

# SOME IMITATIONS AND FORGERIES OF THE ENGLISH AND IRISH LONG CROSS PENCE OF HENRY III

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APART from those continental sterlings inscribed with the name of the issuer and/or the mint, little has been written about the imitations of the Long Cross pence of Henry III, although a die-study of the Anglo-Irish irregular coins based upon those in the Brussels hoard was published some years ago.<sup>1</sup> The standard work for the 'named' imitations remains Chautard,<sup>2</sup> although a number of refinements, mainly scattered throughout German periodicals,<sup>3</sup> have been made since its publication. A valuable source is the report of the Ribnitz hoard, where a considerable number (both named and anonymous) are described and some illustrated.<sup>4</sup>

The range of the anonymous imitations, with which this paper is mainly concerned, is extremely wide, varying from near-perfect copies of the prototypes, the unofficial status of which probably remains unrecognised in many collections,<sup>5</sup> through those with irregular or blundered legends (usually on the reverse only)<sup>6</sup> to the crudest, which are often probably local forgeries. The recognition of accurate copies as imitative presents considerable difficulties, although a few reveal their true colours by light weight or baser metal.<sup>7</sup> Most are betrayed only by minor differences from the English originals. This is perhaps most noticeable in the crown, which on the imitations of class 5 seldom accurately copies that which would normally be found with the style of portrait on which it appears. Although the lettering, which is discussed below, is usually a fairly accurate copy of that on the prototype, there are often small variations especially in the letters S and X. The shape of the eye sometimes differs from that used on the English class being copied.

In dies made up with such simple punches as those used in this coinage, little reliance can be placed on style, either for distinguishing the irregular obverses or for associating the

<sup>1</sup> Michael Dolley and W.A. Seaby, 'The anomalous long-cross coins in the Anglo-Irish portion of the Brussels hoard', *Mints, Dies and Currency*, edited by R.A.G. Carson. London 1971, 291–317 (Dolley & Seaby).

<sup>2</sup> J. Chautard, *Imitations des Monnaies au Type Esterlin frappées en Europe pendant le XIII<sup>e</sup> et le XIV<sup>e</sup> siècle*. Nancy 1871 (Chautard).

<sup>3</sup> The writer is indebted to Peter Woodhead for his advice on several points relating to the German coins of this period and for supplying many of the references to German sources quoted in this paper with translations of the relevant passages.

<sup>4</sup> H. Dannenberg, 'Der Sterling-Fund von Ribnitz', *ZfN* 15 (1888), 302–24 (Ribnitz or Dannenberg). Dr. Mark Blackburn kindly drew my attention to this important hoard and provided a copy of the report.

<sup>5</sup> An outstanding example of this is the 'class 3b' coin apparently of Newcastle, which deceived numismatists for many years despite an irregularity in the obverse legend (see 27 and n. 24). Even Lawrence was sometimes deceived and a number of imitations are included in his lists of legends in *BNJ* 10 (1913), 76, 79, 82 etc.

<sup>6</sup> One of the puzzles of this series is the use of blundered reverse dies with deceptively accurate obverse ones. Dannenberg suggested that this indicated indigenous English forgeries, but in the light of the other evidence this seems very unlikely. Since the obverses prove that the die-makers were

quite capable of producing unimpeachable legends, the implication must be that the variations on the reverses were deliberate, perhaps to protect the English moneyers from accusations of forgery. There are a number of reverses which are exact copies of the prototype, but most range from those with one or two letters differing to an unintelligible jumble of letters. In some groups of related legends the variations suggest a deliberate pattern rather than random deterioration resulting from prolonged copying (cf. ARIC/WIG and BIR/HEN/TOL groups on pp. 99–100). One remarkable inscription reads AMOR(V or O)MNI/AVI/NCIT (Ribnitz 178 – confirmed by Haarlo 543) and, as Dannenberg remarks, *amor omnia vincit* sounds more like a troubadour than a moneyer!

<sup>7</sup> Both of these criteria should be treated with considerable reservations. The weights of most imitations compare favourably with those of official coins (see below – p. 96), while the visual assessment of fineness is unsatisfactory, although the odd spot of 'verdigris' may indicate some baseness. It is as well to bear in mind the observations of N.J. Mayhew and D.R. Walker in their paper 'Crockards and pollards: Imitation and the problem of fineness in a silver coinage', in *Edwardian Monetary Affairs (1279–1344)*, edited by N.J. Mayhew. BAR 36 (Oxford 1971), 125–146 (at p. 144, n. 26) '... in practice, it is not possible to select coins of higher or lower silver content on sight; again and again, coins which looked poor turned out to be sterling fine, and vice versa'.

imitative dies into groups. This simplicity also makes it virtually impossible to distinguish any individual punches which would assist in such an association. However, some of the letters are sufficiently complex to be distinctive e.g. the X with each limb terminating in an arrow-head found on many 'class 3' obverses. Whether the sharing of such a characteristic is sufficient grounds for suggesting that the coins all emanated from the same mint is debatable, although it seems fairly certain that they came from dies made by the same workers.

Since the eventual association of anonymous imitations with their issuers depends mainly on the identification of die-links with coins bearing his name or that of the mint, over one hundred and thirty are described and illustrated in this paper,<sup>8</sup> and some die-linked chains are identified. Coins with both 'English' and 'Irish' obverses and/or reverses are included since, judging from the inextricable intermingling of the dies, no distinction between them was made by the imitators.

References in the lists to other coins are confined to those illustrated elsewhere by photograph, since line drawings, however accurate, are useless for die identification, and many are positively misleading. Similarly, the interpretation of the reverse legend of many coins is open to dispute, especially in the selection of its commencement.<sup>9</sup> On coins which closely resemble the prototype this is evident, and on others the word ON indicates the second or third quarter, but with legends which are complete gibberish it is purely conjectural. Thus I have preferred to treat with extreme caution the given reading of any coin not illustrated by photograph and, unfortunately, this must include Chautard, where some interpretations of the reverse inscriptions are questionable.

It was originally intended that this paper should be confined to Long Cross imitations with 'English', 'Irish' or blundered legends, leaving those with the issuer's or mint's name to the expertise of the continental numismatists in whose countries they were struck. However, the few rare die-links between named and anonymous coins, so important in the attribution of the latter, have led in some cases to investigations into the former with conclusions which are sometimes at variance with the generally accepted ones.

One of the principal difficulties in dealing with such a large and widespread coinage at this early stage of its attribution is the presentation of the material. The classification that I have adopted resembles that used by Dolley and Seaby for the Anglo-Irish imitations, being based mainly on that of the prototypes. This has the advantage of simplicity for anyone wishing to look up a coin, but usually has no regional or chronological significance, since chains of mules indicate that 'classes 3 and 5' and even 'Irish' obverses were used more or less concurrently. The patterns of related coins emerging from similar reverses and chains of die-links are discussed later in this paper.

A paper of this length can only furnish a preliminary examination of the Long Cross imitations, which are so numerous and varied as to require a book for their comprehensive study. This will be provided on the publication of the companion volume to Nick Mayhew's definitive work on the Edwardian imitations. In the meantime the 135 coins illustrated here should provide a reasonably representative selection to assist in the recognition of non-English Long Cross sterlings, but it must be borne in mind that there is considerable variation in style even among imitations struck by the same authority. As with all imitative series, a detailed knowledge of the prototype coins is invaluable for the identification of non-official issues. However, some of the latter are such accurate copies that even this knowledge does not impart infallibility. The original recipients of such imitations can have had little chance of distinguishing the true from the false except where the legend was blundered and they were literate.

<sup>8</sup> Except where otherwise indicated, the coins listed are all in the writer's collection.

<sup>9</sup> Dannenberg remarked upon this difficulty (p. 310), which

is even greater for students not having a considerable knowledge of the inscriptions found on official reverses.

The paper commences with a detailed catalogue of the coins under discussion, all of which are illustrated either in the plates or, very rarely, in the sources quoted. The arrangement roughly follows that of the English and Irish Long Cross coinages, as mentioned above. Details of the obverses are only given where these differ in some respect from the prototype, but all reverse legends are expressed in full. Obverse die-links have been grouped together and are joined by lines on the plates, but the reverse ones are combined with a diversity of obverses placing them far apart in the lists and often on different plates. However, a complete list of both obverse and reverse die-links is given on p. 97. The weight of each coin is given in grammes and grains, but no indication of the die-axis is shown as it is uncertain in a number of cases when the commencement of the reverse legend is equivocal.

The lettering and ligations are discussed, with illustration of the most distinctive forms of these. This is followed by a comparison of the weights of the imitations with those of the official English coins. A list of the moneyers whose names, often blundered, appear on imitations gives details of their dates and the classes of coins for which they are known.

After the lists of die-links, details are given of the chains of associated coins resulting from these, together with groups of coins which are connected by distinctive reverse legends.

The discussion on the attribution of the anonymous imitations has led to the examination in some depth of the Lippish Long Cross sterlings in the names of Bernhard, Hermann and Simon. Although only one sterling with an 'English' obverse has been firmly attributed to Lippe in this paper, it seems likely that others may come to light, and in view of this the Westphalian mints have also been discussed in a later section.

Details of a selection of important English and continental hoards containing Long Cross imitations have been included to illustrate the general make-up of many of these and the preponderance of such imitations in the latter.

A summary of suggested attributions and an index of the reverse legends listed conclude the paper.

## CATALOGUE<sup>10</sup>

### Without sceptre

*Class 1a. Obv.* Crescent and star of six points H NRI VS:R X *rev.* ANG/LI /T R/ I<sup>11</sup>

**I.** Obverse similar to English prototype but star in i.m. has eight points. Cinquefoil of pellets before R X. Pellet on crossbar of (as on English coins of class 1).  
*Rev.* BLO/M /NB /RG

1-19/18-4

Struck at the mint of Blomberg, this variety was attributed by Chautard to Bernhard III of Lippe (416 and pl. XXVII, 7). This mint signature also appears on some of the enigmatic Videkind Rex coins.<sup>12</sup> Others of that issue, without a mint name and possibly struck at Enger, have the cinquefoil (rosette) which was the badge of Lippe.<sup>13</sup> It

<sup>10</sup> As mentioned earlier, the following arrangement is based upon the classification of the English prototypes and has no regional or chronological significance for the imitations listed. The descriptions of each principal heading are those of the English classes, which have been dated as follows:

Class 1 – 1247–8

Class 2 – 1248

Class 3 – 1248–50

Class 4 – 1250–1

Class 5 – 1251–72

Full details of the classification appears in the following publications:

L.A. Lawrence, 'The Long-cross coinage of Henry III and Edward I', *BNJ* 9 (1912), 145–179; 10 (1913), 69–93; 11 (1914), 101–119.

J.J. North, *English Hammered Coinage*, Vol. 1 (Third

edition), 1994, 225–8 (a summary of the Lawrence classification with subsequent refinements).

C.R. Wren, *The Voided Long-Cross Coinage, 1247–1279*, Plantagenet Books 1993 (a useful handbook on the series).

<sup>11</sup> A reverse reading ANG/LIE/TER/CIS copied from class 1a was used with obverse dies based on classes 3a and 5c (*BNJ* 47 (1977), 140–41). Another reverse copying class 1b reads LIE/TER/CI+/LON and is also combined with imitative obverse dies of classes '3 and 5' (see 40, 65 and 108).

<sup>12</sup> P. Berghaus, 'Beiträge zur Westfälischen Münzkunde', *HBzN* 14 (1960) at pp. 447–8. The attribution of these coins is discussed on pp. 114–5.

<sup>13</sup> Chautard p. 261, n. 1. For coins with the name of Widekind (Rex) bearing this mark, see Berghaus (1960) nos. 9 and 10a.

may perhaps be deliberate that the number of points in the star on the above coin differs from that on the prototype. Berghaus remarks that a star was the armorial badge of Schwalenberg, but the coin to which he refers in this connection has one of only six points. However, an eight-pointed one appears on some Videkind Rex coins,<sup>14</sup> as well as on 'Scottish' sterlings struck by Count Widekind VII of Schwalenberg (pl. 8, A) and those of Count Henry of Sternberg. The latter, struck at Bosingfeld, have three such stars in the crown and one as the sceptre terminal (pl. 8, B). In the light of this the authority responsible for the above coin appears uncertain.

2. Rev. RON/ROL(D) LVND + Double band to crown. Wedge/crescent tailed R.<sup>15</sup> 1-12/17-3

*Class 1b.* Similar but obverse reads h NRI VS R X AG and reverse LI /T R/ I?/mint.

3. Rev. (LI) T / I' /LVD 1-40/21-6

*Class 2.* Star of six points h NRI VS R X T R I. Rev. Moneyer and mint.

4. Portrait resembles that on 1. Letter X of wedges.  
Rev. (reversed)IO/IH /OH /ANT (based on Nicole on Cant) 1-00/15-4

5. Same obverse die as 6  
Rev. ION/OHL/IN /OLH<sup>16</sup> 1-09/16-9

6. Same obverse die as 5  
Rev. IV/ARN/ SB/ RG (P. Woodhead colln.)  
The reverse of this coin die-links with a sterling whose obverse reads GOD FRIDVS o (pl. 8, C – P. Woodhead colln.) confirming the attribution of a cut halfpenny from the same dies to Gottfried III of Arnsberg.<sup>17</sup> The star and crescent i.m. on the obverse suggests that this die was based upon class 1, and the minute extra pellets in the reverse quarters are also a feature of that class.

7. h NRI S R X I R I' Small round face with neck. 'Arrow-head' letter X. Same die as 8 and 9.  
Rev. h N/RIO/NI /ND (based on Henri on Lunde) 1-11/17-1

8. Same obverse die as 7 and 9  
Rev. III /OL /ONL/VIID (based on Nicole on Lund) 1-29/19-9

9. Same die as 7 and 8.  
Rev. WNL/L N/ONL/VND (based on Willem on Lund) 1-37/21-1

10. h NKICVS R NX I' 'Pommé' letter X.<sup>18</sup>  
Rev. HI /OL /OIL/V(inverted)ID – retrograde and outwards (based on Nicole On Lund) 1-38/21-3

*Class 3.* Star of six points h NRI VS R X III. Rev. Moneyer and mint.

(a) Narrow face based on English classes 3a and 3ab (see also 134).  
11. Rev. DAV/ION/D V/ LI' (same die as 39 and 70) 1-42/21-9

12. with long spur and obverse R with wedge/crescent tail  
Rev. IOH/ON/CAN/TCR. 1-47/22-7

13. Rev. WIL/L M/OIIL/VND (reversely barred N with pellet centre) 1-32/20-4

14. Four pellets around bust (as on English class 5). Letter h inverted; legend ends with inverted h (representing I'). 'Arrow-head' letter X.  
Rev. RD/AR-D/ONL/VMD (based on Ricard on Lund). Same die as 67. 1-29/19-9

15. 'Arrow-head' letter X.  
Rev. h N/RIO/IILV (both inverted)/ND (same die as 57)<sup>19</sup> 1-06/16-4

16. h NRI VS R X-IH'. 'Arrow-head' letter X.  
Rev. HI /OL(inverted) /QND/AHT. 1-38/21-3

17. 'Arrow-head' letter X.  
Rev. WIL/L N/LVN/DON. 1-32/20-3

<sup>14</sup> Berghaus (1960) no. 10a, where the portrait closely resembles that on the 'English' obverse (see n. 96).

<sup>15</sup> The similarity of the reverse legend to that on some coins of Bernhard of Lippe suggests a Lippish provenance for this coin (see n. 63). An early date is confirmed by a specimen in the Brussels hoard.

<sup>16</sup> This coin was listed as an official English issue in H.R. Mossop, *Lincoln Mint (c. 890–1279)*, pl. XCVII. 27. The preceding coin on the same plate (no. 26) is also an imitation die-linked with reverses of 'London' and 'Canterbury'.

<sup>17</sup> J.J. North, 'A parcel of Long Cross cut halfpence', *NCirc* 1976, 48–9.

<sup>18</sup> The X pommé was frequently used on Germanic Short

Cross imitations and appears on a 'class 3' Long Cross obverse die of Boppard (see n. 27). This form of the letter also occurs on an 'English' obverse combined with a reverse reading HENRICVS COMES (FitzWilliam Museum – Grierson colln. MM 34), but the style of portrait and lettering differs from that of 10 which is perhaps Westphalian. The same letter also appears on 42, where it more closely resembles that on the Henricus Comes coin.

<sup>19</sup> Although it is insufficient evidence for a firm association, it is noteworthy that the V of LVND is also inverted (becoming A) on some coins of Lippe reading LANh (Bernhard) or LANI (Simon).

18. 'Arrow-head' letter X.  
Rev. NI /ION/NLV/ANT (combination of Nic(ole on C)ant and Ion or (Dav)i on Lu(nde) – apparently base metal). 0-85/13-2
19. 'Arrow-head' letter X (large). Reversed S.  
Rev. RI /RIO/NIV/IN (combination of Ric(ard) and (Hen)ri on Lunde). 1-26/19-5
- 0.1. Letter X unclear – apparently pommé, but possibly worn 'arrow-head'.  
Rev. ARI /Wh /-/<sup>20</sup> 1-18/18-3
- (b) Smaller face mainly based on English class 3b.
- (i) Pointed chin.
20. 'Arrow-head' letter X. Neck indicated; four crescents around portrait (found on English class 5).  
Rev. DHV/ION/IVN/D 1 (based on Davi on Lunden) 1-46/22-5
21. R X-III<sup>21</sup> Solid oval eyes. Reversed N; crescent-tailed R.  
Rev. IVI/NRV/LON/LON.<sup>21</sup> 1-11/17-2
22. Rev. IVI/VIN/-/N (reversed Ns). 0-91/13-8
- (ii) Round chin with heavy beard deceptively copying English class 3b.
23. Rev. HI /OL /RN/BOV. 1-33/20-6
24. Same obverse die as 25 and 0.2  
Rev. WIL/L M/LVN/DCN. 1-27/19-6
25. Same obverse die as 24 and 0.2.  
Rev. WID/L M/ON /AIT. 1-33/20-5
- 0.2. Same obverse die as 24 and 25.  
Rev. h N/RICV/S-COM S (attributed to Henry II or III, Lord of Kuinre).<sup>22</sup> wnr.
26. I.m. Shield with two (possibly three) pellets.  
Rev. RIO/RD/Oth/ R (based on Ricard on Here). Single pellet in angles. 1-03/15-9  
This coin has been doubtfully attributed to Count Henry of Oldenburg-Wildeshausen striking at the mint of Vlotho (+ 1270).<sup>23</sup>
27. h NRI V + R X-III<sup>24</sup>  
Rev. RI /ARD/OND/IV 1-26/19-5

<sup>20</sup> Jean Elsen, Joseph Ghyssens, Lars O. Lagerqvist and Nicholas Mayhew. 'The sterling hoard from Hemselynge, Abild Parish, Halland (Sweden)', *NC* 1983, 164–176 (at p. 176).

<sup>21</sup> This coin has affinities with a SALVE REGINA MA sterling with a reverse reading CIVITAS (CASTOR (FitzWilliam Museum – Grierson Colln.). Both have distinctive almond-shaped eyes, although these appear to be from different punches, whilst the letters S and R could be from the same punches. The NS are reversed (a feature of many Salve Regina coins). This together with the 'Civitas' legends suggests that they may have been struck at the same mint, possibly Kuinre (see also p. 101). It is probably coincidental that an unusual Edwardian sterling of Arnhem (Mayhew 179a), attributed to Renaud (1272–1326), has solid almond eyes and a crescent-tailed R. Such sterlings are early, possibly before c. 1290, and may be contemporaneous with some of the later Long Cross imitations.

<sup>22</sup> Laurens Schulman sale 6 (15.4.91) lot 550 (illustrated on pl. XIII). HENRICVS COMES reverses are also used with obverses based upon class 5 (Chautard 476 and pl. XXXII. 2). There were a number of coins with this legend in the Ribnitz hoard and several are illustrated in the report (nos. 190, 192 and 194–6). Both varieties of obverse are illustrated in the Weweler sale catalogue (Auktion Leu 63 – lots 1099 and 1100). Attribution is discussed on p. 102.

<sup>23</sup> This coin has been attributed to the mint of Vlotho in the county of Ravensberg (P. Berghaus, *Münzgeschichte Herfords*, 12), where 'two-sided' sterlings (viz. non-bracteates) were struck by Count Otto II of Ravensberg and Count Henry of Oldenburg-Wildeshausen (+1270) according to Busso Peus,

*Der Raum Westfalen II, I Das Münzwesen*, Munster 1955, 360. This attribution was largely based upon a Short Cross sterling with a shield with 'three rings' on the obverse, which reads HENRICVS R and has a reverse legend VLOTOVE CIVIT, attributed to Count Henry (*HBzN* 1948, 38, no. 113), and it has been suggested that the arms may pertain to him. However, Jesse remarks that the small shield is not explained and cites a suggestion by E. Strangé that it represents the arms of the barons of Spiegel. Although details of the tiny shield are unclear on many coins, a well-struck specimen confirms that there are two small pellets at the top. Below them is the larger top pearl of the crown's central cross, which presumably also represents a third pellet of the armorials. The obverse die of this coin was also combined with a reverse reading GILBERIONCAN (BM ex Slype hoard – *BNJ* 23 (1938–40), 275). The Brussels hoard contained eight examples of 'HEREF' and three of 'CAN', indicating a comparatively early date for the issue. It was associated in the hoard with a number of coins of Blomberg with a reverse also derived from GILBERT ON CAN, and in the light of this perhaps a Lippian connection should be considered. Allen in *BNJ* 23 remarked on a resemblance to some coins attributed to Lippe by Chautard, but such comparison is unsatisfactory and Dolley and Seaby disagreed (p. 316, no. 24).

<sup>24</sup> This obverse die was also used with a reverse reading ADA/MON/NEV/ECA and the example in the BM (ex Slype hoard) was long accepted as English despite the irregularity in the obverse legend and the existence of a mule between that reverse and an 'Irish' obverse die (125) – see Dolley and Seaby 294–5. The outstanding difference between the convincing obverse of this imitation and that of its English

28. R X-INI 'Arrow-head' letter X. Same die as 29–32.  
Rev. BIR/TQNI/ h/ RN(h and second R reversed) – same die as 94. 1-44/22-2
29. Same obverse die as 28 and 30–2.  
Rev. DNI/ OL/ ON/LVN (first N pellet-barred – based on Nicole on Lun) 1-43/22-1
30. Same obverse die as 28–9 and 31–2.  
Rev. IN /OL /CNL/VND (based on Nicole on Lund). 1-37/21-2
31. Same obverse die as 28–30 and 32.  
Rev. INI/DOI/ (reversed) OI/LVN (same die as 95 and 105) 1-44/22-2
32. Same obverse die as 28–31.  
Rev. WIL/L M/CN /ANT (first N pellet-barred) 1-45/22-4
33. 'Arrow-head' letter X. Neck indicated.  
Rev. ARI /WIG/RI /TVO. 1-15/17-7
34. h RI VS R X-IN (reversed) -I' 'Arrow-head' letter X. Four pellets around head. Same die as 35.  
Rev. OL /III /OHL/VHL (based on Nicole on Lund) – same die as 101. 1-41/21-8
35. Same obverse die as 34.  
Rev. h N/RIO/NLV/ND . 1-42/21-9
36. 'Arrow-head' letter X. Four pellets around head. Same die as 37.  
Rev. h N/ND /RIO/NLV (First two quarters retrograde; last N reversed). Same die as 87. 1-48/22-9
37. Same obverse die as 36.  
Rev. RI /R(reversed)AD/CNL/VND (retrograde and anticlockwise). 1-58/24-4
38. R X:NI' (Ns reversed). Irregular letter X (patté/pommé). Pellet between curls. Same die as 39–41 (D & S die 0.1).  
Rev. B'R/H N/TOL/ RN (second R reversed). 1-48/22-9
39. Same obverse die as 38 and 40–1.  
Rev. DAV/ION/D V/ LI' (same die as 11 and 70).<sup>25</sup> 1-36/21-0
40. Same obverse die as 38–9 and 41.  
Rev. LI /T R/ I'+/LON (same die as 65 and 108). 1-25/19-3
41. Same obverse die as 38–40.  
Rev. RID/ARM/CNL/VND (reversed N – based on Ricard on Lund).<sup>26</sup> 1-32/20-4
42. Letter X pommé – see n. 18.  
Rev. III /OI /OIL/VID. 1-27/19-6
43. Saltire letter X. Colon after R X. Neck indicated. Four pellets in field.  
Rev. WIL/L M/LCN/DON. 1-03/15-9
- (iv). Loosely based on class 3.
44. Star of eight points. R X II reversed N and S. Neck indicated.  
Rev. G.BO/(PAR)/D N/SIS.<sup>27</sup> 1-17/18-1
45. Ihl R (retrograde letters) VS R X III. Minute initial mark. Unusual letter R with crescent tail.  
Rev. h I/RIO/N(reversed)LV/ND . 1-29/19-9
46. (reversed)II:I VS R X:HP  
Rev. NID/OL /OIL/VND (second N reversed). 1-30/20-0

prototype is the insertion of a cross pattée in the legend in place of the letter S in HENRICVS. An obverse die of Bernhard of Lippe with a rosette in the crown has a cross of similar form in the legend, which reads B'NH + AHIT/III. It is used with reverses of HENRI ON LVND with rosette centre and NICOLE ONE LVN with and without rosette (Ribnitz 220; W. lot 39). It is not listed by Ihl as an issue of Lemgo mint, although it resembles other coins in the series and his obverse die A1 has a cross pommé in the legend which reads BERNH (cross) AR III. (H. Ihl, *Die Münzprägung der Edelherrn zur Lippe – Münzstätte Lemgo*, Lemgo 1991, 32 and pl. 9, 1a–3b.) Although this single similarity does not provide sufficient evidence to justify any association of 27 with Bernhard, especially as his Long Cross coins all have a sceptred bust, it is worthy of note as it may well indicate a Westphalian origin.

<sup>25</sup> Same dies as Brussels hoard BH 1 (0.1, R.1).

<sup>26</sup> See 113 for a similar reverse legend from a different die.

<sup>27</sup> A coin in Lord Stewartby's collection (ex Brussels hoard) has the same reverse die combined with a different 'class 3'

obverse of better style. This completes the inscription to read G-BO/PAR/DEN/SIS which he attributes to Boppard, a small town on the Rhine just south of Coblenz, although this is beyond the normal range of Long Cross imitations in Germany. He also suggests as a possible candidate for the issuing authority William of Holland, who was elected German king, by leading ecclesiastical princes at the behest of the pope, as anti-king to Conrad IV. He was crowned at Aachen in 1248, but initially was only recognised in the lower Rhineland. He gained more general support on his marriage to Elizabeth of Brunswick in 1252, including the Rhenish League of Cities by 1254. He was killed in battle in 1256.

Subsequently Peter Woodhead advised me of a further example from the same reverse die (struck off flan in a similar manner) used with a 'class 5' obverse of good style. This coin is overstruck on what appears from fragments of the original legend still visible to be a Cologne denar. The overstriking of German coins with Short Cross types is discussed by Jan Stewart in *LACOM*, Münster 1981, 205–210 (at pp. 207–210).

47. h I R IIVS(reversed)II X:IID.  
Rev. III /OI /OH /VV . 1-10/17-0
48. h IRI VS hX III'  
Rev. Blundered legend consisting mainly of strokes. 0-88/13-6
- (v) Small module with blundered legends and crude portrait.
49. I I---VSDI XII. Letter X pommé.  
Rev. ---/N(reversed)O/DVL/IVO. 0-71/10-9
50. Very blundered obverse legend.  
Rev. Cross in circle I' IIII/HI/VIIIO. 0-71/11-0
51. Strokes in place of obverse legend and jumbled letters on reverse. 0-87/13-9
52. Jumbled letters and symbols.  
Rev. --/NO/ON/VD. 1-11/17-1
53. Grotesque portrait and jumbled legends. Very base metal. 0-78/12-0

### With sceptre

*Class 4.* Star of eight points. h NRI VS R X:III'. Portrait similar to late class 3c, but holding sceptre which cuts legend between R X and :III.

54. Very blundered legend.<sup>28</sup>  
Rev. IOVI/MOI/IV /IOH. 1-23/19-9

*Class 5.* No. i.m. h NRICVS R X III' commencing immediately after sceptre. It is often impossible to suggest an association with a specific one of the eight sub-classes of this type, as many of the imitations display the criteria of more than one of these – some even appear on non-sceptre copies. Most appear to be based upon 5a–c, although a few have possibly taken 5g for their prototype. For convenience they are sub-divided in the following lists primarily by the marks in the field and secondarily by the basic shape of the eyes, but it will be appreciated that there is no chronological or other significance in this arrangement. On official coins, crescents in the field occur mainly in 5a–c and pellets in 5f–g, although a few earlier varieties and all 5d–f have a pellet between the curls. Most varieties have some coins without any marks, but the fringe of minute pellets below the jawline, and sometimes also around the neck ('necklace') is mainly confined to 5g. Annulet eyes were used in 5a, b and d, whilst oval ones occur in all other varieties of this class.

- (i) Four crescents in the field – between and below curls.  
Annulet eyes.
55. Rev. RI /OAL/ARD/VND (N reversed; second A double-barred – a rare feature of some official English reverse dies of classes 5a–b). 1-36/21-0  
This reverse die was also used with a Lippe obverse in the name of Bernhard.<sup>29</sup>
56. Reversely barred N with pellet centre and reversed S on the obverse.  
Rev. WIL/N h (upturned)/OIII/RID (combination of Wil(lem), Hen(ri) and Ric(ard)). 1-17/18-1
57. Reversed S on obverse (same die as 58?).  
Rev. h N/RIO/IILV(both inverted)/ND (same die as 15). 1-34/20-7
58. Mis-struck. Reversed S on obverse. Only two crescents visible, but probably the same obverse die as 57.  
Rev. RI /IRD/ON /LOV.<sup>30</sup> 1-53/23-6
59. Rev. HR /RID/ON /LOV.<sup>31</sup> 1-34/20-7
60. Rev. ARI /WIG/RIO/TI . 1-11/17-2
61. Rev. ARI /WI /RVO/T O. 1-31/20-2
62. Rev. ARI /MI /GLV/-I . 1-10/17-0
63. Letter X patté.  
Rev. h I/RIO/IILV/ID . 1-49/23-0
64. Rev. NI /ONL/ NL/VI . 1-32/20-4
65. Reversed in H NRI VS (D & S die 0.3). Same die as 66–7.  
Rev. LI /T R/ I'+/LON (same die as 40 and 108). 1-32/20-4
66. Same obverse die as 65 and 67.  
Rev. NI /OL /ON /ANT. 1-42/21-9

<sup>28</sup> The association of this coin with the rare English class 4 is very tenuous, and the obverse may in fact be based upon class 3, with the apparent sceptre-head being a letter X pommé.

<sup>29</sup> Illustrated in *BNJ* 26 (1949–51), 54, pl. 1, 15. See W.lot

41 for a similar reverse from a different die.

<sup>30</sup> Similar reverses are used with 'Irish' obverses (BH 57 and 58; reverse dies 16 and 17).

<sup>31</sup> Die-linked with an 'Irish' obverse (BH 59).

67. Same die as 65–6.  
Rev. RD/AR(-D)/ONL/VMD (same die as 14). 1-25/19-3
68. Same obverse die as 69–73.  
Rev. ARW/I NR/CN /AN (pellet on crossbar of first and second N). 1-41/21-8
69. Same obverse die as 68 and 70–3.  
Rev. BR'/h I/TQN/ AI (reversely barred N). 1-40/21-6
70. Same obverse die as 68–9 and 71–3.  
Rev. DAV/ION/D V/ LI' (D & S die R.1 – same as 11 and 39).<sup>32</sup> 1-39/21-5
71. Same obverse die as 68–70 and 72–3.  
Rev. h I/RIO/IILV/ID . 1-36/21-0
72. Same obverse die as 68–71 and 73.  
Rev. NI /OI /OIL/VID. 1-42/21-9
73. Same obverse die as 68–72.  
Rev. WAL/T R/OI /AIT. 1-55/23-9
74. Reversed Ns on both sides.  
Rev. RI /ORI/ VI/ NR. 1-31/20-2
75. Rev. ROB/ RT/ON(reversed) /ANT (retrograde). 1-30/20-1
76. Rev. h-G/ DO/WI /TOR. 1-15/17-8

*Oval eyes.*

77. h NR IVS  
Rev. NI /OL /ONL/VID (retrograde) – same die as 99. 1-46/22-5
78. Rev. NI /IHD/ONL/VND. 1-40/21-6
79. Rev. NI /OHD/ONL /-CN. 1-21/18-7
80. Rev. NI /ONL /GI /- (pellet-barred Ns). 1-26/19-6
81. Rev. hi /Oh /II-I/VII (second reversed). 0-92/14-2
82. Rev. ARID/ARII/OIID/VIID (reversed s for Ds). 1-04/16-0
83. Rev. ARI /AR /CN /VND. 1-33/20-6
84. Rev. ARI /h(?) I/ARI /NLV. 1-04/16-0

*(ii) Crescent beneath curls each side. Oval eyes.*

- 0.3. Rev. ARI /h N/RIO/MLV (based on Ricard and Henri on Lund).<sup>33</sup> 1-36/21-0
85. Rev. ARI /WIG/ARV /TRO. 1-13/17-4
86. Rev. ARI /WI /TOR/--V. 1-04/16-1
- 0.4. Rev. I R/W -/SON/V T (based on Iervis on Ivel?).<sup>34</sup> 1-36/21-0

*(iii) Pellet between curls.**Annulet eyes.*

87. h NRCIVS. Crescent beneath curls.  
Rev. h N/ND /RIO/NLV (first two quarters retrograde; last N reversed).  
Same die as 36. 1-35/20-8
88. Obverse of similar style to 101.  
Rev. III /OL / IL/ IV (based on Nicole on Lund). 1-50/23-2
89. Rev. BR'/h I/TOL/CIN. 1-28/19-7
90. Fringe of small pellets (same obverse as 91).  
Rev. BIL/h I/TQN/ NR (hybrid legend possibly based on Gilbert on Can and Henri on Lund). 1-34/20-7
91. Same obverse die as 90  
Rev. NI /OL /OIL/VHD (reversed for D). 1-25/19-3
92. Inverted h on obverse. Crescent-tailed R.  
Rev. WIL/L M/ONL/VID (reversed for D) – same die as 107. 1-34/20-7
93. Fringe of small pellets.  
Rev. RI /ARND/ NL/ONV (second N pellet-barred).<sup>35</sup> 1-42/21-9

<sup>32</sup> Same dies as Brussels BH 21 (0.2, R.1).<sup>33</sup> Hemselynge hoard (NC 1983, 164–176, at p. 176) no. 111. Transcribed as hEN/RIO/MLV/ARIC in the report, but amended here to conform with similar readings.<sup>34</sup> Hemselynge hoard 115.<sup>35</sup> Reverse die also used with an 'Irish' obverse (BH 49–50).

94. Fringe and necklace of small pellets. Same die as 95.  
*Rev.* BIR/TON/I h/ RNL (h and second R reversed) – same die as 28. 1-33/20-5
95. Same obverse die as 94.  
*Rev.* INI/DOI/ (reversed)OI/LVN (same die as 31 and 105). 1-27/19-6
96. Fringe and necklace of small pellets.  
*Rev.* DNI/ OL/ ON/LVN. 1-25/19-3
97. R /X divided by hand. Curule X.  
*Rev.* WIL/L N/ ON/KAN (all Ns reversed) – based on a reverse of cl.5d.<sup>36</sup>  
 Silvered base metal. 1-32/20-4

*Oval eyes*

98. WIL/L M/ON /ANT (last N pellet-barred). 1-03/15-9
- (iv) No marks in obverse field.

*Annulet eyes; no neck.*

99. Inverted h on obverse (same die as 100).  
*Rev.* NI /OL /ONL/VID (retrograde) – same die as 77. 1-39/21-5
100. Same obverse die as 99.  
*Rev.* NI /RI /ONL/BVD (retrograde). 1-33/20-5
101. Obverse of similar style to 88.  
*Rev.* OL /III /OHL/VHL (same die as 34). 1-43/22-1
102. Distinctive portrait. Crescent-tailed R.  
*Rev.* h N/RIO/NLV/ND (second N reversed). 1-42/21-9

*Oval eyes*

103. *Rev.* DNV/ICN/LVH/D I (based on Davi on Lunden). 1-32/20-4
104. *Rev.* N h/WA/O-R/OIN (Ns and R reversed; h inverted). 1-09/16-8
105. Same obverse die as 106–7.  
*Rev.* INI/DOI/ (reversed)OI/LVN (same die as 31 and 95). 1-39/21-5
106. Same die as 105 and 107.  
*Rev.* III /OL /OIL/VND. 1-38/21-3
107. Same die as 105–6.  
*Rev.* WIL/L M/ONL/VID (reversed for D) – same die as 92. 1-40/21-6

(v) Four pellets in field.

*Annulet eyes.*

108. Same die as 109 (D & S die 0.4).<sup>37</sup>  
*Rev.* LI /T R/ T+/LON (same die as 40 and 65). 1-35/20-8
109. Same die as 108.  
*Rev.* R N/ RO/N V/ RV (second N reversed). 1-45/22-4
- 0.5. *Rev.* ARI /WI /RI /TVO.<sup>38</sup> 1-24/19-1

*Oval eyes*

110. *Rev.* HI /OL (inverted) /DNK/AIT (based on Nicole on Kant – cl.5d) 1-40/21-6
111. *Rev.* h N/RIO/NIV/ND . 1-36/21-0
112. *Rev.* RID/ARD/OND/VHD (reversed for D) – based on Ricard on Lund. 1-22/18-9

<sup>36</sup> Ribnitz no. 167 transcribed as CON/RAI/WIL/LEM probably has a similar reverse legend and any association with Conrad, about which Damenberg expressed grave doubts, is illusory.

<sup>37</sup> This obverse die is also used with an 'Irish' reverse (D & S R.2 – BH 37).

<sup>38</sup> Hemselynge hoard 113 – transcribed in report as WIC/RIC/TVO/ARIC.

113. Nothing between curls; minute pellet below.  
Rev. RI /ARMD/CN/VI'D (reversed N).<sup>39</sup> 1-34/20-7
- (vi) Crude and blundered.
114. Crude portrait with sceptre to right.  
Reverse illegible. 1-21/18-7
115. ---I I VIL--  
Rev. IVIL/CN(retrograde & inverted)/IBL/O (reversed) 0-99/15-3
116. Crude face with pellet eyes.  
Rev. IV/ I (reversed)/IO/DO.<sup>40</sup> 1-33/20-6
117. Very crude portrait.  
Rev. R N/AD/OHL/VH-.<sup>41</sup> 1-26/19-5

#### Irish type obverses<sup>42</sup>

- h NRI/ VSR/ X (sceptre)III'. Crowned portrait holding sceptre in right hand; cinquefoil in field, all contained within a triangle dividing the legend.
118. D & S die 0.6. Same die as 119–21.  
Rev. NI /OL /CN /ANT. 1-39/21-5
119. Same die as 118 and 120–1.  
Rev. DIN (reversely barred)/ OL/ ON/LVN. 1-43/22-1
120. Same die as 118–9 and 121.  
Rev. B R/h N/TQN/ AN (combination of (Gil)ber(t) and Hen(ri) on Can). 1-38/21-3
121. Same obverse die as 118–20.  
Rev. WIL/L M/CN /ANT (D & S die R.5 – BH 38) 1-32/20-4
122. D & S die 0.8. Same die as 123–4.  
Rev. (h N)/RIO/NLV/HD. 1-09/16-8
123. Same obverse die as 122 and 124.  
Rev. h N/RIO/NIV/ND . 1-31/20-2
124. Same obverse die as 122–3.  
Rev. h N/RI/-ND/NOL (many letters inverted or reversed). 1-00/15-4
125. D & S die 0.9.  
Rev. ADA/MOI/N V/ A.<sup>43</sup> 1-25/19-3

#### Crude varieties with blundered legends.

126. Rev. PI /HD/CND/IV (based on Ricard on Dive) 1-36/21-0
127. Rev. -V/OI (reversed)/--O/I V. 1-42/21-9
128. Rev. VOD/SDN/VHN/ AI. 1-12/17-3
129. D & S die 0.29. Sceptre omitted; trefoil to right and quatrefoil to left of bust. Jumbled letters and symbols in both legends. 1-05/16-2
130. D & S die 0.36. Small face with beard of long strokes; triangle of pellets to right.  
Rev. h(inverted) -/OH /DVO/IVI (first and last reversed) - D & S die R.47. 0-95/14-7
131. D & S die 0.38. hVGI/CINOVO/O. Small face without beard; triangle of pellets to right.  
Rev. H-G/VOH/ -/O (D & S die R.49) 1-40/21-6
132. Portrait of similar style.  
Rev. DAV/IIN(reversed)/DVO/ L (retrograde – Davi on Dive) 1-03/15-9
133. Portrait with large annulet eyes and beard of strokes resembling the so-called 'ape' face of OS 120.<sup>44</sup> Blundered legends on both sides. 0-98/15-1

<sup>39</sup> This obverse die was also used with a reverse REN/ERO/NEI/BMR/ (comp. 109). See 41 for a similar reverse reading from a different die.

<sup>40</sup> Possibly copying a 'Salve Regina' reverse reading IVI/CVI/LCN/DON (Chautard 486 and Ribnitz 208 – illustrated).

<sup>41</sup> Possibly an official issue of class 5i, but more likely to be an imitation.

<sup>42</sup> A die-study of 'Irish' imitations is published in Dolley and Seaby.

<sup>43</sup> This reverse is also used with an 'English' obverse (see 27 and n. 24). The combination is illustrated in Dolley and Seaby pl. XX, OSZ.

<sup>44</sup> See Dolley and Seaby, 293 and 300.

134. Similar to English class 3a but with beard of curved lines.<sup>45</sup>  
*Rev.* HIC/OL /OHL/VHD. 1-47/22-7
135. Obverse brockage.<sup>46</sup> Portrait resembling that on some coins of Lippe especially in the treatment of the beard (see p. 113). 1-22/18-9

## Lettering

In general the lettering closely copies that on the prototypes, although some of the finer distinctions, a few of which provide the criteria for the classification of some English varieties, are not found on the imitations.

The variations are perhaps most noticeable on the obverses, which otherwise tend to be fairly accurate copies. The letters R, S and X are the most distinctive and the latter has several recognisable varieties. Basically there are two main forms – straight-sided limbs used with portraits based upon English classes 2 and 3, or one straight and two curved limbs found on coins with a sceptred portrait as on class 5. The most distinctive of the former is one which I have designated ‘arrow-head’ (fig. 1.1), which loosely copies the style used in classes 2b and 3, but has small barb-like projections at the end of each pointed limb. Although most punches of this variety are small and squat, there is some variation and a few coins have a larger and thinner version (7–9 and 18). Most other ‘class 3’ coins have a plain cross with pointed or rounded ends more like that on the prototypes, but rarely the arms terminate in blobs (23 and 38–41) or are distinctly pommé (10 and 42). A cross pattée is used on 4, 63 and possibly 12.

There is more variation in the letter X on imitations with a sceptred portrait. As one would expect, in all cases examined the letter appears to be based upon forms used on English class 5 pence. The most common is that illustrated in figure 1.2 of which there are several minor varieties. On a few coins the letter is inverted (103–4). Although in essence very similar to the former, that in figure 1.3 with crescents for the curved limbs copies the variety used on late class 5a and a few 5b pence (it is also found on the rare variety 3ab<sub>2</sub>, but this is without

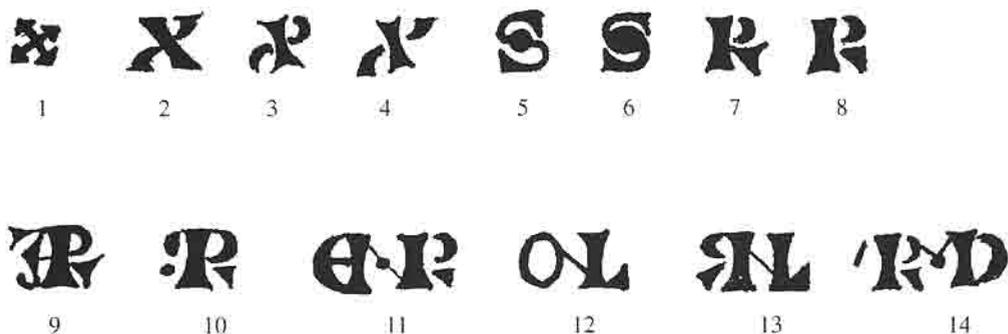


Fig. 1 Lettering and ligatures

<sup>45</sup> Except for the beard, composed of short curved strokes instead of a double line of pellets, this coin is indistinguishable from an official English one and illustrates the difficulty in recognising unequivocally some of the imitations. Its style and lettering are so similar that one cannot dismiss completely the possibility that it is an English variant. Peter Woodhead favours a continental origin, pointing out that the beard of strokes is found on some imitations. It is of

course possible that the dies for this coin were made by a worker who had produced some in England and was using the same punches, since some would appear to be very similar to those found on official coins.

<sup>46</sup> There was an obverse brockage of very similar style in the Colchester hoard. Such errors are of considerable rarity in medieval times and the occurrence of two, probably from the same mint, implies an unusual lack of quality control.

sceptre). This style has been noted on **56, 80, 82** and **85**. The variety in figure 1.4 is often used and appears to be a debased form of that in figure 1.2. The curule style of the letter, first used on English coins of class 5d, appears on **97**, the reverse of which is copied from a Canterbury coin of that class.

On most coins the letter S has a pellet centre (as in English class 3) – fig. 1.5, or a thick waist (as on many class 5) – fig. 1.6. Although it is not always easy to distinguish these, a distinctly pellet-centred S on a coin with a sceptred portrait is indicative of an imitation. On a few coins (**19, 56–8**) the pellet S is reversed.

The most common form of R on the English coins (used in classes 1–3c and 5b–c) has a wedge tail with some variation in shape and size and this is the form generally found on imitations. A wedge with incurved sides (fig. 1.7) appears on most English coins of class 5b–c, and this variety is used on imitations without sceptre (most) and with sceptre (many). Otherwise the tail consists of a straight-sided triangle (fig. 1.8), but the proportions and placing of this can vary. Rarely the tail takes the form of a crescent (**21, 45, 92** and **102**) or a cross between a wedge and a crescent (**1, 2, 4** and **12**) – the latter perhaps indicating Westphalian origin.

Whilst the lettering on the obverse generally conforms to that of the prototype (with the minor differences discussed above), a number of irregularities occur on the reverses. On a few the letters h (also found on some obverses – **92, 99** and **100**), L, V and R are inverted, and reversed letters are more common. E, h, N and R have been noted on the reverse, while C, E, N and S occur on the obverse. The reversed N also occurs on most reverses with the names of ‘Cunren’ and ‘Sullen’, mainly used with *Salve Regina* obverses. In many cases a reversed E takes the place of a D and should perhaps be more properly described as D with a crossbar. A few reverses and one obverse (**56**) have pellet-barred Ns which were probably intended to copy the letter with a small dash on the crossbar found on some English coins. A pellet-barred E occurs on English coins of class 1a and this is copied on the obverse of one coin (**1**) based on that variety. More unusual is the double-barred A on **55** – a very rare feature on English reverses of 5a–5c.

The omission of crossbars on some reverses produces apparently garbled legends such as IIIICOLCOILVID, which becomes a perfect rendering of the prototype when the relevant bars are inserted. On the reverses of some coins the crossbar of the N is horizontal (resembling a Roman H), a feature found on many English coins.

Occasionally the entire reverse legend is retrograde (**37, 77** and **99**), and on several coins this is confined to the quarter reading hEN (**28, 94** and **104**) or two quarters hEN/NDE (**36** and **87**). Such retrogression can be confusing if it is not recognised as such, e.g. on a coin where the second and third quarters are unclear, NIC/OLE/ONL/VND retrograde appears to read CIV/---/---/DIÑ and could well be taken for a legend commencing with CIV(ITAS).

### Ligations<sup>47</sup>

A feature of the English Long Cross coinage was the frequent ligation of pairs of letters such as NR, AN, AR, EN, ON, etc. The only obverse ligations found on classes 2 to 5 are NR, ER (in *TERCI*) and ENR (see below), and these are copied faithfully on most imitations with unblundered obverse legends. However, at times those on the reverse present curious and often unintelligible ligations when the prototype appears to have been misinterpreted. The commonest of such errors is the use of a ligated AR to represent the first letter R in reverse legends derived from *RICARD ON LVND* (**60–2**) where the letters AR in the second quarter

<sup>47</sup> The use of ligated letters on English Long Cross pence is discussed in *BNJ* 10 (1913), 73.

are ligated on the English coins. There is considerable variation in this ligation on the imitations, with most closely copying the English style (fig. 1.9) even down to the double-barred A on one die (55), although most omit the crossbar. On others the A degenerates into a crescent with a large pellet beneath (fig. 1.10) and finally a small line or wedge attached to the top of the R.<sup>48</sup> Even more remarkable is the introduction of multiple ligations incorporating three or even four letters, although the only one found on English coins is ENR on the obverses of most class 3bc (fig. 1.11 – this occurs on the reverse of 68). At times this produces combinations which are apparently meaningless. The commonest are created by the insertion of a transverse line between two letters to represent N (28, 64, 69 etc.) making ENL, ONL (fig. 1.12) or even R(reversed)NL (fig. 1.13). Whilst some of these make sense, it is difficult to attribute any logical explanation to the placing between two letters of a V with a large pellet at its vertex, producing a letter M. This is used to make a ligation of four letters ARMD (fig. 1.14) on two reverse dies with similar legends (41, 113), and its function appears to be purely ornamental, since the context indicates that ARD is intended.

### Weights

The writer had the good fortune to be able to weigh 280 Long Cross imitations from an old collection, most of which appear to have come from a single hoard. Many looked uncirculated and there was little patination, so that their present weight probably does not differ significantly from that when they were struck. It is difficult to make a precise comparison of the weights of two groups of coins unless samples of each are available from the same hoard, and even this is not infallible since some have probably circulated before deposit. In an attempt to arrive at an acceptable weight range and average, 479 English coins from the Haarlo hoard were used, and as a check a further 282 from the writer's collection were assessed with fairly similar results. The latter are perhaps somewhat unsatisfactory, as most coins in collections will have been selected, but they have the advantage of having been weighed on the same scales as the imitations.

From the chart below it will be seen that the weights of the imitations compare very favourably with those of the English coins. Very blundered imitations of poor quality have been omitted, as most of these are probably forgeries. The fineness of the silver has not been tested, but the colour of the metal and the occasional spot of verdigris suggest that in many cases it is not up to the English standard (but see note 7). Although the coins have been divided into two groups (with and without sceptre), this appears to have no chronological significance in the case of most imitations.

Some Long Cross coins in the name of Bernhard of Lippe are on slightly smaller flans than his sterlings, and because of their weights (c. 0.50–0.60gms. and c. 0.25gms.) these are designated halblinge (halves) and vierlinge (quarters) respectively.<sup>49</sup> One quarter in the Weweler sale (lot 56) is on a much smaller flan (13mm.) and weighs 0.35gms. However, despite the smaller module of a few, none of the coins in the sample examined and weighed, or in the lists, can be regarded as a fraction. The lightest in the lists (49, 50 and 53) are all heavier than any half-sterling, and their crude style suggests that their lighter weight is due to the fact that they are probably forgeries.

<sup>48</sup> This is rendered AR in the lists even when the context indicates that R alone was intended.

<sup>49</sup> *Ibl* (as in n. 24), 33–4. I am grateful to Lord Stewardby for drawing my attention to this publication and lending me his copy.

LONG CROSS IMITATIONS AND FORGERIES  
PERCENTAGE OF COINS IN EACH WEIGHT BAND

Weight (gm)	No sceptre			Sceptre			Totals		
	1	2	3	1	2	3	1	2	3
1.60	1	1	x	—	x	—	x	x	x
1.55	—	—	x	2	1	—	3	1	x
1.50	8	5	5	6	6	6	7	6	5
1.45	14	10	20	11	21	24	12	18	21
1.40	22	30	22	34	20	29	30	23	24
1.35	8	20	29	19	20	18	16	20	25
1.30	29	14	15	12	11	18	17	12	16
1.25	8	7	3	6	8	1	6	8	2
1.20	5	7	2	4	6	2	4	6	2
1.15	—	3	x	3	3	1	2	3	1
1.10	2	1	2	2	3	1	2	2	2
1.05	1	1	x	1	1	—	1	1	x
1.00	—	1	—	—	—	—	x	x	—
Average (gm)	1.35	1.34	1.38	1.37	1.36	1.37	1.36	1.35	1.37
(gr)	20.85	20.72	21.9	21.06	20.91	21.13	21.00	20.85	21.19

## KEY TO CHART

Column 1. Imitations

Column 2. Official English coins – Haarlo hoard.

Column 3. Official English coins – Writer's collection.

All weights have been rounded up or down to the nearest 0.05 gm.

x in column = under 0.5%

**Moneymers**

Not unexpectedly in view of its output, the recognisable names on the Long Cross imitations are preponderantly those working at the London mint between classes 3 and 5, together with a few of Canterbury for the same period. There are also a number of coins with the Dublin mint signature, mainly with 'Irish' obverses, and the odd provincial mint such as Hereford (26), Lincoln (5) and Newcastle (125). One coin of 'York' (109) has a sceptred portrait, although that mint only struck in classes 2b–3c. Another sceptred coin (0.4) has a reverse apparently derived from one of Ilchester, which was working in class 3 only.

Details of the London and Canterbury moneymers whose names or derivatives therefrom have been noted are summarised below. The most commonly encountered is Nicole (mainly of London), which is hardly surprising in view of his considerable output. Another prolific London moneyer, Henri, was also extensively copied, and the first element of his name (often retrograde) appears on a number of reverses. Ricard and Davi, active London moneymers especially in class 5, are used with some frequency, but unless they are followed by an unequivocal London signature these names could have been copied from Dublin coins.

The sceptreless imitations with the name of Willem (London) are of particular interest in the light of his first English coins being of class 5c. This evidence that they were not contemporary with the earlier issues which they copied is not surprising in view of the number of reverse mules linking 'cl.3' obverses with those of 'cl.5'. However, some of the 'cl.3' coins have unusual reverse legends, WILLENLVNDON etc. (17 and 24) and these are discussed below.

Reverses recognisably derived from Canterbury coins are less common, the most prolific moneyer again being Nicole. Gilbert is included, although only elements of his name have been noted so far.

## LONG CROSS MONEYPERS OF LONDON AND CANTERBURY NAMED ON IMITATIONS

Moneyer	Dates	Types	IMITATIONS (OBVERSE TYPE)			
			TERCI	No sceptre	Sceptre	Irish
<b>LONDON</b>						
Nicole	died c. 1252	2-5c	x	x	x	x
Henri	took oath 1248	3a-5g	x	x	x	x
Davi	1250-60	3c-5g		x	x	x
Ricard	took oath 1250	3c-5g		x	x	x
Willem	took die c. 1255	5c-5g	x	x	x	x
Renaud	d.1278	5g-7			x	
<b>CANTERBURY</b>						
Nicole		2-5g	x	x	x	x
Gilbert	took oath 1248	2-5g		x	x	x
Willem*	took oath 1250	2-5g		x	x	x
Ion	took oath 1250	4-5g		x		x
Robert		5c-5h			x	x
Walter		5c-5h			x	

\* It is uncertain how many moneyers named Willem worked at Canterbury mint during the Long Cross coinage. Records show that William Cockayne was sworn in 1250, but the name appears on coins struck before that date. Another William (of Gloucester), the king's goldsmith, received grants of dies in both London and Canterbury c. 1255 (*BNJ* 9 (1912), 159-161, 179).

**Die-links**

As remarked earlier, similarity of style is an unreliable link between Long Cross imitations, and the only indisputable one is the sharing of dies, a comparatively common occurrence as in most other imitative issues. The following die-links have been noted in the coins listed:

Obverse. 5-6, 7-9, 24-5, 28-32, 34-5, 36-7, 38-41, 57-8?, 65-7, 68-73, 90-1, 94-5, 99-100, 105-7, 108-9, 118-21, 122-4.

Reverse. 11/39/70, 14/67, 15/57, 28/94, 31/95/105, 34/101, 36/87, 40/65/108, 77/99, 92/107.

When these are combined, quite long chains can be compiled, as will be seen from the following, which can doubtless be extended even further as new links are discovered.

## CHAIN I

Average weight 1.39gm. Range: 1.25-1.55gm.

Obverse without sceptre	Reverse	Obverse with sceptre
	ARWIENRONCAN	68
	BR'HEITONLCAI	69
	HCIRICILVIDC	71
	NICOIEIOLVID	72
	WALTERONCAIT	73
11	DAVIONDEVELI	70
39	B'RHENTOLERN	
38	RIDARMDONLVRD	
41	RENERONEVER	109
	LIETERCI+LON	108
40	NICOLEONCANT	65
	RIDAR·DONLVMID	66
14		67

CHAIN 2  
Average weight 1.39gm. Range: 1.27–1.45gm.

Obverse without sceptre	Reverse	Obverse with sceptre	
29	DNICOLEONLVN		
30	INEOLCONLVND		
32	WILLEMOCANT		
28	BIRTONLIEHCRNL	94	
31	INIDOHEOILVN	95	105
	IIICOLCOILVND		106
	WILLEMONLVND	92	107

The die-study of 'Irish' imitations by Dolley and Seaby revealed that in their Class II (Irish type obverses with 'English' reverses) no more than three obverse dies are employed with no fewer than seventeen reverses (increased to twenty-two by specimens in this paper), but no reverse die occurs with more than one obverse.

D & S obverse die 6 (Average weight 1.35gm. Range: 1.05–1.61gm).

- R.4. NICOLEONCANT (OS 97) – see also **118**.
- R.5. WILLEMOCANT (BH 38) – see also **121**.
- R.6. ROBCRTONCANT (BH 39–40)
- R.7. IONBERTONCANT (BH 41–2)
- R.8. HCIRIOHLVND (BH 43)
- R.9. DAVNOILVHDEN (BH 44–8)
- R.10. RICRNOENLONV (BH 49–50) – see **93** for use with 'English' obverse.
- R.11. WILLEMONLVND (OS 98)
- R.12. RIEORIEVIONNT (BH 51–3)
- R.13. BIR--I--LORL (BH 54)
- R.- BERHENTONCAN (**120**)
- R.- DINCOLEONLVN (**119**)

D & S obverse die 7 (Average weight 1.23gm. Range: 1.15–1.29gm)

- R.14. NICOLCONLVND (BH 55)
- R.15. HENRIONLVHDE (BH 56)
- R.16–7. RIEHRDONELOV (BH 57–8) – see **58** for similar reading, but apparently a different die used with 'English' obverse.
- R.18. HRERIDONELOV (BH 59) – see **59** for use with 'English' obverse.

D & S obverse die 8 (Average weight 1.20gm. Range: 1.00–1.38gm).

- R.19. HENRIONLVNDE ? (BH 60) – see also **123** (different die).
- R.20. HENRICIILVNDE (BH 61)
- R.21. DAVIONIVHDREI (BH 62–3 & OS 99)
- R.- HENRIONLVND (**122**)
- R.- HENRI-ONLON (retrograde in parts – **124**).

### Associated reverses

In addition to the die-links, but less dependable, are groups of reverses with variations of distinctive legends bearing little resemblance to that on any prototype, although elements of the original can often be distinguished. The variation on many of these may well be deliberate, as often they do not have a recognisable pattern of deterioration such as one would expect to find on copies of copies and, as remarked earlier, the obverses usually transcribe without fault

the original English legend. The principal groups distinguished by the writer are listed below, and doubtless several more variations can be added to these. With the garbled inscriptions the selection of the commencement is somewhat arbitrary.

ARIC/WIG group (Average weight 1.20gm. Range: 1.04–1.43gm).

The first 'group' of letters, transcribed as ARIC, starts with copies of varying accuracy of the ligated AR found on many English coins, although quite inappropriate if, as seems likely, this part of the inscription was inspired by RIC(ARD). All coins except the first have a sceptre.

ARIC/WIG/RIE/TVO (**33**)

ARIC/WIG/RIO/TIE (**60**)

ARIC/WIC/RVO/TEO (**61**)

ARIE/WIG/ARVC/TRO (**85**)

ARIE/WIC/TOR/--V (**86**)

ARIC/WIC/RIC/TVO (0.5 – Hemselyne hoard no. 113)

ARIC/TEO/RVE/WIC (Haarlo hoard no. 546 – lot 526).

None of the above coins has been connected to either of the chains nor have any die-links been noted. This and their absence from the Brussels hoard and from the group of 280 imitations mentioned later suggest that they may have been struck at a different mint from the bulk of the coins listed or possibly at a later date.<sup>50</sup> However, the obverse of **33** closely resembles that shared by **28–32**, including the 'arrow-head' letter X, but this may be coincidental since both dies are deceptive copies of their 3b prototype. The other obverses show some variation in style, that of **60** being somewhat crude with badly formed lettering – possibly a copy of an imitation of this group.

A number of reverses, some more closely resembling the English ones reading RIC/ARD/ONL/VND, could possibly be associated with the above, as most have the distinctive diagonal to the letter R, but the style of portrait suggests otherwise. Amongst these are two small groups, each tenuously connected by the style of their obverses. The obverse lettering, especially X, is very similar in both groups.

1. Round face with oval eyes having prominent pupils.

ARIC/ARC/ONC/VND (**83**)

ARIE/(H?)EI/ARIE/NLV (**84**) – see **0.3** for a variety legend.

RIC/ARNO/ENL/ONV (**93**)

2. Small spade-shaped face with well-marked beard.

ARIC/MIE/GLV/-IC (**62**)

ARID/ARII/OHD/VHD (**82**)

RID/ARD/OND/VHD (**112**)

The treatment of the face of **62** is somewhat similar to that of a Lippe coin in the name of Bernhard with a reverse based on Ricard on Lund (see **55** and n. 29).

BIR/HEN/TOL group (Average weight: 1.38gm. Range: 1.18–1.50 – based on 31 coins).

The original inscriptions upon which this group of reverses is based are uncertain, but they appear to have elements of HEN(RI), ONL(VND), CAN and perhaps (GIL)BER/T. The first two dies are used with sceptreless obverses, although the first is also found combined with a

<sup>50</sup> There were several examples, all with sceptred bust, in Ribnitz as follows:

138. ARB/CNC/ARL/VNO 1 example  
139. ARIE/WIG/ARIO/TIE 2 examples

140. ARIE/WIG/ARC/VNO 1 example  
141. ARB/ENO/RIL/VNO 1 example

Varieties also occurred in the Steppingly, Abilds and Kirial hoards, but none appears to be recorded in Brussels.

sceptred one. Two others are used with both 'English' and 'Irish' obverse dies. The following are the main variations, but other very similar readings exist.

BIR/TONL/IEH/CRNL (**28** and **94**)

B'R/HEN/TOL/ERN (**38**)

BR'/HEI/TOL/CINL (**89**)

BR'/HEI/TONL/CAI (**69**)

BIL/HEI/TONL/CNR (**90**) – die-linked with NIC/OLC/OIL/VHD (**91**)

BER/HEN/TON/CAN (**120**) – Irish obverse 6.

The unusual ONL ligation used on **28**, **69**, **90** and **94** also appears on **79** and **80**, both loosely based on NICOLE ON LVND, suggesting an association with this group. The reverse inscription of **91**, which is die-linked with **90**, provides additional evidence for this supposition.

The group is connected to Chain 1 by **38** and **69**; and to Chain 2 by **28** and **94**. The 'Irish' obverse 6 is also used with BH 54 (transcribed as BIR/--I/--L/ORL), which belongs in this group and appears to have the same legend as **28** and **94** and may be from the same die (the illustration of this reverse on plate XX of Dolley and Seaby is inverted).

A coin of the group in Chautard (no. 478; pl. XXXII, 4) has the reverse legend transcribed as HIR/HEI/TOL/CR(reversed)L. It was attributed to Kuinre on the grounds of the similarity of its obverse to one used with a reverse reading HEN/RICV/S-CO/MES (Ch. 476; pl. XXXII, 2) and, although without a definite die-link this association is speculative, coins with variations of this reverse may well have been struck there (see p. 102 and no. 60).

#### WILLEN LVNDON group.

This unusual rendering of the reverse legend, together with slight variations all deriving from Willem on Lund, is found combined with obverses both with and without the sceptre, although Willem only appears on official London coins of class 5c and later. The omission of ON and the rendering of the mint name in full are features of most reverses of this group of imitations. The combination of a reverse similar to **24** with an obverse reading HENRICVS COMES<sup>51</sup> and the die-linking of **24** and **25** with **0.2** enable us to attribute this group to the mint of Count Henry – whose identity is disputed but is now generally accepted as a Lord of Kuinre – and to associate with it the reverse die reading WID/LEM/ONE/AIT. A coin (**9**) with the reverse legend WIL/LEN/ONL/VND combined with a 'class 2 (TERCI)' obverse probably also appertains to this group,<sup>52</sup> and this is die-linked with reverses reading HEN/RIO/NIE/NDE (**7**) and IIIIC/OLE/ONL/VIID (**8**).

WIL/LEN/LVN/DON (**17**)

WIL/LEM/LVN/DON (**24**)

WID/LEM/ONE/AIT (**25**)

WIL/LEM/LON/DON (**43**)

The last has a portrait of unusual style which resembles that on some of the SALVE REGINA MA sterlings. Support for this association comes from two Ribnitz coins (no. 209) where a SALVE REGINA MA obverse without sceptre is combined with a reverse transcribed as WIL/LEM/IVN/DOI (the third quarter appears to read SV.).

<sup>51</sup> Ribnitz no. 196. The attribution of these coins is discussed on p. 102.

<sup>52</sup> Coins in the Ribnitz hoard – no. 85 (this follows no. 94 and should be 95) – combine a WILLEM LVNDON reverse with a 'class 2 (TERCI)' obverse – cf. **9**.

## CIVITAS LONDON group.

Although there are no specimens of this group in the lists of this paper, it was well represented in the Ribnitz hoard where the coins were listed, albeit with reservations, in the English section.<sup>53</sup> Detailed descriptions in the hoard report were as follows:

- |   |              |
|---|--------------|
| 53. No sceptre. CIVI TAS LVN DON (or DON) | 14 examples. |
| 54. No sceptre. CIVI ATS LON DON.         | 1 example.   |
| 55. With sceptre. CIVI TAS LVN DON.       | 3 examples.  |
| 56. With sceptre. CIVI ATS LON DON.       | 1 example.   |

Attribution of these coins to Kuire is suggested by coins with SALVE REGINA MA obverses combined with reverses reading CIVITAS CASTOR (Ribnitz 202) and IVI CVI LON LON (Ribnitz 208 and Ch. 486). Such an association was favoured by Dannenberg, who cites the 'London' coins twice in the pages devoted to the coins of Kuire. The use of CIVITAS followed by the mint name is common in this area at the time, with CIVITAS CVNREN or CIVI CVNRENCIS on coins with HENRICVS REX obverses,<sup>54</sup> and the former on Salve Regina coins (Ribnitz 197–8 and Ch. 483). The reading CIVITAS SVLLEN also appears on Salve Regina coins (Ribnitz 206 and Ch. 485) as well as those in the name of John of Nassau, Bishop elect of Utrecht (Ribnitz 210). The London and Castor readings were probably based upon these, although they could have been copied from the coins of Edward I's coinage with which they are probably contemporary.

Two coins in the lists reading CIVI/NRV/LON/LON (21) and CIVI/VIN/---/--N (22) probably appertain to this group, and the affinities of the former with a Salve Regina coin is discussed in n. 21. The lettering and eyes of 21 also resemble those on an 'English' obverse combined with a CIVI/TAS/LON/DON reverse. The usual rendering of the mint name as LVNDON ties these coins in with the previous (WILLEN LVNDON) group.

Obviously, in a preliminary study such as this, the chains, die-links and lists of associated reverses are far from complete, but even at this stage they suggest that the bulk of the imitations with convincing 'English' obverses of good style combined with reverses that are apparently blundered emanated from the same area.

The most noticeable variations in style occur in the imitations with blundered obverse legends (46–54, 114–7 and 126–33). Many of these are of light weight or small module and a few are of silvered copper or base metal. The worst are doubtless forgeries of unknown (possibly English or Irish) origin, but a few may even be continental copies of imitations.<sup>55</sup>

## Attributions

One of the few coins with accurate copies of English dies on both obverse and reverse which can be attributed incontrovertibly to the issuer is the 'class 2' sterling of 'Lincoln' (5). Here a mini-chain links this coin to one with a reverse reading CIV ARNESBERG (6), which is also used in combination with an obverse with the legend GODEFRIDVS CO (pl. 8, C), confirming that all three coins were struck for Gottfried III, Lord of Arnsberg (1235–87).<sup>56</sup> Other 'English' sterlings which may have been struck in the Westphalian region are 2 (see n. 15 and

<sup>53</sup> Dannenberg remarks that Hawkins ignored these coins, whilst Ruding acknowledged such coins with a Short Cross on p. 188, no. 15 of the first supplementary table (these also are now recognised as imitations). D. considered that the Ribnitz coins were forgeries, being light and small, and he remarked on a certain resemblance to the coins of Kuire.

<sup>54</sup> Ribnitz nos. 186–8 and Chataud no. 475 (pl. XXXII, 1). See also Plaagendrup hoard plate no. 6 in *NC* 1850.

<sup>55</sup> 115–6 may have been copied from 'Salve Regina' coins

of Kuire (Ch. 486) – see n. 40. However the very jumbled obverse legends bear no resemblance to these, and the few visible letters on 116 appear to be loosely based on an English coin.

<sup>56</sup> Berghaus was apparently unaware of any Long Cross sterlings struck at Arnsberg when he wrote 'Arnsberger Münzgeschichte' in *Münzen, Wappen, Siegel der Städte Arnsberg* (1971), 3–17.

63), **4**, where the portrait is very similar to that on a Blomberg coin (**1**), and perhaps **26**, for which a Westphalian mint has been suggested as a possibility (see n. 23). The letter E with a long spur on **12** resembles the distinctive letter on many German Short Cross imitations.<sup>57</sup> This coin also has an unusual wedge/crescent tail to the letter R similar to that on **1**, **2** and **4**. The attribution of **55** to Lippe through a reverse die-link is discussed later and a number of more tentative attributions are listed in the summary on pp. 117–8.

The completion of the fragmentary legend on the reverse of **44** to read G.BOPARDENSIS (see n. 27) permitted its attribution with some certainty to Boppard in the lower Rhine region, despite this town being outside the main areas of Long Cross imitation. The obverse die on this is of unusual, rather crude, style, but the two other dies used with the same reverse are of finer work and resemble the English prototypes more closely.

One die-link suggests that many sterlings with obverses which are deceptive copies of English class 3b were probably struck at Kuinre. Such an obverse die used with reverses having an ‘English’ legend (**24–5**) is also known combined with a reverse reading HENRICVS-COMES (**0.2**), generally attributed to Kuinre. There is some confusion about which Henry was responsible for these coins, as the dates of the Lords of Kuinre are nebulous. A Henry II does appear between 1263 and 1265 – Dannenberg gives his dates as 1263–94 (p. 313) – and there are references to a Henry III (d.s.p. Aug. 1318) between 1294 and 1297 and perhaps again in 1304.<sup>58</sup> While nineteenth-century numismatists favoured Henry II, some modern continental students attribute these coins to Henry III. It has even been suggested that they may have been struck by Heinrich I of Sternberg (1249–82),<sup>59</sup> who minted Long Cross sterlings of Scottish design at Bosingfeld. The proposed attribution to a Count of Waldeck named Heinrich (1249–82) was rightly dismissed by Dannenberg (p. 314).

It seems likely that many, perhaps most, of the ‘3b’ imitations were struck at the same mint, and some are connected by the distinctive ‘arrow-head’ letter X. Although this form does not appear on **24–5**, it is used on **17**, the unusual reverse inscription of which – WIL/LEN/LVN/DON – resembles that on **24** too closely to be coincidental – see also **43**. The letter is also used on the obverse die shared by **7–9**, which has a slightly blundered ‘class 2’ legend with a portrait resembling that of ‘3bc’ or even ‘5’ without the sceptre.

The above examples are exceptional, and normally the certain attribution of anonymous copies presents considerable difficulties and some of the accepted ones are open to question. Chautard associated a number of such coins with Kuinre, basing this on the similarity of their obverses.<sup>60</sup> However, despite the fact that several reverses are shown on the relative plate connected to one obverse, it seems unlikely that they all share the same obverse die, although it is impossible to confirm or negate this from the engraved illustrations. His nos. 481 (LA/CMR/RIL/VND) and 482 (SET/NVI/LVN/DON)<sup>61</sup> are also included under the coins of Kuinre because the portraits are the ‘same type’ as no. 480, transcribed as HENRICVS COM: S on the obverse and DAV/ IOR(reversed)/LVN/DEN on the reverse, and 475, with an ‘English’ obverse

<sup>57</sup> I. Stewart, ‘Some German coins overstruck with sterling types’, *LAGOM, Festschrift für Peter Berghaus zum 60. Geburtstag am 20 November 1979*, Münster 1981, 205–10 (at p. 208, figs. 4–8) and Lord Stewartby, ‘German imitations of English Short-Cross sterlings’, *NC* 1995, 221.

<sup>58</sup> Dolley and Seaby 298, citing A.N. de Vos van Steenwijk in *De Nederlandsche Leeuw* LXXXIV (1967), 259–310.

<sup>59</sup> Schulman Catalogue 276 (22.2.83), 25 – note to lot 597. This attribution to Sternberg was favoured by Weweler and appears in his sale catalogue (lots 1099 and 1100), where his dates are shown as 1243–79.

<sup>60</sup> Chautard’s 478 (HIR//HEI/TOL/CRL) and 479 (WAL/TER/ONC/WAL) are linked by him with 476–7, which read HEN/RICV/S-CO/MES, and they are all illustrated on his

plate XXXII, 2–5 as sharing an ‘English’ obverse die. The first thirteen coins on this plate are derived from the Plaagendrup hoard plate, where several reverses share one obverse on three occasions, but this appears to be done to illustrate the basic type rather than imply that they are die-linked. Chautard probably had the same intention, since his text for 476–9 only states ‘même face’ and the link between the coins seems very tenuous. Indeed 479 may well be an official English coin with a blundered version of WAL/TER/ONC/ANT.

<sup>61</sup> The attribution to Kuinre of this and similar readings appears still to be accepted in the Netherlands, where two coins in the Haarlo hoard (511 and 544) were classified thus.

and a reverse reading CIVI/CVN/REN/CIS, respectively. This is not to say that the association of these coins is definitely incorrect – in fact the mint name LVNDON of 482 suggests a connection with the WILLEN LVNDON coins mentioned above – but it should perhaps be regarded with more circumspection than the text would imply.

In the case of Lippe, all of the Long Cross coins listed by Chautard bear the name of Bernhard, or rarely Simon, with two exceptions which have 'HENRICVS' obverses combined with a reverse inscribed with the name of the mint – BLO/ME/NBE/RIC.<sup>62</sup> Apart from a few very rare 'Irish' obverses having the portrait contained within a triangle, the bulk of the Long Cross coins in the name of Bernhard have 'English' obverses and are used with reverses based upon English ones. The principal varieties are listed below, as it is amongst these that any die-links with 'HENRICVS' obverses will be found. The coins marked with an asterisk were represented in the Brussels hoard.

*'Irish' obverses*<sup>63</sup>

HEN/RIO/NLV/NDE<sup>64</sup> (Ribnitz 230; W.lots 33–4)<sup>65</sup>

NIC/OLE/ONL/VND (Weweler 36)

..A/ORE/NLV/... (Weweler 37)

*'English' obverses*

1. Rosette of pellets in crown and centre of reverse.

\*HEN/RIO/NLV/NDE (Ribnitz 217–8; W.lots 35–6)

\*NIC/OLE/ONE/LVN

2. Transitional ? – Rosette on obverse only.

\*NIC/OLE/ONE/LVN (Ribnitz 220; W.lot 39)

3. No rosette on either side.

\*HEN/RIO/NLV/NDE (Ribnitz 213; W.lot 38)

\*NIC/OLE/ONE/LVN (Ribnitz 221; W.lot 40)

REN/AVD/ONL/VND<sup>66</sup> (Ribnitz 222–4; W.lots 43–5; var. 46–7, 52)

REN/RIO/NLV/NDE (Ribnitz 219; W.lots 49–51; 53–5)

\*RIC/OAL/ARD/VND (Ribnitz 227; *BNJ* 26 (1949–51), 54 and pl. 1, 15; W.lot 41)

RID/ARD/ONI/VND (Ribnitz 226; W.lot 48)

<sup>62</sup> His 416 and 417 (pl. XXVII, 7 and 8), but these may not have been issued by Bernhard – see **1** in lists.

<sup>63</sup> W.lot 62 reading .../RON/DEI/... was catalogued as having a reverse copied from an Irish coin, presumably on the assumption that Dei represented the mint signature and was copied from DIVELI (Dublin). This coin is Ribnitz 216, and Dannenberg transcribed the first letter of DEI as a reversed E, but the apparent crossbar may be a flaw. Although it is possible that an Irish reverse could have provided the prototype for a die of Bernhard in the light of his 'Irish' obverses, this attribution is highly speculative especially in view of the incomplete legend. Furthermore neither of the names of the two Dublin Long Cross moneyers (Davi and Ricard) terminates in the letter R. It seems that this is probably another blundered legend such as RON/DON/NLV/OIC listed later with the reverses of Bernhard. It also has close affinities with that of **2** reading RON/ROI/DEL/VND, which in the light of this may probably be attributed to Lippe.

<sup>64</sup> An 'English' reverse (HEN/R)IO/NLV/NDE is combined with a 'Scottish' obverse inscribed WIDEKIN/DVSREX ex Coventry hoard (*HBzN* 14 (1960), 476 no. 7).

<sup>65</sup> After the completion of this paper, the important Weweler collection was offered for sale ('Lippia in Nummis, Sammlung Paul Weweler', Auktion Leu 63, 23/24 October 1995, Zurich). This contained thirty Long Cross sterlings in the name of Bernhard, representing most of the known varieties. They are all illustrated in the catalogue, which provides a convenient source of reference, and the lot numbers have been inserted in my text thus 'W.lot 00'. Where the reference is given as 'Weweler 00' it refers to the numbers in his work 'Lippische Sterling' (n. 71).

<sup>66</sup> The moneyer's name on one coin in Ribnitz (no. 224) is transcribed as REIEVD (confirmed by W.lot 46) and on one in Plaagendrup as REIR(reversed)VD. However, the latter may in fact be correctly rendered, as the letter A in Renaud on many English coins bears some resemblance to E or a reversed R, which could be exaggerated in copying. Dolley suggested that the Plaagendrup sterling was a Frisian imitation, but does not state his reasons for this assumption, which appears to be based upon the fact that all other attributable Long Cross sterlings in the hoard are associated with Frisian mints (Dolley and Seaby, 298).

RIO/REN/NLV/NDE (Ribnitz 228; W.lot 57)

RON/DON/NLV/OIC (Køb ex N.Omme)

WAL/TEM/ONL/VND (Ribnitz 229; W.lots 58–60)

\*WIL/LEM/ONC/AIT (Brussels hoard)

WIL/LEN/ONL/ANH (Haarlo 527; W.lot 61 – Ribnitz 229a, misread as L..D).

Details of the reverse legends of the very rare Long Cross sterlings attributed to Hermann III and Simon I are given below on p. 113.

The coins with a rosette of pellets on both sides are possibly the earliest Lippish ones of Long Cross type with 'English' reverses,<sup>67</sup> since this mark appears in the crown on some of the Short Cross imitations both in Bernhard's name and with an 'English' obverse legend.<sup>68</sup> In confirmation of this suggestion is the Lippish content of the Brussels hoard, where approximately 60 per cent of the Long Cross coins in the name of Bernhard have the mark on one or both sides. The attribution of all of the imitations inscribed BERNHARD to the third ruler of that name is open to question. It appears that it was primarily based upon the fact that some obverse legends end in III, but this was probably a device to make the terminal letters more closely resemble those on the prototype. Such ruses were frequently employed slightly later on some imitations of Edwardian sterlings. It seems likely that some, possibly most, of the BERNHARD Long Cross coins were struck by Bernhard IV (1265–75),<sup>69</sup> who ruled in Lippe jointly with Hermann III (1265–74)<sup>70</sup> and solely after the latter's death. Weweler considered the Blomberg sterlings with the Lippish shield as reverse type to be 'the last type of Bernhard III; possibly they were struck by his son Bernhard IV'.<sup>71</sup> Berghaus lists Hermann III and Bernhard IV together, but ascribes to them only German types, viz. Head in triangle obverses with reverses having a building with three towers.<sup>72</sup> However, elsewhere he says 'in Lippe the striking of sterlings continued until after 1344', but he is probably referring here to the 'Head in triangle' coins of Simon.<sup>73</sup> Whilst the Long Cross sterlings marked with a rosette can be attributed with some confidence to Bernhard III, those without the mark present some difficulties. Those with such reverses which correctly copy the legends of the London moneyers Henri, Nicole and Renaud are perhaps best described as Bernhard III or IV,<sup>74</sup> as is the transposed legend of RIC/OAL/ARD/VND.

NICOLE. Coins with reverses bearing this moneyer's name possibly bridge the gap between the two Bernhards and fall into the three categories listed above, all of which were represented in the Brussels hoard. The portrait on some of the non-rosette obverses resembles that on 55 (discussed below), having the same distinctive treatment of the beard. Reverses with this name are die-linked to reverses of 'Henri', 'Ric/ard' and 'Willem on Cant'. In addition to the Brussels coins, there was an example in

<sup>67</sup> There is a die study of the coins with this mark on both sides and a reverse of HENRI ON LVNDE in Ihl's book on the Lemgo mint, although he does not include the obverse die with a cross pattée in the legend which is also used with reverses of Nicole one Lun (W.lot 39). A complete die-study of the coins of Bernhard would be invaluable, as there appears to be considerable linking between 'moneyers' (see summary of continental Long Cross content of Brussels hoard – pp. 110–1).

<sup>68</sup> cf. J.J. North, 'Londe Civits'. *NCirc* 1970, 267.

<sup>69</sup> The attribution of some of these Long Cross coins to Bernhard IV was also favoured by Dannenberg (317 and 319). In the Weweler catalogue lots 33–42 are attributed to Bernhard III and the remainder to Bernhard III or IV.

<sup>70</sup> Bernhard III designated his elder son to be his successor, but after a dispute over this, part of the county was given to

Hermann, his younger son. Following this Bernhard (IV) possessed the lands east of the Teutoburg Forest together with the town of Rheda, but the latter was subsequently ceded to Hermann.

<sup>71</sup> P. Weweler, 'Lippische Sterlinge', *Festschrift zur Feier des 25 jährigen Bestehens des Vereins der Münzforscher und Münzfreunde für Westfalen und Nachbargebiete* (Münster 1938), 41–53, at p. 48.

<sup>72</sup> P. Berghaus, 'Lippstädter Geld im Wandel der Jahrhunderte', *Stadt Lippe-Lippstadt: Festschrift zum 50 jährigen Bestehen der Volksbank Lippstadt* (1964), 361–385.

<sup>73</sup> P. Berghaus, *Westfälische Münzgeschichte des Mittelalters* (Münster) 1974.

<sup>74</sup> In the Weweler catalogue coins with reverses of 'Henri, Nicole, Ric/ard and HEN/HIVI' are attributed to Bernhard III while all others are listed under Bernhard III or IV.

the Winchester find (dated *c.* 1265 ± 1),<sup>75</sup> and the presence of these coins in both hoards favours an attribution of most of them to Bernhard III.

RENAUD. This moneyer commenced striking late in class 5g, and although we have no documentary evidence of the date upon which he took up this appointment, Dolley considered that 'class 5 pennies of the London moneyer Renaud cannot well have arrived in Germany to serve as models before 1261 at the very earliest'.<sup>76</sup> Although this leaves sufficient time for them to have been copied before the death of Bernhard III in 1265, the absence of any Renaud imitations in the Brussels hoard confirms that they were probably struck after that date. The use of a Renaud reverse by Herman III also suggests an association of this with Bernhard IV.

The remaining coins, none of which are represented in the Brussels hoard, have reverse legends which are not exact copies of their English prototypes and may probably all be attributed to Bernhard IV.

RICARD. The attribution of the transposed legend is discussed below. Another reverse based upon a coin of this moneyer has a reversed C in Ricard and I for L in LVND.

WALTER. Coins of Bernhard (no. 229) and of Simon (no. 232) in the Ribnitz hoard have reverses reading WALTEM ON LVND. Both are illustrated and appear to be from the same reverse die (see also W.lots 60 and 69).

WILLEM. Although a coin in Brussels reading WILLEM ON CAIT is early and may belong to Bernhard III, most coins with this moneyer's name have the mint blundered. Those of Bernhard with LANh were probably struck late in the reign of Bernhard IV, as it appears as LANI on a coin of his successor, Simon I. A coin in Ribnitz (no. 229a), transcribed as WIL/LEM/ONL/...D. reads LANh (see W.lot 61).

HYBRIDS. The reading RIO/REN/NLV/NDE may be a combination of (Hen)RIO and REN(aud), as suggested by Dannenberg in the Ribnitz report. However, it seems more likely that it was based upon the reverses reading REN/RIO/NLV/NDE. It is difficult to decide whether the latter is a hybrid or merely an erroneous copying of the first letter. Although many coins have an impeccable letter R in REN (W.lots 49–51, 54–5 etc.), on a few there is an h with a large loop which resembles a gothic N,<sup>77</sup> like the letter on some English class 5 coins, suggesting that the R was perhaps derived from this in error.

The question of whether the Lords of Lippe were honest imitators of the Long Cross coinage or also indulged in outright forgery has been the subject of some conjecture. The Anglo-Irish imitations examined by Dolley and Seaby threw up no coins that could be die-linked into the distinctive issues of Lippe, despite the fact that the Brussels hoard contained coins in the names of Bernhard and of Widekind and that the former also struck some imitations based upon Irish Long Cross obverses. However, published in this paper is a coin with a Henricvs obverse combined with a reverse reading RIC/OAL/ARD/VND (55), which die-links with coins having a Bernhard obverse. The interpretation of the significance and status of these coins presented some difficulties initially. It was a possibility that both varieties were imitations, but this would have cast doubts on other coins of Bernhard with blundered reverse legends, some of which are also found upon coins of Simon. Conclusive proof that they are an official issue was furnished by the Brussels hoard, which contained coins where the Bernhard obverse die is also combined with reverses reading HENRI ON LVND and NICOLE ONE LVN.<sup>78</sup>

The possibility that the coin with the 'English' obverse was struck for Hermann III and its counterpart for Bernhard IV during their joint rule also requires consideration. In the absence

<sup>75</sup> R.H.M. Dolley, 'A recent find of Long Cross pennies of Henry III from Winchester', *NC* 1961, 185–9.

<sup>76</sup> As in n. 75, p. 189.

<sup>77</sup> On a coin in the FitzWilliam Museum (Grierson colln.) the first letter is of this style. A hällblinge with a rosette in the centre of the reverse has the legend transcribed as

RCN/RIO/.../NDC in Ihl (34, Emission 9). The form of the first letter differs from that of the true R in RIO and again is probably a blundered h.

<sup>78</sup> The RICARD and HENRI coins are illustrated in the Weweler catalogue (lots 41 and 38).

of very substantial reasons, I am reluctant to attribute any Long Cross imitations reading HENRICVS REX III to a local ruler named Hermann or Heinrich, as most (possibly all) obverse dies with this legend were simply copying the prototype and it was a fortuitous coincidence if this resembled the name of the issuer. In addition to this, the obverses of other coins attributed to Hermann III read HERMANNVS REX (Haarlo 56) or HERMANN...III (Ribnitz 231; W.lot 63).

All things considered, the most convincing explanation of this anonymous sterling is that it was struck by Bernhard III or IV and that here we have the long-sought proof that the lords of Lippe also indulged in forgery. Perhaps the transposition of the reverse legend was regarded as sufficient warning of the non-English origin of the coins, although such blunders are not unknown on official dies.

There is some variation in the style of the portraiture on the Lippe sterlings, and many are dissimilar to any of the anonymous imitations examined by the writer. However, a few have a small spade-shaped face (cf. W.lots 38 and 41), which bears some resemblance to that on a small group of coins with reverses derived from RICARD ON LVND (62, 82 and 112), but any association at this stage would be highly speculative. A somewhat similar face occurs on 61 and 135, and these have the unusual treatment of the beard which may be peculiar to Lippe (see. p. 113).

### Dating and attribution

Rigold also placed Bernhard amongst the 'honest' imitators, together with Count Widekind of Schwalenberg and the child Simon, whose coins he considered to be revivals rather than survivals.<sup>79</sup> He regarded the earliest forgeries as Westphalian, but pointed out that 'the commonest and most notorious are those of the Lords of Cunre, a lost castle in Overijssel (i.e. West Friesland) and on the Zuyder Zee (whose shape was not that of today). Besides these some come from Zwolle under episcopal licence. Their general association seems to be late and includes some of the later efforts of Lippe.' On the evidence of the finds he concluded that their orbit was the Frisian-Baltic passage and their date probably nearer 1280 than 1270.

Dolley and Seaby postulated that 'English and Irish coins were being imitated contemporaneously and at a common centre, the date indicated being one necessarily later than 1251, but not later than 1267'. The earlier date was based upon the fact that the Dublin mint did not open until autumn of that year. However, this would not preclude a slightly earlier date for a few of the imitations of English classes 1-3, which are not die-linked to 'Irish' obverses or used with 'Irish' reverses, but this is unlikely to be more than a few Westphalian copies of classes 1 or 2 in view of the short period between the commencements of the English and the Irish Long Cross coinages. Their later date was based upon the dating by Belgian scholars of the Brussels hoard to c. 1267 and can only apply loosely to the type of imitation contained in that hoard. A later date was attributed to coins associated by their legends CVNRENCIS (Ch. 475, 483-4) and SVLLEN (Ch. 485) with the Frisian mints of Kuire and Zwolle (?) respectively, as they were not represented in the hoard. In the light of the Plaagendrup hoard, they dated these not too late in the 1270s and suggested for the 'Irish' and associated 'English' imitations a date in the early or middle 1260s.

They discussed the possible location of the mints striking the most convincing imitations, covered by their classes I-III A, which comprise the following:

<sup>79</sup> S.E. Rigold, 'The trail of the Easterlings', *BNJ* 26 (1949-51), 31-55, at pp. 43-4. Since this paper was published it has been recognised that a number of Short Cross coins with 'English' legends on both sides (albeit often with minor blunders) were struck in Lippe, probably before those with the name of Bernhard. Although the

presence of a discreet rosette in the crown of some of the 'English' obverses gives a veneer of honesty by indicating the non-English source to those who scrutinised the coin carefully, others have no such mark (see Lord Stewartby, 'German imitations of English Short-Cross Sterlings', *NC* 1995, 231-4 - Group CF nos 64-74).

I. English type obverses of classes 3 and 5/'Irish' reverses

II. Irish type obverses/'English' reverses.

IIIA. Irish type obverses/'Irish' reverses of RICARD.

Having remarked on the very high degree of internal die-linking, and estimating that they must have been struck in their tens of thousands, the authors considered that they were struck somewhere within the area of modern Belgium. As to the responsible authority, one cannot improve on their suggestion that 'they represent the output of a minting establishment, something more than merely connived at by one or other of the seigneurs, counts or princelings whose jurisdiction in these parts was scarcely less than sovereign.

Their classes IIIB and IV contained very varied coins of poorer execution and blundered ones. These were considered to be more in the nature of forgeries, and many were probably struck in England or Ireland, others perhaps at various points in North-West Europe.

## Hoard

Unlike the continental imitations of Edwardian pence, which occur in varying and sometimes considerable quantities in most late 13th- to mid 14th-century hoards found in the British Isles, Long Cross imitations are relatively scarce in British finds. Only the two mentioned below from those listed by Thompson contain such imitations,<sup>80</sup> although there may well have been some unrecognised in these and other hoards. This absence is perhaps partly due to the lack of any large hoards deposited in the 1270s – Colchester II appears to have been assembled in two stages – and to the demonetization of the type in 1279. The influx of such imitations from the continent must also have been restricted by the Anglo-Flemish trade embargo of the early 1270s and the lack of trade with other areas producing them.

The unofficial Long Cross coins in the two hoards in the Inventory were as follows:

### *Hornchurch, Essex* (deposited in or after 1265\*)

England, 412; Ireland, 10; Scotland, 21.

1 imitation reading IIIEOLEOHIVHE.

1 similar to 26 in this paper reading RICARD ON HERE.

1 similar to 1 in this paper but reading BLOMENBERGEN.

\*The absence of coins of Renaud (London) may indicate a slightly earlier date.

### *Steppingley, Beds.* (deposited c. 1268)

England 487; Ireland, 13; Scotland, 16.

12 with blundered reverses: '3a' – 1, '5c' – 8, '5g' – 3.

1 'contemporary forgery' – DNICOLEONLVN (cf. 29 and 96).

1 'contemporary forgery' of Dublin penny (blundered).

2 Lippe – Bernhard (Ch. 420–1; pl. xxvii, 10–11). 'London' – Henri, Ricard (probably Renaud as Ch. 421).

The large Colchester hoard of 1969 has not yet been published in detail, but a preliminary listing was issued when the balance was sold. If one ignores the parcel of 1916 class 6 coins from the same dies as a later addition, the bulk of the hoard appears to have been assembled between c. 1252 (it contains coins of Randulf of Bury appointed 1251 and Ricard of London appointed 1250) and c. 1258 (no coins of Renaud of Bury appointed 1258 or Tomas of London appointed 1260). The hoard consisted of 13252 English, 24 uncertain, 491 Scottish, 292 Irish, but only 32 continental and contemporary imitations together with about 20 laminated forgeries. Details of the continental portion are as follows:<sup>81</sup>

<sup>80</sup> J.D.A. Thompson, *Inventory of British Coin Hoards, A.D. 600–1500*. RNS Special Publications No. 1 (1956). Hoards 193 and 342.

<sup>81</sup> Details kindly supplied by Marion Archibald in anticipation of the forthcoming publication of the hoard report. See also n. 96.

'English' obverse and reverse	22
'Widekind Rex'	4
Blomberg (similar to 1)	1

It is in the continental hoards that the Long Cross imitations and derivatives are found in any numbers, usually associated with official English coins of the same type. Typical of these is that found at Ribnitz (Mecklenburg) in 1887 and recorded in detail by H. Dannenberg (n. 4). This excellent report has been referred to frequently above and may be summarized as follows:

England. Long Cross: cl. 1, 4; cl. 2, 7; cl. 3, 355; cl. 4-5, 792; cl. 7, 4.			1162
Irregular (mostly imitations)*	No sceptre	43	
	Sceptre	80	123
Imitations (blundered reverses)	No sceptre	61	
	Sceptre	39	
	Unclear	30	130
Ireland. Long Cross.			5
Imitation with 'English' reverse			1
Scotland. Alexander III. Long Cross			7
Continental - Long Cross sterlings			
Kuinre - CIVI(TAS) CVNREN(CIS)	4		
HENRICVS COMES etc.	148		
SALVE REGINA	24		176
Utrecht. Bishop John. CIVITAS SVLLE			1
Gelderland. Reinald I? Arnhem (Ch. 461)			2
Lippe. Bernhard III or IV	63		
Hermann III	1		
Simon I	2		66
Pfennigs			
Munster. Bishop Eberhard v. Diest			33
Recklinghausen. Bishop Siegfried			4

\* These were included with the regular English issues (some with reservations), but their irregular legends reveal their unofficial status in most cases.

A find at Haagendrup *c.* 1849 was published erroneously as having been found at Plaagendrup,<sup>82</sup> and has been referred to under that name in subsequent publications. To avoid confusion this practice has been continued in this paper. Although the English publication of the find concentrates on the imitations, sufficient detail is given to compile the following summary of its content:

England. Long Cross.			90
Imitations (blundered reverses)*			5
Scotland. Alexander III. Long Cross.			1
Continental - Long Cross sterlings.			
Gelderland. Arnhem (Ch. 461)			1
Kuinre. HENRICVNINEN.	1		
HENRICVSCOMES.	2		
CIVITASCVNRENSIS.	1		
SALVE REGINA	5		9
(CIVITASSVLLEN. 1; Blundered Rev. 2)			
Lippe. Bernhard.			1
Non-sterlings.			
Denmark. Debased issues.			448
			<u>555</u>

\*One coin reading WAL/TER/ONC/WAL may be an English penny of Canterbury.

<sup>82</sup> C.J. Thomsen, 'Foreign sterlings of the type of the pennies of Henry III', *NC* 1850, 67-9 and plate opposite 67.



England. Long Cross. cl. 1, 7; cl. 2, 30; cl. 3, 490; cl. 4, 3; cl. 5, 780.	1310
Uncertain mints and moneyers	21
Contemporary forgeries	3
Blundered	2
Ireland. Long Cross. 10.	
Imitation with 'English' reverse. 1.	11
Scotland. Alexander III. Long Cross.	15
Total	<u>1362</u>

Brooke placed the date of deposit about 1260 and remarked on the absence of the 'usual accompaniment of Continental sterlings'. However, if the hoard contained any, most may well have been removed before he examined the find, since around 30 per cent of the total was missing. Rigold suggested that the hoard might be connected with the German expeditions of Richard of Cornwall.<sup>84</sup> He spoke of it as purely English, but Dolley and Seaby cited the 26 uncertain or blundered coins 'which must surely have included a proportion of Continental pieces'.<sup>85</sup> Two imitations listed among the regular coins had the same reverse die – ADAM ON NEVECA – used with an 'English' and an 'Irish' obverse respectively.

Unfortunately details of the English and Continental Long Cross coins in the vast Brussels hoard await publication. The Scottish content was the subject of a paper in this Journal some years ago.<sup>86</sup> and the anomalous Irish coins were studied by Dolley and Seaby. They suggested that, if the ratio of imitations to official in the English coins approached that which they postulated for the Irish ones, the hoard could contain as many as 4000 sterlings from dies of unofficial work. A.H. Baldwin & Sons Ltd have kindly made the named continental imitations available, while details of the varieties of anonymous ones have been listed by Nick Mayhew, who has permitted me to summarise these. From these two sources it has been possible to collate details of the imitations and derivatives in the hoard. Although this listing may not include every continental Long Cross coin in it, as it is still being examined, it contains the bulk of these and it is unlikely that new coins of any significance will emerge in this section. The number shown in the anonymous section represents those examined rather than the total. Full details of the coins of Lippe are given, in view of the importance of this hoard in dating those of Bernhard. The generally accepted date is c. 1264 (certainly not later than 1268) providing an important *terminus ante quem* for the imitations therein.

Long Cross imitations with 'English' legends (reverse often blundered) 163.  
(These include coins with similar distinctive reverse legends to the following in the lists which may be from the same dies – 2, 4, 8, 9, 14, 20, 26, 29, 31, 67, 74, 78, 96. There were also a number with the 'arrow-head' letter X and 9 of the BIR/hEN/TOL group. 26 is represented by eight examples, and a further three coins have a similar obverse with reverses reading GIL/BER/ION/CAN.)

Attributable 'English' Long Cross imitations

LIPPE – Bernhard III and IV. – Portrait with sceptre

*Rosette in crown and centre of reverse*

BERNA/RD/V	Rev. CIV/LE/ME/GO	1
lh obv. die A1	Rev. HEN/RIO/NLV/NDE	16
A2	Similar	6
A3	Similar	1
lh obv. die –	Similar	5
Same die	Rev. NIC/OLE/ONE/LVN	3
Same die		
(W.lot 39)	Rev. NIC/OLE/ONE/LVN (no rosette in centre)	13
<i>No rosette either side</i>		
BERHARDV III	Rev. HEN/RIO/NLV/NDE	4

<sup>84</sup> Rigold, as in n. 79, p. 44.

<sup>85</sup> Dolley and Seaby, 317, n. 43.

<sup>86</sup> B.H.I.H. Stewart. 'The Brussels hoard: Mr. Baldwin's arrangement of the Scottish coins', *BNJ* 29 (1958–9), 90–7.

Same die	Rev. NIC/OLE/ONE/LVN (1 reads NIC/OLE/ONI/VND)	5
Same die (W.lot 41)	Rev. RIC/OAL/ARD/VND	4
BERNHARD III (W.lot 40)	Rev. NIC/OLE/ONE/LVN	16
Same die	Rev. WI(L)/LEM/OIC/AIT	1
BLOMBERG (No sceptre by bust)		
Bernhard III. English style obv. Towered bridge rev. (W.lot 32)	Shield obv. Long Cross rev. BER/NhA/RDV/SIN (Ch. 418 pl. XXVII, 9)	1
HENRICVS (rose) REX.	Rev. BLO/MEN/BER/GCI	3
	Rev. BLO/ME/NBE/RIC (Ch. 416; pl. XXVII, 7)	4
HENRICVS RER TERI	Rev. CI(rose)/BER/TOI/CAN	1
VIDEKINDVS R	Similar	2
VIDECINDVS RE	Similar	2
BOPPARD – Similar to 44 (different obverse die)		
MARK ? – Otto (same dies as pl. 8, D)		
Scottish types		
SWALENBERG		
WIDEKINDVS C	Rev. SVA/LEN/BRC/HCI (Ch. 405; pl. XXVI, 8)	16
SVALENBRCHCI	Similar	4
STERNBERG		
Count Henry (Ch. 406; pl. XXVI, 9)		6

## Conclusions

On the introduction of the English Long Cross coinage in 1248, the imitation of sterlings was already well established on the continent, especially in Germany. Such imitations of the Short Cross type are quite scarce, and the anonymous ones copying the English obverse legend are the subject of a definitive study by Lord Stewartby to appear shortly in the *Numismatic Chronicle*. The largest group of these is often distinguished by a cinquefoil of pellets (rose), which was the heraldic device of Lippe, whilst other coins of Short Cross design struck there bear the name of Bernhard and/or a local mint.

In view of this, it is not surprising that the earliest copies of Long Cross pence appear to have been struck in Westphalia, probably shortly after 1250 when English prototypes seem first to have reached Germany. The following authorities in that area struck sterlings copying or based upon these.

LIPPE: This appears to have been the most prolific Westphalian issuer of Long Cross coins, although perhaps not the first in the area, as the only coins of this type in the name of Bernhard have portraits with a sceptre, introduced on the English pence in 1250.<sup>87</sup> As mentioned above, Short Cross sterlings exist, and these probably continued to be struck for a while before the change to the new Long Cross variety. A coin with a HENRICVS obverse copying English class 1a<sup>88</sup> and a reverse of Blomberg was attributed by

<sup>87</sup> This is confirmed by the continental sterlings in the Colchester hoard, which consist of coins with obverses bearing 'English' legends or variations of VIDEKINDVS REX, but none with the name of Bernhard.

<sup>88</sup> A coin in the Ribnitz hoard (64a) listed with the regular

English pence has a 'class 1a' obverse combined with a reverse reading HBN/RIO/NLV/IDE. Commenting on the star and crescent initial mark, Dannenberg notes 'the same can be found on the Lippran sterling (Munzstud. V, Table II, 14) which has the same fine lettering as the one in question'.

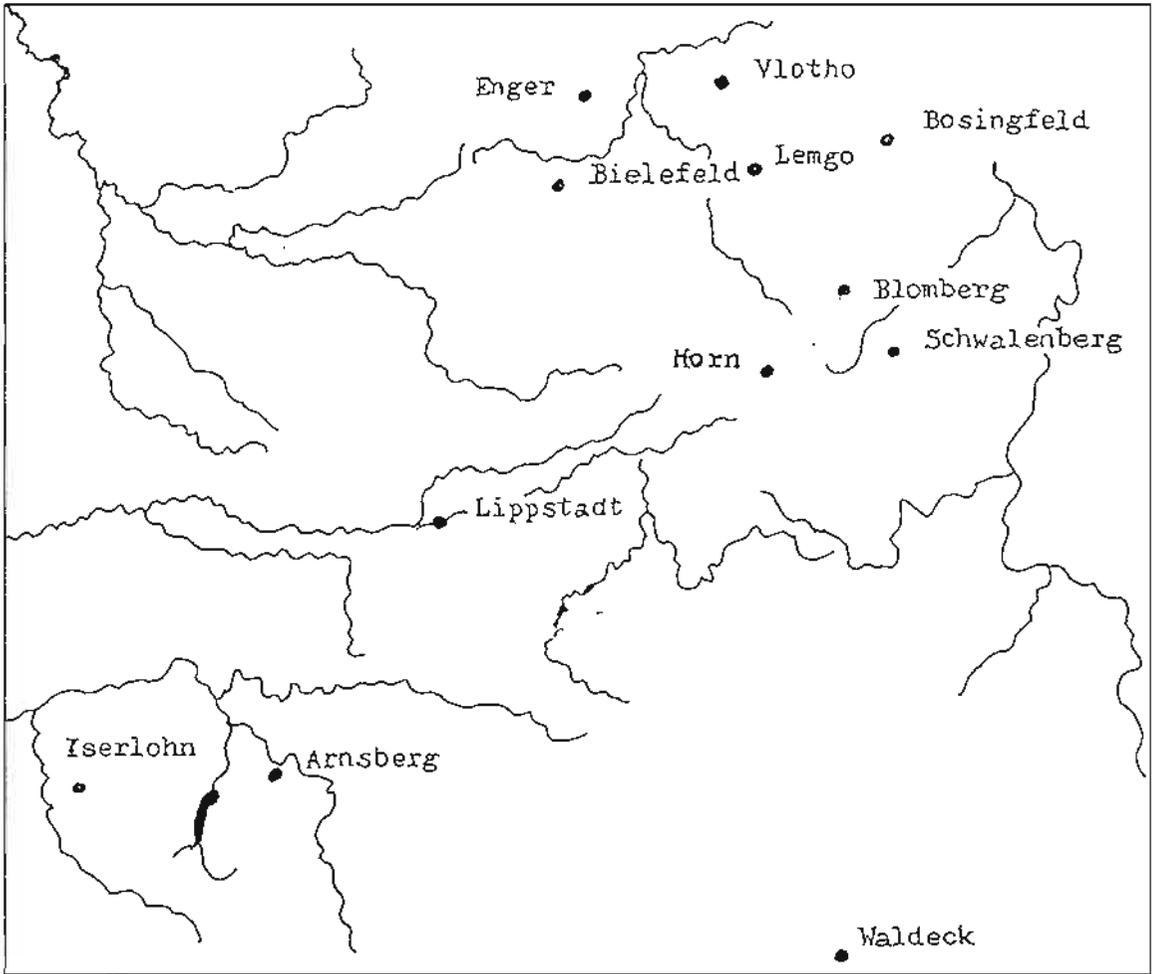


Fig. 2 Known and possible mints of Long Cross type coins in the Westphalian area

Chautard to Bernhard, but this is not certain (see p. 85). However, it is possible that some of the issues of that mint not bearing his name were struck on his behalf.

The following summary of the known Long Cross sterlings of the Lords of Lippe recapitulates the tentative attributions discussed in detail earlier.

*Bernhard III (1229–65)*

Reverse reading BERNHARDSIN (Ch. 420; pl. XXVII, 10; W.lot 37).

Coins with a rosette in centre of crown and reverse:<sup>89</sup> HENRI ON LVNDE and NICOLE ONE LVN

Rosette on reverse only: NICOLE ONE LVN.

<sup>89</sup> Two half-sterlings bear the mint name of Lemgo (Ihl. 34). the second possibly having been struck by Bernhard IV. Most

sterlings of Bernhard with a rosette in the centre of the reverse are now attributed to that mint.

*Bernhard III or IV.*

No mark either side; reverses with accurate legends based upon London coins of Henri, Nicole, Renaud and Ric/ard (transposed) and upon Willem on Cant.

*Bernhard IV (1265–75)*

Reverses with inaccurate legends based upon London coins of Henri, Renaud?, Ricard, Walter and Willem – probably Canterbury (full details on p. 104).

*Hermann III (in Lippstadt – 1265–74)*

HCIVID ON LVN (Ribnitz 231; W.lot 63)

RENAVD ON LVND (Haarlo 56)

RIC OAL ARD VND (obverse reads HENRICVS REX III – attribution uncertain, probably Bernhard III or IV – see p. 105).

*Simon I (1275–1344)*

HENRI ON LVNDE (Berlin 203)

WALTEM ON LVND (Ribnitz 232; W.lot 69)

WILEM ON LVND (Berlin 206)

WIL(EM ON) LANI (JJN – pl. 8, D)

Although a number of the coins in the lists with ‘English’ obverse legends have portraits resembling those on some coins in Bernhard’s name, none is sufficiently close to venture a firm association.<sup>90</sup> A feature on some coins, which may assist in the eventual identification and attribution to Lippe of anonymous sterlings, is the treatment of the beard, which on most imitations consists of two lines of small pellets with a larger one in the centre breaking the lower or both lines.<sup>91</sup> On many obverses (cf. W.lots 38, 41 and 45), including all that are attributed to Lemgo mint by Ihl, the lower line is unbroken (see 55).

As extremely few of the Long Cross sterlings of Bernhard III (with this type on both sides) or his successors is inscribed with the name of the mint at which it was struck, these remain uncertain – but see Ihl for those attributed to Lemgo. Other types of Bernhard III bear the names of Blomberg, Lemgo and Lippstadt<sup>92</sup> – the former on a sterling with a shield as obverse type and a Long Cross reverse (Ch. 418; pl. XXVII, 9). Doubtless one or more of these mints continued to strike the Lippian Long Cross sterlings bearing the names of the Lords.<sup>93</sup> The existence of very rare coins

<sup>90</sup> Dannenberg posited that ‘Lippian coins can be distinguished from the Dutch ones through their size and also by virtue of their more attractive lettering’ (p. 310). Although this may be applicable in some cases, especially in the non-sceptre coins, it is too sweeping to apply to the entire series.

<sup>91</sup> The beard on most English Long Cross coins is denoted in this fashion until the end of class 5a. After this the central pellet is less pronounced and slightly smaller, even appearing to be omitted on a few coins.

<sup>92</sup> Ihl considered that no Long Cross sterlings were struck at Lippstadt, which, in his opinion, concentrated on the production of pfennigs of the Westphalian type.

<sup>93</sup> Berghaus suggested that Blomberg or even Horn might be mints of Bernhard III for Long Cross sterlings, but the latter was not accepted by Ihl. However, Weweler considered that the coins of Hermann III were struck either at Lippstadt or Horn (see W.lot 63).

of Bernhard with the portrait contained in a triangle as on the Irish Long Cross pence suggests that some of the imitations with 'Henricus' Irish type obverses may have been struck in Lippe. One candidate is **125**, which belongs to a small die-linked group containing **27**, for which a possible connection with Lemgo mint has been suggested (n. 24). The obverse of **125** has the beard rendered in the manner described above, but this is of little significance in the copy of an Irish die, as many of the official coins have a similar arrangement of the pellets. Although it is not clear on the coins illustrated (**122-4**), D & S obverse die 8 has a similar beard. The reverses of the three coins in the lists are all based upon HENRI ON LVND, as are most of those used with Bernhard's 'Irish' obverses, but no die-links between the two series have been noted and the very blundered, partly retrograde, version on **124** makes a Lippish origin very unlikely. Additional evidence that the coins were probably struck elsewhere is the combination of this obverse with a reverse DAVI ON IVHDRE (BH 62-3), a reading which does not resemble any used at Lippe, but is very similar to that on **20** which was probably minted at Kuinre. The slightly smaller flans of the coins also point to that area as a possible source.

ARNSBERG: Sterlings with a reverse copying the Short Cross pence were struck in this county (Ch. 402; pl. XXV, 10)

The obverse of the Long Cross sterling in the name of Gottfried (pl. 8, C) appears to have been based upon a class 1b penny and is used with a reverse bearing the name of Arnsberg. This reverse is shared with an 'English' obverse die in the name of Henry (**6**), copying a class 2 coin, which in turn is used with a 'Lincoln' reverse (**5**). The latter is such an accurate copy that it was accepted as official for many years despite its light weight.

BOSINGFELD: Count Henry of Sternberg struck sterlings based upon the Scottish Long Cross issues of Alexander III, with a profile portrait and a star in each angle of the reverse cross (pl. 8, B), having the name of Bosingfeld on the reverse. He is a possible, but unlikely, candidate for the 'Henricus' coin of Blomberg (**1**). His name has also been suggested for the HENRICVS COMES imitations, and this is still accepted by some German numismatists (see W.lots 1099 and 1100). However, their attribution to Kuinre seems more plausible in the light of the linked and associated coins (see p. 102).

SCHWALENBERG: The earliest imitations of this barony were copied from the Short Cross pence and bear the name of Volkwin (Ch. 404; pl. XXVI, 7). The sterlings of his successor, Widekind VII (1246/50-65), copied the Scottish Long Cross sterlings (pl. 8, A). Most bear his name with the title C(omes) on the obverse and the legend SVALENBRENCI on the reverse, but a few have this inscription on both sides. The possibility that **1** may have been struck on his behalf is discussed on pp. 85-6.

ENIGMATIC – WIDEKINDVS REX: A series of coins of English Long Cross type with the name of Widekind variously rendered and followed by the title R(EX) was struck at Blomberg mint,<sup>94</sup> the name of which appears on the reverse of one (Berghaus (1960) no. 8) and possibly elsewhere. Many have reverse legends based upon GILBERT ON CAN, often with a rose of pellets in lieu of the third letter (Berghaus no. 10a) – also used with HENRICVS obverses – and one

<sup>94</sup> Berghaus suggests that some of the Blomberg 'Widekind' types may have been struck jointly by Lippe and Schwalenberg.

very blundered reverse may be derived from Blomberg (Berghaus no. 9). One coin has an obverse of Scottish style with the portrait to right (it is left on the Swalenberg and Sternberg coins) combined with an 'English' reverse reading (HENR)I ON LVNDC (Berghaus no. 7). The English obverses have a sceptreless portrait with a long face, copying that on a class 2 or 3a English penny. It is unlikely that any of these coins with the royal title pertain to Count Widekind and Berghaus suggested that they refer to the legendary Saxon hero of that name and that those with 'English' and blundered reverses were perhaps struck in the Lippian town of Enger, which had associations with him.<sup>95</sup> However, the portrait of these closely resembles that on a number of HENRICVS obverses which are combined with Blomberg or 'English' reverses and were associated with 'Widekind' (Rex) coins in the Brussels and Colchester hoards.<sup>96</sup> Their presence in these hoards indicates an early date for them, possibly contemporaneous with the Schwalenberg coins.

UNCERTAIN: The following Germanic Long Cross coin (pl. 8, E) appears to be unpublished and is included for that reason, although it is outside the main theme of this paper.

*Obv.* OTTO COMES LON. Facing head of flamboyant style.

*Rev.* NIC/OLC/VHD/DH + Normal Long Cross type.

Its attribution appears uncertain, as there are several possible candidates in the sterling area during the mid to late 13th century whose claims may be considered.

Gelderland: Otto II (1249–62). This ruler has been suggested as being responsible for Long Cross coins with the reverse reading WILLEM ARNEMI (Ch. 461; pl. XXXI, 2) – see Schulman catalogue 276, lots 540–41.

Mark: Otto I (1249–62).<sup>97</sup> There is no record of sterlings for this ruler, but coins based upon the Short Cross pence were struck by his predecessor, Adolphe I (Ch. 453–7; pl. XXX, 6–10). Otto's pfennigs of Germanic design attributed to the mint of Iserlohn are variously inscribed LON CIVITAS CO, LON CIV(ITA' COM)IS or (MONE)TA IN LON.

Waldeck: Otto I (1270–1305). Short Cross sterlings based upon those of the German emperors were struck by his predecessor, Adolphe I (Ch. 407; pl. XXVI, 10). However a specimen of the coin under review in the Brussels hoard indicates a date before 1270, excluding this ruler as the issuer.

Ravensberg: Otto III (1249–1306). On the death of Hermann III, his lands were divided between his two sons, Otto (II) and Louis. The former obtained Vloto and Vechta, both of which were mints for Short Cross coins. Those of Vloto

<sup>95</sup> *HBzN* 14 (1960), at pp. 472–9.

<sup>96</sup> A number of sterlings in the Colchester hoard in the name of 'Widekind' or 'Henricus' have a distinctive portrait with a long face, apparently based upon that of English class 2 or 3a coins, and no sceptre. In view of this similarity and their association in a hoard containing few continental imitations, they probably all emanate from the mint of Blomberg, the name of which appears on one and is possibly blundered on another.

Details of the coins are as follows:

1. VEDEKINDVS R or VIDEKINDVS RE	CI(rose)/BER/TON/CAN
2. VIDEKINDVS REX	CI(rose)/HEG/GER/NEI
3. HENRICVS (rose) REX	BLO/ME/NBE/RIC
4. Similar	HEN/RIO/NLV/NDE
5. H.....REB TER	.../DVV/EOH/NOR

6. HENRICVS REX TERC

NIC/OLE/ONI/VND  
(retrograde)

One coin as follows has a similar face with a sceptre.

7. HENRICVS REX III

NIC/OLE/ONI/VND

<sup>97</sup> There appears to be some uncertainty as to the precise status of Otto. Early writers include him in lists of the Lords of Mark together with Englebert I (1249–77). However some more recent listings omit all mention of Otto and his title 'Lon Civitas Comes' suggests that the lands of Adolphe may have been divided on his death. Possibly Otto was given control of Iserlohn, just as Hermann III of Lippe was granted Lippstadt on the death of his father. If such a division took place in Mark, it was an amicable arrangement as Englebert appears to have used the mint at Iserlohn during Otto's lifetime.

have the obverse inscription HENRICVS R (cf. n. 23), while the Vechta coins are in the name of Otto (Ch. 450; pl. XXX, 2).

The unusual style of portrait is unlike any found upon Westphalian or Frisian imitations and offers no assistance with the identification of the issuer of this coin. However, the strongest claim would appear to be that of Otto of Mark on the evidence of his other coins. The sterlings closely copying English class 3b pence except for the small shield as obverse initial mark (26) have tentatively been attributed to Count Henry of Oldenberg-Wildeshausen at Vlotho in the county of Ravensberg, but this is discussed in n. 23 where the possibility of a Lippish connection is suggested.

The possibility that a few Long Cross imitations were struck in the lower Rhine region is indicated by the attribution of 44 to Boppard (see n. 27), although this area was not one previously associated with the production of sterling types in the mid to late 13th century.

At present most of the anonymous imitations must remain unattributed, but there is no reason to disagree with the conclusions of earlier writers that the bulk of these was probably struck in West Friesland. I have already discussed the close association of large numbers of these coins through die-links and chains, together with the more tenuous connection through similar reverse legends. Hopefully these groups will be enlarged as further die-links are recognised. The groupings can be extended even more when distinctive lettering is taken into account, although, as remarked previously, this must be treated with caution as it may only indicate a common maker of the related dies. Most noticeable of the unusual letters is the arrow-head X used on many coins with the sceptreless portrait, and this ties into the BIR/hEN/TOL and ARIC/WIG groups. All of these associated coins add up to a mass which is probably the output of a single or small local group of mints, the most likely candidates being Kuinre, to which many are linked by the HENRICVS COMES and SALVE REGINA issues, and to a lesser degree Zwolle.

Apart from obvious forgeries, small groups differing in style from the majority can be distinguished (cf. 2-4, 10, 43-5, 79, 88, 97, 102 and 113). Some may be the products of less prolific mints such as Arnhem, the name of which appears on a few imitations, although one can not be certain at this stage that their unusual style is not merely indicative of different die-makers. The close resemblance of some coins to the English prototypes is possibly due to the manufacture of their dies by itinerant workers previously employed in England and perhaps using the same punches.<sup>98</sup>

Coin finds and documentary evidence indicate the considerable north-eastern range of sterlings during the thirteenth century. Hatz remarks that sterling established itself very quickly as a major currency in early Hanseatic trade in the North sea and in the Baltic, where its use extended east beyond Mecklenburg.<sup>99</sup> From the second half of that century, charters in Schleswig give the values of land sales, revenues etc. in sterling, but in Holstein this was limited to Hamburg and Lubeck. Customs rolls of 1262 stated that merchants from Brandenburg exported English pence from Hamburg to buy cloth in Flanders.

Dannenberg did not consider that the contents of the Ribnitz hoard were destined for circulation in Mecklenburg, as it contained no local coins, and he was unaware of any other finds of English money in that region. He suggested that the find was the treasure of some foreign merchant. However, he remarked on the fact that Mecklenburg accounts were often in sterling and gave examples of this from Rostock and Wismar dating from 1262 onwards.

<sup>98</sup> N.J. Mayhew, 'Imitative sterlings in the Aberdeen and Montraive hoards', *NC* 1976, 85-97, at pp. 87-8.

<sup>99</sup> G. Hatz, 'Finds of English medieval coins in Schleswig-

Holstein', *Studies in Numismatic Method*, edited by C.N.L. Brooke, B.H.I.H. Stewart, J.G. Pollard and T.R. Volk, 203-224 (at pp. 211-3).

The authors of the Hemselynge hoard report observed that the Haagendrup (Plaagendrup) find confirms the notion that the poor quality of the domestic Danish currency made even debased imitation sterlings welcome in Scandinavia when they might have been excluded elsewhere. However, foreign coins circulated mainly in Denmark, as their use in Sweden, whose currency maintained its value until mid 14th century, was apparently confined to the south-west region.

Although there is little doubt that the locations of the main imitators of Long Cross sterlings are in Westphalia and Frisia, we cannot in the light of this demand dismiss the possibility that a few of those of unusual style may have been struck in the Baltic area.<sup>100</sup> Evidence of how far from their normal area of production Short Cross imitations were made is provided by the Ostrovo (Croatia) hoard, which contained a tightly linked group of distinctive style, probably struck locally.<sup>101</sup> However, unless a hoard with similarly linked Long Cross imitations comes to light, attribution to mints beyond those suggested is purely conjectural.

*Acknowledgements.* In addition to the assistance mentioned in the text and notes, I am indebted to Lord Stewartby and Peter Woodhead for reading my preliminary draft and making suggestions for its improvement. Nick Mayhew has also read the text and generously allowed me to consult the drafts of parts of his proposed book with permission to use any of the information contained therein. Translations of much of the German works consulted has been provided by Dr Andrew North. Finally, Patrick Finn has allowed me to examine a quantity of Long Cross imitations which have passed through his hands.

### Summary of suggested attributions

#### WESTPHALIA

1 (Blomberg, p. 5)

5, 6 (Arnsberg)

55 (Lippe, n. 29)

Tentative attributions

2 (Lippe? n. 15 & 63) 4 (p. 102), 10 (n. 18), 12 (p. 102), 26 (n. 23), 27 (Lippe? n. 24), 61? (see ARIC group below), 62, 82, 112 (all Lippe? p. 106), 125 (Lippe? n. 24), 135 (p. 106).

#### LOWER RHINELAND

44 (Boppard, n. 27)

#### FRISIA (mainly Kuinre)

Kuinre

24–5 (linked to coin of Henricus Comes – 0.2).

Tentative attributions

7–9 (all linked, p. 102), 17, 43 (both WILLEMLVNDON – probably struck by Count Henry – p. 102), 21–2 (p. 101 & n. 21)

The following coins are all connected by die-links

Chain 1 (p. 97) – 11, 14, 38–41, 65–73, 108–9.

Chain 2 (p. 98) – 28–32, 92, 94–5, 105–7.

BIR/HEN/TOL group (p. 99) – 89–91, 120 (28, 38, 69 and 94 included in above chains).

Irish obverse die 6 (p. 98) – 118–121 and linked coin with 'English' obverse 93.

The similarity of the reverse of 113 to 41 justifies its inclusion. More tenuous is the association of 83–4 with 93 (p. 99). The unusual ligation of ONL may tie 79 and 80 into this group, although the style of portrait on the former differs from any other.

'Arrow-head' X. Some coins with 'class 3' obverses in the above group have this form of letter, which is also found on 7–9 and 17 tentatively attributed to Count Henry. The following coins which have the same letter (marked with an asterisk) or are die-linked to obverses with it can probably be associated with them, but see p. 84.

ARIC/WIG group, (p. 99), 33\*, 60–1, 85–6 (but see p. 106 for tenuous link of 61 with Lippe).

Others, 15\*, 57, 58 and perhaps 59, 16\*, 18–19\*, 34–5\*, 36–7\*, 87, 88?, 101.

<sup>100</sup> Nick Mayhew considers that the total output was probably spread over the whole of Northern Europe and lasted about 100 years (c. 1250–c. 1350).

<sup>101</sup> N.J. Mayhew and B.H.I.H. Stewart, 'The sterling element in the Ostrovo hoard of 1898', *NC* 1984, 173–9.

## UNCERTAIN

Any attributions of the remaining coins, for which no die-links or other associations have been noted, must be highly speculative, although most of these (apart from the obvious forgeries) were probably struck in and around Kuinre. A few call for further comment.

13 and 23 have stylistic affinities with 18 and with 17 and 24 respectively and may both possibly be attributed to Kuinre.

20 has a reverse very similar to R.21 (see p. 98) which die-links to 122–4.

42 – the reverse legend resembles that of 106, which forms part of chain 2.

56 and 104 have hEN retrograde in one quarter and may perhaps be associated with 36 and 87 which share a die with this feature (as do 28 and 94) and are attributed to Kuinre (see 'arrow-head' X above).

96 may perhaps be associated with 29 (chain 2) by the similarity of their reverses. There are a few coins where the style differs considerably from the bulk of the imitations examined in this paper. Although this may merely indicate different die-makers in some cases, such coins may be the products of small unidentified mints mainly in Frisia, although a few may come from further afield. Amongst these are the following:

3. Crude lettering. Possibly a forgery. The early prototype favours Westphalia.

63 & 102. Possibly forgeries, but the good weight suggests that they may be imitations from a small unknown mint.

99 & 100 connected by an obverse die-link: both have retrograde reverse legends that of 99 being die-linked to 77. The same retrograde reverse legend as the last two – NICOLEONLVND – appears on 10 from a different die, but this is probably coincidental.

It is tempting to associate 78 with 77 in view of the portraits of similar style, and the reverse legend of the former, although not retrograde, probably derives from the same (albeit common) prototype.

134. If this coin is unofficial, it is probably of German origin.

Most of the coins of very crude style, usually with blundered obverse and reverse legends, are probably forgeries, some of which may have been fabricated in England or Ireland. They consist of 45–54, 114–7, 126–133 and probably 97, which appears to be of plated base metal.

## INDEX OF REVERSE LEGENDS

## A

ADA/MOI/NEV/ECA 125.

ARIC/ARC/QNC/VND 83.

ARIC/hEN/RIO/MLV 0.3

ARIC/MIE/GLV/-IC 62.

ARIC/WIC/RIC/TVO 0.5.

ARIC/WIC/RVO/TEO 61.

ARIC/WIC/RIE/TVO 33.

ARIC/WIG/RIO/TIE 60.

ARID/RII/OIID/VIID 82.

ARIE/(h?)EI/ARIE/NLV 84.

ARIE/WhC---/-- 0.1.

ARIE/WIC/TOR/--V 86.

ARIE/WIG/ARVC/TRO 85.

ARW/IEN/QNC/AN 68.

## B

BER/hEN/TON/CAN 120.

BIL/hEI/TOL/CNR 90.

BIR/TOL/IEh/CRL 28, 94.

BLO/ME/NBE/RG 1.

BR'/hEI/TOL/CIN 89.

BR'/hEI/TOL/CAI 69.

B'R/hEN/TOL/ERN 38.

## C

CI'/IIII/HI/VIIIO 50.

CIV/ARN/ESB/ERG 6.

CIVI/NRV/LON/LON 21.

CIVI/VIN/---/--N 22.

## D

DAV/IIN/DVO/EL 132.

DAV/ION/DEV/ELI 11, 39, 70.

DHV/ION/IVN/DEI 20.

DIN/COL/EON/LVN 119.

DNI/COL/EON/LVN 29, 96.

DNV/ION/LVH/DEI 103.

## E

EIO/IHC/OHC/ANT 4.

E-V/OIE/--O/IEV. 127.

## F–G

G-BO/PAR/DCN/SIS 44.

## h

hCI/RIO/IILV/IDC 63, 71.

hCI/RIO/NLV/NDE 45.

hCN/RIO/IILV/NDC 15, 57.

h–G/EDO/WIE/TOR 76.

hE-/OHE/DVO/IVIE 130.

hEN/RICV/S.CO/MES 0.2.

hEN/RI/--ND/NOL 124.

hEN/RIO/NIE/NDE 7.

hEN/RIO/NIV/NDE 111, 123.

hEN/RIO/NLV/HD 122.

hEN/RIO/NLV/NDE 35.

hEN/RIO/NLV/NDE 102.

hEN retrograde – see NEh.

hE/OhD/II-I/VIII 81.

## H = N

H.G/VOII/EE/OEE 131.

HIC/OLE/DNK/AIT 110.

HIC/OLE/OHL/VHD 134.

HIC/OLE/OHL/VID (retrograde) 10.

HIC/OLE/OND/AHT 16.

HIC/OLE/RNL/BOV 23.

HRE/RID/ONE/LOV 59.

I

IER/WE-/SCN/VET 0.4.

INE/OLC/ONL/VND 30.

INI/DOI/EOI/LVN 31, 95, 105.

IOH/ON/CAN/TCR 12.

ION/OHL/INC/OLH 5.

IOVI/MOI/IVC/IOH 54.

IV-/CIE/IOI/DO 116.

IVIL/ON/IBI/OE 115.

II = N

IIC/OIC/OIL/VID 42.

IIC/OLC/CIL/CIV 88.

IIC/OLC/OIL/VND 106.

IIC/OLE/ONL/VID 8.

IIE/OIE/OIIE/VVE 47.

L

LIE/TER/CI' +/LON 40, 65, 108.

(LIE)/TE:/EI'/LVD 3.

N

(see also H and II)

NEh/EDN/RIO/NLV 36, 87.

NEh/va/O-R/OIN 104.

NIC/ION/NLV/ANT 18.

NIC/OIE/OIL/VID 72.

NIC/OLC/OIL/VHD 91.

NIC/OLE/CNC/ANT 66, 118.

NIC/OLE/ONL/VID (retrograde) 77, 99.

NIC/OHD/CNE/-CN 79.

NIC/CNC/GIC/--- 80.

NIC/ONL/CN/VIE 64.

NID/OLE/OIL/VND 46.

NIE/IHD/ONL/VND 78.

NIE/RIE/ONL/BVD (retrograde) 100.

O

OLE/IIC/OHL/VHL 34, 101.

P

PIC/HD/OND/IVC 126.

R

(see also AR).

(the form of this varies considerably from conjoined letters A and R sharing a limb to R with a small wedge behind it.)

RD/AR-D/ONL/VMD 14, 67.

REN/VD/OHL/VH- 117.

REN/ERO/NEV/ERV 109.

RIC/ARD/OND/IVE 27.

RIC/ARD/ONL/VI'D 113.

RIC/ARNO/ENL/CNV 93.

RIC/OAL/ARD/VND 55.

RIC/RIO/NIV/INE 19.

RID/ARD/OND/VHD 112.

RID/ARD/ONL/VRD 41.

RIE/IRD/CNE/LOV 58.

RIE/ORI/EVI/CNR 74.

RIE/RAD/ONL/VND 37.

RIO/RD/Oih/ERE 26.

ROB/CRT/ONC/ANT (retrograde) 75.

RON/ROL/DEL/VND + 2.

V-W

VOD/SDN/VHN/CAI 128.

WAL/TER/OIC/AIT 73.

WHL/NEI/OIH/RID 56.

WID/LBM/CNE/AIT 25.

WIL/ICN/OIHL/VND 13.

WIL/LBM/LCN/DON 43.

WIL/LBM/LVN/DON 24.

WIL/LBM/CNC/ANT 32, 98, 121.

WIL/LBM/ONL/VID 92, 107.

WIL/LCN/EON/KAN 97.

WIL/LBN/LVN/DON 17.

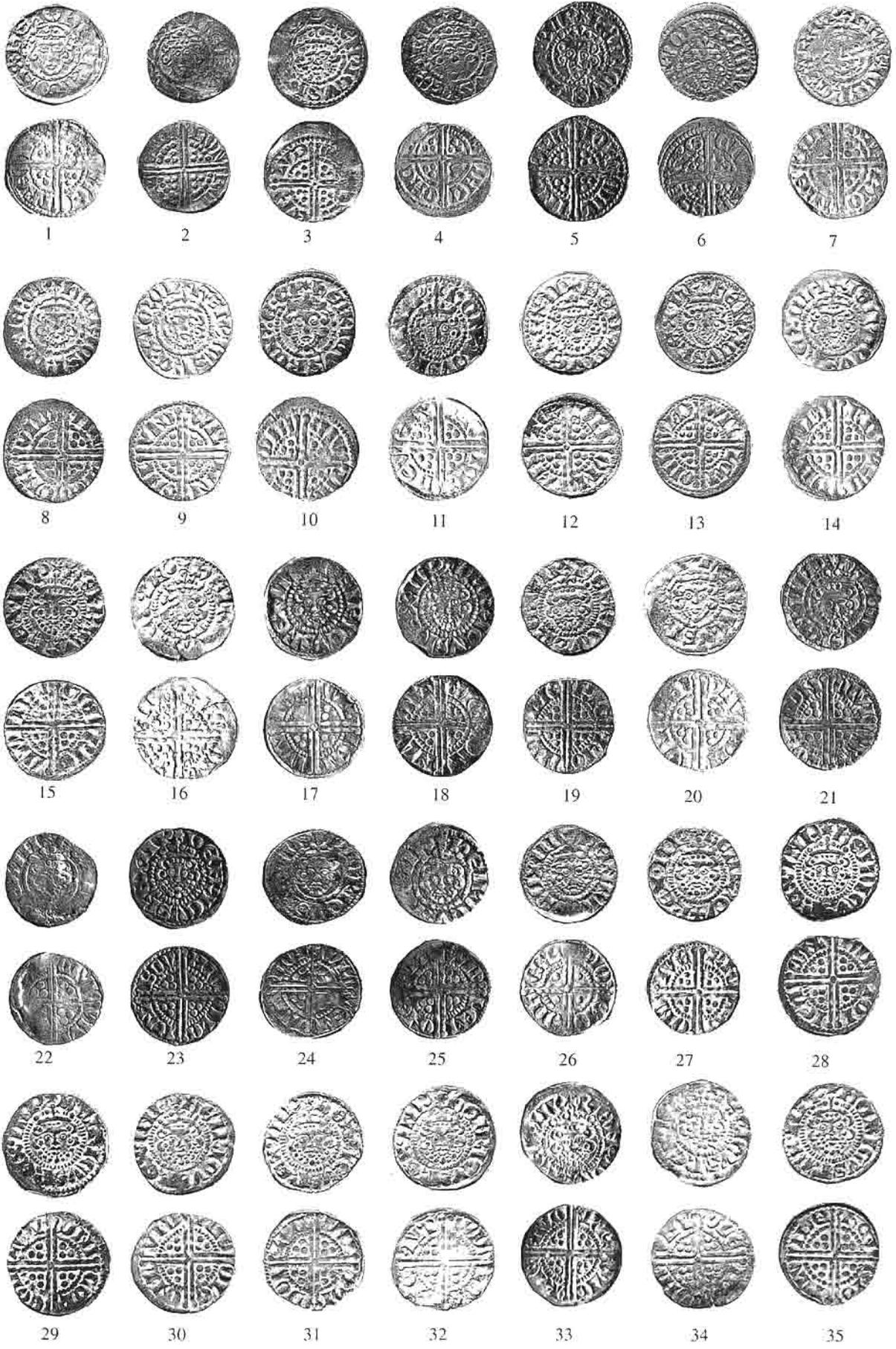
WNL/LBN/ONL/VND 9.

Uncertain

(first letters illegible)

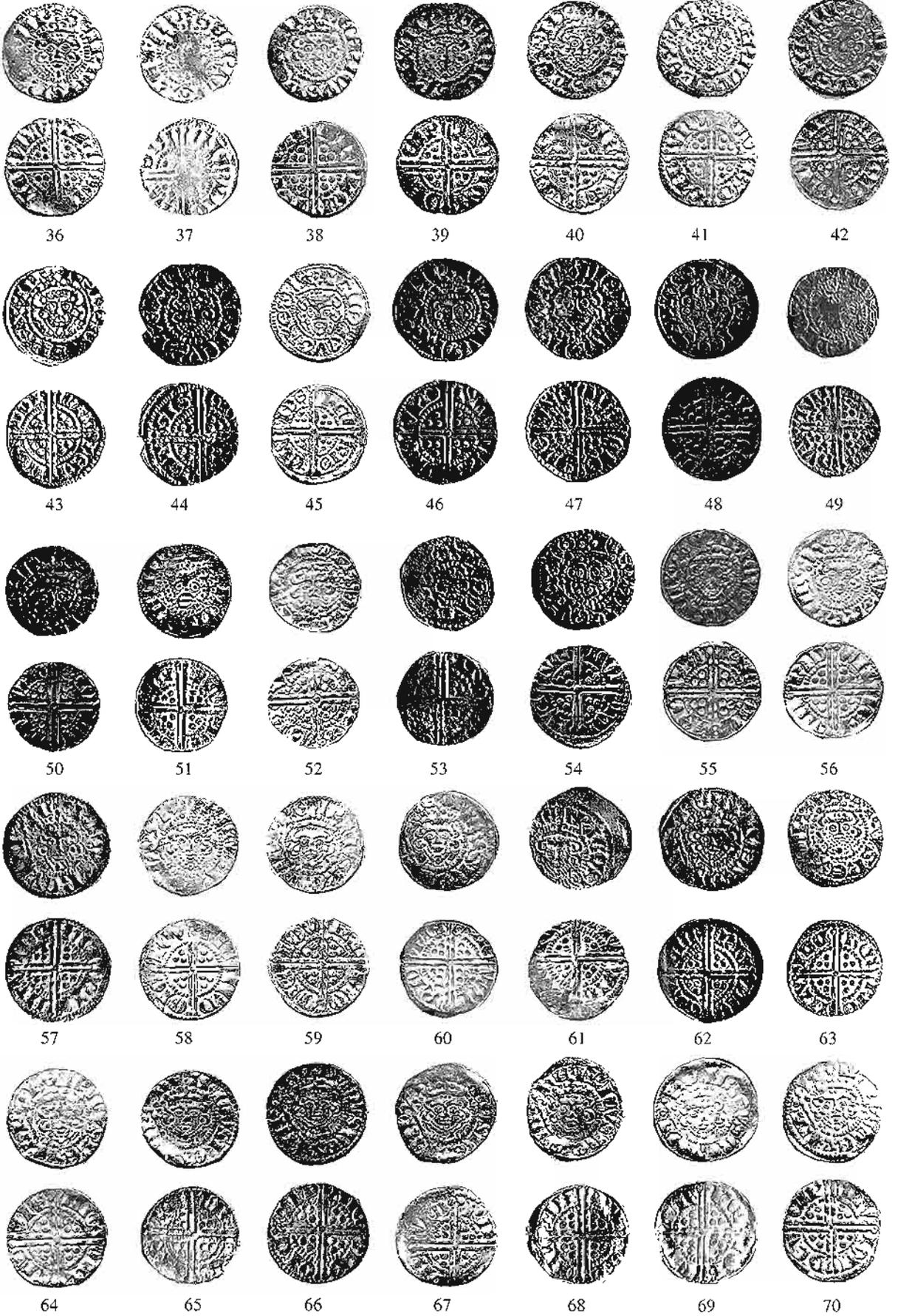
-/NO/DVL/YVO 49.

--/NO/ON/VND 52.



NORTH: LONG CROSS IMITATIONS (1)

PLATE 6



NORTH: LONG CROSS IMITATIONS (2)



PLATE 8



106



107



108



109



110



111



112



113



114



115



116



117



118



119



120



121



122



123



124



125



126



127



128



129



130



131



132



133



134



135



A



B



C



D



E