THE SALUTES OF HENRY VI

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I. Origin, design, and mint-marks

The subject of this paper is the reconsideration of the salutes of Henry VI. These were the principal gold coins struck in his name after his accession to the throne of France in 1422; they formed the greater part of the gold in circulation in Lancastrian France during the twenty-seven years of English rule. A smaller gold coin, the angelot, in value two-thirds of a salute, was also struck, but the issues were small and infrequent, and they will not be dealt with in this paper.

The salutes of Henry VI were struck at ten mints situated throughout the northern part of France. Each of these was under local control, but the dies for the coinage were manufactured in Paris and an examination of the punches used reveals that they can be divided into two well-defined and coherent groups.

Some preliminaries first. The name salute refers to the iconography of the obverse which shows the Annunciation. As regards the previous history of the coin, a salute was struck in both gold and silver by Charles I (of Anjou) King of Naples (1256-85) and by his son Charles II (1285-1309). The obverse of these salutes shows the archangel Gabriel on the left and the Virgin on the right, both standing, while between them is a vase containing a lily. The reverse bears a shield with the royal arms, Jerusalem and Anjou impaled.

The first French salutes were gold coins struck in 1419 in the name of Charles VI. In 1420 Henry of England, Charles's son-in-law, struck similar coins in Normandy.

On the salute of Charles VI a crowned shield bearing the royal arms is placed upon the obverse and the angel and the Virgin stand on either side of it, rather like heraldic supporters. The vase with the lily is omitted, but above the shield a scroll is introduced and written on it is the word Ave, the first word of the angel's salutation (whence the name of the coin), while rays of light descend from above.

For the reverse a completely new design was prepared. A Latin cross occupies the centre of the field, flanked by two fleurs-de-lis and with a large letter K at its foot. The field is surrounded by a treasure of arches pointed with small fleurs-de-lis. This was adapted for the salutes of Henry V by substituting the letter h for K at the foot of the cross and a leopard or lion passant for the sinister fleur-de-lis in the field.

1 For the history of the coinage the primary work of reference is F. de Saulcy's Histoire numismatique de Henri V et Henri VI rois d'Angleterre pendant qu'ils ont regné en France, Paris, Van Peteghem, 1878 (cited as De Saulcy in what follows). The largest groups of illustrations of salutes of Henry VI are to be found in two recent sale catalogues, 'Tresor de l'abbaye Sainte Trinite de la Luzerne', Paris, Hotel Drouot, 12 April 1969, and 'Tresor de l'Abbe Philippe de Saint Pierre', Hotel Drouot, 9 March 1970. These were portions of a single hoard deposited between 1449 and 1452 at the Abbaye Sainte Trinite and discovered during restoration work there in 1968. The first sale contained 24 salutes and 2 angelots, with 8 French regal pieces, making a total of 34 gold coins, while the second sale contained 60 salutes and 2 angelots with 9 French regal pieces, a total of 71 coins making 105 in all.

2 CNI xix, Charles I p. 13, pl. ii, no. 6; ibid., Charles II p. 15, pl. ii, no. 8.

3 J. Lafaurie, Les Monnaies des rois de France, vol. i, p. 53 and pl. xxiii, no. 413.

4 Lafaurie, op. cit., p. 91 and pl. xxix, no. 437.
The choice of the salute therefore for the gold coinage of Henry VI followed naturally from the coinage of his father and his grandfather.

The design of the salute of Henry VI, nevertheless, shows considerable modification on the obverse. In place of the single shield, two uncrowned shields were placed side by side. The sinister shield bore the arms of France and England quarterly, the dexter the arms of France alone.

The juxtaposition of two shields, symbolizing the coming together of two inheritances, occurs also upon the coins of Philip the Bold, the first Valois Duke of Burgundy, and of his successors. Philip became count of Flanders in right of his wife Margaret, and coins with the shields of Burgundy and Flanders side by side were struck by him and by his son John the Fearless and his grandson Philip the Good. The political significance of this precedent is that it was the support and influence of Burgundy which enabled the English to maintain their ascendancy in France.

At the time of the invasion of Normandy by Henry V, the kingdom of France was split into two factions which had remained irreconcilable since the murder of Louis, Duke of Orleans, in 1407. These factions were the Armagnacs, who controlled the south and west, and the Burgundians who controlled the north and east. The English negotiated with both sides but eventually allied themselves with Burgundy, which seemed to be in the stronger position, a judgement which was confirmed when in 1418 John the Fearless occupied Paris with the consent of the citizens. The kingdom of France to which Henry VI succeeded, therefore, was actually an Anglo-Burgundian kingdom not an Anglo-French one, and we shall find that Henry's coinage also is organizationally Anglo-Burgundian.

From the heraldic standpoint the twin shields on the salute are slightly curious, since the English arms were already quartered with France by Edward III and in succeeding to the crown of France Henry VI was only acquiring what his coat of arms already claimed. The heraldry of the twin shields seems to emphasize his double claim, the original one through Edward III and the more immediate one through his mother and the Treaty of Troyes. It seems that by 1420 Edward III's quartering of France with England was a matter as much of tradition as of serious political claim. The ordinance of 6 September 1423 simply states that the coins will be struck 'with the arms of France and England'.

The effect of placing two shields in the lower half of the field was to cut off the figures of the angel and the Virgin at the waist, and to require their being placed closer together. This improves the balance of the design by filling the upper half of the field and bringing the figures into closer relation. At the same time they were transposed, the Virgin now being put on the left, while the scroll was moved from the horizontal to the vertical so as to hang between the two figures.

The design is completed by a mint-mark at the top of the coin immediately below which are five rays (representing the Holy Ghost) shining downwards. The outer circle is filled by the legend: **HENRICVS: DEI: GRA: FRACORV: Z: ANGLIE: REX.**

The first salute of Henry VI was ordered on 6 February 1423; it was to be struck at 65 to the mark, a weight of 64-5 grains each, the same as the salute of Henry V. No salute of Henry VI of this weight has ever been found; probably none was struck.

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2. De Saulcy, pp. 28 and 30.
The first salutes that survive, and which I will therefore call the first issue of Henry VI, were struck under the second order dated 6 September 1423.¹ This provided for salutes to be struck at 70 to the mark (58 grains each). However, the specimens I have examined are generally below this; those that I have weighed of various mints have shown weights of up to 54 grains, very rarely more. It seems that the actual practice of the mints was to strike salutes about equal in weight to the English half-noble. This equation is indirectly confirmed by the provision in the order of 6 September 1423 that salutes should be current for 22s. 6d. tournois, the rate which was fixed for the half-noble in a decree of 22 June 1423.²

On his accession under the Treaty of Troyes, Henry VI was acknowledged as King of France by three parts of the country, by Normandy, by the city of Paris, and by those provinces in the north and east which were under the control of Philip the Good, who was a signatory to the Treaty. It followed that close co-operation with Burgundy was essential if the English position was to be maintained.

The regent of France for Henry VI was John, Duke of Bedford, one of the king's uncles. He had fought under Henry V, whose policy he understood and continued. Indeed, he drew even closer the links that bound England to Burgundy by marrying Philip the Good's sister, and in 1422 he even offered Philip the regency, which Philip declined. Maybe the Duke of Burgundy wished to keep his freedom to change sides if circumstances should make that desirable. However, after his refusal of the regency he remained loyal to the Treaty and the alliance worked well on the whole. The existing officials who, except in Normandy, were Burgundian appointees, remained in office. Perhaps as a consequence of this the new government did little to reform the administration or to correct its many deficiencies. However, in the sphere of the currency the regent and the Duke of Burgundy did deliberately adopt the policy of having a stable and uniform coinage.

They set about this by organizing central control of the various royal mints scattered through their territories. Headquarters were established at Paris, where there was a maistre général³ over all the mints, responsible to the regency council. A single exception was made for the mint of Dijon which was autonomous, being situated within the duchy of Burgundy.

The majority of the mints were not newly founded but were already in existence. In using them the regent followed the traditional French practice. In the reign of Charles VI there were normally some twenty royal mints in operation striking a uniform coinage, each using its distinctive privy mark.⁴ The system of marking, which consisted in principle of a pellet under a different letter of the legend for each mint, had been taken over by Henry V. When he struck coins at Rouen they were marked with a pellet under the twentieth letter.⁵

After the accession of Henry VI the system was reorganized. The maistre général at Paris was given control of all the thirteen mints which struck in Henry's name. Of these three struck silver. It is with the ten mints which struck gold that this paper will be concerned.

An order was made on 12 December 1422,⁶ by which each mint was allotted a mark

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of heraldic character which was placed at the head of the legend on obverse and reverse. The following list gives the marks of the ten mints which struck gold:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Mint</th>
<th>Mark</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Paris</td>
<td>crown</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Amiens</td>
<td>paschal lamb</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dijon</td>
<td>vernicle</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rouen</td>
<td>leopard (lion passant)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>St. Lô</td>
<td>lis</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Auxerre</td>
<td>mill rind</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>St. Quentin</td>
<td>mullet</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Troyes</td>
<td>rose</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Châlons</td>
<td>crescent</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Le Mans</td>
<td>root</td>
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</tbody>
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The old method of placing a pellet in the legend was not entirely abandoned, but was now used as a privy mark to denote a change of masters at a mint. Each mint had a separate staff under the control of its own master, who was appointed locally and with his guarantors and officers was responsible for the manufacture and for the weight and fineness of the coins issued from his mint.

The appointment of a local mint-master was for one year only and at the year’s end the office was put up for auction to the highest bidder who could provide the necessary guarantors. This was the normal practice for such appointments. The annual change of masters involved closure of the mint for stock-taking and inspection pending the renewal of the appointment or a change of master. In most cases there was a change of master and a privy mark was added to the coins of the succeeding issues. The maistre général in Paris could thus readily establish responsibility for any faults of striking, weight, or fineness which might be discovered in the trials of the samples submitted.

This system enables us to distinguish between the successive issues at each mint. However, only for Rouen are the documents available which enable us to identify these issues. We are therefore in a position to identify only the first issue from each mint, namely the issue without a privy mark (see below, p. 71), and to make a comparison between the mints on the basis only of the first issue. For a subsequent detailed history, we are restricted to Rouen. The Appendix to this paper sets out in detail the various issues, but it does not pretend to give them in chronological order.

II. *The First Issue salutes of Henry VI and their mints*

Rather than treat the mints one at a time, I propose to make a comparative study of the first issue of salutes for each mint.

We know that the mints of Henry VI were centrally controlled from Paris and, although the documents are incomplete, it is reasonable to suppose that the dies for the various mints were issued from there. An exception has, however, to be made in the case of Dijon, where the Duke of Burgundy had his own die-maker, by name Jehan Dast. The exceptional position of Dijon can best be explained by reference to the political situation of the duchy of Burgundy.

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1 De Sauley, p. 18 n. 2.
2 De Sauley, p. 20.
3 De Sauley, pp. 22 and 40.
4 De Sauley, p. 50.
In 1361, the Duke of Burgundy dying leaving no heir, the duchy escheated to the Crown of France. King John II of France then conferred it upon his youngest son, Philip the Bold, as an appanage. Later Philip the Bold married Margaret, heiress of Louis de Maele, Count of Flanders, and through her he inherited various territories including the county of Burgundy, later known as Franche Comté. These enlarged dominions were in due course inherited by his grandson, Philip the Good (1419–67) with whose coinage we are concerned here. In his time Burgundy had two mints, one at Dijon and the other at Auxonne. Their status was different. The Dijon mint was technically royal, being situated in the duchy conferred on Philip's grandfather in 1361. The Auxonne mint was in the county of Burgundy which technically, as a fief of the empire, was outside French jurisdiction. Consequently the coins struck at Dijon were in the name of the King of France. The coins struck at Auxonne were in the duke's own name.

In the reign of Philip the Good therefore, in spite of suggestions to the contrary, there is no possibility that salutes in the name of Henry VI could have been struck at Auxonne. Indeed no gold coins of any kind were struck at Auxonne during the time of Henry VI although silver coins of the mint are known. These are grand blancs of the same style as those of Henry VI but with PhilipVS DVX in place of HERICVS REX, a lion rampant in place of the lion passant on the reverse and the juxtaposed shields of Burgundy ancient and Burgundy modern in place of those of France and England. The mint-mark is a pellet under the first letter of the legend; grand blancs are known of other mints in the county of Burgundy with a variety of mint-marks based on the same principle.

The control exercised from Paris over the mint at Dijon was at first merely nominal, though it seems that later the regent tried to tighten it and to bring Dijon into the general system. The independence of the design of the Dijon salutes can be seen at once if we look at the punches used for the figures of the Virgin and the angel (Plate I, 23). The Virgin bows with her hands crossed over her breast and the angel is in profile and points to the scroll with his forefinger. On the salutes of other mints it is the Virgin who points.

Apart from Dijon there remain the nine mints which came under the control of Paris, and in order to determine which of these participated in the first issue we must examine their known coins. The earliest should be those with no privy mark in the legend, since such a mark denoting a change of mint-master would not have been needed on the initial issue. The majority of the coins of the nine mints which bear no privy mark have pellet stops on the obverse. One exception, St. Quentin, has saltire stops and thus falls outside the group; it will be dealt with later. In the case of Amiens, which has several dies with no privy mark, I have taken the single die with pellet stops as being of the first issue.

A comparison of the punches used for the Virgin and the angel and for the wording on the scroll enables us to divide the eight mints into two groups. The first group includes Paris (the salute of Pierre de Landes), Amiens, Auxerre, Troyes, and Chalons. The dies from all of these have been made from the same punches, and although we have no record the assumption must be that they were made in Paris and distributed from there. The characteristics of this group I are set out in the Appendix.

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1 Hewlett, op. cit., p. 232.
2 Dieudonne, op. cit., p. 211 and pl. vi, no. 3.
3 Dieudonne, op. cit., p. 191.
4 R. C. Lockett sale, pt. iii (Continental), no. 44 (ill.).
The location of the five mints goes to confirm our placing them in a single group. They all lie north or east of Paris and were previously striking coins for Charles VI.1

In the case of group II we have records that the dies were sent from Paris.2 This group consists of Rouen, St. Lô, and Le Mans, all west of Paris in Normandy and Maine, provinces actually conquered by the English. This group, also, therefore is politically coherent.

The coins of group II are quite different from those of group I in the treatment and style of the Virgin and the angel. Their faces are rounder and fuller, less elegant but more realistic, while Gothic mannerism is entirely absent. Their characteristics are set out in the Appendix.

Since, as we have seen, the dies of group II were made in Paris we might expect to find a connection between the coins of this group and the Paris mint. We can do so, but not with the first Paris issue. On the second issue, however, that of Arnoulet Rame, appointed mint-master on 14 December 1423,3 the obverses show all the characteristics of group II. These are set out in detail in the Appendix.

It may be noted that while different punches were used for the dies of the two groups there is no discernible difference between them in the lettering of the legends.

It remains to consider the mint of St. Quentin. The coins of this mint are extremely rare. In fact I know of only two specimens, Hewlett’s coin, now in the British Museum, and my own. On these coins the figures of the Virgin and the angel are different from both those of group I and group II, though their strongly Gothic character relates them more to group I. It is noteworthy that St. Quentin lies in the group I area, and was a mint of Charles VI.

A further distinguishing feature of this group III, the full details of which are set out in the Appendix, is that it has saltire stops on the obverse and rosettes on the reverse whereas groups I and II have pellets on the obverse and star stops on the reverse.

Only two other mints have saltire stops on the obverse. One is Dijon, whose characteristics are in other respects so different that we have placed it by itself in group IV. The second is Amiens, where the second and later issues of salutes conform exactly to group III criteria (Plate I, 6). One of these4 is undoubtedly struck from dies made with the same punches as those used for St. Quentin.

The connection between St. Quentin and Amiens, which both lie on the river Somme only some forty miles apart, is confirmed by the records. Two mint-masters, Jehan de Breban and Pierre Grumeau, held office at different times at both mints.5

It appears that St. Quentin and Amiens began to strike salutes later than the mints of group I.

From this examination of the mints as a whole, it is clear that the dies were not issued haphazardly, but in distinct groups with the mint of Paris slipping from one group into the other when Arnoulet Rame was appointed master of the mint in place of Pierre de Landes on 14 December 1423. The coins of group III were first struck at least a year after the first issue of salutes of group I and correspond with the second issue of salutes of that group.

The grouping has a political as well as a geographical significance. The mints of group

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1 Lafaurie, op. cit., vol. i, p. 80.
2 De Saulcy, p. 22.
3 De Saulcy, p. 31.
4 R. D. Beresford-Jones, Anglo Gallic gold, p. 81, no. 571.
5 De Saulcy, pp. 114 and 115.
I and group III were under the control of the Duke of Burgundy, those of group II under the control of the regent, Bedford. Perhaps the transfer of Paris from the first to the second group may be read as having a political significance.

The longest lasting of the coinages is that which falls within group II. The mint of Rouen was the only one in continuous operation for the whole period of Henry VI's nominal reign in France and its records are unique in their completeness. For the other mints there is not enough evidence, numismatic or documentary, for a detailed history of the later issues. An Appendix showing the various issues will be found at the end of this paper. It remains to consider the very complete evidence which exists for the later history of the Rouen mint.

The salute of group II, which became the typical Rouen salute, can be traced originally to Paris.

It remains obscure whether there was any political significance in the appointment of Arnoulet Rame as mint-master at Paris and the simultaneous issue there of salutes of group II. There is only one documented instance of a political mint appointment at that period, namely that of Pierre le Clerc to the mint of Paris in December 1422 'for the notable services which he did in the past'. He was none other than the notorious Perri-net le Clerc who had opened the gates of Paris to the Burgundian faction in 1418. However, he was appointed as 'moneyer', not as master of the mint.

The succession leading up to Arnoulet Rame's appointment was as follows. The master in February 1423 was Regnault Turnery. He was imprisoned and replaced in October 1423 by Pierre de Landes, who was responsible for the first (group I) issue of Paris salutes. Less than three months later, in December 1423, Arnoulet Rame was appointed. He it was who produced the second Paris issue, corresponding to those salutes then first issued from the Normandy mints. He remained in office for nearly a year, then in 1424 was mentioned as 'lately master of the Paris mint'. After a short interval, in March 1425, Francorin Sac was appointed master, in charge of gold coinage only. Then in March 1426 Regnault Turnery, having been released from prison, took over from Sac.

We do not know whether Arnoulet's appointment was due to English influence. However, his group II salutes are as exceptional among the normal Paris coins as his name is intrusive in the alternation of Pierre de Landes and Reynault Turnery, who normally held office at the Paris mint in the years 1422-35.

At the Normandy mints, however, Arnoulet Rame's group II salute persisted for twenty-five years. Let us follow its course.

III. The salutes of Rouen

The striking of salutes at Rouen in the name of Henry VI can be divided into three periods:

(i) The early period from 1423 to 1433.
(ii) The period of Etienne Marcel's main output, from 1433 to 1444.

1 De Saulcy, p. 17. 5 De Saulcy, p. 38.
2 De Saulcy, p. 20. 6 De Saulcy, p. 42.
3 De Saulcy, p. 30. 7 De Saulcy, pp. 108-11.
(iii) The last period from 1444 to the closure of the mint in 1448.

There were three masters of the mint during the early period:¹

Robin Lambert, July–November 1423
George Bocquet, appointed 1424
Etienne Marcel, from April 1426

It is unlikely that any salutes were struck by Robin Lambert, since the coins were not ordered until September 1423. Consequently the coins with no privy mark can be attributed to George Bocquet. This conclusion is supported by the fact that he undertook on his appointment to strike 1,050 marks in gold,² which at seventy-five to the mark give a total of 78,750 salutes.

Etienne Marcel was ordered on his appointment to place an annulet enclosing a pellet as a privy mark under the last letter of the legend of all his salutes.³ But there is no record of his having struck salutes in the years 1426–33. This is presumably due to there being simultaneously a considerable output of salutes from the neighbouring mint of St. Lô. Elsewhere the eastern and southern mints were in production, and Paris was striking gold in large quantities.

The early period was not terminated by a change of master. On the contrary, Etienne Marcel, who had been reappointed annually for six years, was confirmed permanently in the post. This was unusual, since at most mints changes in mastership were frequent and often annual. He must have given satisfaction.

During the early period everything was going well for the English. The political alliance with Burgundy was working smoothly. The eastern and southern mints were in production, and Paris was striking gold in large quantities. A mint was opened at Le Mans in October 1425 to strike coins for the newly conquered territories.⁴ The new coinage circulated freely throughout the Anglo-Burgundian kingdom.

For the whole of the second period the mint of Rouen was under a single master, Etienne Marcel. Its output expanded, the total of the salutes for the eleven years 1433 to 1444 being recorded as 355,600.⁵ These salutes have the privy mark annulet enclosing pellet under the x of Rex and the T of Imperat, and this is by far the commonest Rouen privy mark found today.

The appointment of Etienne Marcel was formerly made by the maistre général in Paris but in April 1435 he was appointed en règle,⁶ that is directly under the government. Thus he continued in office until October 1444. When he gave up the place of master of the Rouen mint it was to become maistre général, though of the Normandy mints only, Paris and the eastern mints being by then in the hands of Charles VII.

The political background to this second period was one of deteriorating English fortunes. Bedford's wife, the daughter of Philip the Good, had died in 1432 and Burgundy began to negotiate with Charles VII. In 1433 at the conference of St. Omer the Dukes of Burgundy and Bedford refused to visit one another in spite of the mediation of Cardinal Beaufort. The alliance on which the English depended for their hold on Paris was breaking down. In 1435 it broke down; the Treaty of Arras was signed between France and Burgundy, and within a few days of that the Duke of Bedford died.

¹ De Saulcy, pp. 111-12.  ² De Saulcy, p. 34.  ³ Cf. De Saulcy, pp. 69-70 (document stating that Marcel used this privy mark on salutes 'pour tout le temps passé qu'il a esté maistre particulier de la monnoie de Rouen').  ⁴ De Saulcy, p. 39.  ⁵ De Saulcy, p. 64.
By 1435 the mints east of Paris had mostly ceased production, partly no doubt as a result of the successes of the French army's campaigns in Champagne. In the west Maine was lost. Le Mans ceased coining for Henry VI in 1432. It is not surprising therefore that the policy was to concentrate the striking of salutes at Rouen. In implementation of this policy the striking of gold was suspended at Paris by an order dated 19 February 1435.1

During the second period, therefore, it was necessary to expand the production at the Rouen mint. Annual figures are not available, so our further information must come from the coins themselves.

The Rouen salutes of this period are all derived from the second Paris (group II) issue. Indeed although Paris was not striking gold for most of the time, it may still have been supplying the dies since the earliest record of a die-maker at Rouen is in 1444.2 No privy marks other than that of Etienne Marcel are discoverable on any of the Rouen salutes of the second period, and there are no significant variations in the lettering used or in the stops. However, on the basis of the punches used for the figure of the Virgin, the coins can be divided into two classes. On coins of the first class the Virgin has a halo which only half encircles her head and is very close to it (as on salutes of the Paris second issue) whereas on coins of the second class the halo encircles her head completely. Class I must be presumed to be the earlier since it corresponds to salutes of the first (unmarked) Rouen issue.

Class I may be further subdivided into classes Ia and Ib as follows.

In class Ia the punches correspond to those used for the salutes of the first issue. The Virgin has a double-ringed halo half-way round her head, which lies close to the inner circle. The angel is nearly full face, and leans forward so that his cheek nearly touches the scroll.

In class Ib the Virgin’s halo, still double ringed, comes two-thirds of the way round her head, and there is a clear space between that and the inner circle. The face of the angel is in profile and he leans backwards, away from the scroll.

Class II may also be subdivided. In class IIa the single-ringed halo completely frames the Virgin’s head, not touching it at any point. The angel is in profile, his pose upright and very stiff; he is probably struck from the same punch as in class Ib, but the pose is different.

In class IIb the Virgin’s halo is similar to that in class IIa, but at some points it touches her hair. The angel is three-quarter face, leaning slightly forward and relaxed in his pose.

The reverses are more difficult to distinguish, though there is some difference in style between the reverses of classes I and II. On coins of class I the central cross is less graceful and its arms just slightly thicker than those of the cross on class II. The arms are also slightly shorter: 6-5-7 mm. for class I as compared with nearly 8 mm. on class II.

I have not found any differences as between the letter punches used in classes Ia and Ib. On the reverses of class II a slightly narrower Σ is used than in class I and there is a slight difference in the serifs of letter G. The most marked differences in lettering occur within class II. On some coins we find N for Σ and on others the letter π below the cross in place of Σ. However, these distinctions do not correspond to our classification of IIa and IIb.

1 De Saulcy, p. 67.  2 De Saulcy, p. 112.
Nevertheless, the fact that different punches were used for one figure or another on each of our four sub-classes does seem to point at least to four successive issues of obverse dies for the salute during the eleven years’ currency of Etienne Marcel’s privy mark.

This second period of coinage at Rouen was one of expansion of output and increased importance for the mint. In 1436 Paris surrendered to Charles VII. Thenceforward there was growing opposition to English rule and in 1437 there was a rising in Normandy, suppressed by Richard Duke of York. However, the commercial classes remained loyal to England; their trade probably benefited from the surrender of Paris and the consequent transfer of minting activity to Rouen. To the end of this period Normandy remained firmly under English control.

The third period of the Rouen mint begins with Etienne Marcel’s promotion to the post of maistre général on 1 October 1444 and ends with the closure of the mint in January 1449. Rouen was finally captured by the French in November 1449.

During this period of four years and a quarter there were three successive mint-masters under whom the mint remained in full production. We have some detailed figures for this period. It is recorded that between January and October 1445 80,600 salutes were struck. During the last two years, however, output fell to 17,000 per annum.¹

The first master after Etienne Marcel was Jacquet de Bresmes. He was appointed on 21 October 1444, but he only lasted a month. His privy mark was a star under the last letter of the legends. He struck 5,200 salutes, but I have not found one.

From January 1445 to November 1446 Guillaume le Monnier and Thomasin Erquant-bout were masters, either jointly or severally. They used the same privy mark throughout, namely a pellet under the penultimate letters of the legends. They struck 105,600 salutes.

From December 1446 to January 1449 the master was Pierre de Preaulx. His privy mark was a pellet within an annulet, the same as that of Etienne Marcel, but placed under the penultimate letters of the legends. He struck 34,200 salutes.

The closure of the mint in January 1449 was no doubt owing to the deteriorating military situation. In the course of its existence as a mint of Henry VI Rouen had been through two distinct phases. From 1422 to 1433 it was a local mint, one of ten and by no means the most important. Then, in 1433, the regent changed his policy and centralized the striking of coinage at Rouen. He had several reasons for this. He knew that his alliance with Burgundy was weakening and that his hold on Paris, the central mint, was becoming precarious. If he lost Paris, Rouen was the most defensible position in Normandy, as well as being the local capital whose burgesses had become loyal to the English.

Finally, at Rouen the master of the mint had already by 1435 been in office for seven years continuously. This record suggests that he was a man of unusual loyalty who would give satisfaction when greater responsibility was imposed upon him. It appears that this confidence was justified. Etienne Marcel continued in office en régie for nine years and only relinquished his position to be promoted to maistre général. He appears to have been responsible for four successive issues of salutes, the most prolific of all the coinages issued by the Lancastrians in France. He supervised his successors as master of the mint until its closure in January 1449.

The history of the Rouen mint provides one of those examples of satisfactory civil service that is so rare.

¹ De Saulcy, pp. 68-70.
administration by the English which contrasts so strongly with the political and military misjudgements which characterize the terminal phase of the English government in France.

**APPENDIX**

**SUMMARY OF ISSUES BY MINTS**

1. **Paris mint**
   Open 1423–36. Mint-mark: crown or crown annulet
   First issue: Pellet stops on obv., stars on rev.
   Mint-mark: crown. No privy mark.
   Ordered 6 September 1423.
   No output figures.
   Scarce.
   Plate I. 1

   Second issue: Pellet stops on obv., stars on rev.
   Mint-mark: crown. Privy mark: AVE written downwards and M for ΌΩ.
   Ordered 17 December 1423.
   No output figures.
   Rare.
   Plate I. 10

   Third issue: Pellet stops on obv., stars on rev.
   Mint-mark: crown. Privy mark: pellet under T of REGNAT.
   Ordered 24 April 1426.
   No output figures.
   No specimen known.

   Fourth issue: Pellet stops on obv., pellets and stars, sometimes with colon, on rev.
   Mint-mark: crown with annulet.
   Privy mark: N for ΌΩ.
   Ordered during 1427 (no date given).
   No output figures.
   Rare.
   Plate I. 14

   Fifth issue: Pellet stops on obv., stars on rev.
   Ordered 18 January 1435.
   No output figures.
   Extremely rare.
   Plate I. 17

2. **Troyes mint**
   All coins have pellet stops on obv., stars on rev.
   No privy mark.
   Ordered 24 May 1427.
   No output figures.
   Three coins known (from two pairs of dies).
   Plate I. 2

3. **Auxerre mint**
   All coins have pellet stops on obv., stars on rev.
   No privy mark.
   Ordered 28 May 1428.
   No output figures.
   Extremely rare (two pairs of dies).
   Plate I. 3

4. **Châlons-sur-Marne mint**
   All coins have pellet stops on obv., stars on rev.
   No privy mark.
   Ordered 9 September 1427.
   No output figures.
   Extremely rare.
   Plate I. 4

5. **Amiens mint**
   First issue: Pellet stops on obv., stars on rev.
   No privy mark.
   Ordered 19 February 1424.
   No output figures.
   Extremely rare.
   Plate I. 5

   Second issue: Saltire stops on obv., rosettes on rev.
   No privy mark.
   Ordered 2 August 1426.
   15,400 struck.
   Very rare.
   Plate I. 6

   Third issue: Saltire stops on obv., rosettes on rev.
   Ordered 14 September 1427.
   158,600 struck.
   Rare or very rare varieties.
   Plate I. 8
Fourth issue. Saltire stops on obv., rosettes on rev.
Privy mark: annulet under penultimate letter.
Ordered 11 February 1435.
33,400 struck.
Very rare. Plate I. 9

6. St. Quentin mint
All coins have saltire stops on obv., rosettes on rev.
No privy mark.
Ordered 27 May 1426.
No output figures.
Three examples known, from three different dies. Plate I. 7

7. Rouen mint
First issue. Pellet stops on obv., stars on rev.
No privy mark.
Ordered 8 May 1423.
No output figures. Scarce. Plate I. 11
Second issue. Pellet stops on obv., stars on rev.
Privy mark: pellet within annulet under last letter.
Ordered 18 March 1433.
355,600 struck.
Common. Plate I. 15
Third issue. Pellet stops on obv., stars on rev.
Privy mark: star under last letter.
Ordered 21 October 1444.
5,200 struck.
No specimen known.
Fourth issue. Pellet stops on obv., stars on rev.
Privy mark: pellet under last letter.
Ordered 21 January 1445.
103,600 struck.
Extremely rare. Plate I. 18
Fifth issue. Pellet stops on obv., stars on rev.
Privy mark: pellet under penultimate letter.
Ordered 10 December 1446.
64,200 struck.
Extremely rare. Plate I. 20

8. St. Lo mint
Open 1423–32. Mint-mark: fleur-de-lis.
First issue. Pellet stops on obv., stars on rev.
No privy mark.
Ordered 8 May 1423.

9. Le Mans mint
Open 1425–32. Mint mark: root.
First issue. Pellet stops on obv., star stops rev.
No privy mark.
Ordered 26 October 1425.
No output figures. Plate I. 13
Second issue. Pellet stop under the star which follows Regnat on reverse.
Ordered 17 July 1432.
No output figures.
No specimen found, probably never struck.

10. Dijon mint
First issue. Ordered 6 March 1425.
600 struck.
No specimen of this issue is known.
Second issue. Saltire stops on obv., saltires or stars and saltires on rev.
AVE downwards.
No privy mark.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Issue</th>
<th>Date Ordered</th>
<th>Amount Struck</th>
<th>Rarity</th>
<th>Plate</th>
<th>Details</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Third issue</td>
<td>11 February 1429</td>
<td>51,200 struck</td>
<td>Rare</td>
<td>Plate I. 23</td>
<td>Variety with <strong>AVE</strong> upwards</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>16 June 1433</td>
<td>33,200 struck</td>
<td>Very rare</td>
<td>Plate I. 25</td>
<td>Saltire stops on obv., stars on rev. AVE up or down. Privy mark: star under REX and XPC. Ordered 26 June 1434. 66,600 struck. Very rare.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
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