

SHORT ARTICLES AND NOTES

THE LOST COIN OF ÆTHELRED II FROM RUSHEN ABBEY, ISLE OF MAN

JAMES GRAHAM-CAMPBELL

STUDENTS of the Viking Age in the Isle of Man owe a particular debt to Kristin Bornholdt Collins for the great quantity of archival and antiquarian information that she assembled during the research for her two-volume PhD thesis, entitled *Viking-Age Coin Finds from the Isle of Man: a Study of Coin Circulation, Production and Concepts of Wealth* (University of Cambridge, 2003). Its accompanying 'Corpus of Viking-Age Coin Hoards from the Isle of Man', in Vol. 2, contains a list of the eight 'Single Coin Finds: Viking Age', which were known to her at the time.¹ Five of these are relatively recent finds, all of which were excavated on St Patrick's Isle, Peel, between 1984 and 1986,² but the other three were discovered during the nineteenth century. One is the well-known ninth-century Frisian imitation of a gold solidus of Louis the Pious, found in Maughold parish churchyard in 1884, and now in the Manx Museum,³ but the other two are lost coins, both identified on discovery as being of Æthelred II (978–1016). One (said to have been of gold) was found, c.1830, in levelling a mound at the farm of Gordon, Patrick,⁴ and the other (first mentioned in 1869) was found 'in the garden of Rushen Abbey'.⁵

There exists, however, one further nineteenth-century reference to another lost coin of Æthelred II having been found on Man, 'in the north of the Island': this is noted by Dr Oswald, in 1860 (together with that from Gordon), as also being of gold.⁶ There is, however, only one gold coin of Æthelred II known to be in existence, that from Hellingly, East Sussex, of the Lewes mint.⁷ It is thus generally supposed that these reports of two such gold coins having been found on Man are most probably fanciful and may simply have resulted from their having had a golden appearance on discovery.⁸ The purpose of this note is not, however, to dispute the nature of these two lost 'gold' coins, but to consider – from an antiquarian and archaeological perspective – the lost silver coin of Æthelred II from 'the garden of Rushen Abbey'.

Rushen Abbey was 'established by Olaf I in 1134, originally as a daughter house to Furness Abbey'.⁹ Various explorations and excavations were carried out there during the twentieth century,¹⁰ with the most recent having been directed by Peter Davey, who has kindly informed me (in correspondence) that no evidence for late tenth/early eleventh-century activity has yet been revealed on the site. It is evident therefore that this nineteenth-century find of a single late Anglo-Saxon coin is in need of re-assessment.

Acknowledgements: I am particularly grateful to Dr Kristin Bornholdt Collins, not only for having provided me with a copy of her Ph.D. thesis, but also for ongoing discussion of these Manx coin finds. I also wish to thank Dr Mark Blackburn, Dr Peter Davey and Hugh Pagan, as well as Sir David and Lady Wilson, for their help with various matters during the compilation of this short article, but especially Marshall Cubbon for his essential advice on aspects of Manx society during the mid-nineteenth century.

¹ Appendix VIII, part iv, p. 87; see also Vol. 1, pp. 213–18, table 4.5.

² M. Archibald, 'Coins other than the 1982 hoard', in D. Freke, *Excavations on St Patrick's Isle, Peel, Isle of Man 1982–88: Prehistoric, Viking, Medieval and Later* (Centre for Manx Studies Monographs 2, University of Liverpool, 2002), pp. 326–8.

³ M. Blackburn, 'Gold in England during the "Age of Silver" (eighth–eleventh centuries)', in J. Graham-Campbell and G. Williams (eds), *Silver Economy during the Viking Age* (London, 2005), Appendix, no. A15.

⁴ J. Train, *An Historical and Statistical Account of the Isle of Man from the Earliest Times to the Present Date*, Vol. II (Douglas, 1845), p. 69; H.R. Oswald, 'Vestigia Insulæ Mannæ Antiquora' (*Manx Society* V, Douglas, 1860), p. 60, note.

⁵ C. Clay, *Currency of the Isle of Man* (Manx Society XVII, Douglas, 1869), p. 35; J.H. Gibson, 'A penny of Eadgar recently found in the Isle of Man', *Journal of the Liverpool Numismatic Society* II:2 (1877–8), 69–70, at p. 69.

⁶ See n. 4.

⁷ Blackburn, as in n. 3, Appendix, no. B7.

⁸ I am grateful to Mark Blackburn for his advice (*pers. comm.*) concerning the probable nature of these two coins.

⁹ A.M. Cubbon, *The Ancient and Historic Monuments of the Isle of Man* (4th edn, Douglas, 1973), p. 44.

¹⁰ A.M. Cubbon, 'Digging up the past', in S. Harrison (ed.), *100 Years of Heritage: the Work of the Manx Museum and National Trust* (Douglas, 1986), pp. 28–57, at p. 52; see also n. 31.

Bornholdt Collins has pointed out that coins of Æthelred II have not commonly been found in the Isle of Man, except for the fact that the hoard discovered near Bradda Head, Rushen, in 1848 (deposited c.995), appears to have consisted exclusively of his Crux issue.¹¹ In addition, the hoard found in 1835 at Park Llewellyn, Maughold,¹² is known to have contained at least one Æthelred Long Cross coin,¹³ and, given the manner in which this hoard was dispersed,¹⁴ one might well wonder whether or not the Æthelred coin mentioned by Oswald, in 1860, as having been ‘found in the north of the Island’, might not in fact have formed part of this find.¹⁵ Finally, some further coins of Æthelred II form part of the silver hoard recently discovered (2003) during metal-detecting on a quarterland farm in the sheading of Glenfaba.¹⁶

The Bradda Head hoard (1848) and its dispersal

The Bradda Head hoard was the subject of a pamphlet, in 1853, by William Dickinson,¹⁷ who is listed in Thwaite’s *Isle of Man Guide and Directory* (1863), under Castletown, as ‘gentleman, Ballasalla Lodge’, although the address of W. Binley Dickinson (1789–1870), as Member of the Numismatic Society of London, is listed as being in Leamington, where he seems to have been resident until his death.¹⁸ Dickinson’s report, which describes six coins and one fragment, was reprinted in the *Numismatic Chronicle* for 1854, and he followed this up with a letter (written from Leamington, on 8 February 1854), given that ‘the following further specimens [8] have fallen under my notice ...’.¹⁹ He was subsequently to be quoted extensively in Clay’s *Currency of the Isle of Man*.²⁰

Dickinson recorded that:²¹

About three months ago [1853] a labouring man found on the mountainous part of Brada, near Brada Head, in Kirk Christ Ruthen, Isle of Man, a number of Anglo-Saxon coins. As far as can be ascertained, there were several hundreds, but mostly broken, the coins lying near the surface, by a small hill, and being trodden upon by sheep. The bulk of these coins were sold to a watch-maker who melted them down. If they were in any vessel or box originally, it was completely destroyed, the coins being found together in a sort of roll. No other articles were said to be discovered with them.

There are only about twenty-five coins from this hoard now ‘on record (not all surviving and several conjectural) out of several hundred found’, according to Bornholdt Collins,²² but then only ‘the perfect, or nearly-perfect specimens . . . escaped the melting-pot’.²³ What seems evident from the nineteenth-century sources, however, is that those which survived this fate were not initially dispersed much beyond Castletown,²⁴ unlike the two hoards that were found, in the 1830s, at Ballaberna and Park Llewellyn, in the parish of Maughold.²⁵

Although Dickinson recorded two small parcels of coins from the Bradda Head hoard, there is nothing to suggest that either of them belonged to him. There are, however, three known

¹¹ Bornholdt Collins, Vol. 2, *Corpus of Hoards*, pp. 44–7, hoard [M7]; J. Graham-Campbell, ‘The Viking-age silver hoards of the Isle of Man’, in C. Fell *et al.* (eds), *The Viking Age in the Isle of Man* (London, 1983), pp. 53–80, at pp. 57–8 and 74, no. 6.

¹² Bornholdt Collins, as in n. 11, pp. 47–53, hoard [M8]; Graham-Campbell, as in n. 11, pp. 58 and 74, no. 7.

¹³ Bornholdt Collins, as in n. 11, pp. 51 and 53.

¹⁴ M. Dolley, ‘The two near contemporary findings of Hiberno-Norse coins from Maughold’, *Journal of the Manx Museum* VII:88 (1976), 236–40; J. Graham-Campbell and J. Sheehan, ‘A Viking-age silver hoard of “ring-money” from the Isle of Man rediscovered’, *Proceedings of the Isle of Man Natural History & Antiquarian Society*, forthcoming.

¹⁵ I am most grateful to Kristin Bornholdt Collins for this suggestion (in correspondence).

¹⁶ A. Fox and K. Bornholdt Collins, ‘A Viking-age silver hoard from Glenfaba, Isle of Man’, *Viking Heritage Magazine* (1/2004), 3–5.

¹⁷ W.B. Dickinson, *Find of Anglo-Saxon Coins in the Isle of Man* (1853), a pamphlet reprinted in *NC*¹ 16 (1854), 99–103.

¹⁸ I am most grateful to Hugh Pagan (*pers. comm.*) for this information.

¹⁹ W.B. Dickinson, ‘Saxon coins found in the Isle of Man’, *NC*¹ 17 (1855), 130.

²⁰ Clay, as in n. 5, pp. 41–3.

²¹ Dickinson, as in n. 17, pp. 99–100.

²² Bornholdt Collins, as in n. 11, p. 45.

²³ Dickinson, as in n. 17, p. 101.

²⁴ Bill Lean has suggested (*pers. comm.*) to Kristin Bornholdt Collins (as in n. 11, p. 46) that three unprovenanced pennies of York which have left the island (and which now belong to three different collections) may possibly be from the Bradda hoard.

²⁵ See n. 14.

recipients of coins from this find, as established by Bornholdt Collins,²⁶ two of whom were Castletown residents.

Two entries in the hand-written *Archaeological Commission Report* (1876) record that coins had been acquired by a 'Mr McMeiken' and by J.F. Crellin, the second of whom was involved in the Commission himself.²⁷ Dr John Frissell Crellin (1816–86), who lived at Orrisdale, Michael, was a member of the House of Keys from 1843–74, and it has been written of him that 'archaeology and numismatics were his favourite study, and he attained distinction in both'.²⁸ 'Mr McMeiken' is readily identifiable as a stalwart of Castletown society during the mid-nineteenth century, for John McMeiken, who died in 1883, was:²⁹

a grocer (and spirit merchant) with a shop in Arbory Street, Castletown; he was also agent for Douglas and Isle of Man Bank, to the Gas Light Co., and to the Shipwrecked Fishermen & Mariners' Royal Benevolent Society. He appears to have been involved in many other charitable enterprises . . . his coin collection is also mentioned, as also his collection of pre-historic artefacts . . .

In addition, the two coins in the Manx Museum with the best evidence for having a Bradda provenance were received (before 1930) from a Mrs Roberts of Castletown: 'ex Jeffcott collection' (c.1850). John Moore Jeffcott (1817–92) was called to the Manx Bar in 1839,³⁰ and 'in 1855 he became a member of the House of Keys, and he was returned to the reformed House, as member for Castletown in 1867 . . . In 1866, he was appointed High-Bailiff of Castletown . . . he painted with some skill, and was an enthusiastic naturalist, archaeologist, and geologist.'

The Rushen Abbey coin

As noted above, all that is known of the Rushen Abbey coin of Æthelred II is that it was found before 1869. Supposing it to have been an 'escape' from the Bradda Head hoard (found twenty years earlier), as Bornholdt Collins acknowledges to be a possibility,³¹ how might it have come to be lost 'in the garden'?

The relevant fact is that, during the period in question, 'the garden of Rushen Abbey' was being used as a school playground. The imposing house there, which had been built (c.1775) by Deemster Thomas Moore, had been leased in the 1840s (until the late 1850s), for use as a school by the sisters Ellen and Bellanne Stowell.³²

In the absence of any other archaeological evidence for late tenth/early eleventh-century activity on the site of Rushen Abbey, it is therefore suggested that the coin of Æthelred II found 'in its garden' most probably derives from the Bradda Head (1848) hoard and was taken there, from Castletown, before being lost during school playtime. It was subsequently re-discovered, at an unknown date (but sometime before 1869), only to have been lost once again, or more probably just to have disintegrated, given not only the fact that the coins 'were mostly broken' on discovery, but also the fragmentary nature of those few that still survive.³³

²⁶ Bornholdt Collins, as in n. 11, p. 45.

²⁷ Bornholdt Collins, Vol. 1, p. 153; the *First Report of the Archaeological Commissioners on the Pre-historic Monuments and other Antiquities of the Isle of Man* (London & Douglas) was published in 1878, but there exists 'a more extensive manuscript version' in the Manx National Library & Archives, Douglas (mss. 257–8C), which is that utilised by Bornholdt Collins, p. 155 and, as in n. 11, pp. 44–5.

²⁸ A.W. Moore, *Manx Worthies, or Biographies of Notable Manx Men and Women* (Douglas, 1901), pp. 78–9.

²⁹ The following quotation is taken from the Manx Note Book web-site, maintained by F. Coakley (www.iste-of-man.com/manxnotebook/people/writers/tebi/p089.htm).

³⁰ Moore, as in n. 28, p. 79.

³¹ Bornholdt Collins, Vol. 1, p. 216, where she also raises the possibility that the attribution 'may be wrong' and, as she has recently reminded me (*pers. comm.*), later medieval coins are certainly to be expected from Rushen Abbey (cf. an early thirteenth-century cut halfpenny of John: K. Bornholdt, 'Coins from Rushen Abbey Excavation 1998', in P. Davey (ed.), *Rushen Abbey, Ballasalla, Isle of Man: First Archaeological Report* (Centre of Manx Studies, University of Liverpool, Research Report 7, Douglas, 1999), p. 64).

³² Moore, as in n. 28, p. 107.

³³ Bornholdt Collins, as in n. 11, pp. 45–6.

SOME UNPUBLISHED COINS OF HENRY I AND STEPHEN

MARK BLACKBURN

THE Fitzwilliam Museum has been fortunate to acquire four exceptional coins of Henry I and Stephen in the early months of 2005, each of which justifies publication.

1. A Cambridge coin of Henry I type 6

In the third (1994) edition of J.J. North's *English Hammered Coinage* vol. I, in the table of mints and moneyers for Henry I, he recorded Cambridge as a mint for type 6 (Pointing Bust and Stars).¹ This information has not been recorded or commented upon elsewhere. Recently, while compiling a list of known Cambridge coins of Henry I in the context of the discovery of a type 11 coin in the Pimprez hoard,² I contacted Mr North to ask his source of information. With his customary efficiency he was immediately able to tell me that he had noted it as 'cut $\frac{1}{2}$ d, D. Rogers'.

Dr David Rogers (1946–99), an anaesthetist, had been a passionate collector of small coins. His important collection of struck later medieval halfpence and farthings was purchased by the Ashmolean and British Museums after his death, and his large collection of toy coins was given to the Fitzwilliam Museum by Paul and Bente Withers, who were numismatic advisors to the executors. They had also placed on deposit for study at the Fitzwilliam many hundreds of cut fractions of the period 973–1279 collected by Dr Rogers, though as with much of his collection kept in a rather chaotic state, often in packets with many jumbled together without labelling. A hunt through these revealed the missing Cambridge coin, and vindicated Rogers' and North's identification of Cambridge as a mint in type 6.

The coin was generously donated to the Fitzwilliam by Paul and Bente Withers in March 2005 in memory of Elizabeth J.E. Pirie (1932–2005), who had been a student in Cambridge in the 1950s and whose obituary appears elsewhere in this volume.³ Mr and Mrs Withers subsequently found a note among Dr Rogers' papers indicating that the Cambridge coin had been found by the Thames in London in April 1991. It has a dark patina and suffered leaching of the metal typical of coins recovered from the mud banks by the Thames at low tide. The coin, illustrated on **Pl. 11, 1**, may be described as follows:

Obv. []RI REX
Rev. []N:GRANT

Cut-halfpenny. Wt 0.43 g, corroded, resulting in loss of metal and a perforated surface; die-axis: c.0° Not nicked.

Until the late 1970s Cambridge was not known to have been a mint under Henry I. A coin of type 5 appeared in the trade in 1978 and five years later a die-duplicate of this was found in Suffolk.⁴ There are now six coins of the mint known of four types (5, 6, 11 and 13).⁵ This is a vivid demonstration of the way in which recent finds have radically improved our knowledge of the coinage of Henry I, but we still have a great deal to learn about it. Although the moneyer's name is not on this half coin, we can narrow it down from the moneyers named on the other coins, namely Frise in type 5, uncertain (Dv...n?) in type 11 and Algar Fresca (presumably a double name representing the same individual as the type 5 moneyer) in type 13. The inscription on the type 11 suggests a second moneyer was working alongside Frise, just as two moneyers had been active in

¹ J.J. North, *English Hammered Coinage I* (3rd edn, London, 1994), p. 199.

² Spink sale, 6 October 2004, lot 388.

³ I am extremely grateful to Mr and Mrs Withers, not only for their generosity in donating this and other coins to the Fitzwilliam, but for the immense trouble they have gone to in seeing that David Rogers' various collections should be made available for the good of our subject, by being preserved in museums, being made readily available for study or through their own studies and publications.

⁴ Anon. 'A new Henry I penny of Cambridge', *SCMB* (1978), 104–5; M. Blackburn and M. Bonser, 'A second Henry I coin of the Cambridge mint', *SCMB* (1984), 252–3.

⁵ Four of these coins are now in the Fitzwilliam Museum: the type 6, the type 11 and two of type 13 sharing a common obverse die.

William II's reign. The moneyer of this type 6 coin could, then, be either Frise or his unidentified colleague.⁶

2. A Mule of Types 2 and 7 of Henry I

In 2001 Mr Clive Lloyd found this coin while metal-detecting on the outskirts of Marlborough, Wiltshire.⁷ It is a mule combining the obverse of type 2 (Profile-Cross Fleury) with a reverse of type 7 (Quatrefoil and Piles), struck from official dies (Pl. 11, 2):

Obv. +HENRI RE, crowned bust left with sceptre.

Rev. []RE:ON:[] (a little double-struck), quatrefoil with piles and annulets in the quarters.

Wt 1.25 g, bent and broken in two pieces, with small chip missing; diam. 19 mm. Snicked.

The coin had been bent before being lost, which has protected the obverse from wear, but it also obscures part of the design and inscription from being photographed. The obverse design does not fill the flan and it is set off-centre, leaving a piece of blank flange at the bottom of the design under the bend. The reverse, exposed to abrasion in the soil, has been damaged and the inscription is difficult to read. Nothing of the mint signature can be seen, and only two letters of the moneyer's name are visible, RE or RC suggesting possible names Andre, Geffrei, Gillemore, Gregorie, Henri. Hunfrei, Safare, etc. Of these in Henry I's reign Andre(t) is known at Lincoln in types 4 and 7 and Chester in type 14, Geffrei at Northampton in types 13–14, Gillemore at Chester in type 14, Gregorie at Canterbury in types 12–15 and Henri at Christchurch in type 7. There are, then, a number of possibilities, but a firm mint attribution will probably have to wait until a die-link can be found with the obverse die.

The number of mules involving dies of Henry I has grown in recent years, and now stands at at least twelve:

- (1) 3/4 mule (Leicester, Simon?; Fitzwilliam, ex Conte, fd Bedford)
- (2) 3/4 mule (Winchester, Wimund; British Museum, acquired 1990)
- (3) 4/5 mule (London, Wulfwine; Drabble (Glendining 4 July 1939, lot 644))
- (4) 5/6 mule (Warwick, Sperhavoc; Lockett lot 1054 (illus. *BMC* p. xl. pl. 40, 5))
- (5) Round halfpenny/9 penny mule (Sandwich, Æthelbold; Fitzwilliam, ex Conte, fd Thames Exchange, London 1989)
- (6) 2/7 mule (Uncertain mint and moneyer; Fitzwilliam, fd nr Marlborough 2004)
- (7) 8/recut 7 penny (Hereford, Wulfric; Fitzwilliam, ex Conte, fd c.1994)
- (8) 9/10 mule (Gloucester, Sawold/*Sæwæld*; Hunterian, *SCBI* 53, 242)
- (9) 11/10 mule (Thetford, Burehart/*Burtheard*; Hunterian, *SCBI* 53, 245)
- (10) 13/14 (Romney, Godric; Lockett 1071 (illus. *BMC* p. xli, pl. 43, 15))
- (11) 14/15 mule (London, Godwine Gu; Fitzwilliam, ex Conte, bt Baldwin 1997)
- (12) Henry I type 15/Stephen type 1 (Uncertain mint and moneyer; British Museum, ex South Kyme hoard (illus. Mack, 'Stephen', no. 2))

It has often been observed of mules in the late Anglo-Saxon and Norman series that the reverse is normally of the later type and defines the issue in which the coin was intended to be current, and that most mules are between adjacent issues. This pattern holds good for this expanded list of Henry I mules. Although the classification system we presently use is that set out by Brooke's *BMC* of 1916, the sequence of issues has continued to be debated and refined as more evidence has come to light. Mules are part of that evidence, and some of the recent additions help in resolving the two most problematic points, the order of types 2 and 3 and of types 7 and 8.

The discovery of two 3/4 mules is persuasive evidence in support of the traditional 1 – 2 – 3 – 4 sequence, which I had previously argued on grounds of moneyers' careers was correct.⁸ The type 8 coin of Hereford in the Conte collection (no. 7), although not technically a mule since the

⁶ The Norman coins of the Cambridge mint will be the subject of a paper by Martin Allen intended for publication in *BNJ*.

⁷ I am very grateful to Clive Lloyd, and his friend Mark Gillet, for reporting the coin and allowing the Museum to purchase it. It is recorded on EMC, no. 2004.0124, and in *Coin Register* (2005), no. 211.

⁸ M. Blackburn, 'Coinage and currency under Henry I: a review', *Anglo-Norman Studies* 13 (1991 for 1990), 49–81, at pp. 61–2.

reverse die of type 7 had been re-cut to give it the design features of type 8, provides firm evidence that type 8 is later than type 7. It also reinforces the principle that the reverse type was the critical design for the legitimacy of the coin, so that if a substitute die was needed in a hurry it was not acceptable simply to take an old reverse die, unless it was modified to turn it into the current issue. With these two points of ordering more firmly resolved, the sequence of issues is firming up on:⁹

1-2-3-4-5-6-9-7-8-11-10-12-13-14-15

Among the twelve mules listed above, ten appear to combine sequential types. The type 9/10 mule has long been recognised as unusual in skipping issues – three under the revised sequence. This could be explained because type 10 (Full face/Cross fleury) was struck on smaller flans from dies with a smaller engraved area than the preceding issue (type 11, Double Inscription), and the moneyer may have thought that a die from an earlier issue such as type 9 would be more compatible.¹⁰ In Edward the Confessor's reign mules occasionally skipped issues, especially in order to avoid combining dies of the Small Flan and Expanding Cross types.¹¹ Admittedly the Thetford moneyer of mule no. 9 did not think size an insurmountable problem.

The discovery of this new type 2/7 mule provides an interesting parallel, in this case skipping five issues. Ironically, by going back in this way the moneyer has chosen a die from the group of issues (types 2–4) that were struck on markedly smaller flans than type 7. As we have seen, the obverse design does not fill the coin, though perhaps that did not matter. The moneyer has, however, found difficulty in aligning the dies, and this would be understandable if the type 2 die-cap were smaller than that of type 7. Only one original die of Henry I survives, which is of type 3 so also from the smaller module group of issues. Its cap measures 27 × 27 mm, slightly smaller than the one known die of William II (28 × 28 mm), but the same as the Stephen type 1 die (27 × 27 mm).¹² Clearly this difficulty did not prevent the moneyer combining dies of types 2 and 7, and in seeking an explanation for this pairing perhaps we need only suggest that this obverse die, by then some nine years old, happened to be the best or only die available in the moneyer's workshop when he needed one.

3. A lead striking Henry I type 11 of Oxford

In Marion Archibald's important article on lead strikings of the Anglo-Saxon and Norman periods, she published 34 pieces discovered at the Billingsgate site in London in the early 1980s and set them in the context of 29 other known pieces.¹³ She showed that they were especially plentiful during the reign of William I, from London moneyers, in particular Edwi. The concentration on London, and indeed on the late eleventh century, is influenced by the nature of the Billingsgate finds which dominate the published material, and may include a small 'hoard'. Of Henry I she cited only one piece, reputed to exist in a private American collection but of unknown type. Miss Archibald tells me that she has continued collecting information about lead strikings and has recorded many new examples, including finds from the Thames Exchange and Vintry sites in London.

The present piece (Pl. 11, 3) was acquired by the Fitzwilliam from Dr G.A. Singer in February 2005, he having bought it from Spink c.2000 without any known provenance. It is struck from dies for a Double Inscription (type 11) coin of Henry I:

⁹ This is the sequence adopted in Blackburn, 'Coinage and currency under Henry I', and followed in North, *English Hammered Coinage 1* (3rd edn, 1994), pp. 43, 196–8.

¹⁰ M. Dolley, *The Norman Conquest and the English Coinage* (London, 1966), p. 25. Dolley was the first to argue for a revision of the sequence, based on the existence of this and the 11/10 mule.

¹¹ K. Jonsson and G. Van der Meer, 'Mints and moneyers c.973–1066', *Studies in Late Anglo-Saxon Coinage*, ed. by K. Jonsson (Numismatiska Meddelanden 35; Stockholm, 1990), pp. 47–136, at p. 122.

¹² M.M. Archibald, J.R.S. Lang and G. Milne, 'Four early medieval coin dies from the London waterfront', *NC* 155 (1995), 163–200, at 184–7.

¹³ M.M. Archibald, 'Anglo-Saxon and Norman lead objects with official coin types', *Aspects of Saxon and Norman London 2: Finds and Environmental Evidence*, ed. by A.G. Vince (London and Middlesex Archaeological Society special paper 12, London, 1991), pp. 326–46.

Obv. damaged, inscription illegible, only sceptre visible to orientate the obverse.

Rev. []/ILN/[]/+OXINFOD:, in two concentric lines, cross pattée.

Lead, with stable patina. Wt 1.42 g; die axis *c.*0°; dimensions 13 × 14 × 1.1 mm.

It is struck from the same reverse die as a coin (Pl. 11, 4) from the Pimprez (Oise, France) hoard 2002 (Spink sale, 6 October 2004, lot 397), which enables us to identify the moneyer as Ailnot (*Æthelnoth*) of Oxford, and complete the reverse legend:

+A/ILN/OT/:ON/ /+OXINFOD:

Archibald discussed a variety of possible functions for the lead pieces, but for most of the eleventh-century ones she interpreted them as custom checks or receipts to show that duty has been paid on goods. Although normally around penny size, the diameter and thickness of the flans can vary considerably and the weights range from just less than a gram to *c.*4.5 g, though with many clustering between 1.2 g and 1.6 g. The Henry I piece published here is on a particularly small flan but thick enough to give a weight of 1.42 g, which is very close to the standard weight of pennies of the period. Whether the flan was prepared in these dimensions or whether it was cut down after striking we cannot tell, but either way it does look as if it has been adjusted, perhaps to serve as a coin weight.

4. A new 'Thistle' type in the York Ornamental series in the name of Eustace?

A cut-farthing of an unrecorded York issue from Stephen's reign (Pl. 11, 5) was acquired by the Fitzwilliam Museum from Mike Vosper in March 2005,¹⁴ with funds generously provided by Ieuan Jones to mark his time as a student in Cambridge. It had been among a group of finds that Mr Vosper had recently bought from two metal-detector users at a coin fair in York and that he thinks were probably Yorkshire finds, which is likely since the independent issues of Stephen's reign had rather local circulation. Although only a cut-quarter, the coin is in exceptional condition and fortunately preserves critical elements of the designs and inscriptions that enable one to describe the type:

Obv. []S(dimpled bar)(quatrefoil)E[], crowned bust right, similar to that in type 1, though of distinctive style

Rev. [](barred triangle)(dimpled bar)(pierced mullet)(double crescent)(dimpled bar)[], solid cross pattée with extra bar on each limb, in the angle a form of fleur with an annulet on the central shoot and crescents at then ends of the three arms, giving the appearance of a thistle

Cut-farthing. Wt 0.25 g, chipped.

Mack recorded eleven independent types of York, four in the name of Stephen, three in the name of Eustace, two in the name of Robert de Stuteville, one of Bishop Henry and one uncertain.¹⁵ To these Peter Seaby added a type with a standing figure holding a standard,¹⁶ though the attribution is speculative, and recently Marshall Faintich has published a new type with a Bearded Bust (Pl. 11, 6).¹⁷ The coin now published brings the number of independent York types to fourteen.

The obverse is a form of the Stephen type 1 bust, which is used in seven of the York ornamental types (Table 1). With only the back of the head and crown present on this piece, we obviously cannot tell whether the design is distinguished by a modified sceptre as on the Flag, Lozenge Sceptre (Pl. 11, 7) and Bishop Henry types. The reverse design is unlike that on any other coin, though there are elements that link it with other York issues. The arms of the main cross have a serrified terminal and an additional bar just before the terminal, a feature also present on the

¹⁴ Mike R. Vosper List 129 (Spring 2005), no. 99.

¹⁵ R.P. Mack, 'Stephen and the Anarchy 1135–1154', *BNJ* 35 (1966), 38–112, at pp. 77–85.

¹⁶ P. Seaby, 'A new "Standard" type for the reign of King Stephen', *BNJ* 53 (1983), 14–18.

¹⁷ M. Faintich, 'A new type of Stephen penny from the York group', *NCirc* 113 (2005), 15.

TABLE 1. Features of the new Thistle type found on other York issues

Type	Mack	Bust r.	Barred cross	Dimpled bar	Quatrefoil	Mullet
Thistle	–	x	x	x	x	x
<i>Stephen</i>						
Wisegnota	215–16	x				
Flag	217	x		x		x
Lozenge Sceptre	218	x		x		
Two Figures	220			x	x	
<i>Eustace</i>						
Knight standing	221–4		x			x
Lion (a)	225					
Lion (b)	226			x		
<i>Robert de Stuteville</i>						
Wisdgontia	227	x				
Horseman	228			x	x	
<i>Henry Murdac</i>						
Bishop Henry	229	x	x			x
<i>Uncertain</i>						
Feathered Saltire	219	x				
Bearded Bust	–	x			x	x
Standard	–					

Eustace-Knight and Bishop Henry types. In each quarter there is a plant-like ornament (Fig. 1) with a central annulet linked to a large crescent, and two leaves springing from the annulet also terminating in crescents. It gives the appearance of a thistle – hence a convenient name for the type – though whether the designer intended to represent that plant we cannot be sure. If it is a thistle, we should be cautious of interpreting it as a heraldic device, for this would have come at the very beginning of heraldic use in England.¹⁸ The Eustace-Lion types have related emblems in the quarters of the reverse cross or forming a saltire design, namely a cross attached to an annulet in the Eustace-Lion (a) type (Pl. 11, 8) and an inverted fleur attached to an annulet in the (b) type. The Bearded Bust type (Pl. 11, 6) has a saucer attached to a thick bar, but it is not clear whether this is a separate emblem or the arms of a cross.



Fig. 1. Reverse design on the new 'Thistle' type.

The obverse inscription on the new type has an S and E separated by two symbols, a dimpled bar and a quatrefoil. It is tempting to read the dimpled bar symbol as the upright of a letter T, thus STE for the king's name, but this seems improbable as the dimpled bar often occurs on the York coinages, but as an ornament and rarely if ever as a letter. Moreover, the king's name is almost invariably spelt STIEFNE, while STEFNE is an exceptional error.¹⁹ We are left then with just part of the obverse inscription []S E[], and if this is to be read as a literate rendering of the issuer's

¹⁸ A case has been made by Marion Archibald for regarding the lion on Robert and William of Gloucester's coinage, which is roughly contemporary with this issue, as an early heraldic device: M.M. Archibald, 'The Lion coinage of Robert Earl of Gloucester and William Earl of Gloucester', *BNJ* 71 (2001), 71–86, at pp. 72–3.

¹⁹ In the York series I have only found one die with the spelling STEFNE, namely a Two Figure type (Mack 220c).



5 (enlarged x 3)

name, as on most of the York coins, the most likely reconstruction is starting above the head with the quatrefoil as the initial cross E[VSTACIV]S, as on the Eustace-Knight issue, or E[ISTAOH]V]S, as on the Eustace-Lion coinage.

The reverse inscription is mainly or entirely composed of symbols, as on the Lozenge Sceptre, Two Figures, Eustace-Lion, Robert-Horseman and Bearded Bust types. The symbols are a triangle or inverted shield and a pierced mullet, divided by the same dimpled bar symbol that occurs on the obverse, and which is often repeated between other symbols on the Two Figures, Eustace-Lion (b) and Bearded Bust types. The alignment of the dimpled bars with the ends of the arms of the cross or saltire in these types shows that it is normally a decorative feature rather than a letter. Although the pair of crescents beside one of the dimpled bars on the new coin gives the impression of a reversed letter B, this may not have been intended. If this is the letter B it might stem from the beginning of the mint name *Eboracum* (York).

I have argued elsewhere that these York Ornamental types all belong to the period c.1145–54, and that the Flag type was probably the first and certainly the most prolific issue of this period.²⁰ The Wisegonta types also seem early, while the remaining issues, including the new one, appear to date to the period c.1148–54. Most of the coins of this later period (especially the Two Figure, Eustace-Lion and Robert-Horseman issues) come from the Cattal (Yorks.) hoard of 1684, which accounts for the heavy die-linking among them. The Lozenge Sceptre, Feathered-Saltire, Bearded Bust and Thistle types may well have been absent from Cattal because they were slightly earlier than these other types, but later than the Flag type which shares the profile bust design. On this chronology we could tentatively date the new Thistle type c.1148–50. Although I have suggested that the Two Figures type represents Stephen and his son Prince Eustace,²¹ whom Stephen was promoting as his heir, and who had been present in York c.1150, it does not follow that the Eustace named on the Eustace-Knight, Eustace-Lion and possibly this new type was also the Prince, for the unique specimen of the Eustace-Lion (a) type expands the name as Eustace Fitz John, a local magnate.

TWELVE PENNIES OF HENRY II FROM THE THORPE THEWLES HOARD

T.C.R. CRAFTER

THE Dorman Museum in Middlesbrough possesses twelve pennies of the *Cross-and-Crosslets* coinage of Henry II that are the residual element of a hoard of 98 pennies discovered in a sand-pit in the village of Thorpe Thewles in 1932.¹ This hoard was previously recorded as ‘near Middlesbrough’.² All twelve coins have been identified as far as each specimen permits and all are illustrated (Fig. 1).

Hoard evidence for the *Cross-and-Crosslets* coinage is skewed by the preponderance of finds from southern England, and it is to be regretted that only such a modest element remains extant from this northern hoard. The hoards from Bramham Moor in Yorkshire (found before 1756) and Outchester in Northumberland (1817) are known to have contained *Cross-and-Crosslets* coins, but both are deficient in substantial details.³

²⁰ M. Blackburn, ‘Coinage and currency’, in *The Anarchy of King Stephen's Reign*, ed. E. King (Oxford, 1994), pp. 146–205, at pp. 182–7.

²¹ Blackburn, as in n. 20, pp. 186–7.

Acknowledgements: I am grateful to Bill Lean for bringing these coins to my attention and providing the photographs of the coins and to Louise Harrison of the Dorman Museum for the details of the bottle mentioned in note 1.

¹ Dorman Museum, D1932/57. The find is recorded in the Museum Curator's Report for 14 November 1932 in *Proceedings of Middlesbrough Town Council 1932–3*. The hoard was submitted for inspection by the curator, H.W. Elgee, and described as ‘98 pennies of Henry II’. A glass bottle was found in the same location as the coins and is mentioned in the Report in the same context; the vessel remains in the museum collection and is an eighteenth-century sack bottle.

² T.C.R. Crafter, ‘A re-examination of the classification and chronology of the *Cross-and-Crosslets* Type of Henry II’, *BNJ* 68 (1998), pp. 42–63 at p. 60, Table 14, no. 28b. The breakdown of classes of the coins from the hoard given in the table is amended by the identifications here.

³ M. Allen, ‘English coin hoards, 1158–1544’, *BNJ* 72 (2002), pp. 24–84, at p. 46 no. 7, and p. 47 no. 11.

Although it is difficult to draw inferences from such a residual portion of the hoard, the presence of the coin of Class E of London is conspicuous. Since none of the coins were identified prior to this paper, it is reasonable to assume that the sample has not undergone a process of distillation and, therefore, that the extant specimens are a representative sample of the whole. Coins of Class E are scarce in comparison with Class F and the occurrence of a specimen in the hoard enables a tentative *terminus post quem* to be postulated of 1170. In this regard it is probable that the hoard from Thorpe Thewles parallels a number of hoards from southern England and belongs to a spate of hoarding activity associated with the rebellion of 1173–4 against Henry II. The content of the hoards from West Meon in Hampshire and Brackley in Northamptonshire indicates that both were deposited c.1173/4, the latter with heavy representation of East Anglian mint coins conceivably carried as an aggregate from that sphere of the conflict.⁴ In the north, King William the Lion of Scotland launched an incursion into Northumberland enticed by the promise of Henry II's sons that the county would be ceded to the Scottish kingdom. William's force penetrated south as far as Prudhoe Castle, thirty miles north-west of Thorpe Thewles; while the castellan Odelin d'Umfranville hastened to Yorkshire where a relief force was mustered by the sheriff Robert de Stuteville, the garrison withstood the assault of the Scots army and William withdrew to Alnwick.⁵ Nevertheless, whether the concealment of the hoard from Thorpe Thewles is to be associated with the disturbances of 1174 must remain undecided.

Summary

A summary of the hoard in the *Inventory* format might be as follows:

THORPE THEWLES, Cleveland, 1932

98 *AR* English: Deposit 1170 × 1180 (c.1174?)

ENGLAND (98 pennies)

Henry II, *Cross-and-Crosslets* Type: 6 Class A, 1 Class B, 3 Class C, 1 Class E, 1 A/C mule, 86 of uncertain class.

Bury St. Edmunds (1) – B, 1; Canterbury (1) – A, 1; Lincoln (2) – A, 1; C, 1; London (3) – A, 1; C, 1; E, 1; Norwich (1) – C, 1; Thetford (1) – A, 1; York (1) – A, 1; Uncertain (2) – A, 1; A/C3, 1.

Discovery and Deposition: Found in a sand-pit at Thorpe Thewles in 1932. Twelve coins from the find are preserved in the Dorman Museum, Middlesbrough (D1932/57): the entire hoard appears to have been acquired by the museum but the remainder of the coins are no longer extant in its collections.

CATALOGUE

Die-identities are given in the Catalogue with reference to *BMC* and *FEJ Photographs*.⁶ For the coins of Lincoln reference is additionally made to study by H. Mossop.⁷ Coin number 12 is a Class A/C3 mule and deserves special mention. Two die duplicates languished without identification in the collection of the late F. Elmore Jones, and it is frustrating that with the die-duplicate from Thorpe Thewles the three do not serve to illuminate each other.⁸ From examining each of the three individually, the mint signature seems to consist of four letters; it should be readable from all three, but it nonetheless defies comprehension and must remain in doubt.

⁴ M.M. Archibald and B.J. Cook, *English Medieval Coin Hoards: 1, Cross-and-Crosslets, Short Cross and Long Cross Hoards* (London: British Museum Occasional Paper 87, 2001), pp. 4 and 8.

⁵ Roger of Howden, *Gesta Regis Henrici Secundi*, ed. W. Stubbs, vol. 1 (London: Rolls Series, 1867), pp. 65–6. William of Newburgh, *Historia Regum Anglicarum*, ed. R. Howlett in *Chronicles of the Reigns of Stephen, Henry II and Richard I*, vol. 1 (London: Rolls Series, 1884), pp. 181–2. *Jordan Fantosme's Chronicle*, ed. and trans. R.C. Johnston (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1981), pp. 122–9, lines 1649 ff.

⁶ D.F. Allen, *A Catalogue of English Coins in the British Museum: The Cross-and-Crosslets ('Tealby') Type of Henry II* (London, 1951), abbr. *BMC*. *Photographs of Coins from the F. Elmore Jones Collection* (London: A.H. Baldwin & Sons Ltd, 1983), abbr. *FEJ Photographs*.

⁷ H. Mossop, *The Lincoln Mint c.890–1279* (Newcastle-upon-Tyne: Corbitt and Hunter, 1970).

⁸ *FEJ Photographs* 36/10–11. Working from the photographs is not ideal, but the current whereabouts of these coins is not known; the two coins were sold at Glendining (London) Auction 13 April 1983, lot 1191 (part) and there described as 'Bury St Edmunds or London'.

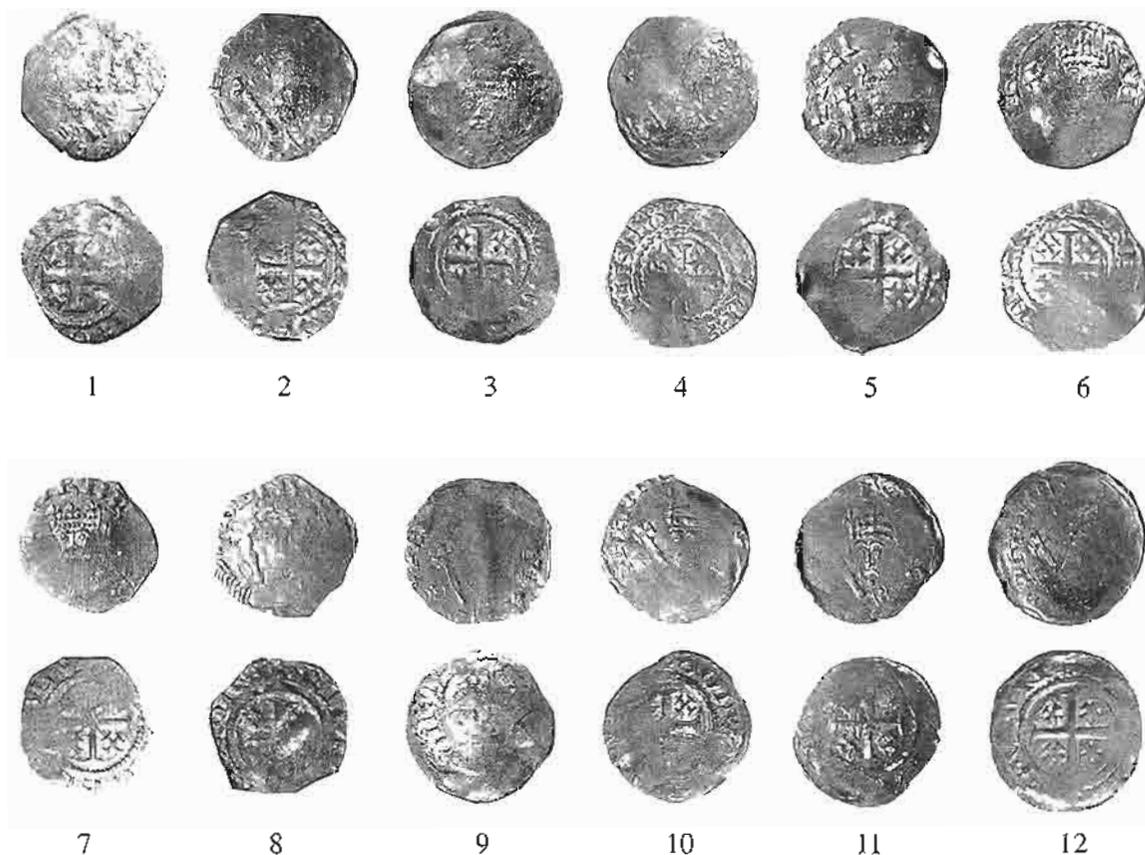


Fig. 1. Twelve pennies from the Thorpe Thewles hoard.

N ^o .	Class	Obv.	Rev.	Identification, legend readings, and references	Die-Axis	Wt (g)
1	B1	[+hÉN]RIR[EX]Λ[N]	+h[ENR]I:O[N:S:EDM:]	Bury St Edmunds, Henri Die duplicate <i>BMC</i> 19–23 and <i>FEJ Photographs</i> 13/20.	345°	1.14
2	A2	+hEN[RIR]EX[ΛNG]	+R[IC]D:ON:M[:LΛN]	Canterbury, Ricard M Die duplicate <i>BMC</i> 147–8 and <i>FEJ Photographs</i> 17/13.	20°	1.43
3	C3	[]R[IR] []	[+R]ΛV[É]N:O[N:LINC]OL	Lincoln, Raven Reverse from the same die as <i>BMC</i> 423–4a (H. Mossop, <i>The Lincoln Mint</i> , Plate 90 nos 15–17) and as <i>FEJ Photographs</i> 25/7.	225°	1.46
4	A	[+hENR]IREX[ΛNGL]	[+R]ΛVLF[:ON:]LINC	Lincoln, Raulf Die duplicate <i>BMC</i> 407 (H. Mossop, <i>The Lincoln Mint</i> , Plate 89 no. 25).	180°	1.14
5	E	+hEN[RIRE]	+P[IE]RE[S:ON:LVN]	London, Pieres Die duplicate <i>FEJ Photographs</i> 28/12–13.	45°	1.47

<i>N^o</i>	<i>Class</i>	<i>Identification, legend readings, and references</i>	<i>Die-Axis</i>	<i>Wt (g)</i>
6	A2	London, Pieres Me Obv. +hENRIREXΛN[GL] Rev. +PIRE[S:ME:]ON:LVN Die duplicate <i>BMC</i> 541–2 and <i>FEJ Photographs</i> 28/26.	45°	1.44
7	C	London, moneyer uncertain Obv. [+hE]NRI:R[] Rev. []REI[:ON]:LV The moneyer's name is either Gefferi, Goddefrei or Hunfrei.	225°	1.44
8	C3	Norwich, Ricard Obv. +hENRI:R[:Æ] Rev. +RILÆR[T:ON:]NOR: Die duplicate <i>BMC</i> 650 (listed under Herbert) and <i>FEJ Photographs</i> 31/25.	70°	1.39
9	A2	Thetford, Turstain Obv. +hE]NRIREXΛ]N[GL] Rev. [+TVRSTEIN:]OVI:T[EFF:] Die duplicate <i>BMC</i> 723 and <i>FEJ Photographs</i> 33/8.	300°	1.44
10	A	York, Godwin Obv. +hENRI[REXΛNGL] Rev. +GODW[IN:ON:EVERW] Die duplicate <i>BMC</i> 785 and <i>FEJ Photographs</i> 34/29.	0°	1.46
11	A	Uncertain mint and moneyer Obv. [+hENRIR]EX[ΛN]GL Rev. <i>Illegible</i> Die-axis uncertain owing to the illegibility of the reverse.	?	1.48
12	A/C3	Uncertain mint and moneyer Obv. +hENRIR[EXΛNGL] Rev. []:ON: []V[]N Die duplicate <i>FEJ Photographs</i> 36/10–11. This coin is discussed in the main text.	340°	1.42

ROBERT VI

LORD STEWARTBY

ALL but one of the London and Canterbury moneyers of Short Cross class VII feature in the official records of Henry III in respect of their connection with the coinage. The sole exception is Robert VI, whose name appears (as ROBERT.VI) on a single Canterbury reverse die of early class VIIc. His coins, which are extremely rare, are of the variety designated VIIcA by North and VIIc1 by Mass, and attributable to the late 1230s.¹ Mass did not himself possess a specimen, and the one illustrated by him (*SCBI* 56, no. 2078) was incorrectly stated to be from the Naxos hoard: its actual pedigree is ex Brand, ex R. Carlyon-Britton.

So far as I am aware no attempt has hitherto been made to identify Robert VI. The purpose of this note is to suggest a possible candidate. In the Close Roll for 1237 is the following entry,² witnessed by the king at Ospringe, near Faversham, on 11 June:

Mandatum est custodi vinorum de Faversham* quod duo dolia vini capta ad opus regis de Roberto vinetario de Cantuaria que sunt in custodia sua eidem Roberto reddi faciat.

(The keeper of wines at Faversham is instructed to procure that the two doles of wine taken from Robert the vintner of Canterbury for the king's use, and which are in his keeping, be returned to the said Robert.)

¹ M.R. Allen suggests c.1236–c.1240 (*SCBI* 56, p. 12).

² *Close Roll 21 Henry III*, p. 452.

The letters Vi might represent a family name, a place-name or an occupational name. Examples of each are found among the Canterbury moneyers at this period when two persons with the same Christian name were in office together: thus Ioan Chic on the coins was John Chiche, a member of a prominent Canterbury family; Roger of R is Roger of Rochester in the records; and Willem Ta is William, the king's tailor. I have not found record of any Robert at this period designated by a suitable Kentish family or place-name beginning Vi, but Robert the Vintner of Canterbury does fit in terms of place, time, status and occupation. It may incidentally be noted that Alain, the Carlisle moneyer in Henry II's recoinage of 1180 and subsequently lessee of the Cumbrian silver mines, is recorded as having sold wine contrary to the assize; and Longstaff wondered whether as a vintner he might have been the same person as the London moneyer Alain V who features early in the recoinage.³

It must remain a mystery why Robert Vi, whoever he was, ceased so soon to exercise his office as moneyer, but this could explain why records do not refer to him in that capacity.

SALARIES OF MINT AND EXCHANGE OFFICIALS IN THE LONG CROSS RECOINAGE OF 1247–1250

MARTIN ALLEN

In the 1930s W.C. Wells published an article on the Long Cross recoinage of 1247–50, which is still the principal source of published documentary evidence on this subject.¹ The material provided by Wells includes the text and a translation of a writ of 28 July 1250, sent to the sheriff of Northamptonshire, ordering him to recover sums of money paid to officials of the Northampton mint and exchange in error.² The exchanger should have been paid 9 marks (£6) per annum, but he had been overpaid by £7 1s. 6d., and the clerk of the exchange had received £4 14s. 6d. more than was due from his salary of 6 marks (£4) per annum. The die-keepers had received £14, which should have been paid by the moneyers. Wells noted that there were similar writs concerning the mints and exchanges of nine other places, and he listed the payments to the die-keepers, but he did not specify the sums paid to the other officials.³ The list of payments in Table 1 is based upon the texts of the writs, which are enrolled in the King's Remembrancer's Memoranda Roll for the Trinity Term of the 34th year of Henry III.⁴ There are no writs for the royal mints and exchanges in Bristol, Carlisle, Hereford, Ilchester, Shrewsbury and Wallingford.

TABLE 1. Reclaimed payments

<i>Mint and exchange</i>	<i>Exchanger</i>	<i>Clerk</i>	<i>Die-keepers</i>
Oxford	£7 14s. 0d.	£5 2s. 8d.	£10 0s. 0d.
Northampton	£7 1s. 6d.	£4 14s. 6d.	£14 0s. 0d.
Newcastle	£4 15s. 6d.	£3 3s. 11d.	£6 12s. 0d.
Lincoln	£7 13s. 11d.	£4 18s. 8d.	£18 0s. 0d.
York	£7 7s. 3d.	£4 18s. 7d.	£10 10s. 0d.
Gloucester	£7 7s. 10d.	£4 18s. 8d.	£11 0s. 0d.
Wilton	£4 4s. 8d.	£2 16s. 8d.	£4 13s. 9d.
Exeter	£7 2s. ½d.	£4 13s. 8d.	£8 15s. 3d.
Norwich	£7 14s. 0d.	£5 2s. 8d.	£12 0s. 0d.
Winchester	£11 11s. 5d.	£7 14s. 3½d.	£12 7s. 11d.

³ *NC*² 3 (1863), pp. 169 and 175.

¹ W.C. Wells, 'Notes on the Long-Cross coinage of Henry III 1247–1250', *BNJ* 22 (1934–7), 79–107.

² Wells, as in n. 1, pp. 93–4, 106.

³ Wells, as in n. 1, pp. 94–5.

⁴ The National Archives, Public Record Office, E 159/25, m. 13–14.

Wells used the die-keepers' fees to calculate the outputs of the mints, assuming that the die-keepers were paid 6*d.* or 1*s.* for each 100 pounds of silver minted.⁵ The author of this note has published revised calculations of output, at the rate of 100 tower pounds per 1*s.* paid to the die-keepers.⁶ The overpayments to the exchangers and clerks can be used to calculate the periods of employment of these officials, if it is assumed that their total payments were based upon annual salaries expressed in marks, in the same proportion as the salaries of 9 marks and 6 marks specified in the writs. The calculations in Table 2 assume that the exchangers and clerks were paid 15 marks (£10) and 10 marks (£6 13*s.* 4*d.*) respectively in all of the exchanges, apart from that of Winchester. In the case of Winchester it is necessary to postulate salaries of 18 marks (£12) and 12 marks (£8), to arrive at a period of employment consistent with the other evidence for the opening of the mints and exchanges. The mints and exchanges of Winchester, Norwich, Lincoln, Northampton and Exeter were opened as a result of writs of 26 February 1248, which ordered the election of officials, and their presentation at the exchequer on 15 March.⁷ The Newcastle and Wilton establishments were opened after the issue of further writs on 10 October 1248, requiring the presentation of officials on 8 November.⁸ There are no known writs ordering the opening of the mints and exchanges of Oxford, Gloucester and York, but a writ of 20 July 1248 authorizing the opening of the archbishop of York's mint seems to imply that the royal mint in the city was already open.⁹ The starting dates in Table 3 assume that all of the provincial mints and exchanges of the Long Cross recoinage closed in about February 1250. The accounts of the Shrewsbury mint end on 9 February 1250.¹⁰

TABLE 2. Analysis of payments

<i>Official</i>	<i>Overpayment</i>	<i>Exchange</i>	<i>Paid</i>	<i>Period of payment</i>		
Exchanger	15-9=6 marks	Oxford	£7 14 <i>s.</i> 0 <i>d.</i>	1 year 338 days		
		Northampton	£7 1 <i>s.</i> 6 <i>d.</i>	1 year 281 days		
		Newcastle	£4 15 <i>s.</i> 6 <i>d.</i>	1 year 71 days		
		Lincoln	£7 13 <i>s.</i> 11 <i>d.</i>	1 year 337 days		
		York	£7 7 <i>s.</i> 3 <i>d.</i>	1 year 307 days		
		Gloucester	£7 7 <i>s.</i> 10 <i>d.</i>	1 year 309 days		
		Wilton	£4 4 <i>s.</i> 8 <i>d.</i>	1 year 21 days		
		Exeter	£7 2 <i>s.</i> ½ <i>d.</i>	1 year 283 days		
		Norwich	£7 14 <i>s.</i> 0 <i>d.</i>	1 year 338 days		
		Winchester	£11 11 <i>s.</i> 5 <i>d.</i>	1 year 339 days		
		Clerk	18-9=9 marks	Oxford	£5 2 <i>s.</i> 8 <i>d.</i>	1 year 338 days
			10-6=4 marks	Northampton	£4 14 <i>s.</i> 6 <i>d.</i>	1 year 282 days
				Newcastle	£3 3 <i>s.</i> 11 <i>d.</i>	1 year 72 days
Lincoln	£4 18 <i>s.</i> 8 <i>d.</i>			1 year 310 days		
York	£4 18 <i>s.</i> 7 <i>d.</i>			1 year 310 days		
Gloucester	£4 18 <i>s.</i> 8 <i>d.</i>			1 year 310 days		
Wilton	£2 16 <i>s.</i> 8 <i>d.</i>			1 year 23 days		
Exeter	£4 13 <i>s.</i> 8 <i>d.</i>			1 year 276 days		
Norwich	£5 2 <i>s.</i> 8 <i>d.</i>			1 year 338 days		
Winchester	£7 14 <i>s.</i> 3½ <i>d.</i>			1 year 339 days		
12-6=6 marks						

⁵ Wells, as in n. 1, pp. 95-7.

⁶ M. Allen, 'Mint output in the English recoinage of 1247-1250', *BNJ* 69 (1999), 207-10. The output calculated for the Oxford mint has to be reduced from £28,233 (published in 1999) to £20,167, as the fee is £10, and not £14 as listed by Wells.

⁷ Wells, as in n. 1, pp. 84-5, 104.

⁸ *Calendar of Close Rolls 1247-1251*, pp. 107-8; Wells, as in n. 1, pp. 85-6, 104-5.

⁹ Wells, as in n. 1, pp. 87-8, 105; R.L. Davis, 'Class II coins of the Long Cross coinage 1247-1248', *BNJ* 47 (1977), 138-41, at p. 140.

¹⁰ R.L. Kenyon, 'The Shrewsbury mint under Henry III', *NC* 19 (1899), 112-24; J.D. Brand, 'The Shrewsbury mint, 1249-50', in *Mints, Dies and Currency: Essays in Memory of Albert Baldwin*, edited by R.A.G. Carson (London, 1971), pp. 129-50; Wells, as in n. 1, pp. 97-8.

TABLE 3. Periods of payment of exchangers and clerks

<i>Mint and exchange</i>	<i>Duration of payment</i>	<i>Start of payment</i>
Winchester	1 year 339 days	c. March 1248
Norwich	1 year 338 days	c. March 1248
Oxford	1 year 338 days	c. March 1248
Lincoln	1 year 337/310 days	c. March/April 1248
Gloucester	1 year 309/310 days	c. April 1248
York	1 year 307/310 days	c. April 1248
Northampton	1 year 281/282 days	c. May 1248
Exeter	1 year 283/276 days	c. May 1248
Newcastle	1 year 71/72 days	c. December 1248
Wilton	1 year 21/23 days	c. January 1249