

A ROMAN COIN HOARD FROM BARWAY, SOUTH OF ELY, CAMBRIDGESHIRE

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Introduction

THE discovery of twelve *denarii* found individually between 1985 and 1991 at New Fordey Farm, Soham in Cambridgeshire (TL 543752) complements finds of *aurei* and *denarii* at the same location reported in 1958, 1979, 1981 and 1984. The presence of associated pottery sherds, and progressively decreasing wear from oldest to youngest coin, identify this as a disturbed hoard of at least 451 coins (the total found to date) with a closing date of AD 180 in the reign of Commodus (AD 180–92). This paper describes the most recent finds and places them in the context of the earlier reports and what is known of Roman activity in the immediate vicinity, before considering possible reasons for their deposition.

Discovery

In the summer of 2011 a collection of twelve *denarii* (listed in the Appendix and illustrated in Figure 1) were reported to me by Mr Philip Randall. The coins had come into his possession following the death of his father Mr Stanley Randall. The Randalls had for several generations farmed arable land to the east of the River Great Ouse at New Fordey Farm, Barway, in the parish of Soham in Cambridgeshire, which lies three miles south of Ely. In June 1958 a disturbed hoard of 369 coins, four aurei and 364 silver coins, was found following cultivation of a field that had not been ploughed for many years. Associated with the hoard was a substantial scatter of Romano-British pottery suggesting that the coins had originally been buried in a ceramic vessel, and that this had been broken and scattered, along with its contents, by the plough.¹ Thereafter Stanley Randall monitored the field each year for the appearance of additional coins. In due course twenty-one *denarii* were found in 1977, two further groups in 1979 and 1981 (one *aureus* of Sabina and twenty-four *denarii*), and in 1984 a further twenty-four *denarii*. The range of the coins of these groups covered the same span as the original find, and suggests that they represent a more widely dispersed portion of the same hoard.² Stanley Randall continued to watch the field, and between 1985 and 1991, when the farm was sold, a further twelve *denarii* were found individually, but in the same location and covering the same time span as the original hoard.

The finds and their context

The most recent find is of twelve silver *denarii* ranging from Domitian to a Marcus Aurelius memorial coin of Antoninus Pius (see Fig. 1 and the Appendix). The coins show progressively less wear from earliest to latest issues: the inscriptions on the oldest coin, an issue of Domitian

Acknowledgments I would like to thank Phillip Randall for his generosity in explaining the circumstances of the finds and for allowing me access to the coins, and Kate Morrison Ayres, formerly curator of Ely Museum, who first identified the significance of the finds and brought them to my attention. My gratitude also goes to Dr Adrian Popescu and Dr Martin Allen of the Department of Coins and Medals, Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge for their help and advice. I would also like to thank Steven Stanley Jugg for photographing the coins.

¹ Carson 1960; Robertson, 2000, 66.

² Robertson, 2000, 47.

dated after AD 81, being indecipherable, for example (Fig. 1.1). The range of the coins in this group covers the same span as the previous finds, and fits with them being part of the same dispersed hoard (see Table 1 and Fig. 2).

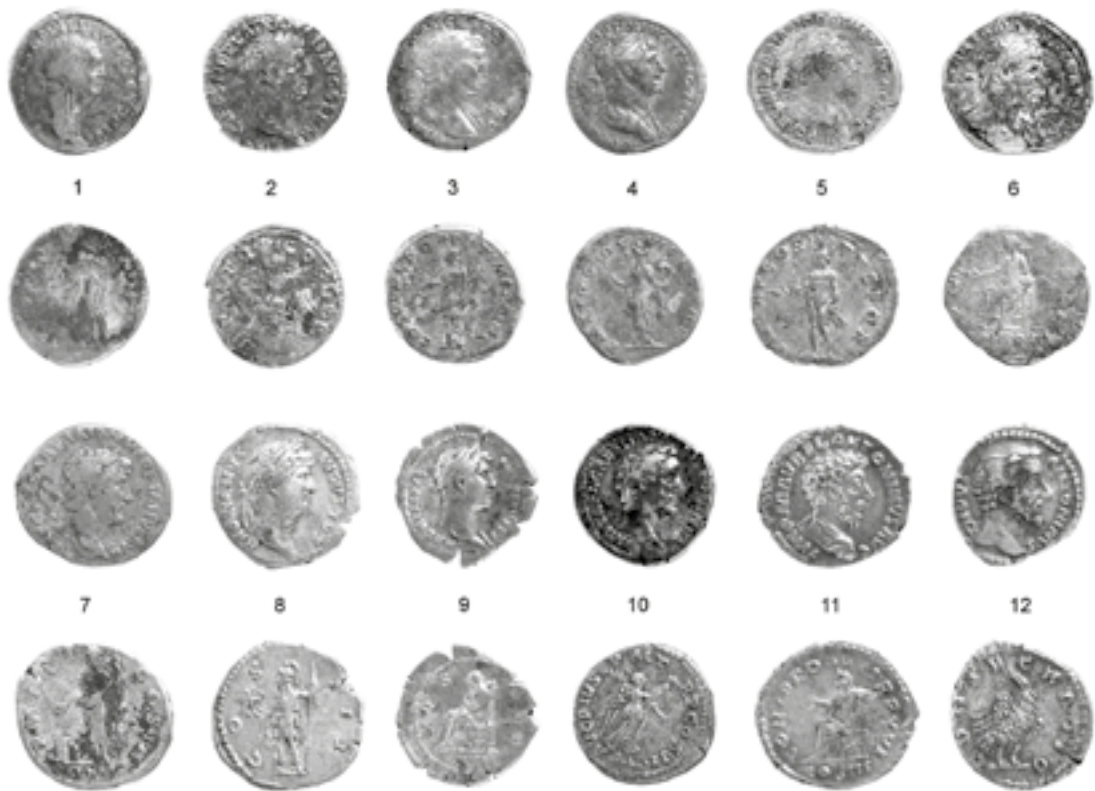


Fig. 1. Parcel of twelve *denarii* from Barway, 1985–91.

Table 1. The contents of the hoard according to date recovered

<i>Issuer</i>	<i>1958</i>	<i>1977</i>	<i>1979 and 1981</i>	<i>1984</i>	<i>1985–91</i>	<i>Total</i>
Mark Antony (44–30 BC)	2					2
Nero (AD 54–68)	6 (2)					6 (2)
Galba (AD 68–69)	2					2
Otho (AD 69)	3					3
Vitellius (AD 69)	1	1		1		3
Vespasian (AD 69–79)	24	2	1	2		29
Titus (AD 79–81)	5					5
Domitian (AD 81–96)	14		1	1	1	17
Nerva (AD 96–98)	16	1				17
Trajan (AD 98–117)	78	6	7	4	4	99
Hadrian (117–38)	55	4	1	6	4	70
Sabina (128–37)	4		1 (1)			5 (1)
Ælius Caesar (136–38)	1					1
Antonius Pius (138–61)	62 (1)	3	4	3	1	73 (1)
Faustina I (138–61)	36		3	3		42
Marcus (161–80)	33 (1)	3	2	1	2	41 (1)
Faustina II (147–75)	12		2	1		15
Lucius Verus (161–69)	8			1		9
Lucilla (164–69)	4			1		5
Commodus (180–92)	2	1	3			6
Crispina (178–87)	1					1
Total	369 (4)	21	25 (1)	24	12	451 (5)

Note: Numbers of gold coins are in **bold**.

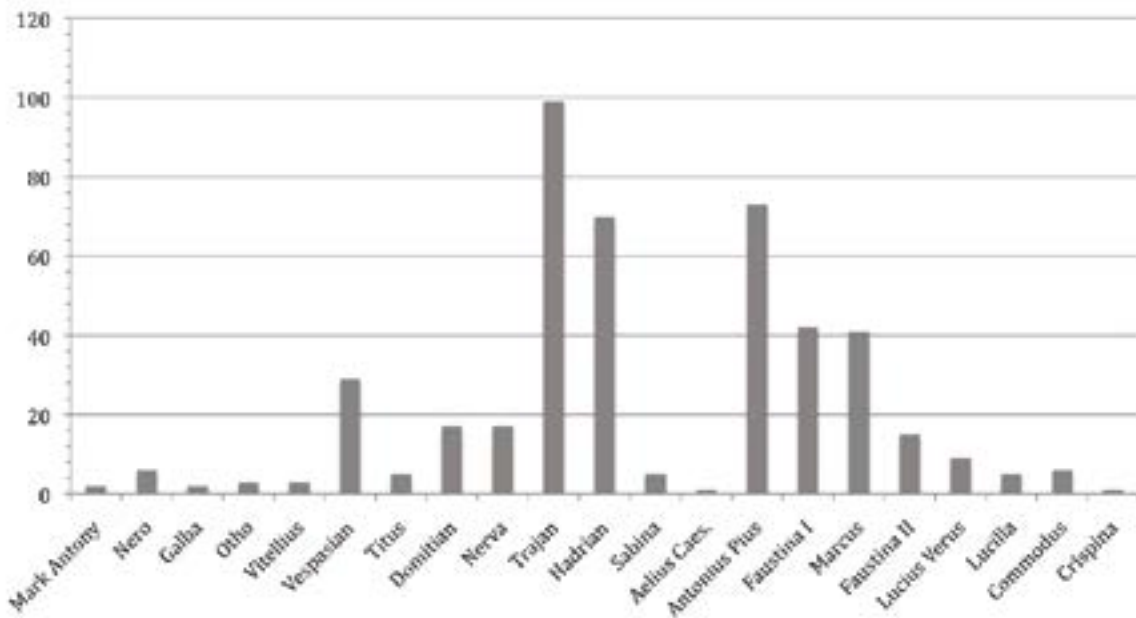


Fig. 2. Analysis of the Barway hoard.

Taking all of the finds together, there are few pre-AD 64 coins, which is quite normal for hoards of this kind, because that was the year in which the weight of the *denarius* decreased from 84 to 96 to the Roman pound, and the silver purity from 98 to 93 per cent. These changes encouraging their removal from circulation and use as a source of silver.³

A closing date of soon after AD 180 can be assigned to the hoard, the latest coins being those of Commodus and his wife Crispina. Commodus ruled as co-emperor with his father Marcus Aurelius from AD 177 until his father's death in 180, and then as emperor from 180 to 192, when he was assassinated. He married Crispina in 177. Unfortunately, the couple were not well suited and she was implicated in a plot to kill him in 182. She was subsequently exiled to Capri and murdered soon after.

The hoard location at New Fordey Farm falls within an area of a substantial Roman settlement on the River Cam at Barway, a former fen island to the south of Ely. Within the farm are the remains of fields and enclosures, the former aligned and connected by two droves at a T-junction, the remainder of the settlement lying to the north.⁴ Pottery dating from the late first century to the fourth has been recovered from this area, as have Hodd Hill, Colchester and Dolphin type brooches, dating to the first century AD,⁵ suggesting several phases of occupation throughout the Romano-British period.

Discussion

There were points in the history of Roman Britain when large numbers of coins were hoarded in different places at about the same time, possibly attesting a widespread insecurity and lack of confidence caused by the threat of incursions or economic decline.⁶ The later second century AD is one such period. There is a peak number (*c.* 100) of mostly smallish hoards (*c.* 100 coins or fewer) in Britain, closing with Commodus's father, Marcus Aurelius (AD 161–80). In Cambridgeshire there are several hoards dating to the later second century. A hoard at

³ Abdy 2002, 26.

⁴ Wilkes and Elrington 1978, 49.

⁵ Philip Randall, pers. comm., 2011.

⁶ Wilkes and Elrington 1978, 63.

Doddington (TL 410900 contained coins from Vespasian to Antonius Pius.⁷ In a hoard from Flaggrass, March (TL 434985) the last certain coin dates to AD 166–7.⁸ At Horseheath silver coins found in a pot ranged in date from Nero to L. Verus and Marcus Aurelius.⁹ As we have seen, the latest coin found at New Fordey Farm, Soham (TL 543752), is a first issue of Commodus of AD 180.¹⁰ At Knapwell sixty-nine *denarii* dated from Vespasian to Lucius Verus are recorded.¹¹ Rather later is a hoard of twenty-three bronze coins from Domitian to Septimius Severus also found in the Knapwell area.¹²

Interpretation of these hoards is difficult. They may have been a response to a protracted barbarian disturbance, flaring up two or three times throughout Marcus's reign and continued into that of Commodus, into which the Barway hoard falls. Alternatively, other factors, including economic, inflationary, votive or even personal circumstances, are just as likely to have incited hoarding.

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⁷ Stukeley 1883, 3; Fox 1948, 229.

⁸ Wisbech Museum 1951, 6; Robertson 2000 67 (no. 321).

⁹ Babington 1883, 35; *Proceedings of the Cambridge Antiquarian Society* 8 (1895), 390; *Cambridge Antiquarian Society Report* 37 (1884), xiii; Robertson 2000, 61 (no. 297).

¹⁰ Carson 1960; Robertson 2000, 47 (no. 228A), 66 (no. 317).

¹¹ Fox 1841–2; Robertson 2000, 58–9 (no. 286).

¹² *Cambridge Antiquarian Society Annual Report* 37 (1884), xiii; Robertson 2000, 76 (no. 361).

APPENDIX

Contents of the 1985–91 parcel from the Barway hoard

<i>No.</i>	<i>Emperor</i>	<i>Obverse</i>	<i>Reverse</i>	<i>RIC ref.</i>	<i>Date (AD)</i>
1	Domitian	Inscription? Type?	Inscription? Minerva stg l. with Victory and sceptre, shield at feet	II, part I	81–82
2	Trajan	IMP CAES NERVA TRAIANA VGGERM laur. head r.	PMTRPCOSIIPP Victory std l. holding patera and palm	II, 245, no. 10	98–99
3	Trajan	IMP TRAIANO A VGGERDACPMTRP laur. head r, dr.	COSVPPSPQROPTIMOPRINC Æquitas seated l. holding scales and cornucopiae	II, 252, no. 119	103–11
4	Trajan	IMP CAES NER TRAIANO PTIMA VG GERDACPARTHICO laur. head r, dr.	PMTRPCOSVIPPSPQR Felicitas std l.	II, 268, no. 345	114–17
5	Trajan	IMP CAES NER TRAIANO PTIMA VGGERDAC laur. head r.	PMTRPCOSVIPPSPQR Genius std l. holding patera and ears of corn	II, 268, no. 347	114–17
6	Hadrian	IMP CAES AR TRAIAN HADRIAN VSA VG laur. head r, dr.	CONCORD in ex. Concordia seated l. holding patera: under her chair, a cornucopiae, under her elbow a statue of spes l.	II, 345, no. 39b	118
7	Hadrian	IMP CAES AR TRAIAN HADRIAN VSA VG laur. head r.	CLEM in ex. Clementia std l. sacrificing out of patera over altar and holding sceptre	II, 354, no. 116b	119–22
8	Hadrian	HADRIAN VSA VGVSTVS laur. head r.	COS III Roma std l. holding Victory and spear	II, 359, no. 161c (class B type c)	late 125–early 128
9	Hadrian	HADRIAN VSA VGVSTVS laur. head, drapery on l. shoulder; r.	COS III Pudicitia, veiled, std l.	II, 361, no. 178d	125–28
10	Antonius Pius	IMP TAEI CAES HADR ANTONINVS Head, bare, r.	AVGPIVSPMTRP COSII Victory advancing r. holding wreath and palm	III, 28, no. 25	139 (first issue)
11	Marcus Aurelius	IMP MA VREL ANTONINVS AVG Head r. bare; bust (seen from back) cuir.	CONCORDA VGRPXVICOSIII Concordia std l. holding patera and resting l. arm on statue of Spes; cornucopiae under seat	III, 216, no. 36	Dec. 161– Dec. 162
12	Marcus Aurelius, memorial coin of Antoninus Pius	DIVVS ANTONINVS Head of Antoninus Pius, r. bare	CONSECRATIO Eagle std r. head l.	III, 247, no. 429	after c. 161

Note: *RIC* references are to: I.A. Carradice and T.V. Buttrey, *The Roman Imperial Coinage. Vol. II, Part I. From AD 69–96: Vespasian to Domitian*, second ed. (London, 2007); H. Mattingly and E. Sydenham, *Roman Imperial Coinage. Vol. III* (London, 1930). All coins are from the mint of Rome.

A NEW TYPE FOR ÆTHELBERHT II OF EAST ANGLIA

RORY NAISMITH

THE ‘wolf and twins’ pennies of Æthelberht II, king of the East Angles (executed by order of Offa, king of the Mercians (757–96), in 794),¹ are among the classic rarities of Anglo-Saxon coinage. Only three specimens survive, two of which (now in the British Museum and the Hunterian Museum) have been known since the eighteenth century, while the last (now in the National Museum of Wales) was found at Tivoli near Rome early in the twentieth century (Fig. 1a).² These have often been called on by historians as one of the few contemporary sources for Æthelberht’s reign, and for his relations with Offa.³



Fig. 1. ‘Wolf and twins’ pennies of Æthelberht and Offa. (a. British Museum: Chick 186c; b. Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge, Chick 171a.)

A fourth coin of Æthelberht has now been brought to light by a metal-detector user in East Sussex, in the Pevensey area (Fig. 2). This new specimen presents a completely new non-portrait design. In several respects, however, it is closely related to the three ‘wolf and twins’ pennies. All cite the same moneyer: Lul.⁴ The king’s name and the moneyer’s name are spelt in exactly the same way on the new coin as on the ‘wolf and twins’ specimens. An identical form of ð is found in Æthelberht’s name on both types, as is the same HT ligature (otherwise only seen in the time of Offa on episcopal coinages).⁵ A minor difference which sets the inscription on the new coin apart from most others of the same period is its use of curved L, once in the king’s name and twice in the moneyer’s name. This contrasts with the runic or angular letters on Lul’s other pennies for Æthelberht and Offa, and the similarly angular form normally used under later rulers.⁶ However, a curved form of L can be found in non-numismatic sources of similar date, such as in the display script on the famous incipit page of Matthew in the Lindisfarne Gospels.⁷



Fig. 2. Penny of Æthelberht II of East Anglia. (Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge.)

Obv. EÐILBERHT RE+ around a pelleted inner circle containing a cross of four petals with pellet at centre and trefoils of small pellets in each angle.

Rev. + / L / U / L in angles of a cross fourchée superimposed on a lozenge containing an inner circle and a saltire of petals, with a pellet in the centre, and numerous trefoils of small pellets interspersed in angles.

Dix, Noonan and Webb auction 11 June 2014, lot 309, and at the time of publication on loan to the Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge. 1.31 g, 280°. Found in the Pevensey area, East Sussex, March 2014 (EMC 2014.0071).

¹ What little is known of him is effectively summarised in Todd 2004.

² Chick 186a–c. One of the two eighteenth-century finds probably relates to a note in the minutes of the Society of Antiquaries of London for 31 March 1748, which records that a ‘wolf and twins’ penny of Æthelberht II was exhibited by Cotton Symonds (c. 1704–61), a landowner from Ormesby St Margaret, Norfolk. He is not otherwise known for having an interest in Anglo-Saxon coins, for which reason the coin may have been a local find.

³ Naismith 2012, 118–20; Keynes 2005, 10; Kirby 2000, 147–8; Yorke 1990, 64; Stenton 1971, 210, 236.

⁴ His long and eventful career is summarized in Naismith 2012b, 151–2.

⁵ For example, Chick 78–9 (Eadberht, bishop of London) and 150–1 (Iænberht, archbishop of Canterbury).

⁶ Chick 171–3 and 186; Naismith 2011, E3 and E10.1–2.

⁷ London, British Library, Cotton Nero D.IV, f. 27r (s. viii^m); the page has been illustrated many times, for instance in Brown 2003, pl. 11, and is also readily accessible on the internet.

The design of the new coin has general affinities with other early broad pennies of the late eighth century, but is not exactly matched by any of them. In particular, the simple yet elegant obverse finds no precise parallel which places the king's name around an inner circle containing a small cross.⁸ This design is reminiscent of the early Kentish issues which arrange the king's name around an inner circle containing **R** (for *rex*),⁹ but non-portrait designs placing the king's name in circumscription around a more elaborate cross are commonplace in the coinage of Offa. The elaborate cruciform motif on the reverse is broadly comparable to numerous coin-types of Offa from both East Anglia and the south-eastern mints;¹⁰ again, however, no exact match can be found.

This important new discovery significantly modifies interpretation of Æthelberht's coinage. It shows that multiple designs were used, with the corollary that Æthelberht's output was not necessarily quite as small or homogeneous as was previously believed. Neither was all of his coinage as symbolically charged in its design as the 'wolf and twins' pennies. Æthelberht's coins could have been issued over a number of years, either during a spell when some or all of East Anglia asserted independence from Offa, or by some sort of arrangement to share minting rights with the Mercian ruler – assuming that the conflict with Offa only arose shortly before Æthelberht's death.¹¹ The coins leave both possibilities open. All of Æthelberht's pennies were the work of a single moneyer named Lul. He may either have been based in a separate mint, or delegated to Æthelberht among a larger complement of moneyers at a centre under Offa's control (just as one or two moneyers in contemporary Canterbury were assigned to the archbishop).¹² The new coin, with its unusual forms of lettering (which could be the result of the work of a distinct die-cutter), perhaps suggests the former is more probable, though Lul later became more closely tied stylistically to the moneyers of Offa, Eadwald and Coenwulf.¹³

In terms of chronology, there is no single feature of the non-portrait Æthelberht penny which definitively shows whether it precedes or post-dates the 'wolf and twins' pennies. Both types are generally associated with the Light coinage of Offa (issued down to 792/3, at least in Canterbury) by their weight and typology. Portrait and non-portrait designs (sometimes sharing the same reverse types or dies) were regularly produced side by side at this time. However, one detail suggests that Æthelberht's non-portrait penny may belong slightly later than the 'wolf and twins' type. The latter is unusual in that the moneyer's name is placed on the obverse, as a prefix to the king's name, which has the effect of forcing the word **REX** onto the reverse, where one would normally expect the moneyer's name – and where indeed the moneyer's name is found on a penny of Offa by Lul utilising the same 'wolf and twins' reverse design (Figure 1b).¹⁴ This faux pas breaks with the pattern seen on virtually every other coin of the late eighth century: hence it is most likely to have occurred at a point when the individual(s) charged with laying out coin-types were still finding their feet. Even if placement of **REX** on the reverse was a conscious decision taken to lay greater emphasis on the royal title, the practice may have been inspired by the rare pennies of Offa which place the moneyer's name alongside the portrait, and which also belong very early in the course of the Light coinage.¹⁵

For these reasons, it can be proposed that the structure of Lul's coinage in the Light phase of Offa began with the 'wolf and twins' pennies of Æthelberht II. Next probably came his non-portrait coin for the same ruler, followed by the 'wolf and twins' pennies of Offa and then by other types for the Mercian king. This progression took place during a period of uncertain length. The substantive Light coinage in East Anglia probably began at approximately the same time as at Offa's other major mint-places in the southeast, or perhaps slightly later, as

⁸ The closest is Chick 242, though this was probably minted after Æthelberht's death.

⁹ Chick 84–8.

¹⁰ The closest is Chick 174 (an East Anglian issue); see also Chick 117, 122–3, 126–34 and 167.

¹¹ Early issues from Kent (in the name of Heaberht and Egbert II as well as Offa) present similar uncertainties, involving either a complex sharing agreement, or a quick succession of kings: Naismith 2012a, 326–8.

¹² Naismith 2010, 79.

¹³ Naismith 2011, I, 35.

¹⁴ Chick 171. Cf. Naismith 2012b, 119–20.

¹⁵ Naismith 2010, 92.

some East Anglian types were modelled on south-eastern issues, and there were no East Anglian specimens in the Aiskew hoard.¹⁶ Sometime in the mid- to late 780s is most likely. The cessation of Æthelberht's coinage presumably coincided at the latest with his execution in 794. If his coins were still being struck so late, the Light coinage in East Anglia may have continued slightly longer than at Canterbury and London. Room must still be made for Heavy pennies of Offa which were issued by East Anglian moneyers, but they are rare, and could again have appeared later than at the south-eastern mint-places (i.e. after 792/3). The chronology becomes less tight if Æthelberht's coinage, and the assertion of independence that it implies, had come somewhat before his execution, or if the possibility of Lul working for both kings simultaneously is entertained.¹⁷ Much still remains to be determined about the earliest decades of the broad silver penny, and when even one new find can prompt such reappraisal of an obscure king's reign and coinage, it is fully to be expected that further discoveries might change our perspective in new and unexpected ways.

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A NEW ROUND HALFPENNY OF ÆTHELSTAN (924–939)

HUGH PAGAN AND STEWART LYON

ENTRY 92 in *BNJ* Coin Register 2013 records a metal detector find made at Thornborough, Buckinghamshire, in May 2012 (EMC 2012.0167), described as follows :

Æthelstan II/Guthrum (880–90), Two-Line type, North –
 Obv. $\text{+EDL}\bar{\text{A}}[\text{N?}]\bar{\text{A}}[\text{R?}]\bar{\text{E}}\text{+}$, pincer cross with lozenge centre containing four small wedges.
 Rev. $[\text{J}]\bar{\text{E}}\bar{\text{E}}[\bar{\text{C}}, \text{G or L?}]/\text{RI MO}$
 Weight: 0.45 g. Die axis 270°.

An accompanying note records that this is a 'new type for the coinage of Æthelstan II/Guthrum'. Dr Peter Northover undertook a metallurgical (EPMA) analysis of the coin for the finder which is understood to have been consistent with this attribution, but no results of this analysis are available at present.¹

¹⁶ Chick 2010, 8–9; *Checklist* no. 46a.

¹⁷ For further discussion of East Anglian chronology at this time see Chick 2010, 94–5.

¹ Dr Peter Northover, *pers. comm.*



Fig. 1. Halfpenny of Æthelstan (twice actual size). (Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge.)

Figure 1 shows an enlarged illustration of the coin in question.² The readings of the inscriptions both on the obverse and on the reverse of the coin present difficulties, but it seems clear that the obverse inscription is intended to provide the name Æthelstan followed by the title **REX**, and there is no necessary reason to dissent from the readings provided in the Coin Register for those letters which are not printed within square brackets.

Our knowledge of the coinage of Æthelstan II/Guthrum is primarily based on the presence of some thirty coins of Æthelstan II as a small component part of the great Cuerdale, Lancashire, hoard, deposited no earlier than c.905,³ with useful confirmatory evidence supplied by the Ashdon, Essex, hoard, for which the late Dr Mark Blackburn suggested a deposit date of c.895.⁴

All coins of Æthelstan II of Two-line type reported prior to the discovery of the present coin are of a uniform design, identical to that on contemporary coins of Ælfred of Wessex. The obverse type is a cross set within an inner circle and surrounded by an inscription giving the king's name and title, while the reverse type is a moneyer's name set out in two lines, normally divided by a pellet. On all but one of the coins of Æthelstan II of this type so far recorded the obverse inscription is divided into four separate blocks of letters, customarily reading **†ED EL TA** (or **TAN**) and **RE**, echoing the arrangement of the obverse inscription on coins of Ælfred of the same type and date. On coins of this type by just one of Æthelstan II's moneyers, Elda, the moneyer's name on the reverse is followed by the letters **ME FEC**, i.e. *me fec(it)*, whereas on coins of all other moneyers for the type the name of the moneyer is given on its own without any subsequent letters.

The obverse inscription on the present coin resembles that on coins of Æthelstan II in that there is a gap between the letters **ED** and the cruder letters read as **LA**, and another gap between the letters **LA** and the remainder of the inscription, and it is not unreasonable that an attribution to Æthelstan II should have suggested itself for this coin on that basis. Since, however, the present coin's obverse inscription is at the most divided into three blocks, not four, and the coin differs from all coins of Æthelstan II's Two-line type so far recorded in that it is of a different obverse design and in that on its reverse the name of its moneyer is set out in two lines divided by three crosses, rather than by a pellet, and is followed by the letters **MO**, the attribution to Æthelstan II cannot be taken for granted.

What indeed is clear from Mark Blackburn's illustrated corpus of the coinage of Æthelstan II/Guthrum, attached to the text of his excellent Presidential Address to the British Numismatic Society in 2004, and now available in his volume of collected papers,⁵ is that Æthelstan II's coins of Two-line type were surprisingly uniform in style as well as in design, and that even the coins of the moneyer Elda, differing as they do in minor respects from some of those of his

² Our thanks are due to Dr Martin Allen for the provision of these images.

³ The most recent discussion of the coins in the Cuerdale hoard is Williams and Archibald 2011 (see pp. 64–7 for a discussion of the hoard's date of deposit).

⁴ Blackburn 1989, 13–38, where Blackburn suggests a date of deposit for the hoard of between 890 and 895, a dating which he subsequently modified to c.895 (see, e.g., Blackburn 2011, 4).

⁵ Blackburn 2011, 21–5. It is proper to note here that Blackburn's corpus also includes the only certain coin of Æthelstan II of Temple type, by a moneyer Dunno, as well as another nine coins of Temple type with blundered obverse inscriptions, of which some are more likely than others to include elements of Æthelstan II's name.

moneyer colleagues, are not sufficiently distinct in character or in epigraphy to be associable with a separate mint. A coin such as the present one, bearing no obvious stylistic or epigraphic resemblance to those known to Blackburn, could only be realistically attributable to this reign if it had been struck at a different point in time or at a different location to those coins of Æthelstan II of this type already known, and the evidence of the Ashdon hoard, not likely to have been deposited any earlier than the year of Æthelstan II's death and probably deposited towards the mid 890s, tells against a potential scenario in which this coin might have been struck later in Æthelstan II's reign than the other coins of the type that survive. The evidence of the subsequent Cuerdale hoard, in which no coins of this type of Æthelstan II of differing style were present, points in the same direction.

An alternative attribution of the present coin to the reign of the tenth-century West Saxon king Æthelstan (924–939) offers no comparable difficulties. The case for doing so can be argued on a number of grounds, set out in what follows.

First, the way in which the reverse design is arranged, with the moneyer's name set out in two lines divided by a line of three crosses, is characteristic of coins of *Horizontal* type struck in the reigns of rulers from Eadweard the Elder to Eadgar, and is only rarely found on these coins' precursors struck in the reign of Ælfred. Among several hundred coins of Ælfred of this general character listed in *BMC*, the only coins on which the moneyer's name on the reverse is divided by a line of three crosses are a single coin of the moneyer Dudig of *BMC* type XIV (*BMC* 265);⁶ coins of *BMC* type XVI of the moneyers Ælfstan, Æthered, Athelulf, Beornmær and Samson (*BMC* 441–452), with one coin of the same design that has defied interpretation (*BMC* 453); and coins of the moneyer Bernwald, all of *BMC* type XVIII, the 'Ohsnaforda' or 'Orsnaforda' type encompassing both regular coins of Ælfred struck at Oxford and their imitative Danelaw-struck counterparts (*BMC* 118–123, 125–151, 153), except for a single coin of *BMC* type XIV (*BMC* 210). What most, if not all, of these coins have in common is that they date from the 890s, i.e. from after the death of Æthelstan II, and it must be very unlikely that any of them would have served as a prototype for the reverse design of the coin under discussion.

Second, the reverse inscription, meaningless in the context of an attribution to Æthelstan II, is interpretable in an early tenth century context as a blundered rendering of the name of a moneyer Engelri or Ingelri. The letters RI at the end of the moneyer's name on the present coin are clear, and although the intention of the first letter of the inscription is obscure, a reading []EEELRI, in which the second letter E might readily be interpretable as a version of a letter G, and the first letter E might, by a leap of faith, be interpretable as an attempt at a letter N, brings this particular moneyer to mind. The moneyer is known, as Engelri, from a single coin of *Horizontal* type for Eadweard the Elder, in the British Museum ex Vatican hoard, and, as Ingelri, from two coins of the *Horizontal Cross Trefoil* variety of the *Horizontal* type in the name of the West Saxon king Æthelstan, *SCBI* 50, 218, and *SCBI* 29,453. On the first of these, struck from more crudely engraved dies than the second, the moneyer's name is rendered as INEELRI, with the first of the letters engraved as E certainly on this occasion representing a letter G, providing a parallel to the inscription on the present coin.

In the same king's *Circumscription Cross* type Ingelri, identified as an Oxford moneyer by the mint signature OX VRBI after his name, is known from coins struck from a pair of dies of good and literate style (*SCBI* 34, 91 and *SCBI* 7, 326); from coins struck from the same reverse die but from a blundered obverse die (*SCBI* 7, 327, and Dix Noonan Webb sale 4–5 December 2013, lot 2389); and, lastly, from a coin struck from the same blundered obverse die paired with a blundered reverse die (Rome, ex Forum hoard). Noticing this, Christopher Blunt remarked that Ingelri's coins of *Circumscription Cross* type 'present interesting problems', and pointed to other evidence that might suggest that 'something unusual may have occurred at Oxford' at this period.⁷ What is in any event clear is that the stock of dies available to Ingelri both in the *Horizontal* type and in the *Circumscription Cross* type included dies engraved less

⁶ Coins of this moneyer and type for Ælfred customarily have the inscription on their reverse divided by cross, pellet, cross.

⁷ Blunt 1974, 67.

expertly than was the norm at the time, giving a context for the poor standard of epigraphy on the present coin.

Third, the weight of the coin, only 0.45 g, coupled with its small dimensions, strongly suggests that it is a round halfpenny. Although a round halfpenny of *Cross and Lozenge* type by a moneyer Eanr(ed?) has recently been recorded for the reign of Ceolwulf II of Mercia,⁸ and both round halfpennies and a larger number of imitative Danelaw-struck round halfpennies have long been known for the reign of Ælfred, the denomination has not so far been recorded for the coinage of Æthelstan II, and the present coin is of very different character to those of Ælfred with which it ought to be roughly contemporary if it dated from the 880s. On any view, it belongs more naturally with round halfpence of the early tenth century, the evidence for which was ably summarised by Blackburn in 1993,⁹ although further specimens have turned up since.

Fourth, the coin's obverse type, described in the Coin Register entry as being 'a pincer cross with lozenge centre containing four wedges', seems unlikely to owe its inspiration to potential pre-890 coin prototypes, for these are very much more formally set out and indeed mostly date from the early or mid ninth century rather than from any date close to that of the coinage of Æthelstan II. The obverse type is more readily explicable as one distantly influenced by coins of 'floral' design struck in the reign of Eadweard the Elder, such as a penny of a moneyer Athulf (*SCBI* 20, 760), which carries on the reverse a design of 'sprays and buds on steps'.¹⁰ An irregular 'floral' type halfpenny of Eadweard the Elder is indeed already known.¹¹

Finally, the coin's find spot, at Thornborough Bridge, Buckinghamshire, two miles east of the town of Buckingham itself and not far at all from the historic county boundary between Oxfordshire and Buckinghamshire, is more readily compatible with the coin having been struck in the 920s or 930s by the Oxford moneyer Ingelri rather than it having been struck by a moneyer based somewhere within the territory in East Anglia and the East Midlands ruled over in the 880s by Æthelstan II.

Although the coin in question should therefore not be regarded as a coin of Æthelstan II of East Anglia, but as a round halfpenny of Æthelstan of Wessex, round halfpence dating from the reign of the tenth-century Æthelstan are of the greatest rarity and just two others have been recorded. Both are of Two-line type, and the moneyers are respectively Clip¹² and Rihard.¹³ The addition to these of the present coin by the Oxford moneyer Ingelri is on any view a significant addition to our knowledge of the tenth-century halfpenny series.

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⁸ EMC 2004.0009; PAS BUC-08EE42; found Pitstone, Bucks, 2003. The coin is now in the Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge.

⁹ Blackburn 1993, 123–4.

¹⁰ The coin, and its die-duplicate *BMC* 98, are assigned to a West Midlands moneyer by Blunt, Stewart and Lyon 1989, 78.

¹¹ Blackburn 1993, 124. The coin is in the possession of one of the present authors (CSSL).

¹² Blackburn 1993, 124 (a coin of the *Horizontal Pellet* variety of Two-line type, and of a die-cutting style associable with Canterbury). The coin was found near Stowting, Kent, in 1990, and has since been acquired for the Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge.

¹³ Coin Register 2003, no. 167 (a coin of the *Horizontal Trefoil* variety of Two-line type, of Southern English style, but as yet not associable with any particular mint or die-cutting centre). The coin was found in the Towcester area of Northamptonshire.

A NEW PICTORIAL TYPE FOR EADRED

RORY NAISMITH

NEW types for tenth-century English rulers are highly unusual, for which reason much interest must attach to a new specimen, found *c.* 1999 with a metal-detector at Thaxted, Essex, but only now brought to scholarly attention (Fig. 1). This silver penny is minted in the name of King Eadred (946–55) by the moneyer Burhelm (OE *Burhhelm*); like most coins of the mid-tenth century, it does not carry a mint-name. The obverse of this coin has, as the central design enclosed by a beaded inner circle and the royal name and title, an attractive floral motif consisting of two plant sprays facing each other, both of which terminate in a small bunch of three berries or grapes. This elegant little design might be compared with (for example) the floreate decoration in the border of the famous illustration showing King Æthelstan (924/5–39) donating a book to St Cuthbert.¹ The reverse design of the coin is much more conventional: the moneyer's name is displayed in two lines, placing this into the tradition of 'Horizontal' or 'Two-Line' types widely used in the tenth century. However, this penny differs from most others in having no ornamentation above or below the moneyer's name, while in the middle the three crosses normally found on coins of this type in eastern and southern England are adapted slightly to produce a cross flanked by two dagger-like devices. In two places on the reverse there are possible traces of a removed mounting of some sort.



Fig. 1. New penny of Eadred. (© Spink & Son Ltd.)

Obv. **HEADRED REX**, around a beaded inner circle containing two confronted vines, each terminating with a bunch of grapes.

Rev. **BVRH / ELM MO**, in two lines, separated by a cross and two dagger-like ornaments. There are traces of mounting(?) at two points above and below the inscription.

1.53 g. Spink auction 25 June 2014, lot 528. Found *c.* 1999 at Thaxted, Essex (EMC 2014.0007, PAS ESS-897E67).

This intriguing new find forms part of a small group spanning at least two kings' reigns in the mid-tenth century. The 1950 Chester hoard,² deposited around the middle of Edgar's reign, included a pair of die-duplicate pennies which carry an extremely similar design on both the obverse and reverse (Figs 2a–b). These are, however, in the name of Eadwig (955–9) and by the moneyer Æthelsige.³ A fourth specimen survives in the form of several fragments found at Ockley, Surrey, which was shown at the British Museum in May 2003 (Fig. 2c).⁴ It is tentatively attributed to Eadred, though the partial obverse legend leaves open the possibility of it belonging to Edmund (but probably not Eadwig). Fortunately the reverse legend is complete enough to show that the moneyer's name was Wigelm (OE *Wighelm*).

Not one example of this small group of associated coins bears a mint-name. Between them, they furnish the names of at least two kings and three moneyers. Burhelm may be the same

Acknowledgements I am grateful to Stewart Lyon and Hugh Pagan for comments and advice concerning this coin. William MacKay also kindly provided high-quality images (Fig. 1) in advance of the sale of this coin by Spink.

¹ Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, MS 183 (after 934), f. 1v. It is illustrated in many publications, such as Backhouse, Turner and Webster 1984, 26 (no. 5).

² *Checklist*, no. 144. See also now *SCBI* 64, pp. 17–26.

³ *CTCE*, Eadred, Exceptional types, no. 154. The two specimens are now in the British Museum (*SCBI* 34, no. 856) and the Grosvenor Museum, Chester (*SCBI* 64, no. 445).

⁴ EMC 2004.0221; *Coin Register* 2003, no. 174. I am grateful to Anna Gannon for passing on notes concerning this coin gathered at the time of its discovery.



Figs 2a–c. Pennies of the ‘floral’ group of Eadred and Eadwig. (a: British Museum (SCBI 34, 856); b: Grosvenor Museum, Chester (SCBI 64, 445); c: Ockley find (EMC 2004.0221).)

moneyer as one by that name who first appears under Edward the Elder using dies of a style associated with London, and is noted in *CTCE* as continuing through the reign of Æthelstan and into that of Edmund; but another moneyer of the same name was active at Winchester in the pre-reform coinage of Edgar.⁵ Æthelsige also poses a problem. A moneyer of this name was active at Canterbury under Æthelstan and may have continued under Edmund; in Edgar’s pre-reform coinage men named Æthelsige placed their name on coins at Bath and London, and also in the east midlands and the southwest, while in the reformed coinage of Edgar an Æthelsige issued pennies at Shrewsbury.⁶ Finally, Wigelm is known from coins in the name of Edmund and Eadred, but did not work in a period when mint-names were commonly used.

An origin somewhere in southern England is suggested by some of the possible attributions of Burhelm and Æthelsige, and also, more persuasively, by the southern find-spots of the two known single-finds (while the large Chester hoard included elements from all over the kingdom, and so should not be seen as evidence for a Mercian origin). Important unpublished research by Hugh Pagan suggests a more specific attribution, in that Æthelsige, Burhelm and Wigelm can all be tied to a loose stylistic group of ‘Horizontal’/‘Two-Line’ pennies of Æthelstan and Edmund marked by placement of single pellets, crosses or annulets (instead of the usual three pellets) above and below the reverse legend.⁷ Several other moneyers within this group were named at mint-places in Kent and Sussex under Æthelstan, implying that the group as a whole belongs to the southeast.

This mint-attribution is compatible with all other aspects of the new coin and its three counterparts. They should probably be interpreted as a small typological variant used occasionally in the 950s by moneyers at one or more mint-places in the southeast of England. The surviving specimens are few enough that the original issue cannot have been a large one relative to others of the day. It was, however, a comparatively homogeneous one that shows close stylistic similarities between the coins, perhaps most strikingly in the form of the lettering and central obverse and reverse ornaments, and in the use of a beaded inner and (probably) outer circle. Why a die-cutter in the southeast created this distinct type is not clear, though it continues a local tradition of slightly adapting the basic ‘Horizontal’/‘Two-Line’ design. If nothing else, it strengthens the impression that tenth-century England – including the quite poorly understood south – possessed a vibrant monetary system, evolving in response to local and national needs, and which was in touch with other cultural and iconographic developments of the period.

⁵ *CTCE*, 289; Biddle 2012, no. 35D.

⁶ *CTCE*, 284.

⁷ I am grateful to Hugh Pagan for sharing drafts of this work.

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THE *PACX* TYPE OF EDWARD THE CONFESSOR: A SUPPLEMENTARY NOTE

HUGH PAGAN

THIS note puts on record a number of additions and corrections to the paper on this type published in volume 81 of this *Journal*.¹ I am particularly grateful to Dr J.R. Hulett, who very kindly drew my attention to the fact that I had failed to notice his note of 2004 on a second Cambridge moneyer for the type.² This omission on my part was the more galling since I had specifically commented on the fact that only one Cambridge moneyer for the type was known.³ I am also grateful to Dr Hulett, to Dr A.J.P. Campbell and to Robert Grayburn for providing me with information on other coins of this type in their possession. Additionally, Prof. Kenneth Jonsson has with his customary kindness provided me with images of an important new coin of the Oxford mint from the 2012 Ovide hoard (Eskelhem parish, Gottland, Sweden). The publication by Dr A.S. Belyakov of the Anglo-Saxon and Norman coins in the State Pushkin Museum, Moscow, in 1996 was, more understandably, also unknown to me, and this provides illustrations and weights for the two coins of *PACX* type in that collection.⁴

The result of these additions and corrections is to add three new moneyers for the type, Godwine at Cambridge, a presumably different Godwine at Oxford, and Styrkollr at York, and to add Brunræd at Southwark and Styrkollr at York to those moneyers who are known from reverse dies of the variety Hildebrand Da.

The list of additions and corrections that follows is keyed to the numbering adopted in my 2011 paper. Numbers followed by a lower case letter represent new dies or new die combinations not known to me in 2011. New specimens struck from known die combinations are identified as such. Weights in grams are appended where known.

Cambridge, Godwine (new moneyer)

- 24a** Dies **Aa** [] PERD/REX AN (Bust Ai)
 +GO:/DPI:/NE ON/GRA AC+P
 (1) Private collection, UK, purchased Nov. 2002 (published and ill. Hulett 2004) 1.12

Canterbury, Ketill

- 31a** Dies **Bb** +EDPAR/D REC+ (?) (Bust Ai)
 +CYT/ELL./ON C/EN[] AC+P
 (1) Timeline Auctions, 1 Dec. 2012, lot 686 wnr (broken)

Chester, Bruninc

- 40** Dies **Ab** (3) Private collection, UK, purchased from Baldwin 1977, ex Montagu 1.14
 (new (1896) 135, lot purchased by Lincoln (cited by Pagan 2011, 47, but
 specimen) excluded from corpus as dies not known).

Hertford, Deorsige

- 99** Dies **Dc** (1) Now in private collection, UK 1.00 (badly cracked)

¹ Pagan 2011.

² Hulett 2004, 237.

³ Pagan 2011, 13.

⁴ Belyakov 1996.

Ipswich, Leofing			
123a	Dies Da	+EDPAR:./D RE+ (Bust Ai) Same reverse die as 120 (1) Seen in Baldwin stock 1993; ex Lockett (1958) 2809, purchased by Lockett from Baldwin (Sadler 2012, 98, fig. 620) (cited by Pagan 2011, 56, but excluded from corpus as dies not known)	wnr
Lincoln, Godric			
152	Dies Ef (new specimen)	(2) Found Barton Mills, Suffolk, Jan. 2011 (EMC 2011.0129; PAS SF-E97DG1)	0.92
158	Dies Fk	(4) Now in private collection, UK	1.03
Lincoln, Leofwine			
169	Dies Ef (new specimen)	(2) Timeline Auctions, 30 Nov. 2011, 204 (as Norwich)	0.91
Lincoln, Thurgrim			
182a	Dies Ab	Same obverse die as 182 +DV./RGR/IM O[]/N LIN AC+P (5) In stock of York Coins, Mar. 2012	0.93
Lincoln, Ulfr			
183	Dies Aa (new specimen)	(2) Found near Lincoln, Lincolnshire, 28 Apr. 2013 (EMC 2013.0138)	wnr
London, Æthelwine (or Ælfwine)			
211	Dies Dd	(1) This has recently passed through the sale room, Dix Noonan Webb 4 Dec. 2013, 2059 (ex James T. Joyner collection). (2) Heritage Auctions, New York, 2–3 Jan. 2012, 24285 (new specimen)	1.20 wnr (chipped)
London, Duding			
231	Dies Cb	(2) Now in private collection, UK. The owner of this coin informs me that the inscription on this reverse die ends LVNDEN and that the coin is a trimmed fragment, not a cut halfpenny.	0.53 (fragment)
London, Eadric			
252a	Dies Li	+EDPER/D REX (No information on bust style) +ED:/R:IC:/ON LV/NDE: (1) Private collection, UK, purchased 1990	0.80
Norwich, Leofwig			
356	Dies Aa (new specimen)	(5) State Pushkin Museum, Moscow (Belyakov 1996, no. 143, ill.) (probably these dies; cited by Pagan 2011, 81, but excluded from corpus as no details then available)	1.16
Oxford, Brihtwold			
379	Dies Ab	Reverse die is of variety Hild Da .	
379a	Dies Ac	Same obverse die as 378, 379 +BRIHTPOLD ONN OC+C: AC+P Hild Da (1) Private collection, UK, purchased 2002	1.25
Oxford, Godwine (new moneyer)			
379b	Dies Aa	EDPARD/REC+: (Bust Ai) +GO/DPIN/E ON:/OCXA C+PA (1) Ovide hoard, 2012 A coin of this moneyer at Stockholm, ex Sigsarve hoard (SCBI 54, 53), with reverse inscription +GO/DPII/NE O/C+E, attributed to Exeter both there and in Pagan 2011, 83, has in the past been attributed to Oxford, and that attribution may now need to be revisited.	1.15
Shrewsbury, Wulfgeat			
391	Dies Ba	(1) Now in private collection, UK	1.12
Shrewsbury, Wulfmær			
394	Dies Aa	(1) Now in private collection, UK	1.14

Southwark, Brunræd

- 398** Dies **Aa** +EDPER/D RE+: (Bust Ai)
 +BRVNRED ONN SVDG AC+P **Hild Da**
 (1) State Pushkin Museum, Moscow (Belyakov 1996, no. 144, ill.) 0.97
 (listed under this number in Pagan 2011, 86, but no details then available)

Stamford, Ælfheah

- 406** Dies **Ee** (1) This has recently passed through the sale room, Spink, 24 Sept. 2013, 161 (ex Keith Smalley collection) 1.08

Wallingford, Æthelwig

- 466** Dies **Aa** (3) Found Ilchester, Somerset, 28 Oct. 2010 (EMC 2010.0353 ; 0.48 (cut
 (new specimen) PAS SOM-47D056) halfpenny)

York, Styrcollr (new moneyer)

- 536a** Dies **Aa** []EDPER/D R[] (Bust Ai)
 +SIIRC[]N EOFR C+PA **Hild Da**
 (1) Found Clothall, Herts, Sept. 2007 (PAS BH-32E027) 0.75
 (fragment)

York, Sveinn

- 537** Dies **Aa** (5) This has recently passed through the sale room, Dix Noonan Webb, 4 Dec. 2013, 2060 (ex James T. Joyner collection). 1.11

Uncertain mint, [...].mæ

- 553a** Dies **Jj** +EDPAR/[] (Bust not classified)
 []/MAER/ONN[]/[] []C+[]
 (1) In stock of York Coins, Mar. 2012 0.52 (cut
 halfpenny)
 This may be a coin of Winchester, moneyer Leodmæ, as there is a ligate letter which may be P after the second N in the reverse inscription, but the coin is struck from different dies to **497** and **498**, the two pairs of dies so far recorded in this type for this Winchester moneyer.

Uncertain mint, [...].an

- 553** Dies **Kk** +E[]E+ (Bust not classified, second E round-backed)
 []/AN:/[]/[] []A[]
 (1) Found near East Dean, East Sussex (EMC 2012.0182) 0.25 (cut
 farthing)
 The visible letters AN in the reverse inscription allow the possibility that this is a coin of the Stamford mint, with mint signature STAN, but no Stamford reverse die so far recorded ends with a colon after STAN. It seems more probable that the letters AN are the final letters of the name of a moneyer.

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AN UNPUBLISHED PARCEL FROM THE DURHAM (NEVILLE'S CROSS) HOARD, 1889

DAVID SYMONS

The parcel of coins discussed here was purchased from a member of the public in the summer of 2007 by Format of Birmingham. After the sale was completed, the vendor happened to mention that family tradition said that the coins came from a hoard found in Durham in the 1880s or 1890s by the vendor's late wife's grandfather, who had supposedly been allowed to

keep some of the coins as his reward for finding them. Garry Charman of Format made the coins available to the writer so that the supposed provenance could be investigated and the coins properly recorded if they did prove to be of significance. Format also kindly supplied the photographs published here. As Mr Charman reported that the vendor appeared to be in his eighties, the proposed chronology seemed reasonable. Further, the fact that the alleged provenance was only mentioned after the transaction was complete (and had not been used in an attempt to boost the possible value of the coins) suggested that it might well be correct.

Investigation soon revealed that only one hoard seemed to correspond to the account given, the Durham (Neville's Cross) hoard, deposited in c.1375–80 and found in the spring of 1889. The first, and fullest, account of this hoard was given by John Evans soon after the discovery, but the find has subsequently featured in the lists of hoards compiled by Thompson and Allen.¹ Evans records that the hoard was found by a young man named Markey² while bird-nesting in a wood near Neville's Cross. The coins were contained in a (broken) pottery jug. The finder took some of the coins to a silversmith in Durham, where he discovered what the coins were, and then sold the remainder to two Durham antiquarians, Matthew Fowler and George Neasham. Evans was subsequently given access to these coins and to the sherds of the jug to prepare his note. He believed that he had seen 'nearly all that has been preserved of the hoard',³ but it is clear that this parcel escaped him since his list contains no halfpennies and only one continental sterling, a coin of John the Blind, Count of Luxemburg. However, it is also certain that we still do not have the whole hoard as Evans commented that 'Mr Neasham, in an account furnished to the local newspapers, has mentioned one specimen [*sc.* of an Edward III groat] with a crown mint mark on the reverse. This I have not seen.'⁴ No such coin appears in the new parcel either.

The coins are listed in the Catalogue below and illustrated (**Plates 5–6**). The three pennies of Edward I are in good condition and of high weight for coins that would have been about 65–95 years old when the hoard was deposited. Evans notes the pennies of Edward I as being 'for the most part considerably worn' and records an average weight of 17¼ grains (1.12 g) for the specimens he examined.⁵ This might raise the suspicion that coins have been added to the current parcel from another source. Against this, there was no indication given when they were sold to Format that any other source was known to the family. Further, it is likely that the coins retained by the finder (whether officially or not) would have been selected precisely because they were in better than average condition. This may also be the case for the groats of Edward III. Evans noted a weight range for these of 60 to 71½ grains (3.89–4.63 g), with an average of 64¼ grains (4.17 g).⁶ With one exception at 4.36 g, the specimens in the current parcel all fall close to or above Evans's top weight, five specimens weighing 4.56 g, 4.58 g, 4.62 g, 4.63 g and 4.68 g. The Scottish coins also give a general impression of being selected coins of good weight.

It is worth noting here that there are a number of inaccuracies in the *Inventory* entry that need to be corrected.⁷ Firstly, and most seriously, Thompson misread the totals given by Evans and under-recorded the Durham pennies by thirty-seven coins, seriously affecting the total he gave for the coins in the hoard.⁸ He also erred in three points of detail about the coins seen by Evans. First, he records there being ten London groats of Edward III, including one with a crown i.m. on the reverse. In fact Evans clearly says that he examined ten such groats and that he was aware of the report of another specimen, that he did not see (see the passage quoted

¹ Evans 1889; Thompson 1956, 55–6 (no. 148); Allen 2002, 66 (no. 194); Allen 2003, 130 (no. 147/E); Allen 2012, 495 (no. 394).

² Presumably to be identified with the vendor's wife's grandfather.

³ Evans 1889, 312.

⁴ Evans 1889, 315.

⁵ Evans 1889, 315.

⁶ Evans 1889, 315.

⁷ Thompson 1956, 55–6 (no. 148).

⁸ Thompson took the figure of thirty-one as representing the total number of Durham mint pennies in the coins seen by Evans. However, as is clear from Evans's list, thirty-one represents the number of 'uncertain' Durham pence and there are another thirty-seven coins listed in greater detail, making a total of sixty-eight Durham pennies in all.

above), with crown i.m.⁹ Similarly, Thompson records the existence of four London pennies of Edward III, including a 'transitional' one, whereas Evans clearly describes four London pennies 'of the usual type', plus a fifth 'transitional' specimen.¹⁰ For some reason Thompson also simply gives the wrong figure, four, for Edinburgh half-groats of Robert II. The correct number in Evans's list is three.¹¹ (Allen avoids Thompson's errors and generally gives the same totals as Evans).¹² Finally, Thompson incorrectly notes that Evans was able to examine the whole hoard. As we have already seen, Evans makes it quite clear that he did not.¹³

Table 1 summarizes the actual figures given by Evans in the top line. The erroneous figures given by Thompson are given in italics in the second line, while the contents of the new parcel are in the third line. The revised totals for the hoard appear in the final line.

TABLE 1. Contents of the Durham (Neville's Cross) hoard, 1889

	<i>English</i>				<i>Scottish</i>			<i>Continental</i>	<i>Total</i>
	4d.	2d.	1d.	½d.	4d.	2d.	1d.	<i>sterlings</i>	
Evans	10	10	165	—	62	7	1	1	256
<i>Thompson</i>	<i>10</i>	<i>10</i>	<i>127</i>	—	<i>62</i>	<i>8</i>	<i>1</i>	<i>1</i>	<i>219</i>
New parcel	6	1	4	2	3	4	3	1	24
Revised totals	16	11	169	2	65	11	4	2	280

CATALOGUE

England

Edward I (1277–1307)

1. Penny, London. Class 3d (North 1019). 1.26 g.
2. Penny, London. Class 8b (North 1034/2). 1.18 g.
3. Penny, Canterbury. Class 10cf5 (North 1043/1). 1.36 g.

Edward II (1307–27)

4. Halfpenny, London. Withers (2005a) Type 13c. 0.56 g.

Edward III (1327–77)

- 5–6. Groats, London. Pre-Treaty Series C (North 1147). 4.62 g, 4.36 g.
- 7–9. Groats, London. Pre-Treaty Series E (North 1163). 4.68 g, 4.63 g, 4.58 g.
10. Groat, London. Pre-Treaty Series Gbc/Gef mule (North 1194–5/1197–8). 4.56 g.
11. Halfgroat, London. Pre-Treaty Series Ga (North 1201). 2.33 g.
12. Penny, Durham. Crozier before CIVI. Mint signature [DVR] EME. Pre-Treaty F or G or Treaty B. 1.07 g (clipped).
13. Halfpenny, London. Third (Florin) Coinage. Withers (2005b) type 10 (North 1131). 0.53 g.

Scotland

Alexander III (1249–86)

14. Penny, Second Coinage. Stewart and North Class E2 (Spink 5056), mullets and stars of 26 points. 1.20 g.

David II (1329–71)

15. Groat, Edinburgh. Second Coinage, Bust A, cross stops, mullet after SCOTORVM, plain tressure. Stewart A7 (Spink 5091). 4.16 g.
16. Groat, Edinburgh. Second Coinage, Bust A, saltire stops, pellets in spandrels of tressure. Stewart A4 (Spink 5094). 4.55 g.
- 17–18. Halfgroats, Edinburgh. Second Coinage, Bust A, saltire stops, plain tressure. Stewart A5 (Spink 5105). These two coins appear to be struck from the same pair of dies. 2.36 g, 2.31 g.
19. Halfgroat, Edinburgh. Second Coinage, Bust A, cross stops, plain tressure. Stewart A6 (Spink 5105). 2.30 g.

⁹ Evans 1889, 315

¹⁰ Evans 1889, 314–15.

¹¹ Evans 1889, 314.

¹² Allen 2002, 66 (no. 194); Allen 2003, 130 (no. 147/E).

¹³ Evans 1889, 312.

20. Halfgroat, Edinburgh. Second Coinage, Bust B, saltire stops, pellets by tips of central and right-hand fleurs of crown, 'spikes' project into field from the first and second right-hand cusps of the tressure. Stewart B1 (Spink 5106). 2.34 g.
 21. Penny. First Coinage, Second Issue, Group II. Stewart 42 (Spink 5088). 1.02 g.
 22. Penny, Edinburgh. Second Coinage, Bust A, saltire stops. Stewart A (Spink 5114). 1.27 g.

Robert II (1371–90)

23. Groat, Perth. Six arcs to tressure, trefoils in spandrels, Spink 5136. 3.39 g.

Continental

Renaud, Count of Gelderland (1272–1326)

24. Sterling of Arnhem. Mayhew 180, heavy wedge serifs on reverse. 1.11 g.

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SOME NUMISMATIC EVIDENCE FROM FIFTEENTH-CENTURY IRELAND

DAVID SYMONS

THE reign of Edward IV is one of the most interesting periods in Irish numismatics, with a series of coins issued with very varied designs and at differing weight standards. A number of questions still remain to be resolved, however, as a glance at Dowle and Finn 1969, Dolley 1972 and Spink 2002 (still the main reference works) will demonstrate. Even the precise order of issues is still debated. It therefore seems worthwhile to bring to numismatic attention some evidence that may contribute towards the study of this period.

The details are recorded in two documents, both dated 26 July 1469 and originally produced by the registry of Archbishop John Bole of Armagh (1457–71). Archbishop Bole's records became scattered and in the seventeenth century were bound up in various volumes of Armagh papers. These two documents were bound into the Register of Archbishop Octavian (1478–1513).¹

Acknowledgements I would like to thank Mr Anthony Lynch of Dublin for bringing these documents to my attention, providing transcripts and for much useful advice during the preparation of this note. As will become readily apparent, I also owe a great deal to Dr David Dykes, who kindly read an initial draft of this paper and generously shared the results of his own research with me.

¹ Archbishop Octavian's Register fo. 241r. and 242v. The documents are published as nos 361–2 in Sughi 1999, 84–5, 410–12.

The first document is an application by Archbishop Bole for a papal dispensation on behalf of Henry O'Neill, 'principal captain of his nation',² to marry an (unnamed) woman who is within the forbidden degrees of consanguinity and affinity. As an aside, the archbishop explains how the marriage customs of the native Gaelic nobility make it very difficult to find spouses who are *outside* the forbidden degrees.³ O'Neill is not driven by lust, since he is over seventy, but it is hoped that the marriage will bring an end to violence between the two clans.

It is the second document that is of numismatic interest (see the Appendix for a full text). This is an indenture between Archbishop Bole and Patrick O'Murgan, chaplain to O'Neill. It records that Patrick has deposited with the archbishop twenty-five gold nobles, twenty shillings 'of old and large money', and a jewel worth six marks⁴ in exchange for Bole's recommendation to the Pope that he grant a dispensation for the marriage of O'Neill and Joan MacMahon.⁵ Various conditions are outlined. The archbishop is to send the valuables with his proctor to a banker, but this is to be at O'Neill's risk if the proctor is made captive by pirates, or drowned, or robbed, or killed by bandits, or 'destroyed' by any other means. If the pope will not grant the dispensation, the proctor's expenses and the costs of exchange are to be deducted and the balance returned to O'Neill,⁶ according to the rates current in Ireland at the time the document is agreed, that is to say for a gold noble 10s. and for twenty groats of large silver money 8s. 4d. in the new money current in the land.⁷ The remaining clauses are less interesting numismatically. They stipulate that, if either O'Neill or Joan die before the marriage can be celebrated, the archbishop is to meet the proctor's expenses and keep the balance; if the expenses are greater than the sum deposited then O'Neill will pay the extra.

In the earlier years of the fifteenth century, Ireland's coin needs had theoretically been met by the supply of English coins, although that supply had always been very inadequate. However, in February 1460, a Parliament held at Drogheda ordered that a coinage should be produced specifically for Ireland with groats of a distinctive design and a weight three-quarters that of their English counterparts.⁸ These measures were specifically designed to prevent the flow of Irish coin to England. The Parliament also decreed that unclipped English groats should be worth more in Irish pence than their English face value, and that the other principal English gold and silver coins should also have their Irish values increased *pro rata*.

The valuation of twenty 'old and large' groats at 8s. 4d. in 'the new money current in the land' i.e. 100d. Irish, puts the value of each of these groats at 5d. Irish. It is hard to believe that these groats can be anything other than English coins struck before the crisis of 1464, when the weight of the English groat was reduced from 60 to 48 grains.⁹ (As we shall see shortly, this identification is strongly supported by an examination of the metrology of the possible issues that might be involved here.)

Assuming that the groats are heavy English coins predating 1464 does, however, present us with something of a problem. The document under discussion dates to July 1469. According

² '... dominus Henricus Oneyle sue nacionis capitaneus principalis ...'. Henry O'Neill succeeded his father Owen as The O'Neill (variously also The Great O'Neill, the King of Ulster or the King of Tyrone) in 1455. He resigned the position in 1483 in favour of his son, Conn Mor, and died in 1489 (Nicholls 1972, 130–31; Otway-Ruthven 1980, 379–80).

³ For further information on Irish marriage customs – and the problems that they posed the church – see Nicholls 1972, 73–7.

⁴ '... in auro xxv nobilia in argento de antiqua et larga moneta xx s. et unum iocale pro vi marcis ...'. Valuing the nobles at 10s. each (see below), the total value comes to £17 10s.

⁵ 'Johanna yny McMahown'. 'Yny' is 'inghean', 'daughter of'. In modern Irish this is 'íníon', which is shortened to 'ní'. The MacMahons were based in Oriel, just south of the O'Neill centre of power in Tyrone (Nicholls 1972, 139–40). Joan would have been Henry's third wife. His first was Sile Burke, who he had married by 1441. His second wife was Gormfhlaith, daughter of Donnchadh MacMurrrough Kavanagh, so-called King of Leinster. She had died in 1465, four years before the dispensation was sought for the third marriage. There seems to be no firm evidence that Henry and Johanna were ever actually married. As Mr Lynch has pointed out to me, changing political realities may have led O'Neill to abandon the match, or the couple could simply have lived together informally.

⁶ '... deductis procuratoriis et cambii expensis ... restituentur ...'.

⁷ '... secundum ratam monete Hibernie tempore confectionis presencium currentis videlicet, pro nobile auri x solidos, et pro viginti grossis de larga moneta argenti viii s. et iii d. noue monete in patria currentis.' Note that the sum initially deposited by O'Neill's chaplain included 20s. in silver, while the figure mentioned here is 20 groats. Presumably the parties were allowing for the fact that some of the money would inevitably have been expended by the archbishop's proctor on his journey.

⁸ Lindsay 1839, 31; Smith 1840, 4; Dolley 1972, 20–2.

⁹ Challis 1992, 190–1.

to the current orthodox interpretation, at that date ‘the new money current in the land’ should be the Bust/Rose on Sun issue introduced in 1467 and only revalued prior to withdrawal in 1470.¹⁰ However, this coinage was notable for a drastic devaluation of the Irish currency, seeing the issue of double groats worth 8*d.* Irish at a notional weight of just under 45 grains, the weight of the Irish *groats* issued earlier in the 1460s. The Bust/Rose on Sun groat weighed just 21–22 grains, meaning that 5*d.* Irish would weigh in the order of 27 grains, while the pre-1464 English groats, our favoured candidates for the ‘old and large’ groats, weighed a notional 60 grains. This disparity would clearly make a nonsense of the terms outlined in the agreement. On the other hand, a ‘traditional’ Irish groat of about 45 grains would make 5*d.* Irish about 56 grains, a much more convincing equivalence to a pre-1464 English groat.

A number of possible solutions to this conundrum present themselves –

1. The date on the document is wrong and it actually dates to 1470+, after the Bust/Rose on Sun double groats were officially revalued as groats. This is unlikely since it would require the accidental misdating of not one but two documents.
2. The revaluation of the Bust/Rose on Sun double groats actually took place earlier than 1470. This position seems untenable since the evidence of the 1470 parliament is quite clear.
3. In areas outside the direct control of the government (as the O’Neill lands certainly were), the Bust/Rose on Sun double groats were treated as groats and circulated at the normal value of 5*d.* Again this seems improbable; it would have been a recipe for enormous confusion.
4. The ‘new money current in the land’ does not refer to the Bust/Rose on Sun coins, but to another issue altogether. The chronology of the coinage of the 1460s still seems to need work. Dolley’s text is rather opaque, but his caption to the coins illustrated on p. 25 of his *Medieval Irish Coins* – all coins with English-style reverses, struck at Waterford, Drogheda and Trim – describes them as ‘all apparently struck between c. 1468 and c. 1472’, which seems to imply that he thought that types other than the Bust/Rose on Sun issue might have been in circulation by the summer of 1469.¹¹

Dr David Dykes worked with Dolley on the coins of Edward IV and is now preparing a book on the Anglo-Irish series. He has kindly shared his thoughts on this problem with me and what follows is closely based on his comments. While *prima facie* the ‘new money current in the land’ should be the 1467 Bust/Rose on Sun coins, in 1465 the Irish parliament had authorised an issue of ‘English-type’ coins, with groats to be struck at a notional 42.1 grains.¹² Although these coins carried the Irish lordship title and Irish mint names, they were otherwise identical in type to their English counterparts while weighing some six grains less. Quite predictably, they found their way to England in large numbers, and it was to staunch this outflow of silver that the 1467 Irish parliament introduced the drastically devalued Bust/Rose on Sun issue.¹³ However, these coins rapidly became increasingly unpopular and it seems a strong possibility that early in 1469 a new issue of the English-style coins authorised in 1465 was produced. The new document discussed here would seem to provide strong support for this view, and would successfully reconcile the documentary and numismatic evidence. The metrological argument advanced above would still hold good, with 5*d.* Irish based on a 42.1 grain groat weighing a notional 52½ grains, still a reasonable approximation to a pre-1464 English groat, albeit with something of a bias in favour of the Irish currency. This issue would then be followed in 1470 by the devaluation and withdrawal of the Bust/Rose on Sun issue and the introduction of yet another English-type issue, but this time with the English royal title. The latter quickly reverted to the use of the Irish lordship titulature, however. How one would distinguish the issues of 1465, 1469 and 1470 from one another is a problem for another day.

¹⁰ Dolley 1972, 25.

¹¹ Dolley 1972, 25.

¹² Dolley 1972, 23–4. For some reason this issue was omitted from Spink 2002.

¹³ Dolley 1972, 24.

APPENDIX

Archbishop Octavian's Register, folio 241 verso (Sughi 1999, 411–12):

Super Iocalibus traditis custodie sub condicione.

Hec indentura facta, xxvi die mensis Iulii anno Domini millesimo cccclxix, inter reverendissimum in Christo patrem et dominum Iohannem, Dei et apostolice sedis gracia archiepiscopum Armachanum Hibernie primatem, ex una parte, et dominum Patricium Omurgan capellanum Henrici Oneyle, sue nationis capitanei principalis, vice et nomine eiusdem Henrici Oneyle parte ex altera: testatur quod idem dominus Patricius, capellanus predictus, deliberavit dicto domino primate, die preallegato, in auro xxv nobilia in argento de antiqua et larga moneta xx s. et unum iocale pro vi marcis, ad impetrandum dispensacionem, sive mandatum de dispensando a sede apostolica, super quibusdam impedimentis existentibus inter prefatum Henricum Oneyle et Iohannam yny McMahon, cum condicionibus sequentibus videlicet: quod dictus dominus primas summo pontifici favorabiliter pro dicta dispensacione obtinenda scribet, et supradicta bona, cum suo procuratore, mittet ad bancarios in aventura et periculo dictorum Henrici Oneyl et Iohannam yny McMawn ac domini Patricii, capellani predicti, ita tamen quod si predictus procurator captivatus fuerit per pirates, aut submersus in mare, sive per latrones spoliatus sive interfectus vel ex aliquo casu fortuito destructus, quod absit, sive peremptus, in nullo teneatur supradictus dominus primas pro dictis pecuniis prenomina- tis Henrico Oneyle nec Iohanne yny McMahon aut domino Patricio capellano predicto quovismodo respondere aut solvere. Et si papa propter premissam suggestionem antedicti domini primatis concedere dispensacionem predictam penitus denegaverit, procuratori eiusdem domini primatis ad proprias partes sine aliquo predictorum impedimentorum a curia incolume reverse, quod tunc predicta bona per prefatum dominum primatem recepta, deductis procuratoriis et cambii expensis, predicto Henrico Oneyle restituerentur secundum ratam monete Hibernie tempore confectionis presencium currentis videlicet, pro nobile auri x solidos, et pro viginti grossis de larga moneta argenti viii s. iiii d. noue monete in patria currentis. Et si predicta dispensacio fuerit obtenta et ad eiusdem dispensacionis execucionem predictum Henricum Oneyle sive Iohannam yny McMahon, mulierem predictam, aut illorum aliquem, ante matrimonium vigore prefate dispensacionis contractum sive celebratum de hac luce migrare contigerit, ad nullam restitutionem in parte nec in toto predice summe prefatus dominus primas teneatur, eo quod predice pecunie pro expedicione dispensacionis predice per suum procuratorem expense fuerunt et consumpte. Et si dictus primas fuerit certificatus per suum procuratorem quod oportebit ipsum magis solvere quam bona supradicta se extendunt, quod tunc dictus Henricus Oneyle dicto domino primate, vel suo procuratori aut suis assignatis uni vel pluribus, de residuo solvet aut satisfaciet, in cuius rei testimonium partes predice partibus presentium indenturarum sua sigilla alternatim apposuerunt.

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A TOOLED SCOTTISH COIN FOUND IN FRANCE

HENDRIK VAN CAELENBERGHE

SOME while ago a coin described as a *gros tournois* was offered for sale on eBay with obverse legend 'Iacobus Scoto(rum)'. This coin was clearly of Scottish origin, rather than French as the seller assumed, and on acquiring the coin I was able to confirm that it was a Light Issue Edinburgh groat of James III (1460–88), dating from the period 1467–75 (Stewart 1967, type I), but with a deliberately altered reverse (Fig. 1). Coins of this issue bear six-pointed mullets and groups of three pellets enclosing an annulet in alternate angles of the reverse cross, but on this coin the reverse has been tooled to show three pellets in each angle, with the mullets and annulets obliterated.



Fig. 1. Tooled Light Issue Edinburgh groat of James III.

It is clear that the reverse of this coin must have been altered to make it resemble an English groat, and the reason for this is not hard to deduce. At the time when this issue of James III was minted a heavy English groat issued before Edward IV's reduction of the English weight standard in 1464 was valued at 16*d.* in Scotland, and a light groat of Edward IV was tarified at 12*d.*¹ This coin had apparently been found in Normandy, but it seems probable that the alterations were carried out originally in order to facilitate the passing of the coin in circulation in Scotland at three or four times its true value.

Enquiries have revealed that there is no example of this sort of tooling on a groat in the collection of the National Museum of Scotland, and that no example has yet been recorded as a find from Scottish soil. The practice itself is known from Scottish finds, however, amongst which have been one or two specimens of Short Cross pennies engraved with a long cross on the reverse, presumably to allow them to circulate after the official demonetisation of the Short Cross coinage.² A full description of the tooled coin is as follows:

James III silver groat, Light Coinage, Stewart type Ib (1467–75); obv. die as Burns 1887, II, Fig. 567.

Diameter 24 mm; weight 1.75 g; die axis 60°.

Obv: +IACOBI[] REX SCOTO; crowned bust facing within eight-arc tressure.

Rev: +DNI P / T[] / [] S Z LI / BGR T // +VIL / L T E / DIN / BVRG; long cross with three pellets punched over six-pointed mullets in first and third angles; three pellets in second and fourth, with enclosed annulets obliterated.

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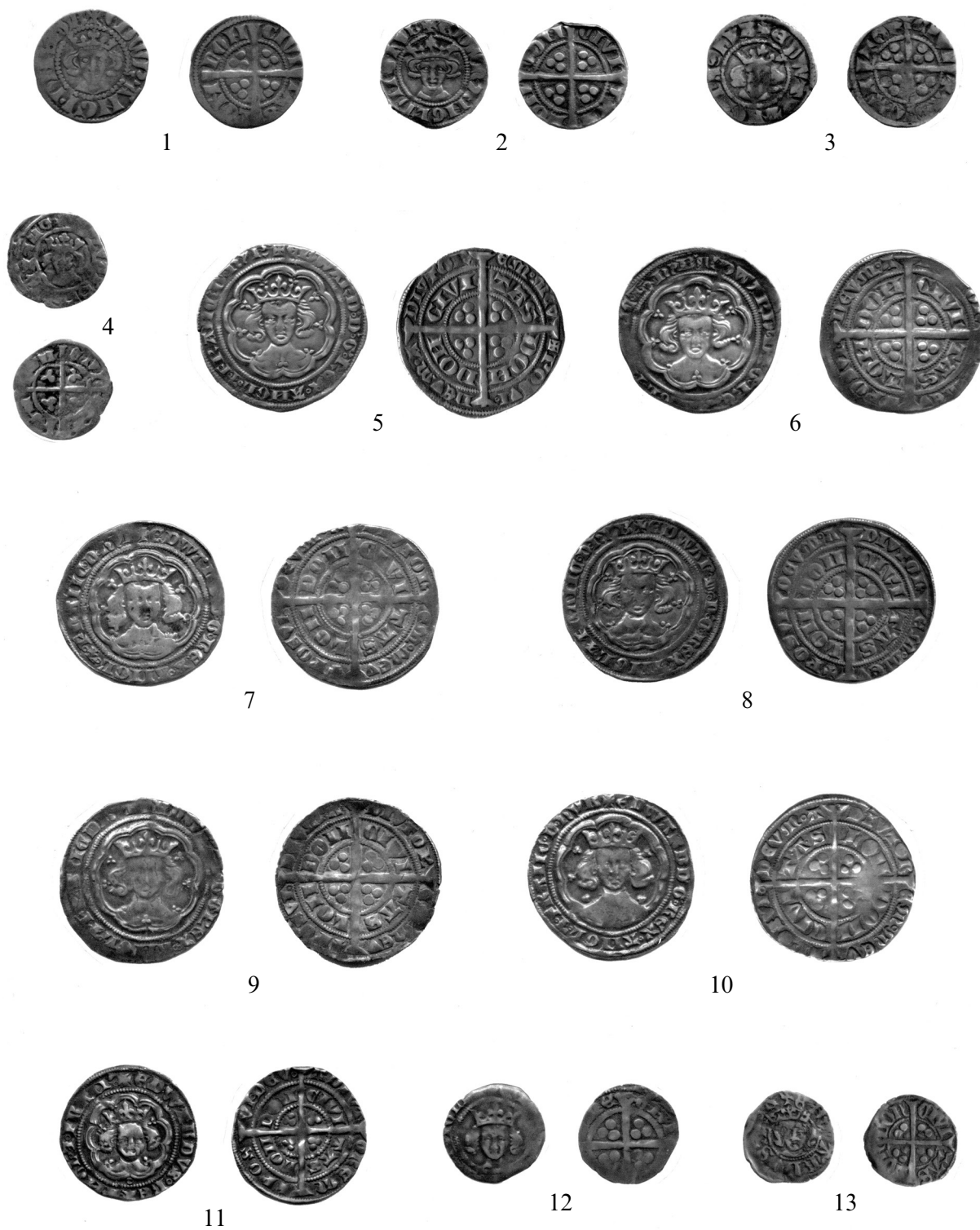
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¹ Act of Parliament, 12 Oct. 1467: Cochran-Patrick 1876, I, 32–3; Burns 1887, II, 105–7.

² N. Holmes, *pers. comm.*



SYMONS: DURHAM (NEVILLE'S CROSS) HOARD (1)

PLATE 6

