 3. Extract from the final, published version of p. 39 of Violet's Answer (text area 11 × 22 cm)

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