

THE TRAIL OF THE EASTERLINGS

By S. E. RIGOLD

THERE is nothing very original in the details of this paper; for these I am indebted to many predecessors from Lelewel to Herr P. Berghaus, who has recently reopened the subject in the new *Hamburger Beiträge*.¹ But their writings are scattered, inaccessible, and, considering how intimately the subject concerns England, surprisingly little known here.

Instead, I am offering three things: (a) a précis of much of this earlier work; (b) some criticisms, more provocative than final; (c) one of those dangerous theses, an "historical pattern", in this case a harmonious interplay of numismatic, political, and economic history. It is not a new discovery of cause and effect, but an unfamiliar way of looking at facts that should be familiar. Perhaps no historian ought to hope for more.

Three preliminary notes will show the nature of my thesis. Firstly, an apology for the "sensationalist" title; I well know that the word "Sterling" has several mooted derivations—one connects it with "stater", which seems odd;² another with a "star" device; but the traditional one with the "Easterlings", a perfectly genuine Middle-English word for the Hanseatic merchants. I use it to symbolize my most basic fact, that, while medieval British coins seldom copy or are copied by those of France, they have many typological connexions with the lands to the east—the Netherlands, the Baltic, Germany, and even deeper regions of central Europe. They also have connexions with Aragon, Portugal, and Aquitaine, which could be the subject of another story, the "trail of the Westerlings".³

Secondly, a sketch of the geographical background; southern England and northern France are walled apart by high cliffs and economically of little mutual benefit. From the days of the Belgae⁴ the easy passage, the easy anchorage, and the easy interchange of goods have always been between the Thames and the Netherlands—the Rhine delta and the Frisian coast that extends from thence to Jutland. At the end of this coast lies the Corinthian Isthmus of northern Europe—the few miles between the Eider marshes and the Schlei, the line of the Danneverk, where one can almost see the "East Sea" and the North in one *coup d'œil*. At the eastern end of this stands the now deserted fortress-town of Hedeby,⁵ from which the

N.B. E. & S. = Engel et Serrure, *Traité de Numismatique du Moyen Âge*, Paris, 1891; Ch. = J. Chautard, *Imitations des Monnaies au type Esterlin . . .*, Nancy, 1872.

¹ "Der Periode der Sterlings", *Hamb. Beitr. zur Numismatik*, Heft i (1947), pp. 34 ff.

² *Ibid.*, note 10, for the authority for this contention (E. Schröder).

³ *v.i.* for a brief reference to Aquitaine and a possible linkage (Sançerre). Chautard was also aware of this Western group.

⁴ Strabo, iv. 199–200.

⁵ "Haita-bu" in the Runic inscr., alias "Slias-wic", i.e. (old) Slesvig. It was visited by Othere under Ælfred. v. E. Nobbe (*Festschr. zur Hundertjahrfeier des Museums vorgesch. Altertümer in Kiel*, 1936, pp. 131 ff.) for a summary of the coin-finds.

passage was easy to southern Skaane, to Gothland, and thence to all the Baltic. On both sides of the isthmus spread the great river-systems, which, in the days before easy land-transport, gave passage to the fastnesses of central Europe, Bohemia, and the Baltic-Euxine route that the Swedes of Ros first opened up in the ninth century.¹



Thirdly, the economic background; I mention two cardinal factors without assessing them absolutely: (a) Throughout the Middle Ages, from the eighth century at latest, England was a potential exporter of wool;² though we occasionally hear of it being sent abroad *woven*, England's manufacturing power was always less developed than that

¹ The House of Rurik, c. 862. The obvious channel for Arabic dirhems in northern treasures, incl. Cuerdale, and, for example, Terslev, in Denmark.

² An epistle of Charlemagne to Offa (796) (Stubbs, *Councils and Eccl. Docs.* iii. 496-8; v. Stenton, *Anglo-Saxon England*, pp. 56, 219) mentions "sagae" (cut cloak-lengths) as long-established exports from England, the "Billingsgate Decree" of Æthelred (*Hansische Urkundb.*, i. 2; Liebermann, *Gesetze der Angelsachsen*, p. 222), "pannos" of cloth. Eadgar (Liebermann, *op. cit.*, p. 204) controlled the price of cloth. Bede (*H.E.* iv. 22) shows the Frisians in another traffic in 679.

of Frisia's hinterland.¹ (b) Britain was a prime producer of silver, at least after Æthelstan asserted his suzerainty over north Wales.² In short, she exported raw materials and imported luxuries and manufactured articles, a state of affairs which lasted, in many ways, until Queen Elizabeth's days. The closing of the London Steelyard in 1598 coincided approximately with the beginning of many home industries—latten,³ vessel-glass,⁴ pins, and such-like small wares. I hope to show here how closely coins mirror the economic vicissitudes of the eastern passage.

Whether or not coins have any bearing on the question of the Netherlandish connexion of "Jutish" culture in Kent⁵ (a link which conforms well with the Easterling pattern), I begin here with the "Sceatta period" (i.e. probably from the last quarter of the seventh century, the age of Saxon missionaries in Frisia⁶). A succession of researchers, Dirks,⁷ Lelewel,⁸ Mejjufr. de Man,⁹ Baldwin Brown,¹⁰ le Gentilhomme,¹¹ and Sutherland,¹² have made it amply clear that these issues were in part a common medium between England and Frisia and in part purely Frisian, and that the two sources are so confused that it is often hard to assign an issue to one coast or the other. There is a demonstrable linkage of types¹³ between "Lundonia's" own signed contribution and the purely Frisian "Wodan/Beast" design, to which I shall return (Pl. I, 1 and 3).¹⁴ The chief Netherlandish find-spots are themselves significant: Domburg,¹⁵ the ancient port of Walcheren (Chaucer's Shipman was now sending to Middelburg¹⁶), Franeker,

¹ The Rhenish glass and pottery industries, among others, seem to have survived the barbarian invasions.

² The Chester, Shrewsbury, Hereford, and perhaps Tamworth mints come into prolific operation before the end of Æthelstan's reign, but are not mentioned in the monetary law of Grateley (Brooke, *E.C.*, p. 56, cf. p. 59, 5). *A.S.C.* (sub anno 926) and Wm. of Malmesbury (ii. 131, 133) record the reduction of Chester, *fiducia Britonum rebellantem*, by Edward the Elder, followed by the submission of Howel the Good to the newly ascended Æthelstan; but the probable occasion for the new mints was when the latter compelled "Nordwallensium regulos apud Herefordensium urbem in deditionem transire ut ei nomine vectigalis annuatim auri XX lib, argenti CCC lib annumerarent" (Wm. Malm. ii. 134; alas, no date! William is late, but had a source not now available).

³ The "Cullen-plate" of monumental brasses was hitherto always imported.

⁴ Verzellini's patent dates from 1570; transferred to an Englishman in 1592.

⁵ Gold bracteates (not *quite* coins) have a typical Danish-Frisian-English distribution. *v. Leeds, Archaeology of A.-S. Settlements*, pp. 121 ff. and "Denmark and Early England" (*Antiq. J.* xxvi. 22 ff.). Hodgkin, *Hist. of the Anglo-Saxons*, is generally relevant.

⁶ SS. Boniface, Willibrord, and their disciples.

⁷ *Num. Belge*⁵, ii (1870), pp. 81 ff., 269 ff.

⁸ Mainly a pioneer study of types, esp. *Reapparitions du type gaulois au moyen âge*.

⁹ *Que sait-on de . . . Domburg?* and her catalogue. Other Dutch references from le Gentilhomme (*v.i.*).

¹⁰ *Arts in Early England*, pp. 56 ff.

¹¹ *B.N.J.* xxiv. 195 ff.

¹² *Num. Chron.*⁶ ii (1942), pp. 42 ff.

¹³ Cf. *B.M.C. A.-S.* i, Pl. I, 18 ("Lundonia")—Pl. III, 25—*ibid.* 19–24—*ibid.* 18 (Wodan)—also Pl. iv. 13–15.

¹⁴ One was found at Hedeby (*v. Nobbe, op. cit.*) and one or two in England (*v. Sutherland*). Surely a sun-face rather than Wodan ("The rising of the sun and the running of the deer"—to quote a very pagan carol).

¹⁵ De Man, *Que sait-on . . .*, and Dirks, *op. cit.*

¹⁶ *Prol. C.T.* 277.

Terwispel, and Hallum¹ in Friesland proper, Dordrecht and the lost port of Dorestadum (Wijk bij Duurstede) on the Neder-Rijn.² Were these settlements already taking in the raw yarn for the Pallia Frisonica, and perhaps even English silver? It seems probable that they were, while we have some relics of the opposite flow of trade, handling worked articles and wine, in the Rhenish pottery common on heptarchic Saxon sites.³

In the later eighth century, when Charlemagne, victorious over the Saxons and Frisians, was extending a "missionary-trader-gun-boat" kind of diplomacy to the early Danish kingdom,⁴ Dorestadum redoubled its prosperity. Its mint-output was enormous;⁵ the late and base trientes are plentiful as such things go, but the peak is reached with the first⁶ (22-shilling) issue of Charles (Pl. I, 4). For all these, judging from its paludine situation, the mint must have depended on imported silver, in part, surely, British. The pennies of this mint became the first currency of the whole Baltic, which they entered via the isthmus, and were imitated with increasing barbarism⁷ (and surely the prototype was barbarous enough!) throughout the ninth and tenth centuries. In the ninth-century hoard of Krinkberg (Holstein)⁸ it is Dorestad first and the other mints nowhere (I mean Imperial mints; the cache had its quota of Nordic copies). The most debased of these "barbarisms" are the uniface productions of the Wendish region (Pl. I, 5),⁹ but more interesting is the series typologically linked with milder distortions of the same prototype struck in Hedeby or south Sweden (Pl. I, 2). Most have come from the graves at Birka.¹⁰ "Wodan" and his monster, or "deer", appear again together on them after an interval of more than 200 years,¹¹ a phenomenon usually explained as pure imitation, which is unlikely, since it is the subjects, not the treatment, which recur; more likely they had some cult-significance to the sailors of the isthmian passage. Another figure in the same context is one of those two strange northern Dioscouri, with horned helmets and crossed spears, who meet

¹ Dirks, *Num. Belge*⁵, ii. (v. Pl. "C"—"Lundonia" is present).

² Dirks, *ibid.*, and Hooft v. Iddekinge, *Friesland . . . in de Middeleeuwen*.

³ e.g. Whitby Abbey (v. *Archaeologia*, lxxxix. 85).

⁴ Hodgkin, *op. cit.*, p. 491.

⁵ Hooft v. Iddekinge (*op. cit.*) places the "Madelinus" trientes all after 690—Pepin (E. & S., fig. 359) introduced the battle-axe device continued by Charlemagne. The later (20s.) issues include the pleasing galley type (E. & S., fig. 400) and continue at least until Lothar I.

⁶ c. 768–82. Illustrated by Nobbe (v. next note but one).

⁷ E. & S., figs. 612–16.

⁸ E. Nobbe, "Der Karolingische Münzschatz vom Krinkberg" (*Festsch. z. Hundertjahrfeier des Mus., . . . in Kiel*), pp. 136 ff.

⁹ E. & S., fig. 617. It has been suggested as the origin of the strange bearing on the dexter half of the Lithuanian arms. v. E. & S., figs. 1862–3.

¹⁰ Arbman, *Birka* (the vol. devoted to grave-finds)—they are associated with coins of Edward the Elder, St. Peter of York, and worn or immobilized coins of Louis the Pious; also Hauberg, *Myntforhold og Udmyntinger i Danmark*, Pt. I, Pl. I, 3, 6.

¹¹ The commonest of the Birka motifs, the monster, reappears, or persists, on Lund coins until Cnut (Hauberg, *op. cit.*, Pl. iv, 58): note also the "Celtic cross" of four eccentric rosettes, another sceat design.

us at Sutton Hoo¹ and again in Vendel, at both ends of the same route—an archaeological problem comparable to the “Jutish question”.

Keeping the historical sequence, I have also illustrated the next phase of “barbarization”; the “Christiana-Religio” type of Louis the Pious (Pl. I, 6)² circulated in the north concurrently with false Dorestad and “Birka” pennies; it was illiterately copied around the middle Elbe as the so-called “Wenden-pfennig” (Pl. I, 7),³ and as such resisted the next wave of sea-borne Anglian coinage,⁴ fairly successfully as far as the southern shores of the Baltic are concerned. But both these crude derivations from Imperial coins are poor and unfertile in comparison with this fresh Anglian influx, by which the wretched Æthelred might be said to have gained a sort of moral victory over his foes, by the spread of his coinage over the whole Baltic-Scandinavian area. He was, after all, heir to a kingdom whose wealth and organization are revealed in an astonishingly civilized and consistent monetary system.

This is the setting: in the later ninth century the Norseman descended upon the ruins of the Carolingian empire.⁵ A Swedish house established itself piratically in Hedeby. Dorestad, the greatest port of the north, was sacked four times and finally obliterated. A century later, from 980 onwards,⁶ the Danes renewed their depredations; Sven Forkbeard took and burned Hedeby “after faring westward” as the near-by runic inscription records,⁷ and once more half the story is well known, and, as such, too often repeated. Thousands of pounds of English silver fell into the hands of the “great army”, first as plunder, then from 991–2⁸ as Danegeld, which was clearly paid largely in coin. Hoards of freshly collected pennies have been found in the Danish sphere (e.g. from List on the Isle of Sylt, c. 1002⁹)—comprising all issues from the beginning of Æthelred’s reign and even those of his predecessor. There are, in fact, rather fewer of the “Hand Type”¹⁰ (before 990) and the Helmet type¹¹ which coincided with the relative peace of 995–7. The “CRUX” type,¹² the “long-cross”,¹³ and the apparently re-issued “small-cross” types¹⁴ predominate. The

¹ On the embossed plates of the helmet.

² For a possible northern mint for these, at Hamburg, see Havernik (*Hamb. Beitr.* i. 9 ff.).

³ E. & S., fig. 618.

⁴ E. & S., figs. 1152–4 (rationalization of the “Wendenpfennig” into the “Holzkirche” pennies of Otto III, which are often found hoarded with those of Æthelred).

⁵ The first serious shock began c. 834. Later in the century raids give place to settlements in force.

⁶ A.S.C., sub anno.

⁷ Jacobsen and Moltke, *Danmarks Runeinskrifter*, Haddeby III; Stephenson, *Runic Monuments*, p. 744 (cf. D.R. Slesvig VI, mentioning “Aenklanti” = England).

⁸ A.S.C., sub anno.

⁹ Nöbbe, in *Hamburg. Nachrichtenblatt f. Deutsche Vorzeit*, 1940, pp. 107 ff.

¹⁰ Br. 2, B.M.C. ii, Hild. B.

¹¹ Br. 4, B.M.C. viii, Hild. E.

¹² Br. 3, B.M.C. iii, Hild. C.

¹³ Br. 5, B.M.C. iva, Hild. D.

¹⁴ Br. 1, B.M.C. i, Hild. A.

first of these became the prototype of the first native regal coinage of the north: besides the Norse king of Dublin,¹ Sven Forkbeard himself in Denmark (Pl. I, 8),² that muscular Christian, Saint Olaf, in Norway,³ Olaf Skötkonung in Sweden⁴ (for all three of whom the renegade Saxon moneyer Godwine worked), Henry, Count of Stade, on the lower Elbe,⁵ and perhaps Arnold of Flanders,⁶ all struck "Crux" pennies; while the English originals were buried in masses throughout Scandinavia⁷ and even Finland.⁸

But this is not the whole tale. Not only did the northern kings copy Æthelred's issues until past the middle of the eleventh century,⁹ but in "coins per annum" of reign the hoards of Sweden (including the then Danish Skaane) are 60 per cent. richer in English coins of Cnut, and even 85 per cent. of Harold I than in those of Æthelred.¹⁰ The Finnish hoards contain little after c. 1025—and I suspect the figures from Sweden proper (without Skaane) might show the same result. For Norway I have no exact figures. Cnut is plentiful, his successors less so. But for Denmark and Skaane certainly, Sweden and Gothland possibly, the flow continues at high pressure until type Brooke 4 of Edward the Confessor (= B.M.C. iv, Hild. D) and then rapidly dwindles to nothing. This issue coincides roughly with the year 1052,¹¹ when a son of Godwin made his last rebellious invita-

¹ Sihtric Caoch (Silkbeard) (989-1029). The "Dymn" (obverse), usually explained as a corruption of Dublin, may be a Celtic chieftain, Domhnall.

² (c. 988-1014), Hauberg, op. cit., pt. I, Pl. I, and *Guide to Nat. Museum Coins, Copenhagen*, fig. 15, p. 14.

³ (1016-30), E. & S., fig. 1333.

⁴ (c. 994-1022), *Copenhagen Guide*, p. 9.

⁵ (976-1016), *Z.f.N.* xiv (1887): the obv. reads "HROZA ME FECIT".

⁶ E. & S., fig. 894 (a penny of St. Omer). But the date given for Arnold's death (986), if correct, takes some explanation. It is not a very good imitation: is it really the *prototype* of Æthelred's "Crux" type?

⁷ v. Hildebrand's Royal Swedish Museum Catalogue (*Anglosaksiska Mynt i Svenska Kgl. Myntkabinett*) (1881), then, if not still, the largest collection of Æthelred and his successors and all found in "Sweden's earth", and Holst in *Nordisk Num. Aarskrift*, xxi (1940).

⁸ v. Nordmann, *Anglo-Saxon Coins found in Finland* (1921).

⁹ In Denmark itself contemporary English types predominate until a few years after the accession of Sven Estridson (1047), who took part in sporadic raids on England until the 1070's, but his later coins are un-English in design, though still Anglian in technique.

¹⁰ The figures (from Hildebrand and Nordmann) are:

	Sweden (incl. Skaane)		Finland	
	Total	Approx. annual deposit	Total	Approx. annual deposit
Ae	4,387	122	443	12
Cn	3,904	195	292	14.5
Hi	1,050	210	7	1
Hc	216	108
Ec	800	66	12	1
(to 1053)				
Hii	5	(6)

¹¹ A.S.C., sub anno.

tion to a Danish host. From then onwards, though we hear of sporadic northern incursions for another quarter-century, the eastward face of England was one of mistrust: policy and then conquest bound her to France, and the mercantile English class, from whom the moneyers were evidently drawn, even after the Conquest,¹ were subordinated to a land-bound feudalism. So complete was revolution. But the movement of money before 1052 can only be put down to an opening up of the north to free commerce within the empire of Cnut. It is unthinkable that he should have continued after 1020² to plunder and drain his adopted country in the interest of those who stayed at home. It is, however, quite thinkable that the advantages of this converted barbarian's enlightened policy should have survived him for fifteen troubled years until forcibly withdrawn.

Furthermore, beside the Scandinavian lands themselves the whole Baltic plain became, though to a lesser degree, a penny area. I have spoken and shall speak again of the persistence of certain German issues. Anglian coins are found in north-east Germany, but frequently in late contexts, dating perhaps in part from the age of the Danish exploits in Estonia (Cnut the Saint was "martyred" there in 1087), or just representing a steady "leakage" from the Scandinavian treasure. Herr Berghaus assures me they seldom exceed 5 per cent. of the content of any hoard. But there is other evidence that conflicts with this general impression and implies that the penny enjoyed a short and early popularity in its own right. Boleslas Chobri of Poland copied the "Crux" obverse³ before his death in 1025, while Boleslas II or III of Bohemia and Queen Emma (died 1006) had taken to copying the earlier "Hand Type" pennies (Pl. I, 9)⁴ within a few years of their issue and in the very watershed of the Elbe, and these types can be traced in the later issues of Poland and Bohemia (Pl. I, 10).⁵ The question is "How did the Hand-pennies get there before the Baltic channel was properly open?"⁶ In Bohemia the Bavarian temple-type,⁷ a Carolingian derivative, akin to the Wenden-pfennig, fought the penny for popularity; a strange hybrid with the name of Æthelred and a Winchester moneyer⁸ on the rival design perhaps represents a non-partisan inscription during the fratricidal strife of Jaromir and Odalric (1012-15), but Odalric⁹ continued the Æthelred type. The penny had reached the confines of Christendom. A hundred years later a Russian hoard of uncertain provenance¹⁰ contained many

¹ v. Oman, *Coinage of England*, p. 80.

² For his protective policy against the Emperor's tolls, v. Wm. Malm. ii. 183.

³ (992-1025), v. Majkowski in *Num. Chron.*⁵ xiv (1934), pp. 168 ff. The same king copied "Otto-Adelheid" pennies of North Germany.

⁴ E. & S., figs. 1366-7.

⁵ e.g. Wratlas II (1061-92).

⁶ I will not speculate here: early Anglo-Rhenish traffic is not the whole solution.

⁷ e.g. E. & S., figs. 1230, 1233, 1234 (Bavarian), and 1365 (Bohemian).

⁸ *Num. Chron.*⁶ iii. 102.

⁹ E. & S., fig. 1371.

¹⁰ Menadier, *Deutsche Münzen*, iv. 125 ff. Cf. also the Liesborn (Westphalia) find (*Rev. Num. Fr. and Bl. f. Num.* 1905).

English coins down to Harold I and nothing later save a few of Rufus. This is in some respects a typical south Baltic deposit; positively it illustrates the persistence of good English silver, and negatively—the most conclusive result of all this evidence—that, with little doubt, from about 1053 the north and the Baltic were suddenly and completely foreclosed to English contacts. From then on until 1207 (in fact the “Norman period”) we have an economically unnatural liaison between England and northern France. Hardly a single English coin passed henceforth into the Baltic in place of tens of thousands in the age of Cnut.

The cutting off of English money from the north meant that England was temporarily out of the “Eastern Trail” by land and sea. Netherlandish coins, on the other hand, still reached east and central Europe. A miscellaneous Prague¹ find of the early twelfth century reveals the pennies of Deventer, Utrecht, and Leeuwarden creeping up the German rivers: it is this landward track that occupies our attention in the next phase of English influence. Two other processes are worth noting: the popularity in northern Germany of the so-called “Agrippina” imitations² (modelled after the Ottonian issue of Cologne), that proved more tenacious than the Holzkirche³ type, and the beginning of a later and also extensively copied Cologne penny type, that with the seated bishop and building⁴ (both in the mid- and late eleventh century). This latter type we shall meet again later; it, at least, is completely German in origin and distribution—neither Scandinavian nor Wendish—but it is the other series that reflects the positive opening-up of the steamy marshlands of north Germany from c. 1060, and the deliberate and conscious foundation of new cities⁵ from “scratch”, which were to take the trade for themselves out of the hands of Frisian and Scandinavian adventurers. From these gradually arose the most prominent section of that commercial and military grouping loosely known as the Hanseatic League. In fact it was several leagues, and divided by unilateral and single-purpose agreements, but as regards their foreign trading-stations—the London Steelyard, the medieval Shanghai of Helsingbro, and the fortified colony of Novgorod, the maritime cities were working in unison from the early thirteenth century. Then, also, they took the field against the Danish king, Waldemar II,⁶ who bestrode their passage of the Sound. But beside the later militant league of sea-ports there was an inland Hanse, principally the precociously urbanized cities of Westphalia (Münster, Brunswick, Hildesheim and the rest. The “nodal point” of this earlier aspect of the League was Cologne rather than Lübeck). It provided a ready circulation-area for the episcopal Cologne-pennies mentioned above. (We have seen the part played by

¹ Menadier, *Deutsche Münzen*, iv. pp. 237 ff. Twelve Netherlands and many Rhenish specimens.

² Mostly from Bardowiek: v. *Hamb. Beitr.* i. 14 ff.

³ “Otto-Adelheid” and variants.

⁴ Bp. Hermann (1036–56), E. & S., figs. 1089–94.

⁵ e.g. Lübeck, 1143.

⁶ Battle of Jorhøvd, 1227.

Colnish aniconic types in the expansion of the northern cities.) Likewise the predominantly landward passage of their coins¹ and kinship of design bring the still undeveloped cities of the Low Countries into the same Rhenish orbit—in contrast to the later Middle Ages, when to treat the Netherlands as part of the Empire would have been to recognize what was by then a legal fiction. Finally, it is this inland and riverine connexion that provides the scene for the next appearance of English coins on the “Eastern Trail”. It was to the men of Cologne that Henry II² and Richard I³ granted immunities as spokesmen of the fast-evolving league, in London, and with them that King John treated again, in 1213.

The renewal of interest in Germany by the Angevin kings looks gradual enough from this, but the evidence I shall bring suggests that it may have been more catastrophic. Formal acts did not make the Hansard's business always easy: they were jealously resented by the burgesses of London and there were periods when an embarrassed king professed a sudden revulsion from this profitable foreign contact. Furthermore, intercourse appears to have been restricted for half a century after 1157, and then the epoch opens which is the main subject of my discourse, every phase of which appears to be reflected in the succession of hoards and imitations of English coins.

In 1207 King John supported his nephew, Otto IV, King of the Romans, against his French-sponsored rival, with a subsidy of 6,000 marks.⁴ From 1207 until the end of the reign the surviving transactions between the king and Rhenish and Netherlandish merchants, as collected in the *Hansische Urkundbuch*, total nearly fifty;⁵ Cologne still predominates, while Bremen and Ypres are prominent (representing respectively the northern and Netherlandish extensions of the Hanse). It is at this very moment that the “sterling”, that is, now, the “short-cross penny”, appears as a money of account at Utrecht⁶ and in Rhenish finds (Ladenburg⁷). By good fortune it passed as the exact equivalent of the Cologne penny (with the seated bishop and church) mentioned above, but for the first few years its circulation seems to have been strictly Rhenish. Some time between 1209, when he was elected Emperor, and 1218, but most likely after his retreat to Cologne in 1214, Otto IV struck the first continental sterlings at Cologne (?),⁸ Dortmund (Pl. I, 11),⁹ and Duis-

¹ c.f. the Prague find.

² *Hans. Urkundb.* i, nos. 13, 14, 25 (1157, 1175).

³ *Ibid.*, no. 40 (1194); Lappenberg, *Urkund. Gesch. des Hans. Stahlhofs zu London*, ii. 7.

⁴ *Mat. Paris, His. Ang.* iii. 109; *Chron. Min.* ii. 574 (under 1209).

⁵ *Hans. Urk.* i. 81 (1209), 89-95 (1212), 100-111 (1213), 113-32 (1214-15).

⁶ 1208, Havernik, *Kolner Pfennig*, pp. 108 and 132 (more extended use in 1214).

⁷ Frankfurt, *Mzztg.* 1905, pp. 353 ff.

⁸ Havernik, *Münzen von Köln*, i. 275-6, considers these to have been struck in Westphalia (the “SANCTA COLONIA”, also found on Lippe sterlings, being a sign of equivalence with the episcopal Cologne pennies). But is Cologne impossible for these as the *prototype* of the Lippe coins? If the whole lot are relegated to the 1220's, as Herr Berghaus thinks, it certainly would be, but the name of the Emperor would then be as false as that of the mint (see below).

⁹ For the whole series, v. Chautard, *Type Esterlin*, Pl. XXI, 1-5.

burg. So did his rival Frederick II, after seizing the same Rhenish mints. The whole series is probably to be confined to a short time and a small area, but the notable thing is that they all bear the cross boutoné of Brooks type *Va*, which fits the context of the subsidy of 1207 rather than a decade later. This type is apparently rare in English finds (though I should like to collect more evidence, this way or that); but it looks relatively common in the (later) Ribe hoard¹ and perhaps other continental ones. As the known allocation of mints and moneyers is consistent with its being issued simultaneously with *Vb*, the possibility has occurred to me that *Va* may have been a special issue for the German subsidy and the only one familiar in Germany in the 1210's.

The next phase is historically the most problematic of the whole development. In a wide but circumscribed area, namely Westphalia, and for a brief period, apparently *circa* 1228–40, there is a spate of short-cross imitations. Negatively we can say that the area does not extend to the Rhine (not even at Cologne) but it might perhaps be said to reach the sea to the north, as the Bishops of Osnabrück and Münster held much of the Ems and Weser valleys and served them with Westphalian strikings. But the interchangeable “Kölnerpfennig”-type mules with the Henrican types at the western end of the area² and at Corvey.³ Logically this would seem an after-development,⁴ but a superficial comparison led me to place it early in the period; in any case, only just over a decade is involved, and here I am not concerned with details but with the whole complex. Chronologically the total evidence is most self-supporting. An unbiased analysis of the types copied suggests an overwhelming presence of group VII (*circa* 1223 to 1242), and Berghaus says the same of the English content of Westphalian hoards,⁵ which appears and disappears as suddenly as the imitations. Hoards deposited some years later only confirm this.⁶ I must add that Berghaus does not, and I think wrongly, distinguish this group of imitations from the apparently earlier Ottonian Rhine–Ruhr series previously mentioned.⁷ On the negative evidence of their absence from finds in a lower horizon, he would seemingly date them all together, but the considerations given above still incline me to separate them. In quantity those undoubtedly assignable to the period between 1228 and 1245 (to give extreme limits) are far more important.

¹ *Num. Chron.*⁴ xvi (1916), pp. 397 ff.

² Particularly Münster (Ch., Pl. xxv, 3, 4) and Mark (Ch., Pl. xxx, 6, 7 and Pl. I, 14).

³ Jesse, on the Hildesheim hoard, in *Hamb. Beitr.* ii. 16 ff., nos. 114–15.

⁴ Supported by Berghaus, *op. cit.*, p. 38.

⁵ e.g. Hessel (c. 1235), Lechtingen (c. 1238). Brümmerlohe, c. 1240 (refs. given in the same paper).

⁶ e.g. Hildesheim (*v.* last note but two). Of course group VII was a large issue. This vitiates the deduction somewhat.

⁷ My opinion is admittedly unorthodox, but I am letting it stand. Apart from the cross pommée, I do not think the lack of any of these rather rare coins in *dated* contexts before 1225 is conclusive evidence, still less that anything should be struck after 1218 in the name of the dead and discredited Otto (compare, however, “Charles X” of France).

Briefly the "imitating authorities" are as follows: the Archbp. of Cologne (Henry de Molemarck),¹ not in his see but at the Westphalian foundation of Herford, the Bishop of Osnabrück (Conrad) (Pl. I, 13),² the see of Münster, and the Abbots of Helmershausen (Conrad, Godfrey³) and Corvey.⁴ On these the head of the patron saint⁵ replaces that of the king, and the short-cross inner ring is easily converted into a halo. So much for the lords spiritual. The temporal are the Counts of Arnsberg,⁶ Waldeck (Adolf),⁷ Swalenberg (Volkwin),⁸ Ravensberg (Otto),⁹ the Baron of Pyrmont,¹⁰ Adolf of Mark once again,¹¹ and above all, the Lord of Lippe, Bernhard III (asc. 1229), whom we shall meet again later in his mints at Lippestadt and Lemgo. His short-cross pennies and some, equally plausible, by his neighbour of Ravensberg, are most orthodox-looking but for the Lippe rose in place of the pellets: only the reverse inscription "LEMEGO CIVIT" (Pl. I, 12)¹² or "VLOTOVE CIVIT"¹³ betrays them. Chautard quotes a "HEINRICUS" ostensibly from Cologne.¹⁴ They are not exactly forgeries; they merely show that the unlettered expected the familiar obverse inscription, while anybody who was "clerk" enough to be interested might check up on the perfectly explicit acknowledgement on the reverse—as he could for a trueborn English coin. Possibly the moneyer salved his conscience with a dim recognition of the Emperor's son Henry. The presence of these, in association with long-cross imitations in the Hildesheim find, shows their late date—probably after 1240, when the influx of English coins was slack and the offence that might be caused by near-forgery, of less political consequence (the saint-sterlings, however, Berghaus places early); we shall see later how in the fourteenth century the most deceptive sterling imitations are also the latest.

This tide of short-cross coinage may, I feel, be the pointer to an unnoticed chapter in our commercial history. It coincides with a *rapprochement* between Henry III and the Empire, known chiefly by many ecclesiastical exchanges and finally by Henry's betrothal of his sister Isabella to Frederick II in 1235.¹⁵ (He had previously in 1228 tried to wed her to Frederick's son (!): now the cynical, secular-minded widower had her with 30,000 marks of a dowry—which may account for some of the English coins.) Besides these, there are some few but very significant indications of economic concomitants.

¹ (1225-35), Ch., Pl. xxiv, 1-2.

² (1227-38), Ch., *ibid.* 12-13. (The coin illustrated on Plate I is from the Ribe hoard.)

³ (c. 1230-5), Ch., Pl. xxvi, 3-4.

⁴ Ch., *ibid.*, also v. 5 (87).

⁵ SS. Peter (Osnabrück, Helmershausen), Paul (Herford, Münster), Stephen, or Vitus (Corvey). The sterling influence remains on the "Wewelinghofer" of Münster for a century (cf. Pl. II, 17).

⁶ Ch., Pl. xxv, 10.

⁷ (1214-70), Ch., Pl. xxvi, 10.

⁸ (1214-49), Ch., Pl. xxvi, 7.

⁹ (1226-45), Ch., Pl. xxx, 2.

¹⁰ So Berghaus, *op. cit.*, p. 38: apparently of Scottish inspiration.

¹¹ (1199-1249), Ch., Pl. xxx, 8, 9 and Jesse (*Hildesheim Hoard*), nos. 117-18.

¹² Ch., Pl. xxvii, 4, 5; Jesse (*ibid.*), nos. 101-5.

¹³ Jesse (*ibid.*), nos. 112-13.

¹⁴ Ch., Pl. xxvii, 6.

¹⁵ Mat. Paris, *Chron. Mai.*, p. 318.

The more accessible English documents include a declaration of liberties to the merchants of Cologne (preserved in an *inspeximus* of 18 Edw. I¹) and a promise of protection to those of Brunswick in 1230,² but the *Hansisches Urkundbuch* reveals a new "run" of agreements between England and various corporations in the Empire, including Brabant and Flanders, beginning with 1223.³ We know that there was much misgiving about the spiritual desirability of this parleying with excommunicates, and not less about the invasion on the Londoners' liberties. In 1240 Henry "clamped down" and revoked or shelved the Easterlings' privileges,⁴ letting the papal agents collect funds for the struggle against the Emperor, while a general political reconciliation took place at home and, then, conveniently, the young Empress died. Chronologically, the fit is perfect. This is just when we want the export of sterling to cease. But we must not argue too much finality thereby; before the decade was out commerce was starting again and soon there was to be another political adventure with Germany, though both efforts seemed feebler and less hopeful than the last.

As we shall see, from the middle of the thirteenth century onwards attention was to fix itself even nearer home, on the ancient and easy passage to the Netherlands; before this date, the hardest question is not "Why the Empire?" but "Why only Westphalia?" I shall risk an answer in the light of the coming history of Anglo-Flemish relations. As I hope to show, there is a regular association of exports of wool and silver. Admittedly this is not a fair exchange, since we should expect bullion to pay for the wool, unless there was a generally adverse balance or a definite political subsidy. Endless protective enactments throughout the Middle Ages show some sense of the former danger, while we must remember that adventitious traffic in manufacture might attach itself to the officially countenanced wool trade and upset it. For the latter (subsidies) we can quote something in every period. Otto IV's was the first; apart from the dowry, there is no direct record of any in the present period (1220's and 1230's), though there was a diplomatic purpose in counterbalancing Frederick against France. Leaving these considerations, has the wool trade any relevance here? It is notable that the very towns which were concerned with these sterling issues (Lemgo, Münster, and the like) had a textile industry, chiefly linen, in the later Middle Ages, and I suggest there may have been some early but deliberate attempt to concentrate the manufacture of cloth from English wool in this little knot of Westphalian towns, hundreds of miles up the great waterways of Europe. At least it is a hopeful theme for further research.

The next stage, as I have said, is uncertain and erratic: the repercussion of the long-cross issues. The purposes of the new type perhaps

¹ *Munim. Gildhall II* (Rolls Series), Pt. I (Liber Custom.), pp. 66 ff.

² Rymer, *Foedera*, p. 317.

³ Nos. 156-73, 175-82, 185, 187-90, 196-203 et seqq., while 154 restates a grant of King John.

⁴ Powicke, *King Henry and the Lord Edward*, p. 314.

included the prevention of export, but if so, this did not succeed. In fact it rather accelerated a flow that I have shown to have relaxed. They were reaching central Germany again not long after 1250 (the Hildesheim hoard¹ contains a half a dozen as against two dozen short-cross—the longer you put it after that year, the thinner the intake of the new type appears).

Unlike the short-cross, the double long-cross was not copied by many continental princes; those that did copy come under two headings, the "honest" imitators of the old sort, and the downright forgers. A third category, whose designs were only loosely influenced by the type, is much more important, and will be treated below. Firstly, the "honest" men: these are still mostly in Westphalia, and the Hildesheim hoard confirms their early date. Bernard of Lippe, who died in 1265,² copied the earliest (star and crescent) varieties (there were, however, none from Hildesheim) as well as more mature ones and even the Irish type. Count Widikind of Swalenberg may have been even earlier with the new type, since his name, not Henry's, is bungled by the Lippish mint of Blomberg;³ later he copied the Scottish Alexandrine long cross⁴ (the ascription of another of this type⁵ to Bremen has been exploded).⁶ Rudolph of Hapsburg at Dortmund copied the Irish (Pl. II. 15),⁷ but these, and the last few from Lippe, in the name of the child Simon (from 1275)⁸ are perhaps revivals rather than survivals—the earlier all suggest a context of the 1250's. As to the forgeries, the earliest ones, as again found at Hildesheim,⁹ appear to be Westphalian: but the commonest and most notorious are those of the Lords of Cunre (Pl. I, 16)¹⁰, a lost castle in Overijssel (i.e. West Friesland) and on the Zuyder Zee (whose shape was not that of to-day). Besides these, some come from Zwolle under episcopal licence.¹¹ Their general association seems to be late, and includes some of the later efforts of Lippe (Ribnitz hoard No. 1¹² and Plaagendrup in Denmark¹³—both, notice, Baltic and in the 1280's). They are plainly meant to satisfy a demand for long-cross pennies, and later ones at that, which had already been stimulated, and perhaps they briefly reawakened the interests of Lippe. Their orbit is once more the Frisian-Baltic passage, and their date probably nearer 1280 than 1270; they provide, by themselves, a transition to the next period, but must be studied in a wider context.

¹ v. Jesse in *Ham. Beitr.* ii.

² e.g. at Blomberg (Ch., Pl. xxvii, 7, 8, 10, 11).

³ Jesse (*Hildesheim*), no. 100, reflecting nos. 120a and b (Widikind), itself in turn apparently copying a Henry of Brooke's group IIIa (1248). These are the only long-cross imitations in the hoard, dated by Jesse c. 1260 (but need it be much after 1252?).

⁴ Ch., Pl. xxvi, 8; Grote, *Waldeck*, no. 5.

⁵ Ch., Pl. xxv, 9.

⁶ v. Berghaus, *Periode des Sterlings*, n. 59.

⁷ King of Romans, 1275.

⁸ Ch., Pl. xxviii, 5-10 (on nos. 7 ff. Lippe roses replace the pellets).

⁹ Jesse, nos. 156-8 (cf. Pl. I, 15, ascribed to Bernard of Lippe).

¹⁰ Ch., Pl. xxxii (whole plate).

¹¹ One from Aarhus (*Num. Anz.* 1870, p. 11) reads "CIVITAS SVLLEN".

¹² *Z.f.N.* xv (1887), pp. 302 ff.

¹³ *Num. Chron.* xiii (1933), p. 67.

To begin with, the finds, which look—at first—rather equivocal. I quote in order, Norrby (Gothland) (c. 1250),¹ Hildesheim (1250's),² Flensburg (c. 1260),³ and Lubnice (c. 1265).⁴ The Hildesheim hoard is practically the last from central Germany; the others foreshadow a return to the Baltic; their content reveals a small but steady flow of long-cross, soon adulterated by copies (but perhaps not yet from Cunre)—some Lippish imitations and other Rhenish and Westphalian coin followed them northwards. Contrast with these the (Flemish) Slype find⁵ of c. 1260, which was purely English, and may be connected with the German expeditions of Richard of Cornwall, King of the Romans, between 1259 and 1268, but arrested on its journey. If so, it stands almost alone and his money was moving “against the crowd”. It is known that he spent much in Germany and that they wanted more. Yet little trace of it has been discovered, except this one hoard. This alone shows the danger of being too ready to explain by “direct grants” what is largely a natural mercantile process begun under an auspicious government and carried on by itself. It is easier to explain the last Lippe issues by a continuity, albeit diminishing, of normal traffic than by a swamping of the area with sterling. As I hinted above, it is safe to say that English finds in central Germany dwindle soon after 1250, and imitations, now few and local, follow suit. The new orientation is once more northern and, particularly, Frisian, illustrated by the hotbed of counterfeit at Cunre and, after 1282, by a licensed issue by the counts of Gelders at Arnhem, still after the Henrican pattern, and already pointing to the period when the wool traffic was directed towards Holland, immediately before the switch to Flanders, in our next period. For the moment we are in transition, and the diplomacy of a weakened and preoccupied English crown had little effect on the movements of trade.

The second part of this new “context” brings us already to the southern Netherlands—not Flanders, indeed, but Brabant and her Rhineland neighbours. The long-cross leaves its most enduring monument as the reverse of the scutcheon sterling—the so-called “Brabantinus” type, which proved tenacious through much of the Netherlands for over a century and kept its double long cross for longer than English fashion would warrant. In the article that I have several times referred to previously Herr Berghaus has ingeniously disentangled the phases of the “Brabantinus” and puts its commencement, at latest, in 1273, recognizing three stages: the double and single long cross and the cross fleury (of Provençal-Sicilian origin?). In no case are they close imitations, so I will not repeat his arguments in detail, save to say that the two later stages run more or less concurrently with the next two stages of stricter sterlings (before and after c. 1305). The weight at least is English, if not the type, and above all the locality is significant, seeing that the centre of com-

¹ *Gotlandskt Archiv*, xii. 29; Berghaus (op. cit.), n. 30.

³ *Berliner Münzblatt* (1927), pp. 127 ff.

⁵ *Rev. Belge*, 1914; *Num. Chron.*⁴ xiv (1914), pp. 256 ff.

² *v.s.*

⁴ *Z.f.N.* xxvi.

mercial activity was shifting from Cologne and Westphalia to Holland and Flanders. In the next period of imitation hardly any German examples are known,¹ and though there are a few hoards with sterling content on the Elbe,² Richard of Cornwall was tilling an exhausted soil for English exploits. The orbit of the Edwardian phase is completely Belgian (to use the modern name), and, for a moment, just impinges on Holland.

This, to most people, is *the* sterling period *par excellence*—in many cases the coins themselves are still extremely common, and the period not just a decade or so but seventy years or more, with intervals. The sheer weight of material makes sorting difficult, although here, too, I think I can supplement Berghaus's chronology. To simplify matters I shall make it clear that I am dealing principally with sterlings bearing a head, and that unless otherwise qualified the word means these; the shield-bearing type is only alluded to with reference to them (though I fully admit they are also of the sterling standard). The reason is that it is the former that are found mingled with Edwardian coins in England, while the latter belong in type and distribution to the difficult armorial series of their homeland, and Berghaus has already made a gallant essay towards their clarification. I am "proceeding from the known to the unknown".

The original area of the true Low-Country sterlings is small. They jostled with the Brabantine shield-sterlings, which, as I remarked above, partly, but not universally, adopted the Edwardian single-cross reverse and were certainly in the field before those with the effigy. As I surmise, nearly twenty years before. This involves the question "When and where in the Netherlands did the 'head' series begin?" Evidence is quoted and requoted that Gui de Dampierre, Count of Flanders, began issuing his distinctive sterlings (Pl. II, 1), Edwardian in all but that the head is bare,³ at Namur in 1283. The order is said to specify a Brabantine prototype, whence it is often argued that the "heads" must have begun in Brabant in the previous year, only four years after the type was introduced in England. This is not *a priori* impossible, but I think that another interpretation is more likely. Firstly, the document in question, printed in full in the first volume of the *Revue Belge*,⁴ does not in fact say anything about types, mentioning only weights and alloys "de cel taille de forz et de foible com il neuf estrelinec d'Engleterre", and, secondly, after examining associated finds and seeking a *terminus post quem* from the dates of rulers who would be expected to have issued them, were they already in fashion, I can find no evidence for a *general* issue of head-sterlings before about 1293, though I distinguish two or three issues that are patently a little earlier. I suggest, therefore, that the

¹ For exceptions (Corvey, Büren), *v.i.*

² Ipwege (1306†), Etzhoven (c. 1310), St. Magnus (c. 1330): references given by Berghaus.

³ Ch., Pl. II, 1-4, v, 1-6. Berghaus (op. cit.), Pl. 2, 8. There are three distinct wordings of the inscr.

⁴ *Rev. Belge*, i (1861), 40; v. de Witte, *Histoire Monétaire de . . . Brabant*, p. 68.

order refers to some phase of the Brabantine shield series, and that, wherever the heads begin, the earliest-looking of them (those of Gui at Namur, or certain Brabantine coins of similar technique, including some without stops in the lettering)¹ are only two or three years prior to the general issue. In point of probability, I think that they did begin at Namur, and that the bare-head type remained for a little while unique, until a slightly different variety, the so-called "rosarius", followed, passing concurrently with the Namur issue. On the traditional interpretation of the document of 1283, the earliest of these "rosarii" would come at the head of the whole series: these are in fact the early Brabantine head-sterlings just mentioned. Looz at least² produced its own "bare-heads" as well, technically akin to these issues of Namur and Brabant; while those ascribed to Mons³ and Maubeuge⁴ are apparently "mules", and demonstrate the simultaneity of the two varieties. The sharp and sculptural characteristics of this earliest group of head-sterlings must be seen to be appreciated: they are *not* common to all the general issue of "rosarii" which I am treating next.

While it was almost certainly Brabant that first put, by way of a "difference", the rose-garland on the head, that gave this second variety its name and distinguishes all the earlier Edwardian group except those of Namur and Looz, many other princedoms followed, with a veritable spate of "rosarii", at a date which I put little, if at all, before 1293. Their number and diversity obscures the fact that they are confined to two small contiguous orbits; one in the valleys of the Meuse and Sambre, which have their confluence at Namur, the other about the Schelde and its tributaries, extending to Cambrai where it reaches the Sambre. There are outliers at the beginning of the period: Brussels, Looz, Bastogne in Luxembourg, and Dordrecht in Holland, of which later; but in general it is the spontaneous and interchangeable coinage of the riverine crescent. The technique of the coins soon becomes uniform, and the relief somewhat lower than that of the earlier bare-heads; the design remains completely Edwardian save that these princelings all wear the garland of rosettes proper to their rank;⁵ the number of mules supports the possibility that many of the dies proceed from one source—all betokening an honest and unmistakable convention-coinage, by no means a forgery like those of Cunre and many later sterlings. The trouble began when the English took a less generous view of them.

The seigneurs that issued "rosarii" were all active in the dozen years after 1292, their successors or predecessors noticeably absent.

¹ de Witte (op. cit.), Pl. ix, 243.

² Pl. II, 2, and Ch., Pl. xii, 3-5, "*Moneta comitis*", provides a link with Namur. The peculiar arc-shaped collar on all these issues suggests "Edward", group III, as a prototype, but this hardly helps the finer points of chronology between 1283 and 1298, owing to the low mintage of the intervening years. Evidence from the early Coventry hoard (*B.N.J.* xxiii. 279) has the same weakness.

³ Ch., Pl. vii, 6.

⁴ Ibid. 5.

⁵ Often seen in manuscripts, &c., it must have been actually worn.

The temporal lords were: Gui, in his home county of Flanders¹ (he invested a son with Namur in 1297), Jean d'Avesnes of Hainault,² John of Brabant of course (Pl. II, 4),³ John, Baron of Agimont,⁴ John of Louvain at Herstal,⁵ William of Hornes,⁶ Henry of Luxembourg, later Emperor,⁷ Florence of Holland,⁸ and Adolf of Berg,⁹ just in the present bounds of Germany. The spiritual were the Bishops of Cambrai, William¹⁰ and Gui (Pl. II, 3),¹¹ with a *sede vacante* issue of the chapter between their episcopates,¹² and Hugo, Bishop of Liège, at Fosse and Lestat, a Faubourg of Huy.¹³ Of these, Adolf and Florence died in 1296, after which one can confidently say the "rosarii" were confined to the southern Netherlands.

Here at last we have some clear return for exports: they are common in Scottish finds of the early part of the War of Independence,¹⁴ and English contemporaries less common in their homeland.¹⁵ Scotland, and especially Galloway where most of the finds come from, was also an exporter of wool. The Brabantine shield-pennies came likewise over to Britain, but were more easily detected, while it is not surprising that Scotland, always more tolerant of foreign money and now in agony and anarchy, had more than her proportion of all types. But they found their way to England as well, in greater numbers than any issues struck abroad since the Roman period (and possibly in all innocence), until in 1299 or 1300¹⁶ Edward voiced the traditional policy of his crown and prohibited by royal ordinance both the Brabantine pieces ("leonines") and the "rosarii", with which are classed "Pollards and Crockards" (the former seemingly the bare-head issues and the latter the same as "rosarii"), the official reason being that they were not true silver, but plated (not altogether a fair complaint). This action may have been a discouragement to their production across the sea; otherwise the unstable fashions in coinage are sufficient to explain what is clear from the same evidence as that which dates this appearance, that the "rosarii" had certainly everywhere ceased being produced by 1304-5. The deaths of several princes fix it exactly.

¹ (Douai, Alost) Ch., Pl. II, 5, 7, 8.

² (1280-1304) (Mauberge, Mons, Valenciennes), Ch., Pl. IV, 1-9. Berghaus (op. cit.), Pl. 2, 9.

³ There were three Johns (1268-1355)—no good for numismatic chronology! (Brussels, Maastricht, and Limburg (?).) Ch., Pl. VIII, 10-11; de Witte, Pl. IX. There is some evolution in these "rosarii": both Roman and Lombardic forms of E, M, N appear—suggesting that they cover the whole Rosarian period (? c. 1290-1304). The lengthening of the serif of the L is another index.

⁴ (1280-1310), Ch., Pl. XIII, 5.

⁵ (1285-1309), Ch., Pl. XI, 4-6.

⁶ (1264-1304) (Weert, Wissem), Ch., Pl. XIII, 6, 7—look early.

⁷ (1288-1309) (Bastogne), Ch., Pl. XIV, 3—looks early.

⁸ (1266-96) (Dordrecht), Ch., Pl. XXXI, 1—certainly early.

⁹ (1259-96) Ch., Pl. XXX, 1.

¹⁰ (1292-6) Ch., Pl. XVII, 5-6. Note the peculiar round face.

¹¹ (1296-1306), ibid. 8.

¹² Ibid. 9-10.

¹³ (1295-1301), Ch., Pl. X, 2.

¹⁴ e.g. Mellendean (*Num. Chron.*⁴ xiii. 60 ff.); Galston (*Num. Chron.*⁵ iii. 60 ff.), the latter a very representative "bag" of the Rosarian period.

¹⁵ e.g. the Bruges find (*Rev. Belge*⁴, 1866, pp. 433 ff.).

¹⁶ Authorities vary: Berghaus quoted Mat. Westminst., Pembridge, and the Walsingham Chronicle.

The aged and harassed Gui died in 1305; Jean d'Avesnes in 1304. Their successors issued no "rosarii" but something more insidious, pennies with a crowned head, Edwardian in all but the inscription.

This introduces another phase which again has its chronological problems. The Boyton (Wilts.) hoard,¹ plausibly dated to 1324, shows us the position at the end of this period, containing, as it does, something of nearly everybody who had issued sterlings up to that date, both of the earlier "rosarii" and the newer crowned-head varieties. It is often assumed that Robert of Béthune, successor of Gui, was the prime mover of the new type (Pl. II, 5)—anyway, he will do as starting-point²; his domains were nearest to England. It would be far more dangerous to assume that he was in it all the time, and began the "crowned" sterlings immediately on his accession. Working southward, it was apparently at this time that one of the dukes of Brabant (all Johns!) showed a good example by substituting a charming castle of Tournois inspiration for the head, on an otherwise good sterling, and as part of a longer series (Pl. II, 9);³ however, the technique of these suggests a beginning in the 1290's. Apart from them, we see many Netherlandish lords, mostly rather small, following what may well be the bad example of puissant Flanders: Gelders,⁴ Herstal,⁵ Ligny at his appanage of Sérain-en-Cambrésis,⁶ Arleux,⁷ and the Emperor Henry and his son John the Blind as Counts of Luxembourg.⁸ At some time, certainly before 1324, the mode spread southwards into modern France, and was used by the little lords of Réthel,⁹ Porcien,¹⁰ and Sancerre¹¹ and the much greater Dukes of Lorraine¹² and Bar.¹³

There still remains the question "when"—surely not immediately after the demise of the "rosarii" (very few lordships issued both) and not necessarily all at once. Rival types generally prevailed, including the "Brabantinus" in yet another new form. Yet, I think, we can justly look for the opportune moment in quite a narrow range of years when it paid once more to do what had been given up some years earlier. Considering, firstly, that most of the above princes ascended between 1302 and 1313 (a few belonging to an older generation) and most were gone by 1330; secondly, that they preserved a fair similitude of the V-necked pennies of c. 1300-20; and thirdly, that their coins are associated in many finds, British as well as local, it is clear that these imitations had begun at latest in the 1310's. Allowing for the apparent

¹ *Num. Chron.* xvi. 36 ff.

² Ch., Pl. III, 1-4, 1.

³ E. & S., fig. 1703; Ch., Pl. IX, 9 = de Witte, Pl. XII, 307 (cf. 302).

⁴ Renaud (1272-1326), Ch., Pl. XXXI, 3-4.

⁵ Ch., Pl. XI, 7. The king has a lion's face: before 1309 very exceptional.

⁶ Valeran (1304-53), Ch., Pl. XVIII, 4-8; some but not all of his issues may be later.

⁷ John of Flanders (1313-25), Ch., Pl. XVIII, 2 (an early "deceptive title").

⁸ Henry (Imp. 1308-13), John (King of Bohemia and, titularly, of Poland (1309)), Ch., Pls. XIV and XV in general.

⁹ Louis of Flanders (1290-1322), Ch., Pl. XIX, 1.

¹⁰ Gaucher de Chatillon (1303-29), Ch., Pl. XIX, 4-6.

¹¹ Ch., Pl. XIX, 7-8.

¹² Ferri IV (1312-28), Ch., Pl. XVI, 2-3.

¹³ Edward (1302-37), *ibid.* 4; may belong to the next group.

interval between them and the "rosarii", and the erratic character of contemporary coin fashions, it seems most probable that they started more or less concurrently about 1310 or a little later—but that the move towards Lorraine may have been later still.

We must distinguish these from other princes who definitely did not begin until the 1330's—Rummen,¹ William of Namur,² and Thomas, Bishop of Toul;³ King John at Luxembourg,⁴ and Meraud,⁵ and the Emperor at Aachen seem to show both phases. John's earlier issues⁶ are those on which he is undisguisedly *Johannes dei gratia*—his late ones are reserved for treatment with these late comers, below. Notice how the Lorraine group is already showing the tendency for the field to move south again—a tendency more marked in the coming period, at Aachen and Schöneck we are once more in what is now Germany. Another foretaste is the insidious tendency towards mere forgery and deception, to which I shall return in the final phase (after 1330), which I am treating by itself. Already John of Flanders at Arleux⁷ and Robert of Béthune at Ghent⁸ had prefixed their titles with EDL or EDH (possibly standing for "Edel" but really meant to disguise the coins as Edward's). Robert produced another oddity in a Scottish-type sterling,⁹ only paralleled by a unique coin of Ferry of Lorraine.¹⁰

My summing up of the whole evolution of the Netherlandish sterling is one of an ever-widening field, radiating from Namur in several waves: (a) perhaps about 1290 (bare-heads); (b) 1293 to 1305 or earlier ("rosarii"); (c) c. 1310 to c. 1320 ("innocent" crowned heads); and (d) c. 1335 to c. 1345 (and in places later?) ("deceptive" crowned heads), which opens another chapter.

I will attempt to put this evidence into its historical perspective, before the advent of Edward III, but not to unravel here the whole long story of the political and economic intrigues of Edward I.¹¹ In brief, however, they do not really get going until about 1293—just before all English merchants were ordered to leave Dordrecht for Brabant, the Rhine for the Schelde.¹² (The Dordrecht sterlings likely date from this interval.) These *entretiens* reach a climax in the military and financial help rendered to Gui of Flanders in 1297, coupled with a deliberate encouragement of the export of wool, with which the English weavers could no longer cope. They drag out into the next reign with less dignity and success, and in 1313 we have the first sign

¹ Arnold (1331–65), Ch., Pl. XIII, 2–3 (spelt "ERNWLDVS", a "deception").

² (1337–91), Ch., Pl. VI, 2–3.

³ (1330–53), Ch., Pl. XVI, 5, 6 and Pl. II, 6.

⁴ Ch., Pl. XIV, 6–11.

⁵ Ch., Pl. XV, 2.

⁶ Principally at Meraud (a castle, apparently the same as Poilvache), but this mint was operating as late as 1342 (*v. i.*, Mary of Artois).

⁷ This is the only "deceptive" coin from Boyton, *v. s.*

⁸ *v. E. & S.*, p. 1089, "MONETA GARDES", Ch., Pl. III, 6.

⁹ *E. & S.*, fig. 1686; Ch., Pl. III, 5.

¹⁰ *v. Num. Chron.*⁵ xv, p. 208.

¹¹ A numismatic sidelight may be seen in the deliberate refounding of Kingston-upon-Hull and the almost immediate opening of a mint (1300–) in the new North Sea port. Edward's original treaty with Gui and his many sons is now on exhibition at the Public Record Office.

¹² *v. Lipson*, *op. cit.*, p. 551.

of a reaction. The Staple was then moved temporarily to St. Omer and there again in 1320 for five years (the halt of six years may be significant): finally it was moved back to England in 1326¹ and the isolation policy was complete. This fits the coins nicely. The Edwardian sterlings spread with the increasing interest in Flanders from about 1293, and stop soon after the withdrawal of 1320. Holland is in the picture for a moment and then drops out, not only because of trade desertion, but because she continued to strike on an old light standard, abolished in Brabant after the sterling "invasion". But on these the Hollanders had periodically imitated English and Scottish design since the short-cross period.² The latest examples, the so-called "Köpken" (Pl. II, 13),³ were actually themselves copied outside Holland.

Before going on to Edward III I will mention four minor regions of sterling-emission. Firstly, the now attenuated Rhenish line. The powerful Electoral Archbishops, Henry of Cologne (Pl. II, 11)⁴ and Baldwin of Trier (Pl. II, 12),⁵ took up the same standard with eccentric and unambiguous types of their own, Henry a strange hybrid of the Irish obverse and Scottish reverse; Baldwin, after a more orthodox type, adopted a cross-keys design. I do not ask the tempting question "Why Irish, except to be different?"—Irish coins reached Germany as early as the Hildesheim find. The whole business was probably a short experiment. The real contribution of Cologne is to come in the "Groat" movement—but, as in Aquitaine (*v. infra*), the twelve-pellet reverse lingers at Cologne until the end of the fourteenth century.

Deeper in Germany we have other isolated survivals: Büren⁶ and Helmershausen,⁷ still in Westphalia, showed Edwardian features early in the fourteenth century. And far away in Silesia we have the strange bare-head sterlings of Glogau,⁸ as enigmatic as the CRUX pennies of Prague, recalled above.

The third channel is the far north. This time it is not Denmark but Norway. The connexion is probably through Scotland, where a Norwegian "maid" was left heiress to Alexander's throne, but the copying is more after the English type. There is something Edwardian about the sterlings of Magnus,⁹ and certainly about his successor's, Eric the Priest-hater (Pl. II, 14).¹⁰ That is to say, the connexion dates from the prosperous Alexandrine days before 1285. Eric's brother, Haakon, strikes a Scottish profile type as "dux".¹¹ H. Holst, in his catalogue of Norwegian hoards,¹² quotes only three from the period, but one (Harnoj) is significant. It reads like a native English one—

¹ *v. Lipson, op. cit.*, p. 556.

² E. & S., figs. 1123, 1124.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 631. Julich is the chief imitator.

⁴ (1306-32), Ch., Pl. xxiv, 3-4; E. & S., fig. 1804.

⁵ (1307-54), Ch., Pl. xxiii, 1-3; E. & S., figs. 1108-9.

⁶ E. & S., fig. 1143.

⁷ E. & S., fig. 1144.

⁸ E. & S., fig. 1363.

⁹ (1263-80), Ch., Pl. xxxiii, 2-3.

¹⁰ (1280-99), Ch., Pl. xxxiii, 4-5; E. & S., fig. 1345.

¹¹ E. & S., fig. 1346.

¹² *Nordisk. Num. Aarskrift*, xxi (1940).

145 Edwards, with a few Henrys, two Scots, a Porcien, and a John the Blind. These are relics of a brief, bright interlude in the dark history of the north, but they have a strange succession. The old Edwardian type remained in Sweden on many of the ortugs (Pl. II, 16, "St. Eric")¹ throughout the later fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, the secondary prototype being apparently the Norwegian pieces; witness a politically non-committal issue in the name of "St. Eric" dating from the civil strife of the later fifteenth century.

The last is merely mentioned *honoris causa*—it belongs properly to the "Westerlings"—Edward II's three-quarter-face sterlings of Aquitaine and the coinage of the Black Prince illustrate the persistency of the sterling type in that area. Geographically it almost links up with the most remote of the Eastern series, the strange "Julius Caesar" sterlings of Sancerre,² outliers of the southward movement in the 1310's or 1320's (at least there was one at Boyton). The "perpetual dictator" wears his "kingly crown", but the sterling-head has denied him the beard usually given him by medieval artists.

I can now pick up the Netherlandish thread, with Edward III. First of all, the last wave of sterlings, which begins in the 1330's and clearly takes us beyond 1334 or if not 1351 (Berghaus seems to stop the series too early). Some of them are plain forgeries, others have the real inscription masked by the first few letters of "Edward" as a prefix. The offenders lie largely in the enemies' camp. John the Blind is the chief. His most curious production is the **EIWANES** penny (Pl. II, 7),³ of which there are many varieties—all apparently from Luxembourg itself. The **W** has been explained as an Omega (we have also "**E-BWEMIE**")⁴ or a Slavonic spelling (? Ivan), but merely copies that of *Edwardus*: there are other schemes for disguising the inscription, but all of them seem to be roughly contemporary with the pleasing varieties struck by the Emperor with the imperial eagle in one quarter (Pl. II, 8),⁵ and to date from the last decade or so of their reigns. John's issues are the perfidious "Lushbournes" (i.e. Luxemburgers) that were the subject of legislation around 1350.⁶ To import them to England was a hanging offence. Other nuisances were William of Namur,⁷ whose enmities we shall meet again—all his issues date from 1337 or later, and some look very late and again have the "masking-letters" (Pl. II, 10): the lady Mary of Artois (1342-53)⁸ and Thomas of Toul⁹ (1330-53) both come well within this late orbit, while Charles IV apparently struck as Emperor, after 1355, at Aachen.¹⁰ Except at Namur, where I would place the beginning and ending of the whole pseudo-Edwardian series, we are outside the

¹ Ch., Pl. xxxiii, 9; *v. Copenhagen Guide*, p. 9.

² *v.s.*

³ Ch., Pl. xiv, 6-11, xv, 4-5.

⁴ Ch., Pl. xv, 7.

⁵ Ch., Pl. xxii, 6. Notice also the anonymous Aachen series with the inscription from the sequence *Urbs Aquensis, Urbs regalis, Regni sedes principalis*. (Quoted in Pertz's *Eginhard*.)—Ch., Pl. xxii, 7, 8.

⁶ *v. Brooke*, op. cit., p. 126.

⁷ Ch., Pl. vi, 2, 3.

⁸ Ch., Pl. vi, 1, at Meraud (Poilvache).

⁹ *v.s.*; Pl. ii, 6.

¹⁰ If Chautard is right: I have never seen the coin. Ch., Pl. xxii, 6.

Netherlands and in the Moselle area. This is the painful end of the sterlings' tale. They are instruments of the enemies of England, to possess which is death!

The story might end here; silver is now ceasing to be the international medium, but there is a postscript which broaches the difficult problem of the beginning of the new English "stater"—the Edwardian groat. The old Edwardian sterling had passed at three to the gros tournois. The petit-gros of the lower Netherlands was worth two. The last and finest of the Tournois variations was the magnificent and still plentiful groat of Waleran, Archbishop of Cologne (1332-49) (Pl. II, 18). The reverse is Tournois, the cross is confined to the innermost circle, the head is of sterling derivation, and the cusping or tressure is the sign-manual of a new series. In spite of its multiplicity, we know that the issue began as late as September 1342.¹

Mr. D. F. Allen has recently elucidated the next stages.² He has demonstrated the logical sequence of the two disputed petit-gros issues³ in which the Edwardian bust replaces the archbishop and the cross reaches the second circle—I mean the anonymous groats of Antwerp and Brussels, and the league-coinage of John the Blind, Adolf de la Marck, Bishop of Liège, and William of Namur, reading **MONETA RO STRA NAMVRCIENSIS**, and now shown to be the earlier. The possible termini of this alliance-groat are 1337 and 1345—while the anonymous coins are definitely and chronologically demonstrated *not* to be coinage of Edward III as Vicar of the Empire between 1338 and 1340—an explanation that had unfortunately become "traditional". Already Victor Tourneur had said as much, when he discussed the question in the *Transactions* of the International Numismatic Congress, 1936,⁴ and such a coinage, according to Froissart, was expressly in the Emperor's name. In any case typologically these groats offer a continuation of the Colnish frame and the English head and seem an obvious prototype for the revised English quadruple-sterling groat of 1351, which differs widely from that of Edward I and takes the cross a circle farther to the edge. The successive issues are now all brought into quite a short period of time (1342, c. 1343-5, 1351). The relevant point for our subject is that the English groat is by descent a Rhenish and Flemish coin of true Easterling stock.

Once established, the new groat played little further part in the eastward procession. Suffice it to say that after the Staple was moved to Calais in 1361, to remain there throughout the fifteenth century, a mint was established there on two occasions and maintained the old association of silver and wool, which leads one to suggest that the silver gained by the sale of wool was always open to the possibilities of fraudulent manipulation at the place of Staple. The Flemish lords

¹ Jesse, *Quellenbuch*, no. 201.

² *B.N.J.* xxv. 125.

³ Both illustrated with Tourneur's article (*v.i.*), *T.I.N.C.*, Pl. xxi, 4, 5, 7, 8, 9 = Ch., Pl. vi, 7.

⁴ *T.I.N.C.*, pp. 334 ff. "Prétendu Monnayage d'Edouard III en Brabant."

said they would see the English were paid in sterling, but in fact in their own deficient sterling. For a year or two after the transfer of the Staple, following the Treaty of Brétigny, there were hopes of re-establishing the peaceful Anglo-Flemish traffic of the early fourteenth century. In fact, that is why the Staple was concentrated in Calais. At the latter date the Staple entered on a new lease of life: the Treaty of Troyes had been facilitated by the succession of the Anglophile Philip to the Flanders-Burgundian throne and was followed by a vigorous resumption of the wool trade.

At its first opening the Calais mint had principally devoted itself to gold. It seems that payments for raw exports were largely expected in gold after about 1350 (thenceforward English coins in foreign hoards are generally gold¹) and it was in the previous decade that English, Flemish, and German princes began to coin gold in quantity,² having previously relied on French or Italian issues.

The final incident is that the gold noble suffered the same disease that the silver had previously undergone. Popularity led to fraudulent and debased imitations and also to illegal export.³ Another Waleran of Ligny is already striking official imitations before 1415.⁴ In fact the English reduction of 1412 was partly to counteract the desire to export the heavier genuine nobles. I will not attempt to unravel all the vicissitudes of the noble type in the Netherlands throughout the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries (until the English troops in the struggle of the Dutch Republic in the 1590's found the pseudo-Edwardian rose-noble still the standard currency there after 100 years of exile), but will return again later to one more phase of it, its use by the Emperor Maximilian. Here it will suffice to show that it followed geographically the same eastern trail of its predecessors. Beside the field countermarks of the Dutch wars,⁵ it carried commercial countermarks at about the same period, from the Hanseatic counters of Danzig and Riga.⁶ It even passed into Russia. This distribution, immobilization of type, and long currency are more reminiscent of the fate of the Æthelred pennies than of any other species we have noticed. In fact, the spurious and genuine rose-nobles still passed in the eastward passage until well into the seventeenth century. The occasional issue of official ryals seems to cater for this demand rather than a home one, though we know them chiefly by their Dutch usage. The Elizabethan issues stop in 1592. A policy of economic self-sufficiency came to its climax with the closing of the Hanseatic Steelyard in 1598⁷

¹ e.g. Eeckeren (nr. Antwerp, *Rev. Belge*, 1923, pp. 99 ff.; 1924, pp. 236 ff.), c. 1380. Holst (op. cit.) quotes two such from Norway.

² We have recently heard a minute examination of this practice—the Golden Age of imitation—by Prof. H. Van Werveke.

³ Mr. A. Thompson's various studies (*Num. Chron.* ⁶ i. 138 ff. and *B.N.J.* xxv. 183 ff.) have shown how high the proportion of copies is among the existing nobles and ryals.

⁴ E. & S., fig. 1667.

⁵ A. Thompson, *B.N.J.* xxv (v.s.), Pl. B, fig. 4.

⁶ Ibid., figs. 1 and 2.

⁷ The order came on 13 Jan. 1597-8; the evacuation was to be complete by 25 July 1598. See Philip Norman, "Notes on the Later History of the Steelyard in London", in *Archæologia*, lxi, pp. 389 ff.

and the reopening under James I in 1606 coincided with the brief reappearance of the ryal for a decade or so. These are the last signs of an economic complex now thoroughly obsolete. The bullion distribution of Europe was completely altered after the discovery of the New World. Flanders and the Rhineland permanently, and Holland temporarily, were losing their manufacturing monopoly and sinking into chaos and tutelage. England was beginning to make for herself the things that she had almost invariably imported hitherto, and to take the remains of another trade, that of the Russia Company, into her own hands. The trail became a backwater after nearly a thousand years.

To end, I shall quote a few tokens of a trend contrary to my main theme: the typological influence of Flanders on Britain rather than vice versa. Scotland was always more ready to accept foreign coinage than England, which explains what a cursory comparison will show—the thoroughly Flemish design of fifteenth- and sixteenth-century Scottish “placks”—while to return to the question of the nobles, it is in the Netherlands that we find the prototype of the Henrican sovereign, the “Grand Ryal” of the Emperor Maximilian, who married “Burgundy” and all her appurtenances (Pl. II, 19). This was first issued in 1487.¹ Henry VII issued his in 1489.² King Hans of Denmark followed with a similar piece in 1496.³ Like the English piece, the Maximilian sovereign was a double noble (or lesser ryal) and had a half-denomination depicting the Emperor in a ship. From 1489, with the disastrous interlude of the Warbeck incident, Henry VII undertook a vigorous commercial policy, culminating in the “Magnus Intercursus” (subject: Wool) with the Duke of Burgundy in 1496, but not concerned with the Burgundian Netherlands alone. Denmark was to be brought into the same orbit by a treaty of 1489, and even Riga had preferential treatment to wean her merchants from the Hansard sway. This was the vindication of a policy in which England was to call the tune, in contrast to the rather servile concessions of Edward IV to his Burgundian and Hanseatic partisans.⁴ It is the last phase in the 1,000-year cycle, and marking, as it does, the effective beginning of the rose-noble domination of the north, presents the same symptoms as those of the Æthelred pennies and the sterlings. In each of these periods England is bound up in an orbit that bestrides the North Sea and the Baltic, and is at once the loser in bullion and the gainer in manufacturing power and complexity of culture.

What are the permanent factors of this cycle? I think I can justly tabulate the following:

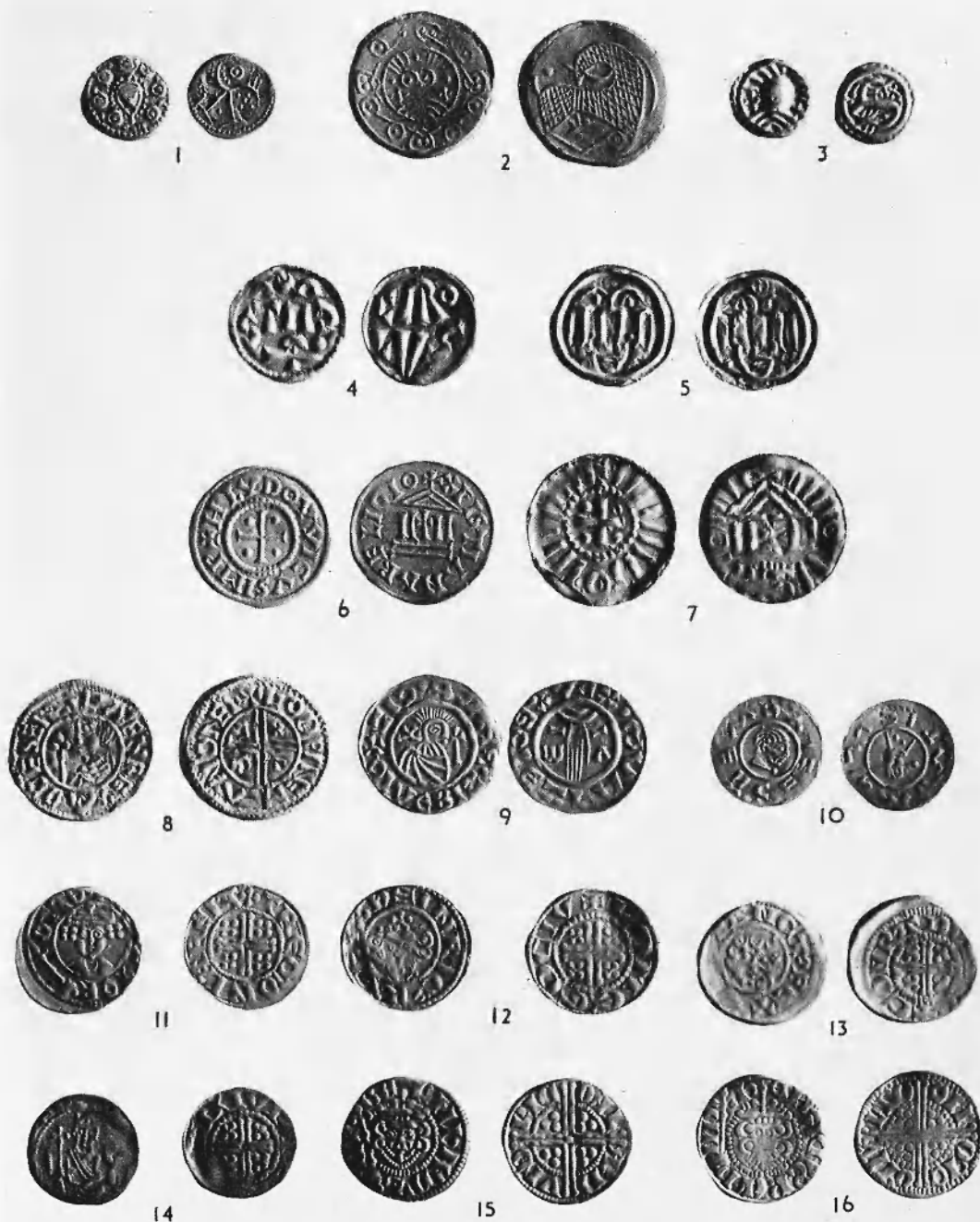
1. The perennial association of English coin and English wool.

¹ E. & S., fig. 1777.

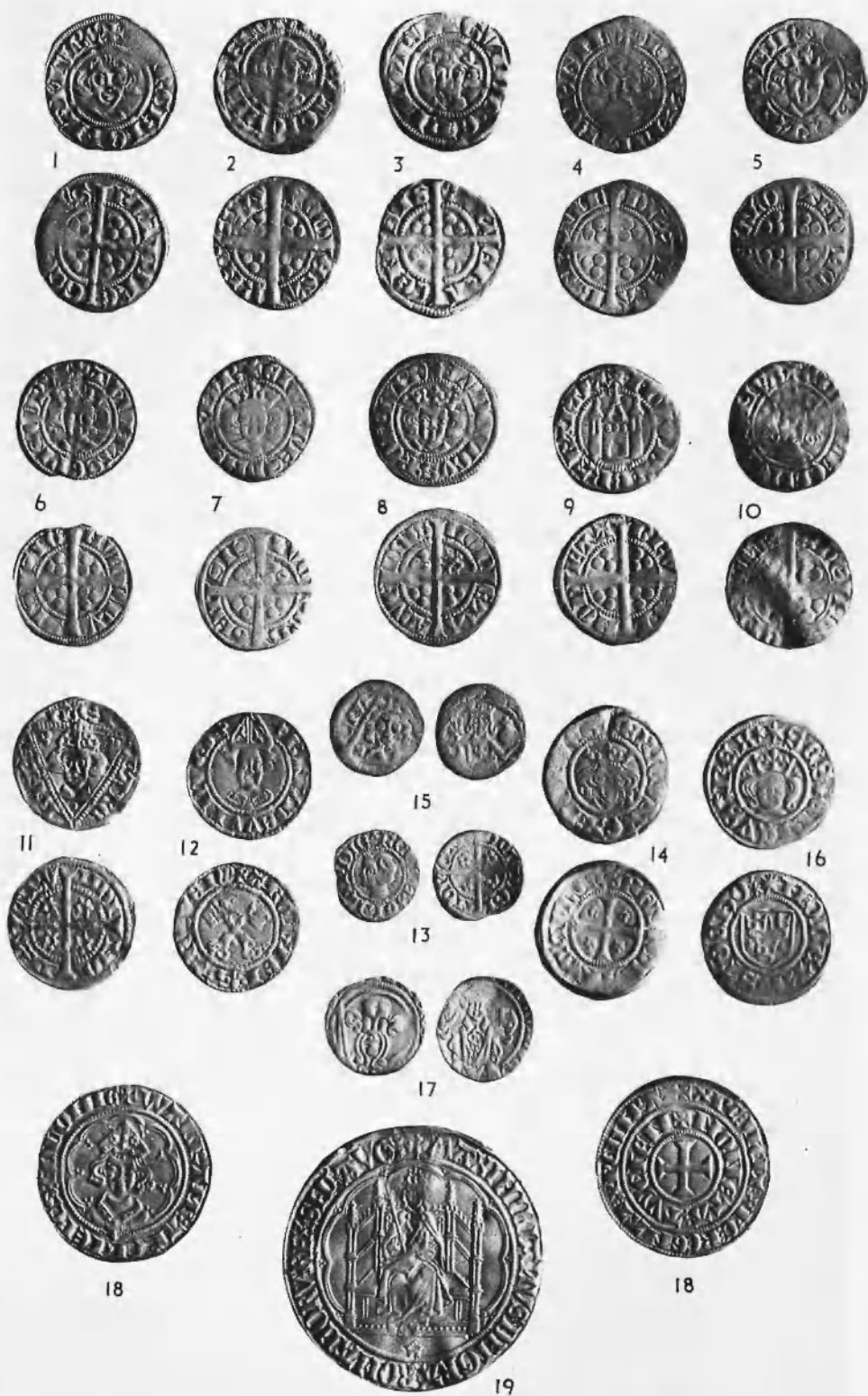
² Brooke, op. cit., Pl. xxxvi, 1.

³ E. & S., fig. 1870.

⁴ For the English content of Netherlandish gold-hoards, cf. the following: Eecloo (*R.B.* 1892, p. 474), c. 1431–50; Tilburg (*R.B.* 1894, p. 547), c. 1455–61; Zandvoorde (*R.B.* 1908, p. 254), c. 1482; Nederheim (*R.B.* 1865, pp. 361 ff.), c. 1480; Ath. (*Gaz. Num.*, Oct. 1900, p. 36), c. 1490; Hainault (*R.B.* 1923), c. 1515–20; Amersfoort (*Tijdschr.* iv. 193), 1530; Termonde (*R.B.* 1927, pp. 148 ff.), c. 1562–3 (all chiefly Edwardian and Henrican nobles).



INFLUENCE OF ENGLISH COIN TYPES IN EUROPE



INFLUENCE OF ENGLISH COIN TYPES IN EUROPE

2. The perpetual connexion of English coin with the Netherlands and/or the Baltic and Lower Saxony except during two periods when preoccupation with France and German assertiveness partially closed the channel, viz. 1053 to 1207 and c. 1365 to 1400.
 3. The immense importance of the river systems and the Schleswig isthmus.
 4. The surprising parallelism between the behaviour of the coins and the documentary evidence of political and economic activity. The following is a summary:
- | | | | |
|------------------|--|--------------|---|
| c. 980-1052 | Warlike and peaceful penetration of north | c. 980-1052 | A.-S. coins in N. Europe. |
| 1207-16 | John supports Otto IV | ? c. 1215 | First Westphalian sterlings. |
| 1223-40 | Henry III's German policy | { c. 1223-45 | Westphalian short-cross sterlings. |
| | | { c. 1223-40 | English coins in Westphalia. |
| 1257-72 | Richard King of Romans | c. 1250-60 | Westphalian long-cross sterlings. |
| | | c. 1270 | Frisian long-cross imitations. |
| | | 1282-3 | ? First "rosarii" in Brabant and "bare heads" at Namur. |
| 1293 ff. | English pressure on Flanders | c. 1293 ff. | Large issue of "rosarii". |
| | | c. 1310 | Issue of "crowned" sterlings. |
| 1320 | Staple at St. Omer | c. 1320-5 | Cessation of crowned sterlings. |
| 1326 | Staple in England | | |
| 1335-8 | English pressure on Flanders resumed, leading to 100 Years War | c. 1335 | Resumption of crowned sterlings. |
| 1360 | Treaty of Brétigny } | 1363 | Mint at Calais opened. |
| 1361 | Staple at Calais } | | |
| 1420 | Treaty of Troyes | 1422 | Mint at Calais reopened. |
| c. 1496-1506 ff. | Commercial treaties of Henry VII | 1487 | Sovereign coinage. |
| 1598 | Closing of Steelyard | { 1592 | Cessation of ryal coinage. |
| | | { 1595-6 | Cessation of sovereign coinage. |
| 1606 | Reopening of Steelyard | 1605-6 | Resumption of ryal and sovereign coinage. |

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