

THE CIRCULATION AND PROHIBITION OF VENETIAN SOLDINI IN LATE MEDIEVAL ENGLAND

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Introduction

PETER Spufford's 1963 paper on 'Continental coins in late medieval England' reviewed the numismatic and documentary evidence for the circulation and prohibition of foreign coins in medieval England, namely imitative sterlings, Flemish nobles and Venetian soldini.¹ The latter coin circulated unofficially as a halfpenny due to the lack of small change in English currency at the time, though with less than half the silver of the sterling, the soldino posed a genuine threat to English coinage.² Barrie Cook in his 'Foreign coins in medieval England' pointed out that it was generally only when imported coin appeared to mimic English issues that the full force of the medieval state apparatus was summoned up to combat it.³ This was certainly the case regarding the two incursions of Venetian soldini in the early fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries.

The soldino, meaning 'little shilling', was nicknamed the 'galyhalpens', or Galley-halfpence, after the 'Galley-men' who imported them. The Venetian fleet of galleys set out for England and Flanders during May and stayed there until late August or early September.⁴ During the summer months soldini entered the English economy through trade with Venetian merchants and quickly became widespread across England. This was a particular source of irritation for the English government who at various points in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries attempted to rid the country of them through a series of restrictions and seizures. Spufford's paper provides a comprehensive review of the statutes and writs issued by the government, and gives comment on the distribution of soldini in England known at the time of writing (Table 1).⁵

Today Venetian coins are well known finds from late medieval England due to the large quantity found through metal-detecting and systematically recorded on the Portable Antiquities Scheme database (PAS). At the time of writing the database contains information on 236 soldini, providing a good opportunity to review the numismatic evidence against the documentary sources cited by Spufford.⁶ Previous commentators on Venetian coins in England have paid attention to the estimation given by Doge Tommaso Mocenigo (1413–23), who perhaps reflecting on the export of coinage during the early fifteenth century estimated that some ten million soldini were exported to England by Venetian trading vessels every year.⁷ This so-called 'deathbed oration' of Doge Mocenigo has recently been challenged by

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¹ Spufford 1963.

² Stahl 1999, 97.

³ Cook 1999, 231.

⁴ Spufford 1963, 132.

⁵ Spufford 1963, 133 and n.2. Twelve coins were acquired by the British Museum in 1869 and a further coin from the hoard was recorded in private ownership. Twenty soldini of Andrea Contarini and Antonio Venier brought in to the Ashmolean Museum in 1958 may also have come from this hoard.

⁶ www.finds.org.uk. There are two denominations of Venetian coin found in England: the silver grosso, and the silver soldino. The silver grosso is a rare find; indeed only two are recorded on the PAS database and they are notably earlier than the soldini. The first is of Doge Pietro Gradenigo (1289–1311), and the second is of Francesco Dandolo (1329–39). The database also contains information on a soldini reused as jewellery (SWYOR-4CDB56; WM1D-F4E937).

⁷ Spufford 1989, 328.

Alan Stahl, who has shown that it actually dates from the reign of his successor, Francesco Foscari, and was written as a piece of polemic to force him out of office.⁸

The Venetian soldini recorded by the PAS currently span the period *c.*1382–1526 and show that the majority entered England in two substantial incursions: the first 1400–*c.*1415 under Doge Michele Steno, and the second *c.*1501–21 under Doge Leonardo Loredan. Table 1 provides a list of the Doges in office during the main period of circulation in England and the number of their coins recorded on the PAS database.

TABLE 1. The period of Venetian coinage in England.

<i>date</i>	<i>Doge</i>	<i>no. of coins on PAS</i>	<i>Spufford 1963 – stray finds</i>
1367–82	Andrea Contarini	none	see n.5
1382–82	Michele Morosini	none	
1382–1400	Antonio Venier	9	1 (and see n.5)
1400–13	Michele Steno	75	1
1413–23	Tommaso Mocenigo	4	1
1423–57	Francesco Foscari	none	
1457–62	Pasqual Malipiero	none	
1462–66	Cristoforo Moro	none	
	illegible, first incursion	31	
Major recoinage of silver in England 1464–66			
1466–73	Nicolo Tron	7	
1473–74	Nicolo Marcello	2	
1474–76	Pietro Mocenigo	no soldini struck	
1476–78	Andrea Vendramin	no soldini struck	
1478–85	Giovanni Mocenigo	none	
1485–86	Marco Barbarigo	no soldini struck	
1486–1501	Agostin Barbarigo	11	
1501–21	Leonardo Loredan	92	
1521–23	Antonio Grimani	none	
1523–	Andrea Gritti	1	
	illegible, second incursion	4	

Major recoinage of silver in England from 1526

TABLE 2. English hoards containing Venetian soldini.

<i>findspot</i>	<i>deposited</i>	<i>contents</i>
Highbury, London	<i>c.</i> 1415–20	7000+ coins including 1 of Contarini, 5 of Venier, 6 of Steno
South Walsham, Norfolk	<i>c.</i> 1415–20	3 soldini of Steno (TAR 2001, no. 208)
Maidstone, Kent	<i>c.</i> 1534–44	498 coins to Henry VIII including 3 soldini of Loredan
Fonthill Gifford, Wilts.	<i>c.</i> 1505–10	9 silver including a soldino of Loredan (Blunt 1975–6)
Wanswell, Gloucs.	<i>c.</i> 1520–26	2 groats of Henry VII and a soldino of Loredan (TAR 1997–8, no. 150)

The first incursion *c.*1400–15.

Numismatic evidence supports the earliest documentary evidence for the arrival of Venetian coins in any great quantity, both agreeing the event for the year 1400. In June of that year a number of vessels from the annual trade fleet docked in London and its merchants began extensively trading with soldini. This caught the attention of the Council at Westminster who quickly took advice from King Henry IV. The king took immediate action and instructed the Council to bring the laws against the circulation of foreign coins into force.

The sheriffs of London, Sandwich and Dover were empowered and charged with the task of seizing any soldini they came across, an order which was repeated in June 1401.⁹ The

⁸ Stahl 1996, 284–301.

⁹ Spufford 1963, 132 and n.8–10.

activities of the sheriffs did not remedy the problem immediately, however. Almost every year between 1400 and 1420 the sheriffs of London and Sandwich rendered account to the Exchequer of small parcels of *galyhalpens* which they had seized.¹⁰ The totals for each year are shown in Table 3, which reveals that the problem continued during the entire reign of Doge Steno, reaching its highest levels between 1402 and 1404 and tailing off sharply after 1415. This compares favourably with the numismatic evidence recorded on the PAS database, which records fifty-one coins for Doge Steno and just three for the subsequent doge issuing after 1413. Any soldini still in circulation after this date would have been removed during the major re-coining of silver in England between 1464–66.¹¹ At the time of his 1963 paper Spufford remarked that it was not known whether the returns reflect the number of coins imported each summer or the vigilance of the sheriffs, but the dramatic reduction in coinage after 1413 noted in Table 1 supports the former conclusion.

TABLE 3. Seizures of Venetian soldini at London and Sandwich recorded on the Exchequer series of enrolled Foreign Accounts in the Public Record Office, London (after Spufford 1963, 134).

<i>period</i>	<i>London</i>	<i>number</i> <i>seized</i>	<i>period</i>	<i>Sandwich</i>	<i>number</i> <i>seized</i>
29 June to Michaelmas 1400		90	12 July 1402 – 30 November 1402		49
Michaelmas 1400 to Michaelmas 1401		93	30 November 1402 – 7 December 1403		45
Michaelmas 1401 to Michaelmas 1402		251	7 December 1403 – 7 December 1404		22
Michaelmas 1402 to Michaelmas 1403		476	1 April 1407 to 1 April 1408		13
Michaelmas 1403 to Michaelmas 1404		411	1 April 1408 to 30 November 1409		15
Michaelmas 1405 to Michaelmas 1406		96	30 November 1409 to 30 November 1410		12
Michaelmas 1414 to Michaelmas 1415		135	30 November 1415 to Michaelmas 1420		9

The cessation in the circulation of soldini resulted from the mounting pressure applied by the government to both Venetian merchants and the Venetian Senate itself. On 28 June 1408 the government sent a writ directly to the masters of two Venetian galleys ordering them not to trade their coinage in any way.¹² This was supported in 1414 by a directive sent to the mayor and the searcher of the port of London empowering them forcibly to search the galleys,¹³ and finally in 1416 the decisive action came when the English government persuaded the Venetian Senate to forbid the export of their coinage to London.¹⁴ These measures proved effective, for only nine soldini were seized at Sandwich between 1415 and 1420; none were seized at London after 1415.¹⁵

Spufford also remarked that the actions of the Government seemed at odds to the relatively small quantity of coinage seized at London, Sandwich and Dover.¹⁶ He concluded that either the scale of import was much greater than the evidence would lead one to suppose, or that coinage was so touchy a subject that any infringement of the currency laws was an irritant out of all proportion to its magnitude.¹⁷ The systematic recording of casual losses by the PAS confirms that the import was indeed far greater than the evidence recorded by the sheriffs.

The distribution of Venetian soldini in England during the first incursion under Doge Steno shows they became widespread across central England, though rare north of the Humber and absent in the south-west (Fig. 1).

¹⁰ Spufford 1963, 134 and n.1, n.4.

¹¹ Spufford 1999, 327–8. In summing up the Symposium on *Local coins, foreign coins: Italy and Europe, 11th – 15th centuries*, Spufford noted that foreign coins generally remained in circulation in most countries until the next re-coining, at which time they were swept away.

¹² Spufford 1963, 135 and n.4.

¹³ Spufford 1963, 135 and n.6.

¹⁴ Spufford 1963, 136 and n.1.

¹⁵ Spufford 1963, 137.

¹⁶ Spufford 1963, 136.

¹⁷ Spufford 1963, 136.

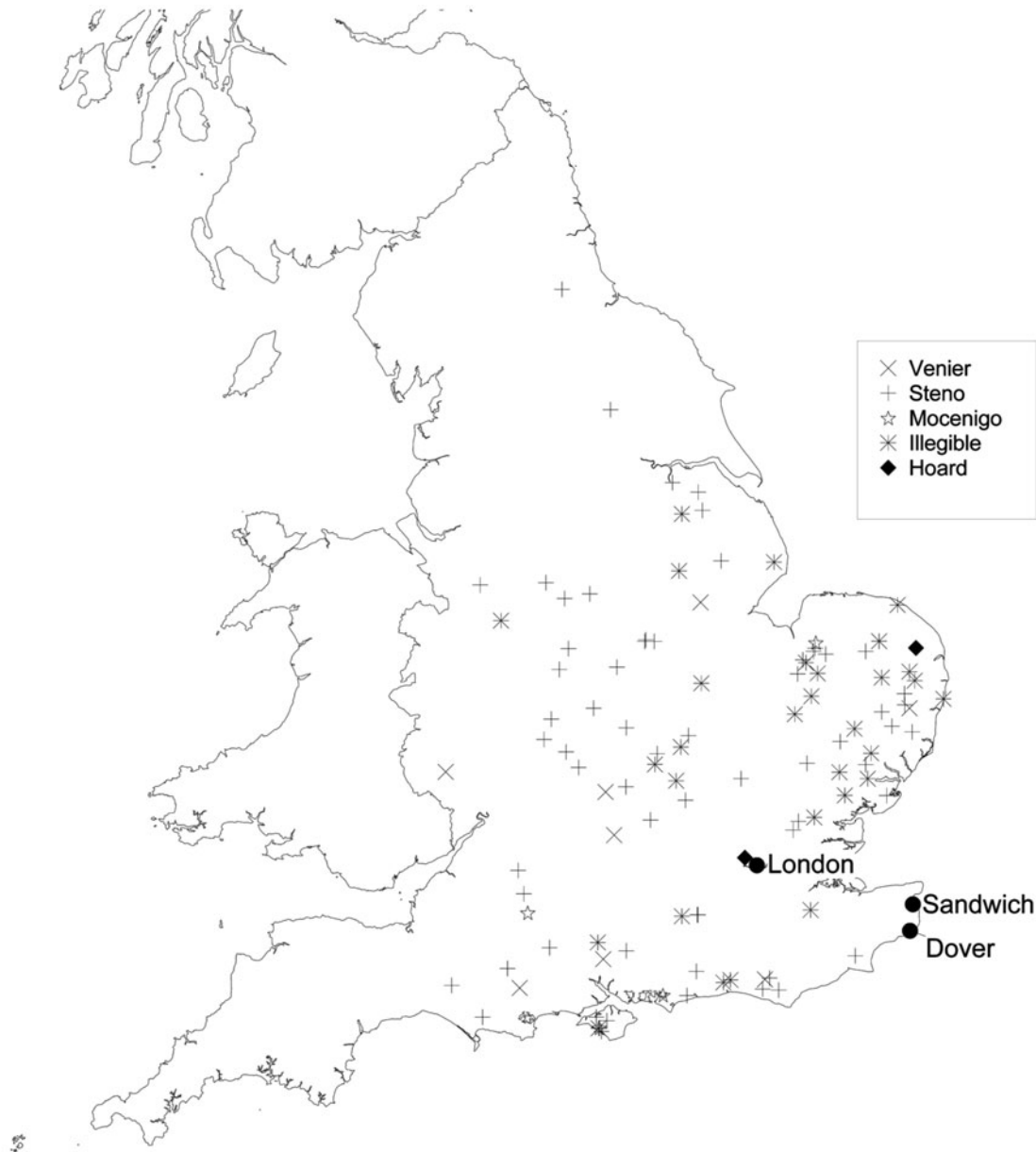


Fig. 1. Soldini of the first incursion.

Concentrations of coins are noted along the south coast which presumably had both London and Sandwich as their source. Further concentrations deriving from London are noted along the Essex and Suffolk coastline, and in the West Midlands, where the coins of Steno form an arc extending from the Thames up through Northamptonshire, Warwickshire and terminating in Staffordshire. Relatively few coins are known from the East Midlands.

The similar wide distribution seen in the coins of Doge Venier, issued prior to Steno, indicates they arrived as old issues circulating with the latest coins of Steno in the opening years of the fifteenth century. This is also confirmed by the evidence from the Highbury Hoard, London, deposited *c.*1415–20, which contained over 7000 coins including at least one of Doge Contarini, five of Doge Venier and six of Doge Steno. The four coins of Doge Mocenigo (1413–23), issued immediately after Steno, compliment the records from the Exchequer series of enrolled Foreign Accounts, which record seizures of coins as late as 1415 in London and 1420 in Sandwich (Table 3). Venetian galleys docked at London and Sandwich



Fig. 2. Halfpennies of Henry IV (1399–1413).

during the first incursion, and the seizure returns provided by the mayor and the sheriffs confirm that soldini were circulating in large quantities at these ports (Table 2).¹⁸

English halfpennies of Edward III and Richard II were common across southern, central and eastern England, uncommon north of the Humber and rare in the west of England. Very few halfpennies were issued during the reign of Henry IV, and those of this period recorded by the PAS share a similar distribution with the earlier halfpennies but on a sparser basis (Fig. 2). The soldini of Steno share a similar distribution to these coins but with a tendency to fill the areas of absence seen in the plot of Henry IV coins where halfpennies previously circulated, notably along the 'arc' from London to the West Midlands, and in North Lincolnshire, and parts of Norfolk.

¹⁸ Soldini are common finds along the Thames foreshore, though none have yet been officially recorded. Soldini are presumably also present at the medieval port of Sandwich, though now covered by silt or buildings.

The second incursion c.1501–26.

During the fifteenth century Venetian galleys changed their port of call from London and Sandwich to Southampton.¹⁹ This change afforded Venetian merchants the opportunity to import their coins once more, though only to find the English government quick to react again. The majority of coins recorded on the PAS database relate to this second incursion which occurred largely during the office of Doge Loredan (Table 1). Similarly to the first incursion, soldini became widespread across England as far north as the Humber Estuary (Fig. 3).

Ninety-two coins are recorded for Doge Loredan (1501–21). There were no fleets of galleys arriving in England between 1509 and 1518 and so traditionally it was assumed that the majority of coins were imported with the galleys arriving in 1519. Whilst undoubtedly many coins of Loredan did arrive in England on the galleys, some also arrived overland via the ordinary commercial couriers' bags (*scarsella di corrier*). These were sent weekly from the major Italian states and terminated in Bruges in the early fifteenth century and in Antwerp in the early sixteenth.²⁰ The use of the *scarsella di corrier* is highlighted by the Priuli journals in Venice which document Gerolamo Priuli sending 14,000 soldini overland in five batches in the ordinary commercial couriers' bags to his brother Vincenzo in London in May, June and September 1505.²¹ It is possible that other undocumented batches of coins were exported from the continent at major mercantile centres such as Bruges, Antwerp and Calais to enter England at Dover and London. The distribution maps must then include both coins that arrived overland and those by galley, but it would appear difficult, if not impossible, to confidently distinguish between the two.

Despite this the distribution of coins of Doge Loredan clearly highlights the change in the landing points of the Venetian trading vessels from London and Sandwich during the reign of Doge Steno, to Southampton during the reign of Doge Loredan. A moderate amount of coins from the second incursion are seen in the east and west Midlands and also in central England. The arc defined by Steno's coins is not seen with those of Loredan, but instead the coins are spread more evenly across the region. Clearly the coins of the first incursion entering London supplied the west Midlands, whereas the coins of the second incursion entering Southampton provided the source for those seen in the Isle of Wight and along the south coast. The concentration of coins of Loredan seen in the east Midlands is curious and perhaps points to coinage entering via the Humber or the Wash. There are significantly fewer coins in Suffolk and Essex during the second incursion, which presumably reflects the reduction in the quantity of coins entering London during the early sixteenth century.

The few coins of the doges issuing before and after Loredan are important to our understanding of how Venetian soldini arrived and spread through England during the second incursion. If we examine the coins of Agostin Barbarigo (1486–1501), preceding Doge Loredan, and the single coin of Gritti issued after him (1523–38), we find they have a strong association with the southern coastline but are also occasionally found further inland, for example in Hertfordshire and Lincolnshire. The single coin of Doge Gritti was found on the Isle of Wight. The distribution indicates that similarly to the coins of the first incursion, soldini of the second incursion survived in Venice to come to England in batches with the coins of Doge Loredan from 1501.

The apparent brief incursion of soldini during the reigns of Doge Nicolo Tron (1466–73) and Nicolo Marcello (1473–74) share a similar distribution to the coins of Doge Loredan. Soldini were only issued by one doge (Giovanni Mocenigo, 1478–85) between Marcello (1473–74) and Agostino Barbarigo (1486–1501), and so whilst the coins of Tron and Marcello appear to be another short-lived incursion, it is probable that the c.1466–74 coins

¹⁹ Spufford 1963, 137 and n.2.

²⁰ Spufford, pers. comm.

²¹ Mueller 1997, 348–53.

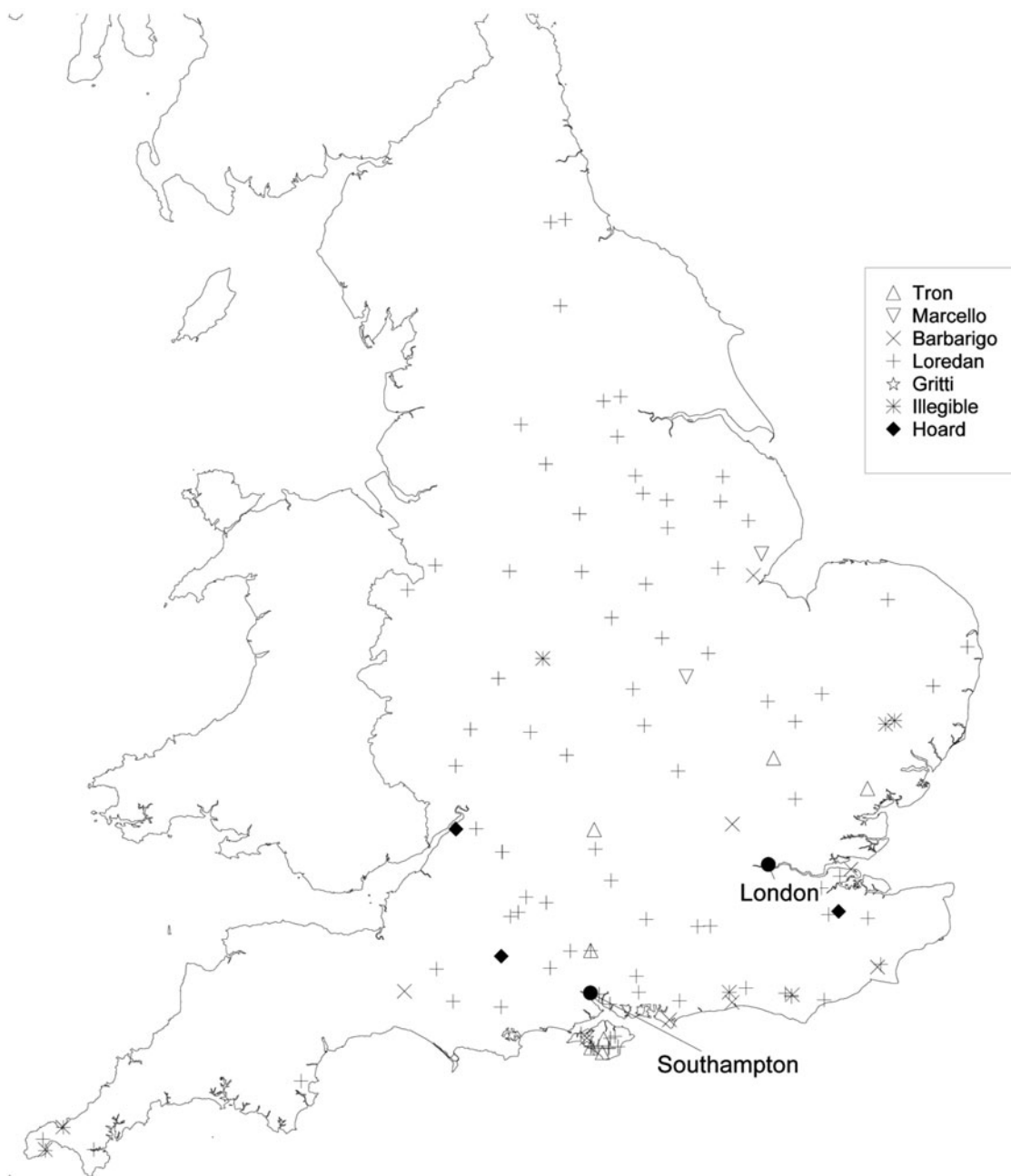


Fig. 3. Soldini of the second incursion.

also arrived with the coins of Loredan as survivors from the previous issues of the denomination.²²

A comparison of the find spots of English halfpennies and the soldini of the second incursion reveals similar patterns to the first incursion. Halfpennies of Henry V, Henry VI and Edward IV were in circulation throughout southern, central and eastern England. The plot of Henry VII halfpennies shows the same general distribution but on a sparser basis (Fig. 4). The coins of Loredan complement this, but again have a tendency to fill the areas where halfpennies once circulated but are no longer seen in the coinage of Henry VII, such as

²² I am grateful to Barrie Cook for this information.



Fig. 4. Halfpennies of Henry VII (1485–1509).

Lincolnshire and the south-west. This confirms that soldini were being pulled into areas where English halfpennies once circulated but were now in short supply.

All coins of the second incursion were finally removed from circulation with the major re-coinage of silver in England beginning in 1526. This point, combined with the documentary evidence for coins arriving overland as well as on galleys, means that soldini of the second incursion cannot be dated closer than *c.* 1501–26. The various distributions confirm that the efforts of the English government were successful in stamping out the circulation of Venetian coinage shortly after each batch was imported by the galleys. This is confirmed by the evidence from hoards of English coins containing Venetian soldini, which regardless of their early fifteenth or early sixteenth century incursion dates were deposited soon after the reign of the associated doge (Table 2).

Venetian galley-merchants were of course not only selling goods, but also buying large quantities of wool and cloth during both the first and second incursions, wool evidently being the more important in 1400–c.1415 and cloth in c.1501–c.1521. The extent to which the areas growing export-quality wool and making export-quality cloth at each period influenced the circulation of soldini is hinted at through their distributions. The coins of the first incursion arrived in England at a time when the formerly prosperous port of Boston in Lincolnshire was in steep decline; by the late fourteenth century exports from Boston contracted disastrously from some 10,000 sacks to some 3,000.²³ At the same time new centres producing middle-price woollens opened up in Northamptonshire and most importantly at Coventry in Warwickshire, which by the later fourteenth century had blossomed into one of England's chief cloth-manufacturing towns. These centres produced goods that were now in much greater demand than the luxury woollens produced at Lincoln and Stamford.²⁴ This situation may account for the 'arc' of soldini distributed during the first incursion through Northamptonshire and Warwickshire, and help to explain the comparatively lower number of Venetian coins found in Lincolnshire. Wool and cloth produced in Coventry and at other centres in the midlands were loaded onto Venetian galleys at London, and this trade in turn encouraged the circulation of soldini into the Midlands.

By the time of the second incursion the wool and cloth industry had changed again. The industries in Lincolnshire experienced a short revival at the turn of the fifteenth century, although still operating on a diminished level compared to the late thirteenth century. Exports for Boston in the years 1505–21 were always below 1400 sacks, generally around 1000 sacks, and sometimes as little as 500 sacks.²⁵ Hardly any cloth was exported from Boston, however, as cloth produced in the Midlands had by now been mostly diverted through Southampton to the Mediterranean.²⁶ Nevertheless, industries in the Midlands were continuing to produce export-quality wool and make export-quality cloth, and this is likely to have helped draw soldini into the region during the second incursion. Elsewhere the distributions point more clearly to the Venetian export of English wool and cloth as an influencing factor; the general spread seen across central England, the increase around Southampton and more importantly the decline in coinage deriving from London during the second incursion may well be indicators of this. Throughout the fifteenth century the quantity of English exports passing through the port of London was increasing, whilst at the same time the total amount of Venetian trade was diminishing.²⁷ The decline in Venetian trade at London is probably reflected in the dramatic reduction in the quantity of soldini found in Essex and Suffolk during the second incursion, which had London as their coin source.

Whilst the Venetian trade and export of English wool and cloth undoubtedly influenced the circulation of soldini in England, it appears that the simple demand for small change inadequately provided for by the English government remained the driving force in their distribution during both the first and second incursions.

APPENDIX. SOLDINI RECORDED ON THE PAS.

<i>county</i>	<i>parish</i>	<i>PAS reference</i>	<i>Doge</i>
Bedfordshire	Odell	BH-591DD2	Steno
Bedfordshire	Eaton Bray	WMID-791844	Steno
Berkshire	Frilsham	BERK-6C6673	Loredan
Buckinghamshire	Little Brickhill	BUC-A65373	Illegible, first incursion
Buckinghamshire	Cold Brayfield	BUC-A7C302	Illegible, first incursion
Buckinghamshire	Little Brickhill	BUC-425E78	Loredan
Buckinghamshire	Chilton	BUC-DD1C86	Loredan

²³ Carus-Wilson 1962–3, 197.

²⁴ Carus-Wilson 1962–3, 197.

²⁵ Carus-Wilson, 1963, 126–7.

²⁶ Carus-Wilson, 1962–3, 201.

²⁷ Barron 2004, 111–3.

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<i>county</i>	<i>parish</i>	<i>PAS reference</i>	<i>Doge</i>
Buckinghamshire	Haddenham	BERK-EADF58	Steno
Buckinghamshire	Little Brickhill	BUC-A4A134	Steno
Buckinghamshire	Little Brickhill	BUC-A4C9E1	Steno
Buckinghamshire	Buckinghamshire	BUC-D92C43	Steno
Buckinghamshire	Hanslope	NARC-9A5422	Steno
Cambridgeshire	Fordham	SF-82F074	Illegible, first incursion
Cambridgeshire	Over	CAM-28A768	Loredan
Cambridgeshire	Little Wilbraham	SF-23EB54	Loredan
Cambridgeshire	Great and Little Chishill	BH-343427	Tron
Cheshire	Dodcott cum Wilkesley	LVPL-1DC573	Loredan
Cheshire	Hough	LVPL-E7F7E2	Steno
Cornwall	Paul	CORN-53C9E5	Barbarigo
Cornwall	Madron	CORN-541412	Loredan
Cornwall	Hayle	CORN-A4A037	Loredan
Cornwall	Constantine	CORN-C943A4	Loredan
Cornwall	Paul	CORN-D3AF51	Loredan
Derbyshire	Breadsall	DENO-2B1DD6	Loredan
Derbyshire	Ashgate	DENO-F5A851	Loredan
Derbyshire	Shirley	DENO-9EE632	Steno
Derbyshire	Kilburn	DENO-B68550	Steno
Derbyshire	Lullington	WMID-9C34F3	Steno
Devon	Marldon	DEV-8AB790	Loredan
Dorset	Tarrant Crawford	SOMDOR-364F05	Loredan
Dorset	Buckland Newton	SOMDOR-3C5C66	Loredan
Dorset	Buckland Newton	SOMDOR-E777F1	Loredan
Dorset	Halstock	GLO-856D61	Steno
Dorset	Halstock	GLO-859ED6	Steno
Dorset	Halstock	GLO-85A624	Steno
Dorset	Halstock	GLO-85ADD4	Steno
Dorset	Compton Abbas	SOMDOR-2F77A4	Steno
Dorset	West Stafford	SOMDOR331	Steno
Dorset	Tarrant Rushdon	SOMDOR-CBFB02	Venier
Durham	Ferryhill	NCL-A806B2	Loredan
Durham	Bishop Auckland	NLM-8537B3	Loredan
Durham	Bishop Auckland	NLM-850E35	Steno
East Sussex	Chalvington With Ripe	SUSS-538C37	Barbarigo
East Sussex	Chalvington With Ripe	SUSS-132E27	Loredan
East Sussex	Chalvington With Ripe	SUSS-49D167	Loredan
East Sussex	Laughton	SUSS-4FFE61	Loredan
East Sussex	Bexhill	SUSS-C24355	Loredan
East Sussex	Lewes	SUR-5A3831	Steno
East Sussex	Ringmer	SUSS-4D2DF3	Steno
East Sussex	Berwick	SUSS-88D047	Steno
East Sussex	Fletching	SUSS-459BC3	Venier
Essex	Boreham	ESS-198771	Illegible, first incursion
Essex	Dedham	ESS-4DEFB4	Illegible, first incursion
Essex	Marks Tey	ESS-A4A882	Illegible, first incursion
Essex	Hatfield Broad Oak	ESS-EB6A51	Loredan
Essex	Blackmore	ESS-8F94A7	Steno
Essex	Roxwell	ESS-93A3C4	Steno
Essex	Thorpe Le Soken	ESS-B85556	Steno
Essex	White Roothing	ESS-E646B3	Steno
Essex	Steeple Bumpstead	SF-D46474	Steno
Essex	Copford	ESS-898630	Tron
Gloucestershire	Dymock	NMGW-2D7075	Loredan
Gloucestershire	Nymphsfield	NMGW-73CD25	Loredan
Hampshire	Crawley	HAMP-512512	Illegible, first incursion
Hampshire	Odiham	HAMP-281D10	Loredan
Hampshire	Crawley	HAMP-6CEE25	Loredan
Hampshire	Bursledon	HAMP-7EE126	Loredan
Hampshire	Fareham	HAMP-A58E84	Loredan
Hampshire	Broughton	SUR-EAA4E5	Loredan
Hampshire	East Meon	SUSS-C97EE5	Loredan

<i>county</i>	<i>parish</i>	<i>PAS reference</i>	<i>Doge</i>
Hampshire	Cheriton	HAMP-1C2066	Steno
Hampshire	Crawley	SUR-4BD5E7	Tron
Hampshire	Compton and Shawford	HAMP-ED9064	Venier
Herefordshire	Hereford	HESH-4664E6	Venier
Hertfordshire	Shenley	BH-73B094	Barbarigo
Hertfordshire	Wallington	BH-06DCA1	Steno
Isle of Wight	Brighstone	IOW-99CAA6	Illegible, first incursion
Isle of Wight	Shalfleet	IOW-999E87	Barbarigo
Isle of Wight	Shalfleet	IOW-8C5834	Gritti
Isle of Wight	Brighstone	IOW-0717C1	Loredan
Isle of Wight	Brighstone	IOW-08B6E5	Loredan
Isle of Wight	Shanklin	IOW-2FAB78	Loredan
Isle of Wight	Shorwell	IOW-305CF3	Loredan
Isle of Wight	Unparished	IOW-3E26E0	Loredan
Isle of Wight	Brighstone	IOW-A7E0F5	Loredan
Isle of Wight	Brighstone	IOW-B20354	Loredan
Isle of Wight	Godshill	IOW-B23CD2	Loredan
Isle of Wight	Godshill	IOW-B3F636	Loredan
Isle of Wight	Arreton	IOW-BCC080	Loredan
Isle of Wight	Yarmouth	IOW-DCD992	Loredan
Isle of Wight	Brighstone	IOW-E85CB2	Mocenigo
Isle of Wight	Shalfleet	IOW-056D81	Steno
Isle of Wight	Brighstone	IOW-67B338	Steno
Isle of Wight	Unparished	IOW-94F754	Steno
Isle of Wight	Brighstone	IOW-9962C1	Steno
Isle of Wight	Unparished	IOW-60B824	Tron
Isle of Wight	Chale	IOW-6342E4	Tron
Isle of Wight	Brighstone	IOW-F7FC56	Tron
Kent	Barming	KENT-1728E4	Illegible, first incursion
Kent	Allhallows	KENT-CE99E3	Barbarigo
Kent	Brookland	KENT-33BA02	Barbarigo
Kent	Barming	KENT-171CB1	Loredan
Kent	Cobham	KENT-24EF16	Loredan
Kent	High Halstow	KENT-277683	Loredan
Kent	Brenzett	KENT-BA37F8	Loredan
Kent	Unparished	KENT-BA6935	Steno
Kent	Brookland	KENT-DD1B60	Steno
Leicestershire	Woodhouse	LEIC-6D5DC5	Loredan
Leicestershire	Frisby	LEIC-12AC88	Steno
Leicestershire	Burton And Dalby	LEIC-6DAAA0	Steno
Leicestershire	Lubbesthorpe	LEIC-DD2733	Steno
Leicestershire	Frisby And Kirby	LEIC-E31113	Steno
Leicestershire	Peckleton	LEIC-656F02	Tron
Lincolnshire	Bassingham	DENO-F35557	Illegible, first incursion
Lincolnshire	Burgh Le Marsh	LIN-F80FA2	Illegible, first incursion
Lincolnshire	Blyborough	LVPL-4F73C7	Illegible, first incursion
Lincolnshire	Kirton	LIN-675073	Barbarigo
Lincolnshire	Wragby	DENO-23D694	Loredan
Lincolnshire	Walesby	LIN-13B670	Loredan
Lincolnshire	Mareham on the Hill	LIN-177434	Loredan
Lincolnshire	Burton Pedwardine	LIN-ACC114	Loredan
Lincolnshire	Torksey	SWYOR-4FDB33	Loredan
Lincolnshire	Sibsey	LIN-4428C0	Marcello
Lincolnshire	Stixwold and Woodhall	LIN-A18482	Steno
Lincolnshire	Owersby	SWYOR-AC4515	Steno
Lincolnshire	Aswarby and Swarby	LIN-E39C51	Venier
Norfolk	Northrepps	NMS-1500D	Illegible, first incursion
Norfolk	Northrepps	NMS-15028	Illegible, first incursion
Norfolk	Broome	NMS-15077	Illegible, first incursion
Norfolk	Seething	NMS-F4B0	Illegible, first incursion
Norfolk	Attlebridge	NMS-FB3E	Illegible, first incursion
Norfolk	Tacolneston	NMS-FEF3	Illegible, first incursion
Norfolk	Northwold	SF-D159C3	Illegible, first incursion

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<i>county</i>	<i>parish</i>	<i>PAS reference</i>	<i>Doge</i>
Norfolk	Foulsham	NMS-F533	Loredan
Norfolk	East Walton	NMS-EE44	Mocenigo
Norfolk	Narborough	NMS869	Steno
Norfolk	Marham	NMS-EB95	Steno
Norfolk	Marham	NMS-ECDB	Steno
Norfolk	Mattishall	NMS-F14D	Steno
Norfolk	Stradsett	NMS-F26D	Steno
Norfolk	Wereham	NMS-FE49	Steno
Norfolk	Swaffham	PAS-8C66E4	Steno
Norfolk	Wereham	NMS-161E7	Venier
North Lincolnshire	Barton upon Humber	NLM-F3AF66	Loredan
North Lincolnshire	Brigg	NLM-C23975	Steno
North Lincolnshire	Scunthorpe	SWYOR-F1FFC2	Steno
North Yorkshire	Wistow	SWYOR-1CCF52	Loredan
North Yorkshire	Sherburn in Elmet	SWYOR-4CDB56	Loredan
North Yorkshire	Snapes with Thorp	YORYM-AF0F78	Loredan
North Yorkshire	Nun Monkton	NCL-950453	Steno
Northamptonshire	Tansor	NARC-9A0426	Illegible, first incursion
Northamptonshire	Potterspury	NARC-69DF63	Illegible, first incursion
Northamptonshire	Boughton	NARC3258	Loredan
Northamptonshire	Rothersthorpe	NARC-FCDF23	Loredan
Northamptonshire	Nassington	NARC-FEC891	Loredan
Northamptonshire	Brigstock	NARC2804	Marcello
Northamptonshire	Norton	NARC-37CE95	Steno
Northamptonshire	Rothersthorpe	NARC-B898F4	Venier
Nottinghamshire	South Scarle	DENO-DCA357	Loredan
Nottinghamshire	Langar cum Barnstone	DENO-CB77E5	Loredan
Nottinghamshire	East Retford	NLM-FCD706	Loredan
Oxfordshire	East Hendred	SUR-FE8175	Loredan
Oxfordshire	Hethe	BUC-6A1A46	Steno
Oxfordshire	Radley	BERK-B53E97	Venier
Rutland	Leighfield	LEIC-56D2A0	Loredan
Shropshire	Cockshutt	HESH-E07F96	Loredan
Somerset	Hinton St George	SOMDOR-6EC6F7	Barbarigo
Somerset	Imminster	SOMDOR-170651	Loredan
Somerset	West Buckland	SOMDOR-80FA72	Loredan
South Yorkshire	Askern	SWYOR-793BF3	Loredan
South Yorkshire	Bawtry	SWYOR-D5DC96	Loredan
Staffordshire	Eccleshall	DENO-D22E84	Illegible, first incursion
Staffordshire	Draycott in the Moors	WMID-E38034	Loredan
Staffordshire	Drayton Bassett	WMID-0D4813	Steno
Staffordshire	Waterhouses	WMID-85EF91	Steno
Suffolk	Elmswell	SF-172683	Illegible, first incursion
Suffolk	Nettlestead	SF-302A94	Illegible, first incursion
Suffolk	Lakenheath	SF-7C5CB1	Illegible, first incursion
Suffolk	Covehithe	SF-89C3A2	Illegible, first incursion
Suffolk	Covehithe	SF-BB2897	Illegible, first incursion
Suffolk	Little Cornard	SF-B17A35	Illegible, first incursion
Suffolk	Stowupland	SF-DFDE76	Illegible, second incursion
Suffolk	Great Finborough	SF-E4E764	Illegible, second incursion
Suffolk	Fressingfield	SF-4A9FA4	Loredan
Suffolk	Somerleyton Ashby and Herringfleet	SF-5DD7C1	Loredan
Suffolk	Worlington	SF-A66FC1	Loredan
Suffolk	Hadleigh	ESS-AAF302	Steno
Suffolk	Great Glemham	SF-40B166	Steno
Suffolk	Cockfield	SF-444356	Steno
Suffolk	Fressingfield	SF-4AB362	Steno
Suffolk	Nettlestead	SF-8C9ED4	Steno
Suffolk	Monk Soham	SF-CE5533	Steno
Suffolk	St Mary South Elmham	SF-FA1D66	Steno
Suffolk	Eye	SF-FE14D6	Steno
Suffolk	Linstead Magna	WMID-7CFCC2	Venier

<i>county</i>	<i>parish</i>	<i>PAS reference</i>	<i>Doge</i>
Surrey	Wanborough	SUR-847381	Illegible, first incursion
Surrey	Guildford	SUR-025075	Loredan
Surrey	Normandy	SUR-854028	Loredan
Surrey	Shere	SUR-D9FA04	Loredan
Surrey	West Clandon	SUR-191715	Steno
Surrey	West Clandon	SUR-6C5F61	Steno
Surrey	West Clandon	SUR-7E5A42	Steno
Warwickshire	Wishaw	WMID-C4CCE4	Illegible, second incursion
Warwickshire	Brailes	WAW-9A87D5	Loredan
Warwickshire	Bidford on Avon	WAW-FB5806	Loredan
Warwickshire	Middleton	WMID-B7F785	Loredan
Warwickshire	Brandon and Bretford	DENO-F05C62	Steno
Warwickshire	Alcester	WAW-022687	Steno
Warwickshire	Brailes	WAW-3A5E63	Steno
Warwickshire	Tanworth in Arden	WAW-AAC7D1	Steno
Warwickshire	Alderminster	WMID462	Steno
West Midlands	Halesowen	WMID-2D9253	Loredan
West Sussex	Bramber	SUSS-07E316	Illegible, first incursion
West Sussex	Fulking	SUSS-376F85	Illegible, first incursion
West Sussex	Upper Beeding	SUSS-A2EEE5	Illegible, second incursion
West Sussex	Lancing	SUSS-AE5F67	Barbarigo
West Sussex	Sidlesham	SUSS-EF5853	Barbarigo
West Sussex	Pyecombe	SUSS-AC3216	Loredan
West Sussex	Boxgrove	SUSS-AFD3A5	Loredan
West Sussex	Bosham	SUSS-7D47A5	Mocenigo
West Sussex	Coldwaltham	SUSS-2601A4	Steno
West Sussex	Yapton	SUSS-562334	Steno
Wiltshire	Cheverell Parva	WILT-0CADF1	Loredan
Wiltshire	Easterton	WILT-309CF5	Loredan
Wiltshire	Downton	WILT-319C31	Loredan
Wiltshire	Allcannings	WILT-83C557	Loredan
Wiltshire	Allcannings	WILT-8453B7	Loredan
Wiltshire	St Paul Malmesbury Without	WILT-ACE0C2	Loredan
Wiltshire	St Paul Malmesbury Without	WILT-AD05E3	Loredan
Wiltshire	Milton Lilbourne	WILT-F67818	Loredan
Wiltshire	West Lavington	WILT-35EAE7	Mocenigo
Wiltshire	Sutton Benger	NMGW190	Steno
Wiltshire	Salisbury	WILT-647804	Steno
Wiltshire	Rowde	WILT-756284	Steno
Worcestershire	Leigh	WAW-4C2207	Loredan

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