

THE COINAGE OF RICHARD OLOF

By DAVID WILMER DYKES

AFTER a period of operation lasting only some two years the Irish recoinage of Henry III came to an end in 1254. On 8 January of that year Roger de Haverhull, the Warden of Ireland's one mint at Dublin, was ordered to cease production, to dismiss the mint workmen and to return his dies to England. Anglo-Irish coinage in the middle ages was intermittent in the extreme and although English issues continued to be put out in the remaining years of Henry III's reign there seems to be little doubt that 1254, the year in which Ireland was assigned to the future Edward I, marked the end of a truly Henrician coinage in that country¹.

There are, however, among the Carlyon-Britton Irish coins now in the Ulster Museum two Long Cross pennies of apparent Henry III type which the late Raymond Carlyon-Britton was persuaded to classify tentatively with the early Irish issues of Edward I. Carlyon-Britton's attribution of his pieces to Edward I—apparently unpublished—was based on a comparison of their style with certain English issues discerned by L. A. Lawrence and the Fox brothers². Lawrence and the Fox brothers concluded that in England for the first six years of Edward I's reign (1272–1307) Long Cross coins in the name of Henry III continued to be struck. They suggested that coins struck as late as 1274 were in no way to be distinguished from the issues of Henry III but that there were two types of distinctive styles (Lawrence Class VI and Fox Type I; and Lawrence Class VII and Fox Type II) which could be attributed to Edward I. Both these types can be recognised 'by the artist's attempt to render the King's hair in naturalistic fashion, instead of by the conventional arrangement of crescents and dots which had previously been customary'. Type I (Class VI) of coarse and careless work the Fox brothers dated to 1274 and Type II (Class VII) of Edwardian style to a period within the dates 1275 and 1278. A number of London coins of Type II, it should be remarked, are distinguished by the inclusion of Lombardic 'U' 's in their legends³.

Carlyon-Britton's Irish coins are broadly of traditional Henry III Long Cross design but the King's hair and beard are here also treated more realistically than in the 1251–54 coinage. The two coins are temporarily catalogued in the Ulster Museum as Nos. C.B.367 and C.B.371. A companion piece to one of the Carlyon-Britton coins, but from different dies, is in the Irish National Collection at Dublin and was listed in 1911 by G. Coffey in his *Catalogue of Anglo-Irish Coins in the National Museum of Ireland* as Henry III, no. 32 (page 13). A fourth coin was listed and illustrated in Seaby's *Coin and Medal Bulletin* for March 1957 (IR. 774, p. 123; Plate II). This last piece was ultimately purchased by Dr. T. S. Agnew of Jerrettspass, Co. Down, who also has in his cabinet a fifth coin purchased as part of a lot (No. 1322) of 33 coins at the Lawrence sale in November, 1951.

¹ For the Irish recoinage of 1251–54 see D. W. Dykes, 'The Irish Coinage of Henry III', *BNJ* xxxii, pp.99 et seq.

It may not be without some significance that the formal assignment of Ireland, with the exceptions of the cities and counties of Dublin and Limerick (later included), was made to the future Edward I on 14 February 1254 little more than a month after the cessation of minting in Ireland.

² L. A. Lawrence, 'The Long Cross Coinage of

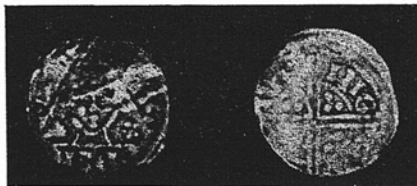
Henry III and Edward I', *BNJ* ix, pp. 145 et seq.

H. B. and J. S. Fox, 'Numismatic History of the Reigns of Edward I, II and III', *BNJ* vi, pp. 197 et seq., and succeeding volumes. The coins of Edward I in the name of Henry III are dealt with by the Fox brothers in volume vii, pp. 93–97.

³ Type II London coins of PHELIP have Lombardic 'u's both in the King's name and in the mint town name LUND; Type II London coins of RENAUD also have a Lombardic 'u' in LUND.

The five coins which are the only ones of their type known to the writer are described below and illustrated through the kindness of the Ulster Museum, the National Museum of Ireland, Messrs. B. A. Seaby Limited and Dr. T. S. Agnew.¹

(i) *Ulster Museum C.B.367*



Obverse : The King's crowned head facing, within a triangle. Beard and fringe made up of pellets set closely together to give a more natural effect than in the earlier Henrician coins. The King's locks of hair are also rendered more naturalistically. The eyes are made up from annulets and pellets. In his right hand the King holds a sceptre, the head of which, made up of three pellets and short limbs, is flared to suggest a fleur de lys rather than a cross. There is a pellet to the right of the sceptre-head. The King's crown also has a central fleur made up of three pellets. In the right vertex of the triangle there is a cinquefoil or rose with a central pellet and pellets for leaves.

The legend HENRI CUSR EX III' runs clockwise around the triangle starting to the right of its apex. The E, N and R of HENRICUS are ligulated; the N is reverse-barred; the C is closed and barred and the U is Lombardic and barred. The X of REX appears, as in the other coins, to have pellets at the end of its limbs.

The whole design is contained in a beaded circle.

Reverse : A long voided cross pommée with a pellet at its centre and a group of three pellets in each quarter.

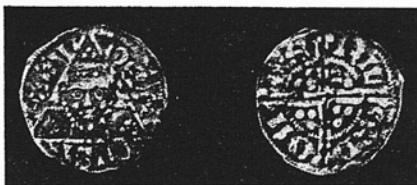
The legend RIC/ARD/(OND)/IVE (N reverse-barred) runs clockwise around an inner beaded circle: the V of DIVE is a wedge-shaped Roman letter.

Another beaded circle contains the whole design,

Weight : 21.4 grains.

This coin is unfortunately struck slightly off centre and is also worn so that its details are not as clear as they might be.

(ii) *National Museum of Ireland — Coffey 32*



Obverse : Different die from (i) but similar design. HENRICVS has an unbarred c and appears to have a wedge-shaped Roman V(v).

Reverse : Different die from (i) but wedge-shaped Roman V in DIVE.

Weight : 22 grains.

¹ The writer is grateful to Mr. W. A. Seaby, Dr. William O'Sullivan and Messrs. Peter Seaby and Frank Purvey for their generosity in supplying him with information about four of the coins listed,

providing him with the photographs and granting him permission to use them in this note. He is likewise indebted to Dr. T. S. Agnew for generously allowing him to examine and photograph his two coins.

(iii) *Formerly Lawrence Collection : Lot 1322 — Sale 28 November 1951. (Now T. S. Agnew Collection)*



Obverse : Different die from (i) and (ii) but similar design. The flared pelleted fleur to sceptre-head and pelleted x in REX are clearly shown. HENRICVS has a wedge-shaped Roman v.

Reverse : Different die from (i) and (ii) but again a wedge-shaped Roman v in DIVE.

Weight : 20 grains.

(iv) *Formerly Seaby IR 774 (Now T. S. Agnew Collection)*



Obverse : Different die from preceding coins but similar design. The flared pelleted fleur to sceptre head and pelleted x in REX are clearly shown as is the pelleted fleur to crown. There does not appear to be a pellet to the right of the sceptre-head. Unbarred c and Lombardic u in HENRICVS.

Reverse : Again different die. The v of DIVE previously normal Roman is now an unbarred Lombardic u which could be taken to be a D (DIDE).

Weight : 22.4 grains.

(v) *Ulster Museum C.B.371*



Obverse : Style different and inferior to four previous coins. King's eyes are almond-shaped, being made up from crescentic irons and pellets. Pellet before HENRICVS which has a wedge-shaped Roman v. Pellet also to the right of the sceptre-head.

Reverse : Again different die. DIVE has an unbarred Lombardic u which again could be read as a D.

Weight : 21.2 grains.

This coin is probably a contemporary forgery.

These Anglo-Irish coins bear only a superficial resemblance to the English Class VI (Type I) coins while the lettering and its construction differs. For instance the E, N and R of HENRICUS are ligulated while in the English series the R is never joined to the preceding two letters. The style of the King's head again is different and the crown does not have the more 'modern' lily form of the English crown: it retains the pelleted fleur of the earlier Henrician series although it is treated in a somewhat different way. The real point of contact with the English Long Cross series of Edward I lies in the use of the Lombardic U forms which appear on the English coins of Class VII (Type II) and with the date of which the Irish coins accord. The five Irish pieces naturally form a little group of their own and, although the derivation of their design is obvious, stylistically they should not be associated with the recoinage issues of 1251-54. All five coins, though, are in the name of one moneyer, RICARD, and at one time it did occur to the writer that they might in reality be continental imitations of the ordinary Henrician pennies struck by, or for, Richard Bonaventure, in part, it must be admitted, because of the Lombardic lettering and because of the stylistic differences both with the Irish coins of 1251-54 and with the English Long Cross coins of Edward I.

It is unfortunate that the provenance of none of these coins is known today and of course it is true that certain more or less contemporary continental rulers, the Counts of Lippe for example, had a penchant for the triangle design but put their own titles on the Long Cross type. Direct German copies of John's Irish coins (but omitting the reverse crescent) were found in the Hildesheim hoard¹ but these five Henrician coins seem to have no known continental reference, Again, although (v) is certainly a suspect piece, none of the coins appears to be a contemporary forgery of those of Bonaventure. The writer now believes that Carlyon-Britton was right in his suggestion and the contention of this note is that these coins were struck a quarter of a century after Henry III's recoinage and shortly before that of his son. The lack of much stylistic similarity between these coins and their suggested English counterparts is accepted but such a charge might equally well be levelled at the earlier Henrician Long Cross coins. The essence of the argument for associating these apparent Irish coins with the English Edwardian issues lies more in the explicit testimony of documentary evidence.

The paucity of Irish mint documents was remarked upon in the last volume of this *Journal* but such documentary evidence as there is points to a revival of Irish coinage under Edward I in the years immediately preceding the start of his great recoinage in 1279. The evidence is sketchy in the extreme but in February 1275 Joseph Chauncy, the English Treasurer, was instructed to deliver to Stephen de Fulburn, newly appointed Bishop of Waterford and Treasurer of Ireland, 'two dies of the King's money to be taken with him into Ireland to make therewith the King's money there'². Fulburn was issued with letters of safe conduct and probably left England a month later³. Minting operations did not begin in Ireland as soon as he arrived there but the next year the Dublin mint was evidently the

¹ The writer is also indebted to his friend Mr. R. H. M. Dolley for this reference and for permitting him to read in advance of publication his paper on 'The Earliest German Imitations of Anglo-Irish Coins', *Hamburger Beiträge zur Numismatik*, Heft 18 1964 (in the press).

² 3 February 1275. De cuneis liberand. Item mandamus est fratri Joseph de Cancy Thesaurarius quod duos cuneos monete Regis libet (sic) venerabili

patri S. Waterford Episcopo deferend serv in Hibernia ad monetam Regis ibidem inde facienda.

Close Rolls, 3 Edward I membrane 23. (P.R.O. ref. C54/92). An English abstract is given in *Calendar of Close Rolls*, Edward I, 1272-79, p. 146.

³ The letters of protection to Fulburn were issued on March 4, 1275. *Calendar of Documents relating to Ireland*, 1252-84, No. 1101, p. 192.

scene of some activity again. That this was so is made clear by a reference to the mint contained in a memorandum of a commission of inquiry into the state of the Irish Exchequer and the Treasurer's accounts set up nearly ten years later in 1285.¹

The memorandum, which is preserved in the Public Record Office, records the existence of three audited mint accounts submitted to the commissioners to substantiate charges made against Fulburn. Few details other than dates are given but it emerges that a Richard Olof held the Irish Mint from 8 June, 1276 until 1 May, 1279², that is to within sixteen days of the new Edwardian dies being issued to the English moneyers for the great recoinage. Apart from this one solitary and regrettably bare fact little or nothing is known about Richard Olof. He or perhaps a near relative was established in Dublin as one of its leading citizens a quarter of a century earlier³; but that Richard Olof had no apparent connexions with minting or the coinage. One can, however, conclude from their surname that both Richard Olof (Olave)'s were descended from one of those old Dublin Ostman families now assimilated with the more recent English community.

Olof's account is not the only reference to minting activities at Dublin in the late 1270's. Two entries relating to the Irish mint in Olof's time may be found in the Treasurer's expenditure rolls. During the Michaelmas term of 1278 a goldsmith named Richard received two payments from the Irish Exchequer, one of five marks and the other of £4-7s.-1½d. 'for divers instruments etc. for the use of the moneyers'⁴.

There can be no doubt whatsoever from these tantalisingly brief records that the Dublin mint was again in operation between the years 1276 and 1279. Bearing in mind that dies were ordered from London in 1275, it is reasonable to conjecture that the type of coin being struck would approximate roughly in style to contemporary English types although on an analogy with the previous issue of 1251-54 it would not need to be a slavish copy. It seems, therefore, reasonable to suggest that the moneyer RICARD of the coins was none other than the contemporary Richard Olof of the Fulburn inquiry striking his coins as a moneyer directly under the control of the Treasurer.

Richard Olof's coins are rare but the die differences do not point to a very low mint output. Their rarity can be more satisfactorily explained by the complete demonetisation of the Long Cross series in August 1280 and the short period of time that the coins had to find their way into hoards.

It may perhaps not be out of place to close with a digression on the Fulburn inquiry. Stephen de Fulburn was a trusted servant of the crown and in 1281 he succeeded Robert de Ufford as Justiciar of Ireland, combining his new office with that of Treasurer. Edward I's preoccupation with the conquest of Wales at this time, though, led to heavy demands on the resources of the Dublin Government and added to the difficulties of its already over-extended

¹ De Statu Cambiorum Dublinie et Waterford' Q.R., Irish Exchequer, Bundle 530, E.B. 2544. (P.R.O. ref. E101/234). See also *Cal. Docs. Irel.*, 1285-92, No. 2, pp. 7-9. The account of 'Donald and Andrew Spersholt' referred to by James Simon, *Irish Coins* (1810 ed.) p. 14, under the year 1275 was in reality rendered by the Florentine James Donati and Andrew de Spersholt in 1282 for the previous two years.

² See note 1. The three accounts are in the names of Richard Olof (8 June 1276 to 1 May 1279), Walter Vured (or Unred) (1 May 1279 to 30 May 1280) and Henry de Ponte and James Donati

together with Walter Vured and Humphrey le Gann 'custodes cuneorum et fundatores' (30 May 1280 to 21 September 1281). It would appear that all three accounts were disallowed (disadnotata) by the Auditors.

³ *Twenty Third Report of the Deputy Keeper of the Public Records in Ireland* (1891), pp. 80 et seq., and *Historic and Municipal Documents of Ireland, 1172-1320* (ed. Gilbert, Rolls Series, 1870), p. 116.

⁴ *Cal. Docs. Irel.*, 1252-84, No. 1497, pp. 288-89 and *Cal. Docs. Irel.*, 1285-92, No. 169, p. 65. It emerged in 1285 that the Treasurer had retained the writs for these payments.

and not altogether efficient administration. Following complaints of peculation directed against the new Justiciar the inquiry was instituted and in 1285 Fulburn was found to owe the King some £13,235¹. The vehemence of the charges of graft, corruption and inefficiency brought against Fulburn militates somewhat against their validity especially since the Justiciar's chief accuser Nicholas de Clere, who replaced him as Treasurer and who was an unscrupulous political rival with a deep hatred of Fulburn, was himself accused of even graver charges seven years later².

The inquiry and the accusations it heard are of special interest to numismatists since they covered the years from Fulburn's appointment as Treasurer to Michaelmas 1284 and consequently were in part concerned with the period of the great recoinage. One of the more serious charges concerned the recoinage itself and evidence was taken as to the 'state of the mints of Dublin and Waterford and the money coined at Roscommon'. 'Ireland', Fulburn's accusers contended 'is much oppressed and nearly destroyed by the changes of the mints, so say the people of that land.' Earlier it had been alleged that having prohibited the old Long Cross money the Justiciar had 'caused new money to be made. It was called *Scalding*, Bishop's money, or *Stephening*, from the name of the bishop. All old, small, and worn out money ought thus to have come into the mint, whence infinite profit. Of the profit nothing is found . . . By such a mint alone anyone might grow rich. By receipt of small money by weight with white money, and payment of it to the creditor in place of large and good money, anyone might grow rich. It cannot be known what is thus received or paid, because receipts and payments occurred now in the Exchequer and now in the Chambers.'³

This allegation, however confused and one-sided it may be, is indicative of a widely-held contemporary view of recoinages and is reminiscent of Matthew Paris's feelings about the English recoinage of 1247.

'The people were so troubled by divers precepts of the King concerning the receiving of money, proclaimed by the voice of a herald throughout the cities of England, that they would rather a measure of corn had cost more than twenty shillings; for exchange was carried on but in few cities: and when they got there, they received a certain weight of new money for a certain weight of old, and were obliged to pay thirteen pence on every pound for the smith's work, or moneying, which was commonly called Whiting . . . The people were therefore reduced to great straits, and suffered no slight injury, inasmuch as twenty shillings could scarcely be obtained from the money-changer's table for thirty, without the trouble and expense of several days duration and tedious expectation'⁴.

Matthew Paris could at times be tedious and could write tendentiously and it has been said of him too with some cogency that he 'strongly disapproved of the activities of government except that of hanging thieves'. Nevertheless his remarks should not be dismissed

¹ *Cal. Docs. Irel.*, 1285-92, No. 42, p. 24.

² Fulburn retained his office of Justiciar and was pardoned his arrears subject to bond. In 1286 he was translated to the archbishopric of Tuam and died two years later. Cf. G. H. Orpen, *Ireland under the Normans*, iv (1920) and see various entries relating to the Fulburn 'affair' in *Cal. Docs. Irel.*, 1285-92.

³ See Note 1, p. 77. De Statu Cambiorum Dublinie et Waterford . . . Postmodum defensa veteri moneta in totum eieri fecit novam monetam qui vocabatur Scaldingenses seu moneta episcopus vel Stephingenses a nomine episcopi pro qua apertebat totam veterem monetam parvam et totam venire ad cambium et sic lucrum in finitum. De lucro istorum

nihil invenientur . . . Et si non esset aliud nisi de tali cambium posset quas sui sine ditari. Item de recepta parve monete per pondus cum dealbatione . . . et per illam parvam loco magne et bone posset quis ditari. Et fec pot sciri quid recipitur sit et quid non sit nec quid solvitur sit nec quid non sit. Item in scaccariis modo in cameris modo hic et ibi non solvendum in recip.

The translations in the text are taken from the somewhat garbled versions in the Calendars.

⁴ For the Latin text of Mathew Paris see *Chronica Majora* (ed. Luard, Rolls Series, 1880), v. pp. 18-19.

as prejudiced monkish chit-chat. It is patently obvious both from what he has to say and also from the Fulburn inquiry that recoinages did bring hardship and loss to the public and were consequently generally unpopular. Recoinages were also complex administrative operations, hedged with difficulties, which were not to be embarked upon lightly. To the writer, at least, this points to a probable reason for the continuation of coin types into new reigns and the apparent fossilisation of some series for several generations after the introduction of a 'type immobilisé' on continental lines by Henry II in 1158. A detailed examination of the subject of recoinage in the middle ages is urgently needed but while the writer's argument is conjectural it does serve to explain why, in 1276, four years after Edward I's reign began and twenty-two years after Ireland had been assigned to him Richard Olof started to strike a new series of Anglo-Irish pennies in the name of Henry III.