ON A FIND OF FRENCH DENIERS AND ENGLISH PENNIES OF THE TWELFTH CENTURY.

BY LORD GRANTLEY, F.S.A., AND L. A. LAWRENCE, F.S.A.

The find consists of 289 coins, of which 204 are Continental deniers and 85 are English pennies. Two of the Continental coins are probably German, the remainder French. Of the English pennies, 16 are of the first issue of Henry II, the Tealby type, and the remaining 69 are short-cross pennies of early type. The find was recovered in Rome some years ago, and it was suggested that they came from the neighbourhood of the Vatican. Of the actual finding I have no particulars. Lord Grantley has gone into the Continental coins at length, leaving to me the description of the English portion.

This is the first find that I have heard of in which coins of the first issue of Henry II have been found associated with those of the second issue of the same monarch. The sixteen Tealby type coins, all of which I have cleaned (the whole find was very much corroded and matted together), are in what we should now call very poor condition. Not a single coin is completely legible, and on the majority of them only a letter here and there is visible. There is some difference in the make up of the busts and in the size of the letters, all of which points will be treated some day at length, as I hope to be able to classify the whole of the early coinage of Henry Plantagenet partly by the help of these same poor specimens. Suffice it now to say that there would appear to be coins from the mints of London, Canterbury, and Ipswich included. Two of the coins weighed between four and five grains short. The remainder are of good weight, and of these some are of full weight. The metal
is uniformly good. The work of fashioning the blanks and of striking the coins is incredibly bad, and we can well understand the need for a new coinage if the sixteen are an average sample of our English coinage when it required renewal in 1180.¹

The short-cross coins found with these very poorly worked Tealby type pieces are 69 in number, and are for the most part in very fine condition. The mints represented are nine in number, viz., Exeter 4 coins, Lincoln 4, London 40, Northampton 3, Norwich 2, Wilton 1, Worcester 4, Winchester 5, and York 6.

All the coins belong to what I have described as Class I in the *British Numismatic Journal*, vol. i, 1914. All the varieties of Class I occur: Ia with a Roman E and open C by IORDAN of Exeter, one coin; and by RODBERT of Wilton, one coin; and a mule at Winchester by GOCELM. Ib includes the majority of the remaining coins, and a few a trifle later, as indicated by the absence of the dot between HENRICVS and REX and the growing coarseness of the work are what I have called Class Ic.

All the mints striking in Class I are represented except Carlisle and Oxford, and I cannot explain the absence of these except by the small number of the coins found. There were no coins of Class II, Lichfield type, dated to 1189, and no coins of Canterbury, which only started at the same time. The absence of these coins gives us the latest date for the English portion of the find, and I think it probable that these English coins in fine condition were likely to be the latest coins of the whole hoard.

I am not in a position to accurately date the burial of the hoard nearer than some time before 1189, though I should say that a year or so, or even less, would indicate the date. We have here coins struck from 1156 to 1189 or thereabout. I think, looking to the condition of the French portion of the find, and the want of accurate classification of these pieces, that these dates will fit in for the coins of Anjou and Provins. It is curious, indeed, how wedded the two nations became about the same period to coins bearing a fixed

¹ See page 20.
type and name independent of the occupant of the throne. I feel sure that the French portion of this hoard will well repay careful study in the light that the English portion is capable of affording.

L. A. LAWRENCE.

The foreign deniers in the hoard are 204 in number, and range from about 1109 to 1197, of the following places:—

10 Counts of Anjou.
   6 Abbots of St. Martin de Tours.
   6 Counts of Chartres.
184 Counts of Provins.
   2 Uncertain German.

The deniers of Anjou are: 5 of the type +FVLCO COMES, cross pattée, A-W in third and fourth quarters. Reverse, +ANDEGAVENSIS. Degraded Carolingian monogram; also 5 of the type +FVICO COMES; cross pattée; A-W in third and fourth quarters. Reverse, +VRBS AIDCCSV. Degraded Carolingian monogram.

The French numismatists have not hitherto been able to appropriate these later coins of Anjou after those of Foulques Nerra (987–1040); there being eight Counts who may have struck money from then till Charles of Anjou (1246–1285), whose coins are certain. As the range of Henry II’s coins in the hoard may be dated from 1156 to about 1189, it may be interesting to consider whether some of the Angevine coins later than Foulques Nerra have not been assigned to too early a date.

Poey d’Avant gives no coins to Foulques IV (1060–1109), and all the deniers and oboles reading FVLCO, either well spelt or corruptly rendered, are given to Foulques V (1109–1129) indiscriminately. In the Nogent-le-Rotrou hoard the deniers reading ANDEGAVENSIS were ascribed to Foulques IV, and those reading AIDCCSV to Foulques V. M. Carron says, “Le monnayage au

1 Poey d’Avant, vol. i, p. 204.
2 Hermerel, Ann. de Num., 1881, p. 509.
nom de Foulques a été continué par les Rois Anglais non seulement en Anjou mais peut-être aussi en Normandie," and he quotes Longperrier, who, on studying an Italian find like the present one, thought that the ANDEGAVENSIS legend preceded that of Charles of Anjou, and was referable to John Lackland (1190-1216), who, however, lost Anjou in 1204. As, however, the find at Nogent-le-Rotrou is said to have been buried about 1150, this would seem too early a date for John. But there seems no reason why these coins, if too late for Foulques V, should not be given to Henry II, and I suggest that the five coins in the present hoard, and those reading AIDCCSV, of which there are five also, may be ascribed to that King as Count of Anjou. P. d'Avant makes the following significant remark:—"Ce serait à tort que, s'attachant au nom qui se lit sur ces monnaies, on chercherait à les attribuer toutes à Geoffroi II. Il est évident que c'est un type qui a été perpetué, et il faut sans doute en donner une partie au successeur de Geoffroi. . . ." Here we get a suggestion that just as the last type and name of Henry II in England was carried on through the reigns of his three successors, and as the old type in Poitou was perpetuated as late as Richard's time, so the Angevine Counts continued signing their coins in the names, and with the types, of their predecessors. A further difficulty in this series is the obole in P. d'Avant's work, No. 1514, which, as it reads accurately and is well struck, should belong to Foulques V, he being the last Count of that name. M. Carron said of this coin that it could not be so early owing to the châtel-tournois type on the reverse, too early for a Foulques, and he suggested that it was struck by one of our Plantagenet Kings as Count of Anjou. In 1204 Anjou was confiscated to the French Crown; can it be that the word FVLCO would be more grateful to French ears than the name of Geoffroy, as no one of the former name had opposed his suzerain? It is likely that the marriage of Geoffroy Plantagenet to Henry I's daughter Matilda was a great blow to French pretensions, placing the Anglo-Norman domination as far as the Loire. Hitherto the Kings of France had always been

1 Monnaies Féodales, vol. i, p. 203.
able to rely on the support of Anjou against our Kings as Dukes of Normandy, so that the name of Geoffrey must have been out of royal favour. It is probable that Henry II's difficult position owing to his vast and lately acquired French possessions, acquired owing to his marriage with Eleanour of Guienne and his feudal subjection to the French King, may have caused him disinclination to sign his name on his coins, in order to disarm the jealousy of Louis VII, who was his life-long enemy as well as his feudal superior. Duruy, in his History of France, says that the King of France had cause to tremble for his own crown, but Henry II hesitated to attack his suzerain lest the example should affect his own vassals.

The six deniers of the Abbots of St. Martin of Tours have the usual type. This variety was probably used during the greater part of the twelfth century to 1180, when Philippe Auguste's name appears.

The two deniers of the Counts of Chartres are difficult to date, but as there is no fleur-de-lys on them they are, as we might expect, antecedent to Charles de Valois.

The largest number of deniers in the hoard are those of the Counts of Provins, who were also Counts of Champagne. These have all the type of the comb, and 83 are Poey d'Avant's, 138.18, with a Y between two annulets on the reverse attributed by him to Thibaut II (1125-1152). Two are of a similar type, but inscribed HENRI, ascribed to Henri I, owing to their likeness to those of Thibaut II. Also twenty of Henri II (1180-1197), with the Y on reverse between two crescents, and, lastly, fifteen of Henri II's last type (P. d'A., 138.22). The range, therefore, of Provinois deniers is 1125 to 1197, and their presence heightens the presumption that the six Angevine deniers are later than Foulques V.

Whilst it would be presumptuous on my part to attempt to

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1 *Poey d'Avant*, Pl. xxxi, 12.
classify the Anjou money, I venture to offer the following groups:—

Class I. Heavy wide coins resembling Foulques Nerras, GOSFRIDUS-AIDECAY, etc.

P. d’A. Pl. 28, 5–8.

Class II. Light, well-struck coins. FVLCO-ANDEGAVIS or ANDEGAVENSIS.

P. d’A. Pl. 28, II–12.

Class III. Light, badly-struck coins, with corrupt legends. GOSIDVS COS-AIDSCCY.

P. d’A. Pl. 28, 9–10.

Class IV. Light, badly-struck coins, with identical corrupt legends. FVICO-AIDSCCY.

P. d’A. 1492.

Class V. The unique obole reading FVLCO and Châtel reverse.

P. d’A. 1514.

Mr. Lawrence, describing the Lark Hill Find,¹ says, “My belief, given for what it is worth—perhaps not much—is that the coins of Anjou and St. Martin de Tours, then under the jurisdiction of the Counts of Anjou, are the Continental issues of Henry II of England and his son Henry as Counts of Anjou, and that immobilization of type caused them to read Fulke; also that Geoffrey Plantagenet, anyhow for Anjou, used the name of Fulke only.” He also states that he does not like the suggestion that coins were struck in both names at the same time. I would prefer to give the coins reading GOSIDUS-AIDSCCY to Geoffroy le bel as a late issue, and those reading FVICO, and similar reverse, to either Henry II, or his son Henry, as their first issue, as it is remarkable how the reverse die is similar in both coins.

GRANTLEY.

English Pennies of the Twelfth Century.

From Find of Coins in Rome.

**Exeter.**

- **@JORDANONEXEX**
  - **HENRICVSEX** small bust, many curls, both sides, Cl. Ia.

- **@RICHARDONEXEX**
  - **HENRICVSEX** 2-5 curls. Cl. Ic.
  - **HENRICVSEX** 2-5 curls. Cl. I.
  - **HENRICVSEX** 3-4 curls. Cl. I.

- **@ROGERONEXEX**
  - **HENRICVSEX** 2-5 curls. Cl. I.
  - **HENRICVSEX** 2-5 curls. Cl. I.
  - **HENRICVSEX** 2-5 curls. Cl. I.

- **@OSBERONEXEX**
  - **HENRICVSEX** 2-5 curls. Cl. I.
  - **HENRICVSEX** 2-5 curls. Cl. I.
  - **HENRICVSEX** 2-5 curls. Cl. I.

**Lincoln.**

- **@EDMVONDNONICO**
  - **HENRICVSEX** 2-5 curls. Cl. Ic. 2.
  - **HENRICVSEX** 2-5 curls. Cl. I. 2.
  - **HENRICVSEX** 2-5 curls. Cl. Ic. 2.

- **@WALTERONNICO**
  - **HENRICVSEX** 2-5 curls. Cl. I. 2.
  - **HENRICVSEX** 2-5 curls. Cl. I. 2.
  - **HENRICVSEX** 5-many curls. Cl. I.

- **@DAVIONLVND**
  - **HENRICVSEX** 2-5 curls. Cl. I. 2.
  - **HENRICVSEX** 2-5 curls. Cl. I. 2.
  - **HENRICVSEX** 2-5 curls. Cl. I. 2.

**London.**

- **@FILAMERONLVN**
  - **HENRICVSEX** 5-many curls. Cl. I.
  - **HENRICVSEX** 2-5 curls. Cl. I.
  - **HENRICVSEX** 2-5 curls. Cl. I.

- **@FILAMERONLVN**
  - **HENRICVSEX** 2-5 curls. Cl. I.
  - **HENRICVSEX** 2-5 curls. Cl. I.
  - **HENRICVSEX** 2-5 curls. Cl. I.

- **@GILBERTONLVN**
  - **HENRICVSEX** 2-5 curls. Cl. I.
  - **HENRICVSEX** 2-5 curls. Cl. I.
  - **HENRICVSEX** 2-5 curls. Cl. I.

- **@HENRONLVNDe**
  - **HENRICVSEX** 2-5 curls. Cl. I.
  - **HENRICVSEX** 2-5 curls. Cl. I.
  - **HENRICVSEX** 2-5 curls. Cl. I.

- **@OSBERONLVND**
  - **HENRICVSEX** 2-5 curls. Cl. I.
  - **HENRICVSEX** 2-5 curls. Cl. I.
  - **HENRICVSEX** 2-5 curls. Cl. I.

- **@PIEResonLVND**
  - **HENRICVSEX** 2-5 curls, ill struck. 4.
  - **HENRICVSEX** 2-5 curls. Cl. I.
  - **HENRICVSEX** 2-5 curls. Cl. I.

- **@PIEResonMONLVN**
  - **HENRICVSEX** 2-5 curls. Cl. I.
  - **HENRICVSEX** 2-5 curls. Cl. I.
  - **HENRICVSEX** 2-5 curls. Cl. I.

- **@PIEResonMONLVND**
  - **HENRICVSEX** 2-5 curls. Cl. I.
  - **HENRICVSEX** 2-5 curls. Cl. I.
  - **HENRICVSEX** 2-5 curls. Cl. I.

- **@RANDVLONLVND**
  - **HENRICVSEX** 2-5 curls. Cl. I, rough work. 3.
  - **HENRICVSEX** 2-5 curls. Cl. I, rough work. 3.
  - **HENRICVSEX** 2-5 curls. Cl. Ic.

- **@RAVLONLVND**
  - **HENRICVSEX** 2-5 curls. Cl. Ic.
  - **HENRICVSEX** 2-5 curls. Cl. Ic.
  - **HENRICVSEX** 2-5 curls. Cl. Ic.

- **@RAVLONLVNDe**
  - **HENRICVSEX** 1-7 curls. Cl. Ic.
  - **HENRICVSEX** 1-4 curls. Cl. Ic. 3.
  - **HENRICVSEX** 2-5 curls. Cl. I.

- **@RAVLONLVND**
  - **HENRICVSEX** 2-5 curls. Cl. I.
  - **HENRICVSEX** 2-5 curls. Cl. I.
  - **HENRICVSEX** 2-5 curls. Cl. I.

- **@RAVLONLVND**
  - **HENRICVSEX** 4 pearls only.

Double struck, moneyer's name illegible, 1.
FROM FIND OF COINS IN ROME—continued.

Northampton.

\*RAVL·ON·NOR
\*RAVL·ON·NOR\*T
\*WALTER·ON·NOR

\*HENRICVS·R-\*X 2-5 curls. Cl. I.
\*HENRICVS·R-\*X 2-5 curls. *Cl. I.
\*HENRICVS [\* ?] R-\*X 2-5 curls. Cl. I.

Norwich.

\*HENRICVS·R-\*X 2-5 curls. Cl. I. 2.

Wilton.

\*HENRICVS·RE-X 4-many curls. Cl. Ia. Dots on outer circle.

Worcester.

\*GODWING·ON·WIRI
\*OSBRE·ON·WIRIG

\*HENRICVS·R-\*X 2-5 curls. Cl. I. 3.
\*HENRICVS·R-\*X 2-5 curls. Cl. I.

Winchester.

\*ADAM·ON·WNC
\*OCELM·ON·WINC
\*OSBRE·ON·WING
\*OSBRE·ON·WING\*G
\*RODBERT·ON·...... IN

\*HENRICVS R-\*X 2-5 curls. Cl. Ic.
\*HENRICVS·R-\*X 4-many curls. Cl. I. Mule.
\*HENRICVS·R-\*X 2-5 curls. Cl. I.
\*HENRICVS·R-\*X 2-5 curls. Cl. I.
\*HENRICVS·R-\*X 2-5 curls. Cl. I.

York.

\*ALAIN·ON·\*VERW
\*GERARD·ON·\*VER
\*W\*GE·ON·\*VERW
\*W\*GE·ON·\*VERW
\*W\*FDRI·ON·\*VER
\*... VRKIL·ON·\*VER

badly struck

\*HENRICVS·R-\*X 2-5 curls. Cl. I.
\*HENRICVS·R-\*X 2-4 curls. Cl. I.
\*HENRICVS·R-\*X 4-5 curls. Cl. I.
\*HENRICVS·R-\*X 2-5 curls. Cl. I.
\*HENRICVS·R-\*X 2-5 curls. Cl. I.
\*HENRICVS·R-\*X 2-5 curls. Cl. I.