

## SOME UNPUBLISHED COINS OF HENRY I AND STEPHEN

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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).<sup>1</sup> 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,<sup>2</sup> 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.<sup>3</sup> 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.<sup>4</sup> There are now six coins of the mint known of four types (5, 6, 11 and 13).<sup>5</sup> 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 Fresa (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

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

<sup>2</sup> Spink sale, 6 October 2004, lot 388.

<sup>3</sup> 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.

<sup>4</sup> 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.

<sup>5</sup> 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.<sup>6</sup>

## 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.<sup>7</sup> 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.<sup>8</sup> The type 8 coin of Hereford in the Conte collection (no. 7), although not technically a mule since the

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

<sup>7</sup> 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.

<sup>8</sup> 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:<sup>9</sup>

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.<sup>10</sup> 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.<sup>11</sup> 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).<sup>12</sup> 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.<sup>13</sup> 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:

<sup>9</sup> 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.

<sup>10</sup> 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.

<sup>11</sup> 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.

<sup>12</sup> 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.

<sup>13</sup> 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,<sup>14</sup> 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.<sup>15</sup> To these Peter Seaby added a type with a standing figure holding a standard,<sup>16</sup> though the attribution is speculative, and recently Marshall Faintich has published a new type with a Bearded Bust (Pl. 11, 6).<sup>17</sup> 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

<sup>14</sup> Mike R. Vosper List 129 (Spring 2005), no. 99.

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

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

<sup>17</sup> 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.<sup>18</sup> 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.

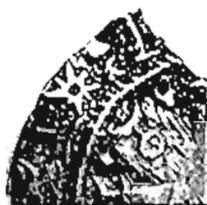


Fig. 1. Reverse design on the new 'Thistle' type.

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.<sup>19</sup> 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

<sup>18</sup> 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.

<sup>19</sup> 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)