

HENRY II (1154–89)

Cross-Crosslet (Tealby) type

References are to nos in *BMC Henry II, Cross-crosslets type* (London, 1951), where these coins are cited.

240. Bury St Edmunds, Raul (*BMC* 33a). 1.32g No prov.
 241. Bury St Edmunds, Willam (*BMC* 52, not 49 as recorded in *BMC*). 1.44g Hasluck 1920.
 242. Canterbury, Goldeop (*BMC* 81). 1.28g No prov.
 243. Canterbury, Ricard (*BMC* 149). 1.42g Sadd.
 244. Canterbury, Ricard (*BMC*, 103–10). 1.32g Sadd.
 245. Canterbury, Rogier (*BMC* 160). 1.49g No prov.
 246. Canterbury?, uncertain moneyer (–). 1.09g No prov.
 247. Carlisle, Willam (*BMC* 214). 1.48g Henderson 1933, ex Boyne 1195.
 248. Carlisle, Willem (*BMC* 224). 1.21g Vansittart 1864 (*1867 Catalogue*, no. 36).
 249. Carlisle, Willem (*BMC* 212). 1.22g chipped. Trinity College 1937, ex C.W. King 24 May 1877.
 250. Exeter, Edwi (*BMC* 262a). 1.28g No prov.
 251. Exeter, Rogier (cf. *BMC* 269). 1.45g Ritchie 1963. FALSE.
 252. Leicester, Rodbert (*BMC* 373). 1.40g Henderson 1933.
 253. Lincoln, Lanfram (*BMC* 396). 1.44g Hasluck 1920.
 254. Lincoln, Rauf (*BMC* 412a). 1.45g Sadd.
 255. London, Alwin (*BMC* 444). 1.36g Hasluck 1920.
 256. London, Edmund (*BMC* 456a). 1.47g Henderson 1933, ex Boyne 1195.
 257. London, Lifwn. (*BMC* 508a). 1.47g Hasluck 1920?
 258. Newcastle, Willane (*BMC* 601a). 1.20g Henderson 1933, bt. Spink 1888.
 259. Newcastle, Willem (*BMC* 585a). 1.29g Henderson 1933, ex Robinson 121.
 260. Newcastle, Willem (*BMC* 584). 1.30g Duncanson 1930, ex Smart.
 261. Norwich, Gilbert (cf. *BMC* 638). 1.36g Queens' College collection.
 262. Norwich, Herebert (*BMC* 642). 1.42g Sadd.
 263. Norwich, Nicol (*BMC* 664). 1.45g Till.
 264. Thetford, Willem (*BMC* 731). 1.43g Hasluck 1920.
 265. Thetford, Willem (*BMC* 732). 1.17g Henderson 1933.
 266. Winchester, Herebert (*BMC* 766). 1.32g chipped. No prov.
 267. Uncertain mint and moneyer. 1.44g Peterhouse 1960.
 268. Uncertain mint and moneyer. 1.36g No prov.
 269. Uncertain mint and moneyer. Wt. not recorded, cut-halfpenny. Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology.

A CONTINENTAL FIND INCLUDING TEALBY PENNIES

A. DAWSON and N. J. MAYHEW

FINDS of Tealby pennies are of sufficient rarity to warrant attention even when the details of such hoards are disappointingly vague. The find here partially published was said to have been discovered near Brussels, and the Tealby portion consisting of sixteen coins which are described below was acquired by Mr Carl Subak in 1984.¹ The English coins make up only a part of the whole find which consisted of sixty to seventy pieces. Apart from the English coins there was a group of deniers of Amiens, and a group of heavy deniers, mostly Cologne and Aachen with their copies. The German element of the find was said to be 'of almost [the] same composition as the hoard from Stromberg'.²

Stromberg contained chiefly HITARC Cologne pennies of Archbishop Philip of Heinsberg (1167–91),

and Roma Caput Mundi pennies of Friedrich I (Barbarossa) of Aachen or Duisberg. Buchanau cited similar finds from Brussels 1871, from Mont Falhize near Huy 1882, and from Beveren 1891, which last contained many Flemish deniers.³ None of these finds, dated shortly before and after 1180, contained English coin, though a second little known find from Beveren was of similar composition to the first with the addition of an English element.⁴ The appearance of Flemish deniers and Cologne and Aachen pennies together need not occasion too much surprise despite their differing standards. In 1173 the count of Flanders and Barbarossa concluded an agreement specifically permitting the circulation of the heavy German pennies in Flanders.⁵ Nor are the Amiens deniers out of place; between 1163 and 1183 Philip of

¹ The authors are most grateful to Mr Subak for the opportunity to study and publish this most interesting group.

² Dr Schulte of Münzen und Medaillen. See H. Buchanau, 'Münzfund von Stromberg in Hunstrück', *Blätter für Münzfreunde* (1914), 5495.

³ *RBN* 1872, 95; *RBN* 1892, 211; *Bulletin mensuel de Numismatique* (1882), 145.

⁴ We are grateful to M. Ghyssens for this information, see A. De Witte, *Révue de Droit International* (1894), 75–94.

⁵ F. Dumas, 'Comparisons entre l'évolution politique, économique et monétaire du nord de la France au XII^e siècle', in *Coinage in the Low Countries 880–1500*, edited by N. J. Mayhew (BAR, Supplementary series 54, Oxford 1979), p. 36.

Alsace, count of Flanders, held Amiens by right of his wife Isabelle of Vermandois, and the Flemish moneyer Simon may have struck at Amiens at this time.⁶

The present Belgian find fits neatly into this established picture of Imperial-Flemish monetary co-operation, clearly documented by hoards and the written record, but adds a significant new element in the shape of English Tealby pennies. Later in the thirteenth century England's role in the Low Countries' trade, and indeed in north-west Germany, became increasingly significant. The importance of England as a wool supplier for the Flemish cloth industry is well known, and marked in the numismatic history of the period by the imitation and circulation of sterling in mainland Europe, and by the steady flow of silver sent to England to buy the essential raw material. However, the appearance of these Tealby pennies, dated before 1180, near Brussels, seems to provide some numismatic confirmation for the growing impression that the wool-silver link between Britain and the Continent grew in strength appreciably in the last third of the twelfth century.

We know of no published list of continental finds of Tealby pennies. The general impression is that such finds are scarce and widely scattered. There are probably Tealby pennies among the Western coins found in Russia, but Potin's extensive listing does not provide sufficient detail to distinguish Tealby pence from other English coins recorded.⁷ Tealby pennies are certainly found elsewhere in the eastern Baltic. One occurred as a grave find in south-west Finland,⁸ while they were more plentiful in Estonia.⁹ There are two Tealby coins in Polish museums, presumably Polish finds but now of unknown provenance,¹⁰ and no doubt similar uncertainty attaches to Tealby coins elsewhere in other European museums. There is one Tealby penny in Berlin with a Ribnitz provenance,¹¹ though the coin does not feature in either of the two Ribnitz hoards reports.¹² Berghaus' celebrated review of English coins in north-west Europe makes no mention of Tealby coins,¹³ confirming their scarcity in Germany, and there are no Tealby finds listed by Ilich for Westphalia.¹⁴ The 'Barbarossa' hoard, cur-

rently in the process of publication by Dr Ulrich Klein, contained one Exeter mint Tealby penny, moneyer Guncelin, type C, and one Thetford penny, moneyer Turstein, type A.¹⁵ Though of possibly crusading provenance, the other coins of this hoard speak clearly of a German context.

For Sweden, the kindness and efficiency of Lars O. Lagerqvist enables us to record at least one find which included a Tealby penny, namely, that made at Värmland, Väse härad (hundred), Östra (east) Fågelvik parish, (Stockholm Inventory number 1993). This find, like the new Belgian hoard, also contained pence of Cologne and the Emperor Barbarossa. The Stockholm systematic collection contains one other Tealby penny which may or may not be from this same hoard. However, there can be no doubt that finds with Tealby pence from Sweden are very rare.

Yvon's listing¹⁶ of English finds of this period in France records three Tealby finds: hoards nos 10, 14 (possibly Tealby) and no. 21. Yvon no. 10 contains the Elmore Jones parcel¹⁷ of sixteen coins said to be a French find, though this is perhaps doubtful; the unusually wide range of mints makes this group look more like a small collection, or perhaps a selection from a much larger hoard. To this tally of French finds we may perhaps add a parcel of six Tealby pennies said to have been found in France, which appeared in the London trade in March 1981, but was lost before any record had been made. A second, similar group was seen briefly by one of us (A.D.) who noted the mints London, Canterbury, Ipswich, Thetford and possibly Lincoln, with two coins of uncertain mint; the types ranged from C to F. Finally we may note the hoard from Rome¹⁸ of 289 coins, consisting of 204 continental deniers (mostly French) and 85 English pennies of which sixteen were Tealby, the remainder Short Cross.

Apart from the rather curious tendency of Tealby pennies to occur in groups of sixteen (cf. the earlier system of 16d. to the ora), this brief review of the evidence suggests that Henry II's first coinage travelled abroad mostly to France, or in the company of French coins. This was also a noticeable characteristic of the earliest Short Cross finds, and is clearly

⁶ Dumas, p. 40.

⁷ V. M. Potin, 'Topografija nachodok zapadnoevropejskich monet X-XIII vv. na territorii drevnej Rusi', *Trudy Gosudarstvennogo Ermitaza* 9, *Numizmatika* 3 (1967), e.g. finds nos 5, 52 etc.

⁸ *NVA* (1968), 87.

⁹ A. Molvogin, 'An Estonian hoard of English coins from the twelfth century', *NCirc* (Sept. 1980), 307 is devoted to a hoard ending strongly in Stephen, but makes reference to other Estonian hoards containing Tealby pence. To date I have documented only one, namely that from Tamse (1967) on the island of Muhu, Estonia, deposited c. 1206, containing four Tealby and one Short Cross pennies, in a principally Swedish and German context. (A. Molvogin in *Studia archaeologica in memoriam Harri Moora*, (Tallinn, 1970), 126-32.)

¹⁰ We are grateful to Andrzej Mikolajczyk for this point.

¹¹ Acc. no. 433/87.

¹² *ZfN*, XV, (1887) and XX (1897).

¹³ P. Berghaus, 'Die Perioden des Sterlings in Westfalen, dem Rheinland und in den Niederlanden', *HBN* 1 (1947), 34-53.

¹⁴ P. Ilich, *Münzfunde und Geldumlauf in Westfalen in Mittelalter und Neuzeit*, (1980).

¹⁵ J. Klein in the *Proceedings of the International Numismatic Congress 1986*, forthcoming, and 'Die nicht-deutschen Münzen des 'Barbarossa-Funds'.', *Schweizerischen Numismatischen Rundschau* 66, (1987), 193-9.

¹⁶ J. Yvon, 'Estierlins à la croix dans les trésors français', *BNJ* 39 (1970), 24-60.

¹⁷ *NCirc* (May 1966), 125-6.

¹⁸ *BNJ* 14 (1917), 39-45.

explicable in terms of the Angevin role in England and France up until the loss of Normandy.

This new Belgian find, however, may be part of a different flow, generated more by trade than by political links, directed towards the Low Countries and Germany. The documentary and hoard evidence for Short Cross pennies in Germany and the Low Countries has been summarized elsewhere,¹⁹ but it may be that this find with Tealby coins is evidence that 'easterling' contacts were important slightly earlier than is usually thought.

There is also one other area of recent work to which this new find may be relevant. Since Metcalf pointed out the very modest size of the Tealby coinage, and observed that in the Short Cross period the volume of the English currency must have been 'rising like a rocket',²⁰ other students have taken up this theme. It has been argued that this phenomenon may not have been restricted to England, but may have occurred also in mainland Europe, and it may be associated with new mining discoveries ending the silver famine of the twelfth century. The argument further suggests that this monetary explosion may possibly have contributed to the rise in prices discernible from the last quarter of the twelfth century, and to the commercial revolution of the thirteenth.²¹

The exact dating of the monetary take-off in England, however, remains obscure. It is apparent from the beginning of Short Cross, but the scarcity of late Tealby finds has made it difficult to refine the chronology of type F, and to determine whether increased quantities of silver may have been coming to England in the 1170s. Something of this kind has already been hinted at, in the form of an increased output in type F especially notable in the East Anglian mints,²² but the need for further proof was felt. It may be that this new Belgian find is one small piece of new evidence in support of this hypothesis, since the present parcel confirms an impression of increasingly active East Anglian mints in type F. Is it too fanciful to see this Belgian find as a further link in the wool and silver chain joining England's eastern mints with the Low Countries' cloth manufacture and newly discovered mines of Saxony?

The coins show few signs of wear, but they are characteristically poorly struck on often irregular and in one case markedly rectangular flans. The attribution of coins to a particular class, mint and/or moneyer is frequently dependent upon the identification of a die-duplicate. Some of the coins illustrated

have so little of the reverse legend visible that even establishing a correct die axis has proved difficult. East Anglian issues figure strongly throughout the group, together with London and Canterbury, making it quite geographically compact, yet the period of issue comprises examples representing up to twenty years output. The class A coins of Siwate (no. 3) and Willem Ma (no. 2) of Thetford were presumably struck no later than 1160/61. Pipe Roll evidence suggests that in 4 Henry II (1157/8) there were three moneyers working at Thetford. The recorded number then dropped to two in 5 Henry II (1158/9). The three moneyers are mentioned by name in the Pipe Rolls for Norfolk and Suffolk as being Turstain, William FitzDerewald and William de Wiclewuda. In this instance, the documentary evidence contradicts the hard facts offered by the coins themselves, because of examples of class 'A' bearing a fourth moneyer's signature – namely, Siwate.

It is difficult to see how Siwate fits into the picture, yet he seems to have been quite productive. Either class 'A' ran further into the 1160s than previously thought, or the accounting of moneyers in the Rolls is incorrect. Another feasible explanation is that a 'stop-start' system was in operation when output reached a peak whereby a moneyer might be dormant for a year or more *within* the period of a particular class – then take up office again.

Regarding the two 'Williams', assuming that William FitzDerewald is the WILLEM:DE whose signature appears on FEJ plate 33/15 (*BMC* 747) and this does seem to be the accepted view, then it would be logical to assume that William de Wiclewuda is the moneyer behind the enigmatic signature WILLEM:MA: (MAjor?) as it appears on *BMC* 745. There is little doubt that both Williams struck for class A1 in the early stages of the recoinage (c.1157/8) whereas by the later output of class A (c.1158/61), the signature changes to plain WILLEM:.. This suggests that the need for a differentiating suffix no longer applied. With the recorded number of working moneyers dropping to two it would further imply that one of the Williams ceased to operate sometime prior to 1159.

We may conclude that the WILLEM:MA coin was probably struck before 1159. This would expand the proposed period of issue by two years. On the other hand, the late class F coin of London (no. 11) on a square flan graphically reflects the confusion of the terminal stages of the coinage approaching 1180.

¹⁹ G. P. Gittos and N. J. Mayhew, 'Short Cross Sterlings from the Rotenfels hoard', *BNJ* 53 (1983), 19–28.

²⁰ D. M. Metcalf, 'A survey of numismatic research into the pennies of the first three Edwards' in *Edwardian Monetary Affairs 1279–1344*, edited by N. J. Mayhew (*BAR* 36, Oxford, 1977), pp. 7 and 26–31.

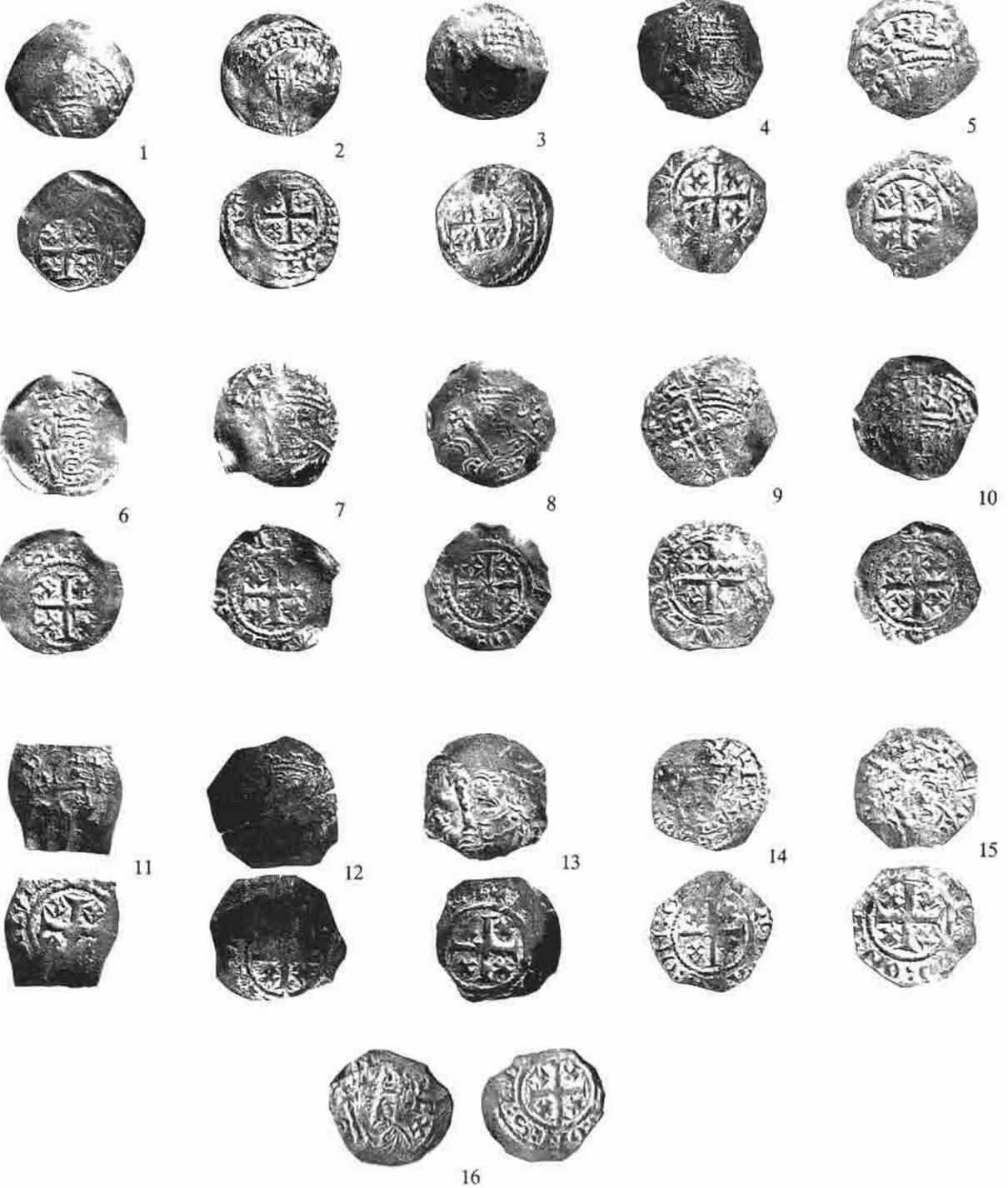
²¹ N. J. Mayhew, 'Frappes de monnaies et hausse des prix en Angleterre de 1180 à 1220', and P. Spufford, 'Le rôle de la monnaie dans la révolution commerciale du XIII^e siècle' both in *Études d'Histoire monétaire*, edited by John Day (Lille, 1984).

²² Mayhew, p. 166.

THE COINS

1. Class A — — X̄N̄ —
(Canterbury mint?) possibly from the same obverse die as *BMC* 144 (i.e. +RICARD:M:ON:CAN) but the reverse die differs. Weight: 1.45g
2. Class A —ENRIRE — N̄
+WIL|LEM:M|A:ON:[T]EF
Thetford mint. Die-duplicate of *BMC* 745. Weight: 1.44g
3. Class A2 ?
+[SIWATE]:ON:TEFFO
Thetford mint. The obverse is a die-duplicate of *BMC* 710 and the reverse die is a duplicate of FEJ pl. 33/1 which is supposed to be from the same reverse die as *BMC* 710 but is clearly not. Weight: 1.38g
4. Class C2 —N—
+GODE|FREI:ON:LV|NDE
London mint. The obverse die is a duplicate of *BMC* 483 whereas the reverse die would seem to be unpublished. Weight: 1.35g
5. Class D — hENRIR—
+[RE]—
(Norwich or Northampton?) Of all the issuing mints only three have a moneyer's signature beginning with +RE. They are Ilchester, Northampton and Norwich. There is no evidence of the moneyer Renard at Ilchester striking after 1161 and the Northampton moneyer Reimond does not figure after irregular issue of class C. It is therefore reasonable to assume that the coin is most likely to be an issue of REINER of the Norwich mint. Weight: 1.33g
6. Class E —ENRIR—
+[N]|COLE:ON:GIPE ∞ : (?)
(Ipswich mint?) The dies appear not to be published. Weight: 1.47g
7. Class E —ENRI—X
+TVR|STAIN:ON:T|J
Thetford mint. Class E is not represented under Thetford in *BMC* but this coin is from the same dies as FEJ pl. 33/14 and a specimen from the A.W. Lainchbury collection now in the cabinet of one of the writers (A.D.). Weight: 1.40g
8. Class E2 —EX:
—[ARD:ON:]—
9. Class F +hENRIR— +
+GOLDh|AVOC:ON:C|
Canterbury mint. From the same obverse die as FEJ pl. 14/31. The reverse die appears to be unrecorded. Neither obverse nor reverse dies are represented in *BMC*. Weight: 1.47g
10. Class F + hENRIRE—
+NICOLE:|ON:|GIPE ∞ :
Ipswich mint. This coin is a die-duplicate of *BMC* 327 and FEJ pl. 22/23. Weight: 1.37g
11. Class F —hE—
—[LVN]—
London mint. A very late issue with the obverse die beginning to break up. The dies appear not to be represented in either *BMC*, FEJ or *SCBI*. Weight: 1.44g
12. Class F —X:
—[LV]—
(London mint?) Too weakly struck to show enough features for die matching. Weight: 1.37g
13. Class F —
+—
(?) Although the obverse and reverse dies are quite distinctive those letters showing on the reverse have broken up so much as to make them almost illegible. The dies appear not to be published. Weight: 1.44g
14. Class F1 —RIREX:
+TV[R]∞TAIN:ON:GIP
Ipswich mint. The dies are not represented in either *BMC*, FEJ or *SCBI*. Weight: 1.46g
15. Class F1 +HENRI:REX:
—[D:ON:L] (or c) —
Faint traces of the letter immediately following the initial letter of the mint name would seem to indicate a straight backed vowel, i.e. E or I. If this is the case it would eliminate both London and Canterbury as the likely mints. It must be remembered, how-

PLATE



A continental Find of Tealby pennies

ever, that uneven flan surfaces can throw up the most convincing yet totally misleading illusions. This coin will most likely prove to be of Ricard of London or Canterbury. The dies appear not to be published. Weight: 1.44g

16. Class F3 -EN-I:REX
+RA[VL:]ON:∞:ED[MV]
Bury St Edmunds mint. From the same dies as *BMC* 37/38. Weight: 1.45g

AN ISSUE OF FARTHINGS OF RICHARD II

J. P. C. KENT

It is unusual for the exact date, circumstances and amount of an issue of our mediaeval coinage to be known; the following record of the striking of farthings in London in 1382 seems not to have been discussed in numismatic literature.

The shortage of halfpence and farthings was endemic in the Middle Ages, not least under Richard II. In 1380, for example, the Commons petitioned that three-quarters of every pound of silver coined should be in halfpence and farthings, which were required, it was said, for small purchases, especially of bread and beer, for God and for works of charity.¹ The farthing played an important part in fourteenth-century London life. It was, for instance, the toll for a laden horse crossing Holborn Bridge, the price of half a gallon of best ale, the charge for a cartload of general goods coming to Dowgate, the cost of two red herrings or two and a half eggs. In 1380, London imposed a charge of a farthing on every laden horse passing through the city gates, the proceeds to be devoted to road repairs.²

An undated proclamation of 1382 by the mayor (John Northampton, alias Comberton) and aldermen, following up the petition of 1380, decreed that in order to help the poor, bakers were to make farthing loaves and brewers to sell ale by farthing measures. To this end, measures had been made and stamped with the letter F to show that they were for farthings-worths. The mayor and aldermen had, furthermore, had farthings made at the Tower to the value of £80

sterling. The brewers were to come on an appointed day to the Guildhall to collect both measures and farthings, and thereafter were forbidden to refuse to sell on demand that amount of best ale, or decline to give change for a halfpenny. And since the parsons of London churches had been raising their customary charges because small money had ceased to circulate, it was decreed that henceforward no-one should offer more than one farthing a mass at vigils of the dead or similar ceremonies. If the parson would not give change for a halfpenny, the entire offering might be refused. On 10 May, a proclamation commanded all bakers, brewers, hostellers and huxters to come to the Guildhall by the following Thursday, when they should receive as many farthings as they required; but like so many official orders, it had to be repeated ten days later.³

The situation seems for once to envisage an adequate supply of halfpence. How adequate the 76,800 farthings struck on this occasion proved we cannot tell, though ten years later the Commons were once more complaining of the shortage of halfpence and farthings. With our imperfect documentation, it seems at present impossible to tell which variety of London farthing corresponds to this occasion,⁴ or whether this self-help was resorted to at other times or in other places. It may be significant that the event coincides with a period when the internal politics of London were dangerously, and for some fatally, enmeshed with those of a weak government.

¹ R. Ruding, *Annals of the Coinage of Great Britain*, 3rd edn (1840), I, 237-42.

² City of London Record Office. Letter-Books G and H, *passim*.

³ City of London Record Office. Letter-book H f. cxliv, cxliv b.

⁴ P. F. Purvey, 'The pence, half-pence and farthings of Richard II, of the mints of London, York and Durham', *BNJ* 31 (1962), 88-108; E. J. Harris, 'The halfpence and farthings of Richard II', *NCirc* 1987, 325.