STOCKBRIDGE, AN ANGLO-SAXON MINT.

By W. J. Andrew, F.S.A.

SIR NORMAN HILL is lord of the manor of Stockbridge, and until he commenced his technical research into its early history twenty years ago, all we knew of it was that it was a borough by prescription, which until the Reform Act had, with the very worst of reputations for bribery and corruption, persistently returned two Members to Parliament to represent 100 voters. Sir Norman has combed the Record Office, charters, rolls, and records, until he has collected a mass of material from which he has woven the whole history of Stockbridge, from ancient times to to-day, in a manner very unusual in local research, and I have, I hope, persuaded him to publish it. In this paper, therefore, I shall forestall his knowledge as little as possible.

The whole district there, of about fifteen square miles to the east of the river Test, is to-day known as "The Sombornes," which comprise King Somborne, Little Somborne, Up-Somborne, and Stockbridge, which is on the actual river. But in Norman times Stockbridge was a borough within the manor of Sumburne Alba, or Whit Sumburne, and before the Conquest the whole of the Sombornes, including Stockbridge, were one great manor, described as the royal manor of Sumburne, regale manerium, in dominica firma regis, in Domesday, and it had far back in Saxon times given its name to the Hundred, which latter fact proves its very early importance, almost at the advent of the Saxons. Thus Stockbridge was always included in the manor of Somborne, and at the Conquest most of the manor, including Sumburne Alba, and therefore the lordship over the borough of Stockbridge, was given to William de Ow (Eu).
Hence we read in Domesday, A.D. 1086, that “William de Ow holds Sumburne of the king. Tol, the Dane, held it of King Edward. It was then assessed at 14 hides, now at 7½ hides. There is land for 12 ploughs. In the demesne are 2 ploughs; and there are 19 villeins and 5 bordars with 8 ploughs. There are 13 serfs, and a mill worth 10 shillings, and 68 acres of meadow, and 9 houses, mansiones, of burgesses which pay 12 shillings and 2 pence. In the time of King Edward, and afterwards,¹ it was, as now, worth 14 pounds; but it is farmed at 16 pounds.” Across the Test at the bridge-head of the borough of Stockbridge we find the entry that in the manor of Houghton, there were “3 burgesses worth 30 pence.” Thus, on the one side of the borough nine burgesses were living within the manor of Sumburne Alba, and on the other side—possibly the wardens of the bridge itself—there were three. The firma of the borough was therefore included in that of the manor of £16, and, no doubt, when compared with other manors in Domesday, it represented nine-tenths of it. For instance, the neighbouring and sister mint-borough in Hampshire, Twynham, now Christchurch, was assessed at only £12 10s. 6d. for the borough, and, as at Stockbridge, there is no mention of its moneyers because their fees were included in the firma, for both boroughs were held of the king. In Twynham there were 31 houses [of burgesses], but in Stockbridge the burgesses seem to have overflowed, nine of them being mentioned because they were under the manor of Sumburne Alba, and three, with houses across the Test, were possibly in charge of the bridge and gate. On referring to the Pipe Rolls of Henry II, I find that the Domesday firma for Somborne, including Stockbridge, of £16 had been increased to £36 6s. 6d.

We have therefore conclusive evidence from Domesday that within the manor held by William de Eu in Somborne was a borough, and as he held Sumburne Alba, we know that the borough was Stockbridge. We also know that much of the manor of Sumburne Alba was gradually absorbed by and became the manor of Stockbridge. It

¹ Officially, Domesday thus ignores the reign of Harold.
logically follows that if from the dawn of Anglo-Saxon history when the tribal hundreds were in the making, Somborne gave its name to its tribal district, for "In Sumburne Hund'" covers much ground in Domesday, Stockbridge as the town, or borough as we should now say, of Somborne must have been not only then in existence, but a populated place of the most importance in what was then formed into its Hundred. Some have credited the Hundred divisions to Alfred, but I think that they were the natural evolution of the Roman decimal system.

When I asked Sir Norman Hill what the name of Stockbridge would be in Saxon times, he replied, "Brige, Briga or Brugg, and I believe that it was the missing Roman Brige between Winchester and Old Sarum of the Antonine Itinerary, and it was still sometimes known as Briggestoke down to A.D. 1361." Stockbridge is on the main road from Winchester to Salisbury now, but originally the road went to Old Sarum, joining the military Roman way two and a half miles from that city. The borough is composed entirely of one unusually wide straight street across the broad marsh of the valley of the Test, in length three-quarters of a mile. In this respect it reminds one of Moreton-in-the-Mash on the Roman Fosse Way. "The street" is so called to-day and was known as "Le Strete" in the earliest records of the borough, which is significant of probable Roman origin. The road descends the very steep slope of the valley on one side and ascends it equally steeply on the other. On the brink of the high land on the east is Woolbury, a British fort of probably the Iron Age, and by the roadside Celtic, Roman, and Saxon relics have been found; and correspondingly on the edge of the high land on the west are the remains of a Roman villa, to which there must have been a road.

But the remarkable feature about Stockbridge and a mystery of the past, is that it is built upon a great artificial causeway thrown across the soft peat of the valley for the purpose, about half a mile in length and sufficiently broad to allow the foundations of the houses on each side of the wide "street." Where this mass of material came from is quite obvious, for it was scarped from the
hillside on the east, or Somborne, side of the valley, and of course left the white chalk exposed probably to the summit of the hillside. It is still visible to-day, and originally gave its name to the Stockbridge manor of Sumburne Alba. Hence the causeway was older than the name of the manor. Who, Sir Norman asks, would make this causeway for the easier crossing of the river Test, before White Somborne was known, but the Romans? The straight military Roman road crosses the Test at Horsebridge, three miles south of Stockbridge, but he believes that Brige was reached by an ancient road, still to be seen, leading from and returning to it. This would, to some extent, approach the mileage of the Itinerary.

For years I have searched every acre along the Roman military road for a possible Brige, and it is certainly not there. The Ordnance maps, and other authorities, suggest Broughton from the name only, but that was Brocton, = brook-town, when the Hundreds were formed, and there are no earthworks of any kind there. Incidentally, too, I have excavated the road where its course was in doubt.

I have a map of our Roman roads before me, and practically all are of the straight military order made for the Roman occupation of Britain. Where are the roads of necessity and user? There are the sites of more than a dozen Roman villas within a few miles north of Stockbridge, and none on the military way three miles to the south, nor, indeed, any at all to its south. The Romans were here nearly 400 years, yet every one of the mapped Roman roads is, I believe, attributed to the first century of that period. We have numerous Romano-British settlements and villages, and I am writing this at home within an excellent example at the moment, yet there are no "Roman roads" to most of them. Saxon burghs sprang into existence where none were, the mint-borough Twynham, for instance; in fact, it is quite impossible to think that the great road-makers of England worked as none before them did, nor any for centuries afterwards, just for the first 100 years and then joined the unemployed for 300.

For military purposes the straight road was sooner made and quicker used, but, under peaceful Roman rule, trade routes would
result, with easier gradients and safer river-crossings. One such, I believe, and can almost prove, was the original of the present main road that I have referred to from Winchester, through Stockbridge, to Old Sarum and Salisbury. It passes through the village of Weeke soon after leaving Winchester, and Weeke is, of course, the Roman *vicus*, or village outside a Roman city; then it forms the ancient boundary of the parish of Crawley, so it must have been there before the parish was formed, and that we know was early in Saxon times. In the Crawley charter of A.D. 909 it is called *The Herpathe*, which means the road of, or for, the army, or, as we should say, the military highway, and when it descends to the great causeway to cross the Test at Stockbridge it becomes "The Street," or *Le Strete* of the earliest records. It has the usual Roman character of always changing from the straight on the highest levels, and as the version of the Antonine Itinerary that has come down to us was written in the fourth century, there had been plenty of time for this road to have been made. If it was the military highway when the parish of Crawley was formed, who but the Romans could have made it?

In 1141, at the Rout of Winchester, Robert of Gloucester, with the Empress Matilda's rearguard, retreated from the West Gate, Winchester, and was captured by Earl William de Warren at Stockbridge, where Matilda, Stephen's Queen, then held her headquarters,¹ so this road must have been used as a military highway then—and the Saxons did not make roads.

The Itinerary has come down to us through several transcripts, and the common error running through it, and through all early transcriptions, is the interchange of the numerals X and V, for a badly crossed X looks V and V joined too high is mis-read for X. The Roman mileage between Winchester and Old Sarum is given as XI plus VIII, making a total of 19. A Roman mile was, as the name indicated, 1,000 *passus*, that is, complete paces of the double step, or 4 feet 10½ inches of our measure, so a Roman mile was 143 yards short of ours; 19 Roman miles, therefore, are 17½ modern

¹ Florence of Worcester.
miles, and this rules out the straight military road through Horsebridge, for it is 21 miles, and any adjustment of the X or V would make it worse. But if we turn to the Ordnance map of "The Herpathe" road via Stockbridge we find that the total mileage to-day from Winchester to Old Sarum is 22½ miles, which, after deducting at least a quarter of a mile added in modern times where the steep ascent of the old "Roman" road from Stockbridge has been diverted, leaves us with 22½. If we now correct the VIII of the Itinerary to XIII, we get 24 Roman miles, which are just over 22 modern miles. Such close accuracy after 1,580 years is proving almost too much, but Roman miles would be measured from probably the centre of Winchester, whereas the Ordnance miles are from the West Gate, but a difference of only about a quarter of a mile.

Brige is placed by the Itinerary at XI Roman miles from Winchester (that is why the total to Salisbury is divided into XI and VIII) and XI Roman miles represented 10 miles 187 yards of our measure. The crossing of the Test in Stockbridge, which the Itinerary would take for its mileage, is 9¼ miles from the centre of Winchester to-day, and as the Itinerary does not deal in fractions, the difference of 1,507 yards need not trouble us, but I try to be accurate.

None thought of identifying Stockbridge with Brige until Sir Norman Hill deduced it from his research. The suggestion of the Roman road through Stockbridge in A.D. 350 followed, but even if Sir Norman's theory of a deviation to Brige from the straight military road through Horsebridge be right, although the total mileage to Old Sarum would be wrong, that to Brige would be correct, or nearly so.

You will wonder why in a numismatic paper I should thus labour a Romano-British question of the identification of Brige. The answer is this, we have before us a series of Anglo-Saxon coins on which the full name of their mint is Brygin, Brydiga, and Bryidge, and that has nothing whatever to do with a bridge over a river, for the D in our spelling was unknown in Saxon times, and that fact alone would rule out the old attribution of the series to Bridgnorth, which, as Quatford, in the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, A.D. 912, was Brige.
Similarly, the g is equally fatal to the present attribution of it to Bridport, meaning the port or harbour of the river Brid or Britt, which in Domesday was Brideport and its true Norman coins therefore read Bridp—. If Stockbridge derived its name from Brige and not from its bridge, neither of these objections arises.

Brige is also written Brige in another version of the Itinerary, and they postulate nominative Briga. The name is, of course, Celtic, and the late Canon E. McClure in his British Place-names in their Historical Setting, p. 113, writes, “Brige is evidently Briga = Burg or Stronghold,” and on pp. 27–28 he quotes Irish and Teutonic instances in support of the transition of Brí, Brig, and Briga to burg. In this relation I would point out that two of the earliest coins of the series read Brygin and Byrdg, but the intrusion of the D in the latter is unusual and therefore possibly local and dialectic. But we find it in such derivations as Celtic pen, Saxon pend– and ped–; and, for instance, in Celtic river Britt, Saxon Brid, Domesday Brideport, now Bridport. It is impracticable to form the usual valIum and ditch in peat, so the artificial causeway raised for the foundations of Brige would always be stockaded against men and wolves by timber alone, hence the later name Stockbridge.

It is certainly easier to derive Bryidge from Brige than from any Saxon spelling of modern bridge, but whether Stockbridge was or was not the Romano-British Brige, the fact remains that it was a very early Anglo-Saxon borough. When, therefore, Sir Norman Hill convinced me of this, I replied that, if so, it ought to have been one of the eighty-odd mints that were called upon by Ethelred II to supply the Danegelt, for the Danes always required this to be paid in coined money, and the tribute was so great in Ethelred’s time that practically every English borough had to supply its quota. A mere glance at the series formerly attributed to Bridgnorth and later, until now, to Bridport, answered the question, for the moneyers’ names alone prove that Stockbridge was their mint.

In the ordinary course the mint of Stockbridge, whenever opened, would, as that of a borough, have been entitled to one moneyer only, and that rule would have applied to Bridgnorth and
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Bridport also. But a study of the coins suggests that the moneyers named on the few coins preserved to us of Stockbridge must have worked in pairs. For instance, on the 12 different coins known of Ethelred II's reign (but there may also be duplicates of some) only 4 main types, and a variety of one of them, occur, yet 4 different moneyers coined them. As the average duration of a type was then about three years, if there was only one moneyer at a time, this would mean a change every three years, too short by far, and the variety of the type, which must have had but a very brief issue, bears the names of two moneyers. I can find no other mint of the reign limited to one moneyer that shows so short an average working life, or appointment, for each; Dorchester, for instance, is also represented by four types, but one and the same moneyer coined the lot.

My reason for counting the moneyers is this. In the ordinary course Stockbridge, as a borough, was entitled to one moneyer only, but Southampton was entitled to two, and I believe that the mint of Southampton was merely removed to Stockbridge on the destruction of the town, until its rebuilding. Ethelred succeeded to the throne in A.D. 979, and in the following year the old town, then around St. Mary's Church, was ravaged by the Danes and most of its townsmen killed or taken prisoners. In 994 Anlaf, king of Norway, and Sweyn of Denmark settled down at Southampton for winter quarters, and levied a tribute of £16,000, an enormous sum in those days. Again, in 998, the Danes from the Isle of Wight levied supplies from the district around Southampton, and in 1001 they returned overland, "slaying and burning as was their wont," and so it continued, raid after raid, tribute after tribute, until on the accession of Canute in 1017 the greatest of all was levied, £82,500 for the payment of his Viking allies. During this period of disaster old Southampton was entirely destroyed, and there could then be no mint there until the new town was built by Canute on the present site. I think that the old town was finally destroyed in the invasion of 994,¹ and the mint

¹ Between 980 and 994 it is not unlikely that a mint was opened also at Ham­wich, which I believe was the still strongly walled and defensive Roman port of Clausentum, now Bitterne, across the river Itchin, opposite to old Southampton.
removed to Stockbridge, the nearest borough, some 18 or 20 miles up the river Test.

Now we will turn to Stockbridge for evidence of this, and for proof that the series of coins under review was issued from that borough. If it was an emergency mint to replace Southampton, we should expect it to be manned and managed from Winchester, which was then the centre of the monetary system of the kingdom, and this is proved because every one of its moneyers, except the last, also coined there. At the time of the accession of Ethelred, A.D. 979, a moneyer named Eadnoth had been coining as one of the two moneyers at Southampton for his predecessor Edward the Martyr, his name, office and mint on the coins being \[+\text{EADNOD M TO HAMTV}\]. Then we find him at once coining for Ethelred at Stockbridge on the first type issued there, probably in A.D. 994. Conversely, the last moneyer to coin for Ethelred at Stockbridge was Godric, and when Canute refounded Southampton on its new site, which he is believed to have done very early in his reign, and reinstated its mint, we find Godric coining at Southampton on Canute's second type as \[+\text{GODRIC ON HAMTV}\],\(^{1}\) for money would be in special demand during the reconstruction of so important a town.

The political history, the two moneyers at Stockbridge, the advent of the first from, and the return of one of the last to, Southampton, the coincidences of the opening of the Stockbridge mint at the date of the destruction of Southampton, and its closing with the rebuilding of that town, the fact that it was the nearest borough to Southampton, and that during its coinage it was worked from Winchester, are arguments all indicating that the two statutory moneyers of Southampton were removed to Stockbridge, which as a borough was entitled to open a mint, and that for fiscal reasons the two moneyers were supplied from, but kept distinct from, the royal mint at Winchester. It may be asked why, if Stockbridge as a borough was entitled to a mint with one moneyer, it did not run a

\(^{1}\) Coincidences between neighbouring mints such as these contradict the theory that all the Hamtun coins should be removed from Southampton to Northampton, and there are other evidences against it also.
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mint throughout Saxon times? The answer is that it could not possibly have paid. Stockbridge was too close to the great mint of Winchester, with its statutory number of six moneyers, doubled in Ethelred's reign under the pressure of the Danegelt to twelve, and within the triangle of the prolific mints of Winchester, Salisbury and Southampton, for even Twynham, the only other mint in Hampshire, appears to have run its mint of one moneyer very intermittently.¹

I think, therefore, that the mint was opened at Stockbridge about A.D. 992–4. That, with the exception of occasional intervals due to Danish troubles in the district, it was continuously worked with the two moneyers to supply the Danegelt until early in the reign of Canute, say, about 1020. This would mean that at least twice as many types would be issued as we now have, but it is fortunate that we have the seven presently described, when we notice that every one of the coins of Stockbridge known to us are in the Royal Swedish Cabinet at Stockholm, and were taken to Scandinavia as the Danegelt levied here. This fact again supports the explanation of emergency.

**Silver Pennies of the Reign of Ethelred II, Minted at Stockbridge.**

Type, Hildebrand, B.2.—Profile bust of Ethelred to the right, with sceptre and wearing the fillet and robes. Reverse, the Hand of Providence issuing downwards from clouds between the Christian symbols, alpha and omega, each with a bar above and a large pellet below. The reverse design was, I think, probably the idea of St. Dunstan to express Supplication under the Danish distress.

1. Fig. 1. +ÆDELRED REX ANGLÆ +EADNOþ M™O BYRD
2. The same, but varied lettering. The same.
3. Fig. 2. The same. +EADNOþ M™O BYRDE

Eadnoth had previously coined at Southampton for Ethelred's predecessor, Edward the Martyr, and during a short interval, probably due to Danish troubles in the district, he later coined at Winchester.

¹ I have seen coins of Eadgar, Ethelred II, ?, William I, and Henry I, only of Twynham. See also vols. i, p. 3, and x, p. 25.
ANGLO-SAXON SILVER PENNIES OF THE STOCKBRIDGE MINT

Figs. 1-10, ETHELRED II, A.D. 979-1016: Fig. 11, CANUTE, A.D. 1017-1035
Type, *Hildebrand, B.I.*—The same as the preceding type, except for the absence of the sceptre on the obverse and the large pellets on the reverse.

(4) Fig. 3. The same as No. 1.  
(5) Fig. 4. The same.  
(6) Fig. 5. The same.

Ælhestan (Athelstan) coined with the same mis-spelling at Winchester, and I think either immediately before or after he was at Stockbridge. Wine coined at Winchester for Canute, probably after the Stockbridge mint was closed.

Type, *Hildebrand, C.*—Bareheaded bust of Ethelred in profile to the left, robed and with sceptre. Reverse, voided plain cross with one letter of the word CRV+ in each of its angles. This also was, I think, a Supplicatory design.

(7) Fig. 6. The same, but varied  
(8) Fig. 7. The same.  
(9) Fig. 8. The same.

It is interesting to notice that, although minted by Eadnoth at Stockbridge, levied as Danegelt, taken to Scandinavia and found there, Figs. 6 and 7 are sister coins from the same pair of dies, and the life of a die was very short then. As to Godric, see later.

Type, *Hildebrand, D.*—Bareheaded and robed bust of Ethelred in profile to left of rather classic character, but the hair stands straight out ending in tiny pellets, neither sceptre nor inner circle. Reverse, plain long voided cross, trifurcated at the ends, no inner circle.

(10) Fig. 9.  
(11) The same, but ANGLOR

Type, *Hildebrand, A, varied.*—Profile bust of Ethelred to left, wearing the fillet and robes, no sceptre. Reverse, in the centre a small cross.

(12) Fig. 10.  

This is the last type of Ethelred II's reign, and it will be noticed that the old title *Monetarius* is now changed to the later *ON* for of, or at; compare Shakespeare’s “A thriving gamester has but a poor trade *on’t.*” Godric, who also struck No. 9, was a Winchester moneyer and probably was later transferred to Southampton on the reopening of that mint under Canute, where we find his name on the coins as *+GODRIE ON HAMTV.*

**Silver Pennies of the Reign of Canute Minted at Stockbridge.**

Type, *Hildebrand*, H.—Three-quarter bust of Canute, with head in profile to the left, filleted, with trefoiled sceptre, and elaborately robed, no inner circle. Reverse, voided cross with annulet enclosing pellet in the centre. An early type of the reign.

(13) Fig. II. *+CNVT·R·ECX·. +ÆGEL·MÆR·ON BRY*

The moneyer, as in all other cases except the next, was a Winchester moneyer.

Type, *Hildebrand*, I.—Similar in design to the preceding except that the king’s arm and hand are shown holding the sceptre, and on the reverse there is a square with concave sides terminating in pellets over the centre of the voided cross.

(14) *+CNVT REX ANG +HATAMAN ON BRYD*

I have not been able to identify Wataman as a Winchester moneyer, but it does not at all follow that he was not, for he is the only exception to the rule. The mint-name Bryd leaves no doubt as to the attribution to Stockbridge.

These 14 coins are all that I feel justified, for the reasons I have given, in attributing with certainty to Stockbridge. There may be duplicates of these, and additional examples, but that is a question for the future. It will be noticed that the mint-name in every instance is spelt with the Y and never I. There are certain coins of Harthacnut and Edward the Confessor which read *+HÆTEMAN ON BR*, but these one would expect to be of the prolific mint of
Bristol, which certainly had the first claim to the simple contraction BR, just as we should credit WI to Winchester rather than Wilton. Nevertheless, Bridport had a mint of one moneyer in the reign of the Confessor, and probably therefore before, and, as Mr. Symonds has pointed out, the moneyer's name occurs at the neighbouring mint of Dorchester, so Bridport has a fair claim to them. Hwateman is the same name, in an earlier form, as the Wataman on the last of the Stockbridge coins, No. 14, and it was tempting to think that after the restoration of the Southampton mint, Stockbridge continued through Saxon times to exercise its statutory right to one moneyer—Wataman. It may be so, but I will not claim more than I believe I can prove.

It is a great pleasure to know that the Authorities of so distant a Museum as The Royal Swedish Cabinet of Medals at Stockholm have without hesitation kindly supplied this Society with all the excellent casts used in the Plate, and our and my grateful thanks are due to them, also to our Librarian, Mr. Alexander Parsons, for his trouble in the correspondence which resulted in the receipt of the casts, and to Sir Norman Hill, who has presented the Society with the cost of the Plate.
COINS OF NORTHAMPTON MINT

Plate V