EDWARD THE CONFESSOR'S GOLD PENNY

by D. F. ALLEN

A JUSTLY famous coin has recently been acquired by Mr. R. C. Lockett with the assistance of Messrs. A. H. Baldwin and Sons. Mr. Lockett has very kindly permitted me to publish this account of it.

The coin, a penny of Edward the Confessor, Brooke, type 5, struck in gold by the moneyer Lufinc or Lyfinc of Warwick, was discovered over a century ago. After a period of controversy, when most of the well-known numismatists of the day were able to inspect it and give their opinions, it had to all intents and purposes been lost to the numismatic world. It was, however, in safe keeping and Mr. Lockett has been able to trace a continuous pedigree. With the coin Mr. Lockett acquired a dossier of correspondence, which may be worth publishing in extract, not only for the light it throws on the coin itself, but also for the glimpse it gives us of the celebrities in the numismatic world at the beginning of the reign of Queen Victoria.

At that time the coin belonged to Mr. Thomas Henry Spurrier, solicitor, of Edgbaston, near Birmingham. About May 1837 Mr. Spurrier appears to have sought the opinion of an unnamed authority as to whether the coin was genuine. Mr. Lockett has a draft to this effect, partly in Mr. Spurrier's hand, and later documents suggest that the letter was ultimately addressed to Mr. J. Y. Akerman, the well-known dealer and writer on coins, one of the founders of the (Royal) Numismatic Society.

> "The Coin", he says, "was sold at a respectable jeweller's in our town by an old woman as old gold, about 2 years ago. One of the Clarks got possession of it and offered it to me for a sovereign, but I being at that time a very young collector and having read in Ruding that the Saxons never coined gold, refused it telling him at the same time I thought it must be forged. He then took it to a Mr. Allport in whose possession it had remained ever since till I became the purchaser at a price of 10 pounds, which I did in consequence of a conversation I had with Mr. Marshall, concerning it. It appears to me to be a piece of hammered gold struck in the penny die, (perhaps by way of a medal) as I think had the Saxons coined gold other pieces must have occurred among the numerous Saxon coins which have been found, but I shall bow to the considered view of men more learned than myself. I have not at present discovered the person who first sold it but I think I may be able to do so soon . . . if it is your opinion that it is genuine, and the Numismatic Society meet soon, I should wish you to present them with an engraving sent herewith."

A later draft, dated Edgbaston 19 May 1837 and entirely in Mr. Spurrier's hand, is in reply to a missing letter of 16 May 1837, presumably itself the reply to the above. Again the addressee is omitted,

but it was probably Mr. Akerman, who, it appears from the reply, was of the opinion that the coin might have been a cast or other form of forgery. Mr. Spurrier was at pains to explain why it was improbable that anyone in Birmingham would make a forgery of this nature or dispose of it for 8*s*. 9*d*. or 9*s*. to a silversmith who knew nothing about coins. He asked that the coin and his letter should be exhibited at the next meeting of the Society on 25 May, which he hoped he might attend. He also mentioned that two Birmingham goldsmiths had expressed a decided view that the piece was not a cast.

The coin was duly exhibited at the meeting. Shortly afterwards, in the July part of the *Numismatic Journal* (vol. ii, p. 54), Mr. Akerman committed himself to an unfavourable opinion on the coin. "Though by no means satisfied of its antiquity we yet willingly lay a representation of it before our readers with such particulars as have accompanied it." Mr. Akerman accepted that it was struck, but in his words:

> "the only question is, whether it is one of the ingenious forgeries of Bekker, who executed several false coins of the middle ages or in reality a Saxon coin. Notwithstanding the mention of gold money in the Laws of Canute and other documents of that period, nothing with the exception of this piece has appeared as evidence that the Saxons coined gold. We are certainly of opinion that the Saxons did not coin gold; and should our English Numismatists agree in proving this piece antique, we shall regard it as struck from the penny dies although no penny of Edward the Confessor of the precise type is at present known. It is somewhat remarkable that this coin weighs 54¼ grains and the ½ florin of Edward III, 54 grains."

This published opinion clearly caused Mr. Spurrier no little concern, not to say offence. He therefore sought the views of Mr. Matthew Young, of Covent Garden, a rival dealer. We have Mr. Young's reply dated 29 July 1837, most of which is devoted to a diatribe against Becker and all his works, but ends with the following: "How Mr. Akerman could think there was a possibility of your coin being one of his fabric, I am at a loss to conceive as I never heard that he had attempted to imitate Saxon Coins—nor indeed any of the coins of the middle ages except the Byzantine and Visigoths of Spain of which I believe he has made a compleat series—now well known on the continent." Actually this statement is not quite correct; Becker did imitate a few medieval coins, but so far as is known no Saxon ones.

On 2 August Mr. Young again wrote from London returning the coin to Edgbaston and enclosing both a formal letter from himself, apparently designed for possible publication, and one from Mr. Hawkins of the British Museum, both of which supported the view that the coin was genuine. He advised another approach to Mr. Akerman "as he had good reason to think he will retract his opinion as to the possibility of its being the work of Bekker &c.". He goes on to ask if "Mr. Hill's work"—presumably the volumes we now know

as "Sainthill's Olla Podrida", which were intended for private circulation only—would be a suitable place for the publication of the coin.[1] In his formal letter he states:

"I have taken every possible means I possess from Books, documents, opinions of numismatists, as well as carefully comparing your interesting and curious gold piece with numerous Anglo Saxon & Danish Pennies in my Cabinets—the result is my conviction that it is a genuine struck piece of the time of the Confessor and I little doubt from its weight so nearly answering to the mancus (which is largely treated on by Clarke in his connections) that it was intended for that piece of Money. I have exhibited the piece to most of our numismatists who reside in London, nearly all of whom agree with me that it can be no other than a genuine struck piece of the Saxon era. Mr. J. D. Cuff of the Bullion Office of the Bank of England has examined the piece with great care and his observation was that if it was not a genuine struck Coin of the Day, it was impossible by any known rule to determine a real coin from a forgery. Mr. Cuff is considered our best judge of Saxon coins, both from practice and theory. In fact we have no other numismatist that I am acquainted with that is able to give an opinion that may be depended on so well as that Gentleman. He possesses by far the finest and most numerous Collection in England of Anglo Saxon Coins. The Rev. D. J. W. Martin, Rector of Theston in Kent (a gentleman whose opinion I bow to in these matters) possesses a fine collection of English coins from Egbert. He considers your piece certainly genuine. Such is the opinion also of Mr. Brumell, the Revd. Mr. Brice, Mr. Bentham and various others to whom I have shewn the piece. The only well informed Gentleman of profound judgement in numismatics that appears to me to have a doubt of the antiquity of your coin is Mr. Thos. Thomas who possesses one of the best collections of Greek and Roman Coins of any Gentleman in our Country or in Europe. He seems to think that notwithstanding its beauty and sharpness there is a possibility of its being a cast, he having seen surprising specimens of casts in fine Gold. At the same time he candidly acknowledges that he has never turned his attention sufficiently to Saxon coins to be able to give a decided opinion as to the antiquity of your piece. He is rather prejudiced in the opinion (entertained by many eminent antiquaries) that the Saxons never struck gold for currency. There are very few that professedly collect Saxon coins in London, most of those best versed in Saxon and Danish money reside in various parts of our Country, and not having the opportunity of seeing your coin cannot form a decided opinion on it from the print. Mr. Doubleday the most ingenious Caster of Seals and Coins is decidedly of opinion your piece is not a cast. He has had the opportunity of comparing it with various Saxon Pennies & considers it of the time of Edward the Confessor. He

[1] It does not appear to be mentioned by Sainthill.

has as good an eye for a coin as any person I am acquainted with, & tho not long conversant with numismatics his opinion is consulted by our first antiquaries. In fact his knowledge of the antiquity of Greek and Roman Coins, exceeds many Collectors of long standing."

Hawkins's opinion was expressed as follows:

"Dear Sir, I have very carefully compared the gold piece of Edward the Confessor with the silver coins of that King in the British Museum; and I must say that the workmanship of both is so very similar that I can scarcely believe it possible that they should not be contemporaneous. The cheek and chin upon all are in relief and smooth, the die having been hollowed out with a tool, perhaps ground down: the nose and lips are punched into the die, not cut. In the gold piece the lips are formed by two longish sharp lines, in the other they are generally formed by two round dots, but not always; for they are sometimes like on the gold. On the reverse the object in one quarter of the cross of the gold is a point; in all our silver coins it is distinctly an annulet. The gold is much larger than any of our silver and must have been struck in a collar made on purpose; I believe all the coins of that period to have been struck in collars though the practice was left off in after times. Upon the whole I believe the coin to be genuine; but I should be glad to see it side by side with a silver coin of the same type struck at the same place by the same moneyer as there are some peculiarities in the letters. LIFINC is common, LYFINC I do not recollect; the Æ for E or A in Warwick is also unknown to me; a genuine silver coin might explain all this.

Yours truly, E. Hawkins."

Some of Mr. Hawkins's points will be touched on again later in this paper.

In accordance with Mr. Young's advice, Mr. Spurrier wrote to Mr. Akerman, and we have his draft, dated in error 5 July instead of 5 August 1837. He recapitulates the views expressed and opinions collected in Mr. Young's letter and repeats all he then knew of the coin's provenance. He ended with an appeal to Akerman to "retract what has been said of it in your last Journal". Mr. Akerman had, however, made up his mind to be obstinate. In the October part (vol. ii, pp. 106–7) he repeated his earlier opinion with slight modifications in the direction, it may be thought, of greater obscurity. "We are by no means certain that Becker did not attempt to imitate the coins of our Saxon Monarchs. We do not pronounce Mr. Spurrier's coin a forgery but we are not to be made to believe but that the rude money of this period might not be successfully imitated in so ductile a metal as gold." He apologized if his previous observations had been taken in ill part, and promised publicity to any evidence establishing authenticity.

By this time Mr. Spurrier's blood was up; he was determined to

settle the question one way or the other. At about this date he must have made contact with Mr. Jabez Allies, the historian of Worcestershire; it is not clear how he obtained the clue to Worcester, but it may have been through a Mr. Manning. On 15 May 1837 he had apparently written about this coin to Mr. George Charles Mole, "one of his former clerks that had been in the habit of saving any little thing that was in any way curious"; the letter is missing, but on 17 May Mr. Mole replied that "the coin in question . . . was placed in my hands by Mr. Thomas Manning, then in the employ of Mr. Henry Edwards. He informed me that it belonged to a friend of his who wished to dispose of it. . . . When you declined purchasing I returned it, and Mr. Manning sold it to Mr. Allport—but for what sum or at what time I cannot tell." For further information Mr. Spurrier was referred to Mr. Manning. On 9 October 1837 Mr. Allies, writing from Worcester, states that he had already made a "Parcel" on the coin and had also "made a report to the Council of our Natural Hy. Society thereon", which the *Guardian* newspaper had printed. He was continuing inquiries through Mr. Manning in Birmingham. By 19 October he could report that he was about to meet Mr. Manning, and on 27 October he wrote to the Council of the Worcestershire Natural History Society reporting the results. A copy is included in a letter of 30 October to Mr. Spurrier whom he had in the meantime visited, and the following are the principal passages of interest:

> "Since my letter to the Society of 1st Inst.—enclosing an engraving of a Saxon coin of Edward the Confessor in the Collection of Thos. Hy. Spurrier, Esq, of Edgbaston near Birmingham I have to observe that Mr. Spurrier and myself have made out a complete chain of evidence relative to this valuable unique having been found upon the taking down of the old St. Clement's Church in this city. The particulars I have subjoined as they are highly important relative to our local history. This coin has been laid before the Numismatic Society in London and I have lately seen several letters to Mr. Spurrier from some of the first Numismatists in the Kingdom declaring it to be a genuine Coin and that it is the only one which has been found. Its discovery has therefore subverted all that was previously written upon the subject relative to there having been any Saxon Gold Coins."

He then sets out the deposition described below and continues that "this antient church was taken down about 13 years ago and rebuilt on the other side of the river. Some portions of the old walls still remain containing circular arches." He proceeds to give some particulars of the church in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, which are not relevant here, and concludes by saying that he understood "Mr. Manning, who is now in the employ of Messrs Edwards Hall & Co, Goldsmiths, High St., Birmingham, sold it as having been found in the above mentioned rubbish to Mr. Allport of Bull Street, Birmingham, Watchmaker, for 13*s*. 2*d*. and the latter sold it to Mr.

Spurrier for £10. These facts they respectively informed me of during my late visit to that place."

The deposition is also in Mr. Lockett's possession. It is written in Mr. Spurrier's neat, legal hand, and though not dated was, as is shown by a further declaration at the end, to have been executed on 21 October 1837. It reads:

> "*Andrew Ball* of Severn Stoke in the County of Worcester Coal Dealer says.—I was at Saint Clement's Church in Worcester, when it was being taken down, and while I was there one of the workmen discovered a small piece of Gold amongst the Ruins, which I purchased of him for five shillings, and when I got home I gave it to my wife to take care of, but afterwards sold it to Mr. Manning of Birmingham for ten shillings—The workman's name I understood was Jefferies, and lived at St. John's but whether he was a native of Worcester, or only a lodger I cannot tell. The Mark X of Andrew Ball. Andrew Ball made his mark in the presence of us Thomas Henry Spurrier Elizabeth Ball Thomas Manning."

There is a further declaration, made five days later, that Mr. Spurrier's coin is the same as that found in the church. Andrew Ball and his wife declare that "they should know it from a thousand others", while the wife states that "she cleaned the Coin, when it was brought to her at her then residence in Worcester and that it was of a darker colour before it was cleaned". Andrew Ball added his mark, while his wife and Jabez Allies signed it in the presence of W. H. D'Egville, College Yard, Worcester.

Mr. Allies's letter and the depositions were duly published in the *Guardian* newspaper. Some correspondence may have ensued, as on 6 December 1837 Mr. Allies was sending Mr. Spurrier a copy of views expressed by Thos. Meade, Esq., of Chatley Lodge near Bath to the Worcester Natural History Society, which may be summarized by saying that he, quite wrongly, attributed the coin to Worcester instead of Warwick. We do not have Mr. Spurrier's reply.

Mr. Spurrier was delighted with these results, as we learn from a draft letter, perhaps intended for Mr. Young; the only clue is that the recipient must have been the author of "an interesting work on the Roman Denarius and English Penny". The draft is dated 18 October, but this again may be a mistake for 28 October. After recapitulating the whole story, he adds that

> "I have all the evidence of its being so found, and also the whole History of it, since its discovery written into a Book for that purpose and properly attested—together with extracts from the Worcester papers as published by the Natural History Society of that City".

He complains of Akerman's treatment of the theme in the *Numismatic Journal* ("which by the bye I think anything but an impartial work").

He also announces his intention of publishing the piece in the *Gentleman's Magazine*. Mr. Lockett in fact has the draft of the letter he wrote to the magazine, which was duly published in New Series, vol. viii, July–December 1837, p. 637. The "Book" has not turned up.

This concludes the main bundle of evidence relating to the coin, but Mr. Lockett has a few further papers which account fully for its subsequent history. On the death of Mr. Spurrier the coin passed to Major-General Edward Mortlock Studd, later a Fellow of the Royal Numismatic Society, who had married Mr. Spurrier's daughter Mary as his first wife. On his death in 1877 it passed to Mr. (Captain) Edward Fairfax Studd, his son by his second wife, in whose possession it was in 1886 when Mr. H. Montagu wrote to him regretting his decision not to part with it. Mr. Montagu clearly believed the coin genuine; but he said that "there is *no doubt* but that, if genuine, the piece was struck as an experiment or as a *pièce de luxe* from the penny die". On Captain Studd's death in 1942 the coin passed to his wife, Mrs. Evelyn Studd, daughter of Sir Edward Chichester, Bt.; this lady died at Exleigh Stonecross on 11 February 1947, aged 93. Other coins inherited in the same way from Thomas Henry Spurrier were sold at Sotheby's recently, but the gold penny was handled apart from the rest of the collection and, through the instrumentality of Messrs. A. H. Baldwin & Sons, passed into Mr. Lockett's hands.

It has seemed to me worth while to give an account of the pedigree of the coin and the views expressed on it over a hundred years ago, since the arguments which convinced the majority of numismatists of that day of its genuineness are equally cogent to-day. If we disregard Akerman, who clearly did not know how to retreat gracefully, little was said about the coin with which we cannot still agree. The coin, illustrated [**Pl. fig. 1**], is undoubtedly struck from dies for the penny, but a fairly thorough search has failed to discover any surviving silver penny actually from the same dies; as will be seen later, however, a number of very similar pennies by the same moneyer from the same mint are known. These dispose, I think, of all Hawkins's hesitations.

Between the time of Mr. Spurrier and to-day the coin seems to have been seen by comparatively few numismatists. In the second and third editions of Ruding's *Annals* it is illustrated from the original *Numismatic Journal* block (Pl. II. 44); Lindsay describes it in his *View of the Coinage of the Heptarchy*, 1842 (p. 83), and Kenyon includes it in his *Gold Coins of England, 1884*. Of these writers, Kenyon alone (pp. 13–16) had not seen it; Lindsay regarded it as a proof. A fine article on "The Regal Mints of Tamworth, Warwick and Coventry", by W. A. Cotton, which was read before the Archaeological section of the Birmingham and Midlands Institute on 28 November 1888, describes it accurately and records its whereabouts. Brooke refers to it cautiously, but inaccurately as regards provenance, in his *English Coins* (p. 68). The archaeological importance of the coin has,

however, not been overlooked. It was described in the *Antiquaries Journal*, vol. i, pp. 261–2, in the account of a meeting held in 1845, where both it and the remains of St. Clement's Church are illustrated. Jabez Allies gives a full account of it in his *On the Ancient British, Roman and Saxon Antiquities and Folklore of Worcestershire*. I have not seen the first edition, which is quoted in the *Antiquaries Journal*, but in the second edition, *c.* 1851, there is an account of the coin borrowed in part from the *Antiquaries Journal*, from which also the print of the ruins is reproduced. Another account of it was given by J. S. Walker in describing the old churches of Worcester in *Reports and Publications of the Association of Architectural Societies*, vol. iv, 1857–8, p. 225. None of these sources give any information of value about the early history of St. Clement's, of which nothing seems to be known. The architecture is of the style which we should normally call "early Norman", but, as the *Archaeological Journal* points out, the Norman style was established in this country before the Norman Conquest.

The controversy over Mr. Spurrier's coin might well have taken another course if the numismatists of the day had known that some sixteen years before the discovery of his coin there had been a similar find in another part of the country. About the year 1808 there was found at Hellingly, in Sussex, thirteen miles from Lewes, a penny of Æthelred II, Brooke, type 4, struck in gold by the moneyer Leofwine of Lewes. Almost immediately after its discovery it was bought from the finder by a Mr. Martin for 8*s.* 10*d.*, at which sum it was valued by a passing Jew. It was first brought to the attention of numismatists in 1879 by Sir John Evans in an article in the *Numismatic Chronicle* for that year (pp. 62–5). It then belonged to a daughter-in-law of Mr. Martin, by name Mrs. Holroyd, from whom shortly afterwards it passed to the British Museum. It is illustrated here [**Pl. fig. 5**]. The pedigree of the Lewes penny is as authentic and convincing as that of the Warwick one. The parallel between the two coins is indeed remarkable. The Lewes coin weighs 51½ grains, the Warwick 54¼. Both were found in England within a very few miles of the place of their minting. While it is true that the Warwick coin was struck from dies which are quite fresh and sharp, and the Lewes coin, as Evans noted, comes from rusty and worn dies, both coins are undoubtedly hammered pieces. The parallel is so close throughout, that if we accept one coin as authentic, we must accept the other also, and it is strongly in favour of both that they come from quite independent sources.

Two other gold coins, both famous, have come to us from the Anglo-Saxon period, but the comparison is not so telling. The Offa dinar and the Wigmund solidus, both now in the British Museum, are separated from the two gold pennies by a long period of time, and while close to each other in weight (66 and 68¼ grains respectively)[1] they are significantly heavier than the later pieces. Although the former of these coins was not known at the time of the Spurrier cor-

[1] The latter piece has, however, two small piercings.

respondence, it is surprising that the second was not mentioned. Doubts have been cast on the authenticity of both, though probably on insufficient grounds. Some years before the recent war a lengthy and learned series of articles in the *Berliner Münzblätter* by J. Menadier, 1932–3, attempted to prove, principally on historical grounds, that the Offa dinar was false.[1] This article has never been answered, but deserves a considered reply. The Wigmund solidus was for long doubted by many antiquaries on the ground that at that time no other Anglo-Saxon gold pieces, other than thrymsas, were known; it has also been doubted more recently on the ground that it comes from the Pembroke Collection, noted for the number of forgeries it contained. Neither ground is sufficient, but it is not part of this article to vindicate these two coins. They are only revelant incidentally in that they may show that gold coinage was not entirely unknown at an earlier date in Anglo-Saxon England. Both coins admittedly copy more famous gold coins of other countries circulating freely in Europe at the time when they purport to have been issued, whereas the gold pennies represent a quite different phenomenon, the striking of familiar silver coins in gold at a time when no other country in northern Europe was striking gold coins at all.

If only one of these pennies had come down to us, it would perhaps be possible to explain it convincingly by describing it as a "proof", a *pièce-de-luxe* or a "medal"—in other words, a freak. The facts that there are two, that they are for practical purposes of the same weight, and that one of them is from rusty dies makes this a most improbable explanation. It may safely be said that there is no clear mention in Anglo-Saxon records of this time of a gold denomination in the country. We must, then, look farther afield for an explanation, and in fact one has been suggested by Major P. W. P. Carlyon-Britton in his article on "The Gold Mancus of Offa, King of Mercia", in the *British Numismatic Journal*, 1908, vol. v, pp. 55–72.

The burden of this article is to show that the Offa dinar was a coin of the value of one mancus and that, together with the other Anglo-Saxon gold coins and the gold solidi of Louis le Débonnaire, it was struck for the express purpose of paying Peter's Pence in Rome, a theory which had its origin in the views put forward by M. de Longpérier and Mr. J. Y. Akerman in the *Numismatic Chronicle* for 1842 (pp. 122–4) and had been quoted with favour by Kenyon. The argument rests on the famous letter from Offa to Pope Adrian I in which

[1] Menadier's views (J. Menadier, "Die Mankusen des Koenigs Offa von Mercia", *Berliner Münzblätter*, 1932–3, x. 533, 563; xi. 4, 17, 41, 59) may be summarized by saying that he shows why, on historical grounds, we should not expect to find Offa copying an Arab coin, why such a copy, if made, would not appeal to the Holy See at Rome, why Offa's coin is not comparable with subsequent mixed Christian-Arab coins, and how, early in the last century, historical material was available in a form which could have suggested to a would-be forger the idea of creating such a coin. The article is not convincing; it in effect says that because the Offa dinar is awkward it must be false, a deduction which does not follow. The material collected, however, is well worth study and there is much in the article which is illuminating, even if there will be found few British numismatists to agree with his principal conclusion.

the king expresses his intention of sending yearly to the Pope a sum of 365 mancuses. The article does not deal primarily with the Lewes or Warwick pennies, but nevertheless argues in favour of all four pieces being intended for the same purpose. This attractive theory, argued in Major Carlyon-Britton's most characteristic style, was not left unanswered. In the *Numismatic Chronicle* for 1914 (pp. 77 ff.) Mr. John Allan gave convincing reasons for thinking that the mancus was not a coin but a money of account, that the Arabic derivation usually given for the word is impossible, and that the Arab dinar was a familiar coin in France where it had been imitated in the normal course of trade. He reaches the conclusion that it was impossible to connect the annual gift to the Pope with the Offa dinar. Mr. Allan also was only incidentally concerned with the Lewes and Warwick pennies. We have then to consider two questions in relation to the two gold pennies, firstly whether they were struck for the purpose of inclusion in the annual gift of Peter's Pence to Rome, and secondly whether there is any reason to suppose they should rightly be described as mancuses or as having the value of a mancus.

The discovery of both coins in England near the scene of their minting (unlike the Offa dinar which came from Rome itself) tells heavily against their having been struck as Peter's Pence. Further, the fact that both coins were struck at relatively scarce mints also weighs against the theory. One would expect any presentation in specially struck gold pieces to have been prepared at one of the principal cities such as London, Canterbury, or Winchester, even if the sums of money for them were collected from the whole country. One cannot expect the Pope to have displayed any interest in the mint cities or the moneyers; his only concern was that the income should come in. While it is obviously dangerous to draw too general conclusions from two specimens, the natural deduction from the facts concerning the finding of these coins is that the purpose for which they were intended was a local one; indeed, but for the speculations regarding the Offa dinar, it is unlikely that the idea of connecting these coins with Rome would have occurred to anyone. No evidence of such a connexion has yet been noticed from any Roman source.

The second question is a fruitful field for speculation; material on the mancus and other monetary or accounting denominations in Anglo-Saxon times abounds but does not appear to have been put together in a comprehensive or authoritative form. Such work as time permitted during the preparation of this paper was sufficient to show that the information to be found in standard books of reference regarding the mancus (and the half-mark) was perfunctory and confusing; it was not possible in the time to attempt any thorough study of so wide a subject, which is nevertheless to be recommended for later investigation by members of this Society.

The mancus is a well-known monetary term both on the Continent and in this country. For instance, as late as the twelfth century Count Raimond Berenger of Barcelona struck gold coins of this name.

At most times, however, it appears to have represented a weight or money of account. In Frankish literature it could represent a sum of silver, but in Anglo-Saxon literature, where it is first found in the later seventh century, it is extremely common as a money of account. It is frequently described there in terms as a mancus of gold. In the vast majority of contexts it must refer to sums paid in silver pennies, but there do occur instances where it would be easy to interpret it as referring to objects or payments made in some form of gold. In no single instance can it be shown positively to relate to an actual gold coin.

There may be reasons for thinking that Arab or Byzantine dinars of gold were used to a very limited extent in transactions in England; very occasional specimens have been found here. It must be admitted that no concrete ground, other than the existence of the two gold pennies themselves, can be found for supposing that there ever was any Anglo-Saxon coinage in gold, but so far as it goes, that is the best possible evidence. In conditions where the initiative in coining rested normally with the merchant and not with the Crown there is no intrinsic reason why a merchant should not be free to have coins struck by official mints at a recognized standard in gold as well as in silver, and the coins suggest that this is what may have happened.

The mancus is shown by many passages to have had a value of thirty pence, but as we do not know the exchange ratio between gold and silver at this date, we cannot calculate its proper weight in gold. If an Arab or Byzantine dinar, weighing about $67\frac{1}{2}$ grains, had the value of a mancus or thereabouts, it is very clear that the two gold pennies, weighing $51\frac{1}{2}$ and $54\frac{1}{4}$ grains respectively, had not. Similarly if, as would not be unreasonable, the gold pennies were to be taken as the equivalent of one of the commonest monies of account thought of in terms of gold, a relation would be established between gold and silver of something like $12\frac{1}{2}$–1, which seems too high to be probable.

There are too many imponderables in all such speculation, based on the existence of two coins only, for positive conclusions to be drawn, but from a very preliminary acquaintance with the vast manuscript sources I have drawn the conclusion that there is no *a priori* reason why the gold pennies, whatever the purpose which occasioned their striking, should not have been thought of at the time as having a definite monetary value, and that, while this value might well be related to that of the mancus or half-mark of gold, it requires extreme assumptions as regards the margins of weight and the gold-silver conversion rate to support a conclusion that the gold pennies themselves actually represented the sum of a mancus.

That a medallic purpose was not intended seems clearly indicated by the fact that one of the two specimens comes from strikingly rusty dies, but what their actual purpose was cannot yet be regarded as established.

It is now time to examine in more detail some of the particulars of

Mr. Lockett's coin. It is in nearly every respect typical of Edward the Confessor's fifth type of silver penny. The legends are:

Obv. +EDPE / . RD REX

Rev. +LVFINC ON PÆRINC

There are two slight peculiarities on the reverse; in the third quarter there is an added pellet, and the point in the centre of the whole design has somewhat the appearance of a star. The obverse has no peculiarities [**Pl. fig. 1;** see also enlargement (2½:1)].

No specimen in silver from the same dies has yet come to light, and neither die has yet been found in any other combination. The following are the specimens of similar coins by the same moneyer which I have been able to locate:

1. +EDPE : / . RD REX
   +LUFINC ON PÆRINCPIC

   In Mr. Lockett's collection. From the City Hoard.
   Weight 26·2 grains. [**Pl. fig. 2.**]

2. +EDPE / . RDREX
   +LVEINC ON PÆRIN Pellet in ✢ quarter.

   In British Museum. (*B.M.C.* 1268.)
   Weight 24·0 grains. [**Pl. fig. 3.**]

3. +EDPRD / REX
   +LVFFINC ON PÆRI

   In Stockholm Museum.
   Weight unknown. [**Pl. fig. 4.**]

There is still much hoard material in Sweden and other Scandinavian countries which has not been worked over, where other specimens may well exist. It is, however, clear from the number of specimens recorded that the period was one of exceptional activity at the Warwick mint.

For the sake of comparison the following is a description of the gold penny of Æthelred II of Lewes of type 4:

+ÆDELREDREXANG L
+LEO / FPINE / MOL / ÆPE : [**Pl. fig. 5,** B.M.]

A similar silver penny, but not from the same dies, is also in the British Museum, and Mr. H. H. King has others.

In order to illustrate the coin in its context at the mint of Warwick, the following table of coins has been prepared (pp. 272–3).

The table is compiled as regards Anglo-Saxon coins from Mr. W. A. Cotton's article[1] (omitting a few coins now known or believed to be of other mints), and as regards Norman coins from Dr. G. C. Brooke's

[1] "The Regal Mints of Tamworth, Warwick and Coventry", by W. A. Cotton; read before the Archaeological Society of the Birmingham and Midland Institute, 28 Nov. 1888. I am glad to thank Mr. F. Elmore Jones for much valuable help over this section of the paper.

British Museum Catalogue of Norman Coins. The type numbers are as given in Brooke's *English Coins*.

The following coins have been added:

Harthacnut, Leofwine. Hildebrand, no. 189.

Edward Confessor, Brooke, type 2, Ælfsige. *B.M.C.* 1266.

" " " " 3, Lufinc. Carlyon-Britton Sale, lot 1115.

" " " " 4, Leofwine. Carlyon-Britton Sale, lot 593.

" " " " 6, (var. bust to left) Astan. In Guildhall Museum, London.

" " " " 7, Lufinc. In Mr. Lockett's Collection.

Harold II, Wulfwine. See *B.N.J.* xxiii. 273.

William I, Wulfwine, type 5. See *B.N.J.* xii. 30.

Stephen, type 7, Everard. In Mr. F. Elmore Jones's Collection.

The mutilated coin in the British Museum by Thurstan, *B.M.C.* 1270, reputed to be of Warwick, is more likely to be a coin of Norwich and has been omitted. There is some doubt whether coins of Siwerd and Theodric should not rather be attributed to Wareham. There is also some doubt about the coin of Æthelwine recorded by Cotton on the strength of a coin in Copenhagen but not otherwise known.

There may be some confusion between coins reading *Leofwi(g)* and *Leofwine*, also between those reading *Leofwig* and *Leofric*. The types of the coins found in Norway and recorded in H. Holst's "Uten- og Innenlandske Mynter. Norske Hedlagt for A 1100" in *Nord. Num. Ass.*, 1943, p. 81 (of offprint) are not given, and may provide some variants. Ælric is recorded as a moneyer of William I on the strength of a coin in the British Museum the die of which was subsequently altered to read Lifric; perhaps the name should be omitted (see *Num. Chron.*, 1911, p. 284).

The table suggests that the mint of Warwick had a complement of four moneyers at most times. The names form a more or less intelligible sequence throughout the 150 years during which the mint operated. The name Godwine seems to have occurred at two different periods and that of Leofric at three, with marked gaps between; these must have been in each case different individuals. The only anomaly is that the name Lifinc or Lufinc is found practically continuously from the third type of Æthelred II, somewhere about A.D. 985, to the last type of William I, say, A.D. 1085. No other moneyer's name lasted for a comparable period at this mint. Leofwi or Leofwig coined from the second type of Cnut to the last type of Harthacnut, possibly a little longer if some of the coins read as Leofric should have been attributed to Leofwi, that is to say, from about A.D. 1020 to A.D. 1042 or a year or two later. This is a reasonable term of office for one

Moneyers	Edward II	Æthelred II					Cnut						Harold I		Harthacnut		Edward Confessor										Harold II
		1	2	3	4	5	1	2	3	4	5	6	1	2	1	2	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	
Osmer	+	..	..	+	..	+	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Æðelric	..	+	..	..	+	+	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Byrhsige	..	..	..	..	..	+	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Huse	..	+	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Leofwold	..	+	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Wulfric	..	+	..	..	..	..	..	+	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Æðestan	..	..	..	..	..	+	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Lufinc (Lifinc, &c.)	..	..	..	+	..	..	..	..	+	+	+	..	..	..	..	..	+	..	+	+	+	..	+	..	..	..	+
Leofwig	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	+	+	+	+	..	+	+	+	+	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Leofwine	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	+	..	..	..	..	..	..	+	..	..	..	+	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Godwine	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	+	+	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Æðelwine	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	+	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Godd (Goda)	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	+	+	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Siwerd	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	+	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Ælfsige	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	+	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Leofric (Lifric)	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	+	..	..	+	+	+	..	+	..	..	..	..	..	..
Astan	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	+*	..	+	..	..	..
Ðurcil	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	+	..	..	..
Ðeodric	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	+	..
Wulfwine	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	+
Ælric	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Ðidraed	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Goldinc	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Sperhavoc	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Edred	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Essuwi	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Everard	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Forna	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..

* Bust to left.

Moneyers	William I								William II					Henry I														Stephen	
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	1	2	3	4	5	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	1	7
Osmer	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Æðelric	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Byrhsige	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Huse	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Leofwold	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Wulfric	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Æðestan	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Lufinc (Lifinc, &c.)	..	..	..	+	..	..	..	+	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Leofwig	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Leofwine	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Godwine	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	+	+	..	..	..
Æðelwine	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Godd (Goda)	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Siwerd	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Ælfsige	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Leofric (Lifric)	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	+	+	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	+	..
Astan	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Ðurcil	+	..	..	..	+	..	..	+	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Ðeodric	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Wulfwine	..	..	..	..	+	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Ælric	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	+	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Ðidraed	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	+	+	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Goldinc	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	+	+	+	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Sperhavoc	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	+	..	..	..	+	..	..	..	+*	..	..	..	..	+	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Edred	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	+	+	+	..
Essuwi	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	+	..	..	..
Everard	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	+	+
Forna	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	+	..

* Mule 5–6.

moneyer, but the name Lifinc or Lufinc must conceal at least two individuals and probably more, perhaps a family sequence.

This fact may provide us with the explanation of the pellet found in one quarter of the reverse of Mr. Lockett's coin. A similar pellet, but in a different quarter, occurs on the silver penny of the same type and moneyer in the British Museum [**Pl. fig. 3**]. These coins come as nearly as we can measure in the centre of the 100 years of activity of moneyers with this name at Warwick. It is possible that the pellet was added to differentiate the coins of a new Lifinc or Lufinc from an old.

While such an explanation is intrinsically likely in this particular instance, it must be admitted that the same interpretation cannot be applied to the use of an extra pellet or other *différents monétaires* at other mints and by other moneyers. In the present state of our knowledge it cannot be taken for granted that similar irregular marks always carried the same meaning; an extra pellet, cross, or bar served to differentiate a coin at a glance, but the reasons which called for differentiation may have varied in different cases; it need be put no higher in some instances than that the moneyers, being illiterate, wished to know their own coins without the necessity of reading them. It appears to me quite impossible to trace any consistent thread in the following instances of *différents monétaires* on coins of Edward the Confessor, type 5, across which I have come in the course of preparing this article, a list which makes no claim to be exhaustive:

(*a*) *A single extra pellet in one quarter.*

Barnstaple. Ælfric	⊹	In Mr. Lockett's Collection.
Colchester. Brihtric	⊹	B. M.
,, Leofric	⊹	B. M.
Hastings. Brid	⊹	In Mr. Lockett's Collection and *B.M.C.*, No 497.
London. Ælfgar	⊹	B.M.
Warwick. Leofric	⊹	*B.M.C.*, No. 1267.
,, Lufinc	⊹	*B.M.C.*, No. 1268.
Winchester. Leofwine	⊹	*B.M.C.*, No. 1393.

(*b*) *Two extra pellets in opposite quarters.*

Tamworth. Ægelwine. *B.M.C.*, No. 1258.

(*c*) *One extra annulet in one quarter.*

All coins of York.
London. Godwin. *B.M.C.*, No. 949.

(*d*) *One letter G in one quarter.*

Wilton. Ælfwine. *B.M.C.*, No. 1327.

(*e*) *Four extra crosses, one in each quarter.*

Shrewsbury. Wulmær. *B.M.C.*, No. 1179.

(*f*) *Extra bar across one arm of main cross.*

Ilchester. Osward. B.M., ex Evans Collection.

A comparable list could be made out for the other types of Edward the Confessor. The mark at York is generally supposed to be connected with its status as an ecclesiastical mint, but the same explana-

tion does not apply so readily to the single coin of London with this mark. The bar at Ilchester is characteristic of that mint, but its purpose is quite uncertain; it is used by all the moneyers. Extra pellets at the scarcer mints, such as Barnstaple, Colchester, and Tamworth, could hardly be intended to differentiate between two moneyers of the same name, whereas that explanation would be intelligible both for Ælfgar of London and Leofwine of Winchester. Against adopting this explanation for the extra pellet on coins of Lufinc of Warwick is the fact that the coin of Leofric of the same type and mint in the British Museum is similarly marked, and in that instance we have no other reason to suspect that there may have been two moneyers of the same name.

Mr. H. H. King tells me that he has two or three Lewes coins of the same moneyer as the gold penny of Leofwine. Two of these are from the same reverse die, but one has a pellet in each of three quarters while the other has none. It is likely that the same kind of confusion would be discovered in that issue, if this subject were pursued.

In the description of Mr. Lockett's gold penny it has been mentioned that the central pellet on the reverse resembles a star. This is very clearly shown in the engraving in Ruding and in other of the earlier reproductions of the coin, but in Kenyon's illustration the star has been turned into an ordinary pellet. Cotton illustrates the coin twice, the first time very accurately, the second time with the extra pellet and star removed so as to let the coin show as a typical specimen of type 5 as a whole. From an examination of the coin itself, I am inclined to regard this mark as a fortuitous result produced in the course of engraving, not as an intentional *différent monétaire*. Other coins of the same type have incipient rays from the pellet; I have not seen any other specimen on which they are so clear, but then few specimens are as well struck or come from such sharp dies (see Plate).

The doubts which Kenyon and others felt about the form of the mint and moneyers' names need cause us no concern. In the charters of the Anglo-Saxon period Warwick is normally spelt as *Waerincwica* or *Waerinc wicus* (e.g. Kemble, 1001 and 1016), and this or *Warewic* is the normal spelling subsequently. In Domesday it is spelt *Warwic*. In the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* it is given as *Waeringwicum*. In the *Oxford Dictionary of English Place-names* it is recorded as *Waerincg wican* in A.D. 723–37.

On the earliest coin of Warwick, from the reign of Edward the Martyr, the reading is PERIN, and similar readings occur very occasionally thereafter. The great majority of Anglo-Saxon coins of Warwick, however, read some abbreviation of the legend which occurs in full on a coin of Æthelred II, type 1, in Stockholm, Moneyer Huse, namely, PÆRINGPIꟾA, and, without the final A, on a silver penny from the City Hoard, in Mr. Lockett's collection, moneyer Lufinc, of Edward the Confessor, type 5, that is to say, a coin of the same moneyer and type as the gold penny. It is not until the Norman period that the mint reading for Warwick alters to PERE, PERI,

PERPIC, PRPICE, PARPI, &c., a change which is in accordance with the Domesday and other manuscript sources. The reading on the gold penny is thus quite normal.

So is the reading of this very common moneyer's name. In the index to Birch's *Cartularium Saxonicum* the following spellings of the name are given: *Leuincg, Leuing, Lifing, Liofing, Leofincg, Leofing, Lyfing, Lyuinge.* Others are given in Searle's *Onomasticon Anglo-Saxonicum.*

There was a Leuing residing in the county of Warwickshire at the time of Domesday. The Bishop of Worcester about the time this coin was issued was named Lyfing (Birch, iv. 22, 23). The name occurs on coins of Warwick alone in the following forms: LYFINC, LIFINC, LIFNC, LYFFE, LVEINC, LVFFINC, LEOFINC. It may be that the letter read as V should in some cases rather be read as a Y.

There seems to be no chronological order in the forms of name which are used indifferently throughout the period from the end of the tenth to the middle of the eleventh century during which the name especially flourished.

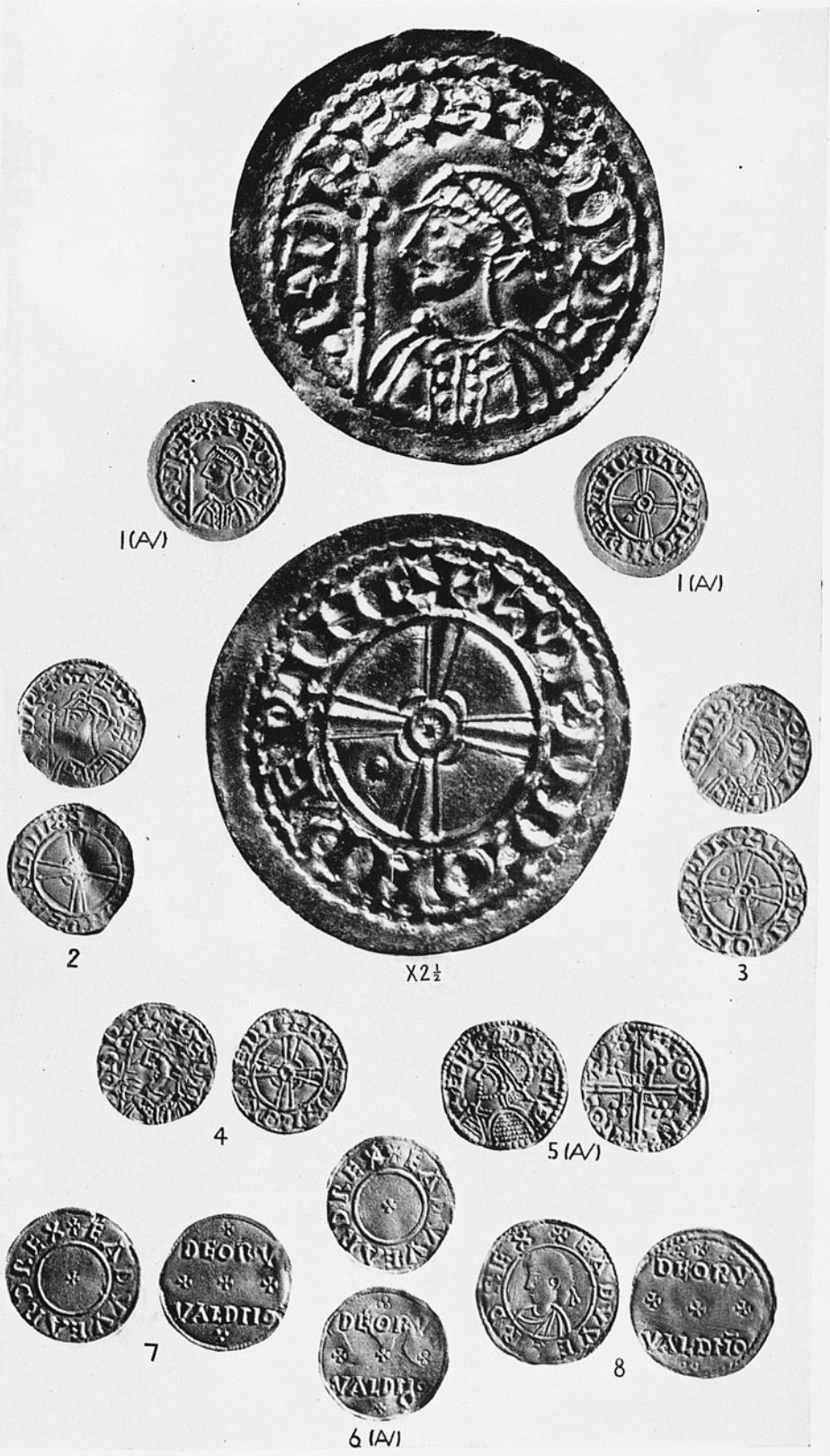
There is not much information to be had about Warwick before the Conquest. The town was founded as a Burg in A.D. 914 by Ethelfleda Lady of Mercia and sister of Edward the Elder.

Edward the Confessor endowed a priory church and school there but otherwise does not seem to have had connexions with the town. It lay during his reign in the part of the country ruled by the great Leofric Earl of Chester. The town came into its own after the Norman Conquest; the construction of the Castle in stone was commenced in 1068. Warwick was within the bishopric of Worcester and the bishop of Worcester is shown by the Domesday Book as one of the principal property owners there.

If we can accept that the coins are what they purport to be, namely, money, it is not necessary to seek in the events of the reign of Edward the Confessor (nor in that of Æthelred II) an occasion when the striking of such pieces might have been particularly appropriate; nor do we have to look for a date when payments to Rome were particularly likely. Such an occasion does in fact exist at a convenient date (1049) in Edward the Confessor's reign when the Pope in person held a synod at St. Remy at which Edward was represented and an Embassy was also sent to Rome, but, if the thesis of this paper is accepted, these facts are not relevant to Mr. Lockett's coin.

Since the above was written, now over a year ago, Mr. Blunt has made the exciting discovery of another gold penny in Switzerland. I have not attempted to alter the text of the paper to allow for this, but it may well be that in the light of it some of the views expressed require revision. From the other side of the world it seems wiser to leave that to those at home who have better opportunities for study.

D. F. A. (Hongkong)



ANGLO-SAXON GOLD COINS AND COGNATE SILVER