

## STEPHEN AND THE ANARCHY 1135-1154

By R. P. MACK

HENRY I died on December 1st 1135 leaving his daughter Matilda as the sole representative of the legitimate line of the Dukes of Normandy and with therefore some claim to the throne of England. But Matilda was not popular with the barons and on Henry's death they elected Theobald, the eldest son of Henry I's sister Adele. However, Stephen, Theobald's younger brother, on hearing of this crossed over to England and had himself crowned King actually while the elections were taking place in Normandy.

### STEPHEN<sup>1</sup> (1135-54)

Stephen was an attractive personality and popular in both England and Normandy. He was brave and generous, his faults being a certain lack of firmness and strength of character and uncertainty in making decisions in difficult circumstances. He married Matilda, daughter of Eustace of Boulogne. Throughout his reign there was considerable turmoil and confusion and when the Empress Matilda came to England in 1139 to try and obtain the throne, with the help of her half-brother, Robert earl of Gloucester, there was more or less open warfare between the two sides, the Empress being supported in the north by her uncle, David I of Scotland. During this period Stephen, who with the help of his brother Henry, Bishop of Winchester, had the support of the church and controlled most of the wealth of the country, held the eastern part of England whilst the Empress with headquarters at Bristol and Gloucester controlled most of the west. It was at this time that many barons raised their own little armies, fortified their castles and joined in the struggle purely for selfish reasons, often plundering their neighbours and supporting whichever side they thought was winning. Many towns and villages suffered heavily and there was much brutality.

On February 2nd 1141 the battle of Lincoln was fought and Stephen taken prisoner. The Empress Matilda was then formally elected Queen. The coronation was to have taken place at Westminster but was delayed because the citizens of London were demanding the release of the King. About this time, Queen Matilda, Stephen's wife, with the help of William of Ypres, raised an army in East Anglia and Kent and in June marched on London and then on to Winchester where she laid siege to the forces of earl Robert and the Empress. By September the Empress found her position in Winchester untenable and retreated to Gloucester but earl Robert was not so fortunate and he was captured at Stockbridge, some nine miles from Winchester. On November 1st 1141 Stephen was released and exchanged for earl Robert. For the next few years it seems that Stephen's position in the country was somewhat improved, due partly to reports of his having been ill-treated whilst a prisoner. But the country was still in a very unsettled state and fighting continued at intervals. Earl Robert died in 1147 and after this the Empress Matilda took no further part in the struggle and left England for good in 1148. When her son, Henry of Anjou, came to England in January 1153 at the request of the beleaguered garrison in Wallingford Castle he met with considerable success and being joined by the earls of Chester and Leicester marched in

<sup>1</sup> *English Historical Documents* vol. ii, 1042-1189. A. L. Poole, *Oxford History of England, Domesday to Magna Carta* 1087-1216.

triumph through the midlands. Stephen, having been defeated at Malmesbury, found there was little he could do to stop him and when his eldest son Eustace died in October 1153 he was no doubt glad of the opportunity for a compromise and Henry was made his successor and heir. Stephen died at Dover on October 25th 1154<sup>1</sup>.

In both his standard work *English Coins*<sup>2</sup> and his *British Museum Catalogue* ('Norman Kings') Brooke has divided the regular coinage of this reign into seven main types. In the following pages I have adhered to Brooke's numbered classification but it is doubtful whether three of these types, and possibly a fourth, were in fact regular substantive issues. The system of changing the type every three years seems to have broken down during the anarchy of the Civil War period and there is good evidence for supposing that the first type was not changed until 1141. The last type (Type 7) probably commenced about the time of the cessation of hostilities and it continued to be struck after Stephen's death in 1154 until the inception of the new coinage of Henry II in 1158. At some time during the intervening years between 1141 and 1153 the coins classified by Brooke as Types 2, 3, 4, 5 and 6 were struck. Of these the surviving specimens of Types 3, 4 and 5 are of the greatest rarity and the mints, so far as identifiable, are confined to the East Midlands from which it seems almost certain that these 'types' were not regular issues but should be classified as 'Local Variants'. No coin of the London mint is known of these three 'types' which is not surprising considering the poor standard of their execution and die engraving. Type 6 too is very rare but this is in all probability a substantive type. Although struck at widely separated mints these were all in royalist territory and the workmanship of the coins is good. There remains Type 2 and whilst hesitating to suggest a run of ten to twelve years for a single type there is evidence that this could well have been the case. However the whole period is so confusing and so wrapped in mystery, particularly in the matter of chronology, that for the present we must be content to wait until further evidence is forthcoming in the shape of finds or, better still, a new hoard which would throw fresh light on the intriguing and difficult coinage of the reign.

In the following pages in Types 1, 2 and 7 a list of the known mints with moneyers is given, with readings. In Types 3, 4, 5 and 6 and the irregular and baronial coinage an attempt has been made to produce a corpus of all the known coins. This is as complete as the writer could make it but there are bound to be omissions. An exception to the above is the irregular coins of Type 1 with meaningless legends, Nos 198-205, and some of the Scottish Border coins when only a few representative pieces are included.

In the list of coins the following abbreviations are used:—

B.M.: British Museum.

Nottingham: Nottingham Castle Museum.

Oxford: The Ashmolean Museum, Oxford.

Edinburgh: National Museum of Antiquities, Edinburgh.

Cambridge: The Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge.

Chatsworth: The Duke of Devonshire's collection at Chatsworth, Derby.

An asterisk indicates a coin is illustrated.

References are as follows:—

NC: *Numismatic Chronicle*.

BNJ: *British Numismatic Journal*.

<sup>1</sup> See also W. J. Andrew's 'A Numismatic History of the Reign of Stephen', *BNJ*, vols. vi, viii, x.

<sup>2</sup> G. C. Brooke, *English Coins*. Revised edition, 1950.

- BMC*: *British Museum Catalogue, Norman Kings*, 1916.  
 Brooke: *English Coins*, revised edition 1950 by G. C. Brooke.  
 Burns: *The Coinage of Scotland* by E. Burns, 1887.  
 Stewart: *The Scottish Coinage* by I. H. Stewart, 1955.  
 Thompson: *Inventory of British Coin Hoards* by J. D. A. Thompson.

The following are the coins of the reign.

**MULE STEPHEN TYPE 1 and HENRY I TYPE 15.**

- Obv.* Similar to Stephen Type 1, crowned bust to the right with sceptre in right hand.  
*Rev.* Similar to Henry I Type 15, quadrilateral on cross fleury.

**LONDON MINT**

1. *O.* + STIEFNE  
*R.* + ALGAR ON LVND

- |                                |         |
|--------------------------------|---------|
| * (a) B.M.                     | 24.5 g. |
| (b) B.M.                       | 21.4 g. |
| (c) Mack ex Baldwin (corroded) | 21.2 g. |

Five of these coins have been recorded, all from the the same dies<sup>1</sup>, but two cannot now be traced. They are made of copper plated with silver and are contemporary forgeries<sup>2</sup>. Information concerning the provenance of the B.M. coins was destroyed by enemy action during the war.

**MULE HENRY I TYPE 15 and STEPHEN TYPE 1.**

- Obv.* Similar to Henry I Type 15.  
*Rev.* Similar to Stephen Type 1.

2. *O.* + HENRICVS

*R.* Illegible

- |                                 |         |
|---------------------------------|---------|
| * B.M. From the South Kyme find | 22.1 g. |
|---------------------------------|---------|

**TYPE 1 (c.1135 to c.1141).**

*Obverse.* Bust of the King to the right, crowned and diademed and holding in his right hand a sceptre in front of his face. The inscription, which reads either STIEFNE, STIEFNE REX, STIEFNE R, STIEFNE RE, STIFNE, STIFNE R, STIFN REX, STEFANVS R, is placed around, generally divided by beaded inner and outer circles. The inner circle, which is normally only partial, is omitted on quite a number of dies of both London and the provincial mints. On these coins, some of which have an annulet on the King's shoulder, the face is often larger and the bust less finely executed<sup>3</sup>.

*Reverse.* Cross moline, the claws joined so as to make an eight foil; in each angle a fleur-de-lis springing from the junction of two claws. An annulet is sometimes placed at the end of each limb. The name of the moneyer and mint placed around between two beaded circles. The lettering is very similar to that of the last type of Henry I (*BMC* Type 15).

Average weight about 21.5 grains.

This type is often referred to as the 'Watford Type' on account of the large number, well over six hundred, which were found near Watford, Herts., in 1818.

In the Dartford (1825), Sheldon (1867), Linton (1883), Nottingham (1880) and South Kyme finds, coins of the last type of Henry I (*BMC* Type 15) were found in company with

<sup>1</sup> *BNJ*, iii, p. 288.

<sup>2</sup> *NC*, 1901, pp. 283-284.

<sup>3</sup> E.g. no. 22e.

this type of Stephen. Therefore there can be no doubt that this was the first type of the reign. It is quite possible that this issue continued to be struck until 1141 but owing to the confused state of the country (and of the coinage) at the time of the anarchy it is impossible to be sure of the date of its termination.

The following are the recorded mints and moneyers for Type 1.

The fullest reading is given in each case, but readings vary with different dies.

### 3. BEDFORD

JOHN BETFO

### 4. BRISTOL

(a) + FARDEIN:ON:BRIST:

(b) + GVRDAN:ON:BR:

(c) + TVRCHIL:ON:BRIST:

### 5. BURY ST. EDMUNDS

(a) + ACEL:ON:SANT

(b) + GILEBERT:ON:EDM or SA

(c) + IVN:ON:[ ]MV

### 6. CANTERBURY

(a) + AEDFARD:ON:CANTE

(b) + AL[GAB ]ON:CANT

(c) + GODHESE:ON:CA:

(d) + IVN:ON:CANTPA

(e) + RODBERT:ON:CA:

(f) + PILLELM:ON:CANT

(g) + PVLFPINE:ON:CANB

(h) + PVLFRIC:ON:CAN

### 7. CARDIFF

+ PILLEM:ON:CARDI

From London made dies as distinct from the locally made dies used at Carlisle.

CARLISLE (See Scottish Border Coins)

279. + EREBALD:ON:CARD:

277. + WILEALME:ON:CARD

282. + ODARD:ON[CARD:] (probably)

All from locally made dies.

### 8. CASTLE RISING<sup>1</sup>

+ BERTOLD:ON:RI

### 9. CHESTER

(a) + ALMER:ON:CES:

(b) + RAVENSPERT:ON:CE:

(c) + THVRBER:ON:CEST

(d) + WALTER or PALTR:ON:CESTR:

### 10. CHICHESTER

+ GODPINE:ON:CICES:

### 11. COLCHESTER

(a) + ALFPINE:ON:COLIE

\* (b) + EDPARD:ON:COLE

(c) + SAFARE:ON:COL

<sup>1</sup> BNJ, xx, p. 117.

## 12. DURHAM

- (a) + FOBVND:ON:DVNI:  
 (b) + HENRI:ON:DVN[

## 281. 'EDEN' (Carlisle?)

+ EREBALD:ON:EDEN:

Possibly struck at Carlisle and issued at Edinburgh. (See Scottish Border Coins).

## 13. EXETER

- (a) + AILRIC:ON:EXCES:  
 (b) + ALGAR:ON:EXC  
 (c) + BRIHTPION:EXCE:

## 14. GLOUCESTER

- (a) + ALFPINE:ON:GOLPE  
 \* (b) + GILLEBERT:ON:GLO  
 (c) + RALF:ON:GLOECE  
 (d) + PIBERT:ON:GLOPE

## 15. HASTINGS

- (a) + RODBERT:ON:HA  
 (b) + SATINE:ON:HAST  
 (c) + PENSTAN:ON:HAS

## 16. HEREFORD

- (a) + EDRICVS:ON:HEREF:  
 (b) + SIBERN:ON:HER  
 (c) + PTTRIC:ON:HEREFD

or

- \* (d) + PICRICE:ON:HERE

or

- \* (e) + PICRIC:ON:HERE

Hereford was one of the Angevin strongholds early in the reign but in 1138 it capitulated to King Stephen. Being cut off from London, the moneyers, of whom there seem to be two or three working at the same time, had to make their own dies and some of their coins are from very curious 'local' dies, notably those by the moneyer Picric, which have a particularly grotesque representation of the King. Later in the reign, probably about the year 1143 and after a memorable siege, Hereford was recaptured by the Angevin party and Henry of Anjou struck coins there.

## 17. IPSWICH

- (a) + AEDGAR:ON:GIPE  
 (b) + EDMVND:ON:GIPE  
 (c) + OSBERN:ON:GIP  
 (d) + PATEN:ON:GIPE

## 18. LAUNCESTON

+ PILLEM:ON:LANSA

## 19. LEICESTER

- (a) + SAMAR:ON:LEREC:  
 (b) + SIMVN:ON:LERE:

## 20. LEWES

- (a) + HERREVI:ON:LEPE:
- (b) + OSBERN:ON:LEPE:
- (c) + PILLEM:ON:LEPE:

## 21. LINCOLN

- (a) + ARNFI:ON:[ ]O
- (b) + GLADEPIN:ON:NICO
- (c) + OSLAC:ON:NICO *or* L
- (d) + RATVLF:ON:NIC *or* RAWVLF:ON:LIN
- (e) + REINALD:ON:NICO
- (f) + SIGFARD:ON:NICO *or* SIGVARD:ON:NICO *or* SIWARD:ON:LIN *or* SIGVARD:ON:LIN

The earliest reading of mint name is NICOLE, later spellings being LINCOL.

## 22. LONDON

- (a) + ADELARD:ON:LVN
- (b) + ALFRED:ON:LVN *or* + ALVERED:ON:LVN:
- (c) + ALPINE:ON:LVNDEN
- (d) + ALGAR:MAN:ON:LV
- \* (e) + ALISANDER:ON:LV
- (f) + BALDEPIN:ON:LVN
- (g) + BRICMAR:ON:LV:
- (h) + DERREMAN:ON:LV *or* + DEREMAN:ON:LVN:
- (j) + ESTMVND:ON:LVN
- (k) + GODRICVS:ON:LVN *or* + GODRIC:ON:LV
- (l) + LEFRED:ON:LVND: *or* LIEFRED:ON:LVND:
- (m) + ROBERT:ON:LV
- (n) + ROGIER:ON:LV:
- \* (o) + SMEAPIN:ON:LV *or* SMEPINE:ON:LVN:
- (p) + TOVI:ON:LVNDE
- (q) + PVLPINE:ON:LV:

The Abbey of Reading was entitled to one moneyer at London. This privilege had been granted in Henry I's reign in lieu of the grant of a mint and moneyer actually at Reading and Stephen had confirmed it on his accession. The abbey coins may be recognised by having an annulet on the crown and on the king's shoulder (No. 22(o)). The moneyers are SMEAPINE and LIEFRED and the king is styled STEFANVS R. These two moneyers apparently used the same obverse die, with high arched crown.

## 23. NORTHAMPTON

- + PAEN:ON:NORHAN

## 24. NORWICH

- (a) + AEDSTAN:NORP:
- (b) + AILWI:ON:NORPIC:
- (c) + ALFTARD:ON:NOR
- (d) + ETREI:ON:NORPI:
- (e) + ETSTAN:ON:NORPI:
- (f) + EVSTACE:ON:NORPI:
- (g) + GODPINE:ON:NOR
- \* (h) + OTERCHE:ON:NORPIC:
- (j) + SIBTRIC:ON:NORPI
- (k) + SYNEMAN:ON:NOR
- (l) + SPEDMAN:ON:NOR
- (m) + WALTIER *or* FALTIER:ON:NORP
- (n) + PILLEM:ON:NORPI *or* PILLELM:ON:NOR:

25. NOTTINGHAM

+ SPEIN:ON:SNOT: *or* SNOTIE:

26. OXFORD

- \* (a) + GAHAN:ON:OXEN
- (b) + RAPVLF:ON:OXE:
- (c) + SPETIG:ON:OXEN

27. PEMBROKE

- \* + GILPATRIC:ON:PAN

28. PEVENSEY (?)

+ HERV[ ]ON:PEV

South Kyme No. 203. Presumably this mint and not Lewes but the reading is not certain.

29. SALISBURY (†)

+ STANGHVN:ON:SA

South Kyme Nos 204 and 298. Presumably the Type 7 Salisbury moneyer STANVNG but this is by no means certain.

30. SHAFTESBURY

- (a) + RICARD:ON:SAFTE:
- (b) + SAGRIM:ON:SA:

31. SHREWSBURY

- (a) + RAVENSART:ON:SCR
- (b) + RODBERT:ON:SROB: *or* SCROB

The coins by Ravensart are from locally made dies.

32. SOUTHWARK

- (a) + ALPINE:ON:SVD:
- (b) + TVRCHIL:ON:SVD:
- (c) + PVLFPOLD:ON:SV *or* WLPOLD:ON:SV:

33. STAFFORD

- \* + GODRIC:ON:STAFO:

34. STAMFORD

- (a) + LEFSI:ON:STANFO:
- (b) + SIPARD:ON:STA

35. SUDBURY

- (a) + GOD[ ]ON:SDB
- (b) + GOIMER:ON:SVDB
- (c) + SIGAR:ON:SVT

36. TAUNTON

+ ALFRED:ON:TAN

37. THETFORD

- \* (a) + BALDEFIN:ON:TETE
- (b) + GEFFREI:ON:TETFE
- (c) + ODDE:ON:TETFOR *or* + ODE:ON:TETFORT *or* TET:FORT

## 38. WARWICK

- (a) + EDRED:ON:PARPI:
- (b) + EVERARD:ON:PAR:
- (c) + LEFRIC:ON:WAR:

## 39. WILTON

- (a) + FALCHE:ON:PILTVN
- (b) + TOMAS:ON:PILTVN or TVMAS:ON:PILTVN

## 40. WINCHESTER

- (a) + ALPOLD:ON:PIN:
- (b) + GEFREI:ON:PINC:
- (c) + KIPPIS or HIPPIG:ON:PINC:
- (d) + ROGERVS:ON:PIN:
- (e) + ROGIER:ON:PINC:
- (f) + SALET:ON:PINC:
- (g) + SIPARD:ON:PNC: or SIWARD:ON:PINC:
- (h) + STIEFNE:ON:PIN:

## 41. WORCESTER

- (a) + ALARD:ON:PIREC
- (b) + GODRIC:ON:PIREC:
- (c) + FYLFRIK:ON:PIREC:

## 42. YORK

- (a) + AVTGRIM:ON:EVER:
- \* (b) + LAISIG:ON:EVERPI:
- (c) + MARTIN:ON:EVER:
- (d) + TVRSTAN:ON:EVER:
- (e) + VLF:ON:EVERERIC or EVERPIC
- (f) + OTBYRN:ON:EVER:
- (g) + STANCHIL:ON:EV

Many of the coins of Type 1 have the moneyer's or mint name apparently hammered out. This was probably done to disguise the authority issuing the coins in difficult times when the moneyers were doubtful whether to support King or Empress. This is particularly noticeable in some coins of Stamford, Lincoln and Nottingham, which sometimes also have the King's name obliterated.

On some coins the initial cross on the reverse is out of line with the reverse design. This occurs in other types as well.

## COINS OF TYPE 1 WITH OBLVERSE READING PERERIC.

When Henry I died in December, 1135, there was some confusion in the country as to who would succeed to the throne and Stephen's claim was not really fully substantiated until he got the support of the Church and his election confirmed by the Pope early in 1136. During this period of uncertainty the coins with the obverse inscription PERERIC, to which no definite meaning could be attached, may have been struck<sup>1</sup>. All these coins are of good silver and weight and there is no reason to suppose that they were other than the true coinage of the

<sup>1</sup> For further discussions on the meaning of the PERERIC legend see *BMC*, pp. lxxxiiiff, *NC* 1850, pp. 165ff, *NC*, 1896, p. 64, *BNJ*, vol. vii, pp. 81ff,

*NC*, 1915, Proceedings, p. 37, *NC*, 1915, pp. 109ff, but all are unconvincing.

realm. That the coins were issued early in the reign is confirmed by finds<sup>1</sup>. There were six Pereric coins from the South Kyme find associated with Henry I type 15 and Stephen type 1, two from the Watford, also with coins of Henry I, one from the Nottingham, one from the Sheldon and two from the Linton. In the Linton find they were associated with forty pennies, cut halfpennies and farthings of Stephen type 1 and thirty-nine pennies, cut halfpennies and farthings of Stephen type 2.

The use of the early form of the spelling of NICOLE for Lincoln instead of the later LINC and the early spelling of the Lincoln moneyers RAPVLF and SIPARD instead of the later RAWVLF and SIGVARD also confirm the issue as being an early one.

An alternative suggestion is that the Pereric coins were struck during the captivity of Stephen between 2nd February and 2nd November 1141. During this period there was much confusion and uncertainty all over the country and many barons in consequence supported the side whose fortunes at the moment seemed most favourable. The moneyers were in an extremely difficult position as they were compelled by law to place their names and place of mintage on the reverse of the coins they issued, thereby publicly proclaiming which side they supported. Thus, if a moneyer openly placed his name on the reverse of a coin, the obverse of which bore the name and title of the Empress, should King Stephen at some later date be released and regain the throne, a hope which was undoubtedly borne by many, that moneyer would be held to be a traitor to the King. It seems possible therefore that a moneyer who did not want to commit himself may have deliberately substituted PERERIC for the King's name, a meaningless word at which neither side could take offence and perhaps bearing some resemblance to both partisans names and titles.

But as already stated most of the known Pereric coins are of standard weight and fineness and all the dies appear to have come from a central distributing authority, presumably London. It therefore seems unlikely that they were struck after the outbreak of the Civil War when much of the country was divided and in a state of turmoil, particularly as Bristol, which was at this time in the hands of the Empress Matilda, appears as one of the mints, and the first of these two suggestions seems more likely to be the correct one. But the word PERERIC which sometimes has the letter M following it must remain as unintelligible to us today as it no doubt was intended to be in the days of King Stephen.

#### COINS OF TYPE 1 WITH OVERSE READING PERERIC, &c.

The following coins have been recorded.

##### BRISTOL MINT

43. O. + PERERIC

R. + TVRCHIL:ON:BRIS

\* (a) ex Grantley 1303, Murdoch 265, Montagu II 361, Marsham 274.

(b) ex Roth II 158, Toplis

From the Nottingham find

18.0 g.

##### CANTERBURY MINT

44. O. + PERERIC:

R. + PILLEN:ON:CANP:

\* (a) BMC 232

21.4 g.

\* (b) Mack ex Lockett 1168, Roth I 144, Montagu II 362, Kennard

From the Linton find

18.0 g.

(a) and (b) are from the same pair of dies.

<sup>1</sup> The hoards are discussed in detail later see pp. 101 ff.

## LINCOLN MINT

45. O. + PERERIC:

R. + RAPVLF:ON:NICO:

- \* (a) BMC 233 ex Cove-Jones 316 20.8 g.  
 \* (b) ex Mossop, Grantley 1304, Rashleigh 633 19.2 g.  
 (c) Oxford ex Marshall 80, Roth II 159 20.6 g.  
 (d) Mack ex Youde. From the South Kyme find 21.3 g.  
 (e) Present whereabouts unknown. From the South Kyme find 21.3 g.  
 (f) ex Mossop. From the South Kyme find 21.7 g.  
 (g) Hill ex Drabble 998, B.M. Duplicates. From the South Kyme find 20.1 g.  
 (h) Stewart. Cut half penny

All these coins are from the same pair of dies.

46. O. + PERERICM:

R. + SEPARD:ON:NICO:

- (a) Mack ex Ryan 921, Roth I 145 21.3 g.  
 (b) Hill ex Drabble 999, B.M. Duplicates. From the South Kyme find 21.1 g.  
 \* (c) B.M. ex Lockett 2971, Carlyon-Britton 1509, Rashleigh 634 20.8 g.  
 \* (d) Chatsworth. From the Sheldon find 19.0 g.  
 (e) B.M. From the South Kyme find 21.8 g.  
 \* (f) ex Mossop, Drabble 722 18.6 g.  
 \* (g) ex Roth II 158 22.0 g.

All these coins are from the same pair of dies.

## LONDON MINT

47. O. + PERERIC:

R. + ALFRED:ON:LVN.

\* ex Roth I 143

From the same obverse die as GODRICVS coins of LONDON.

48. O. + PERERIC:

R. + GODRICVS:ON:LV

- (a) BMC 234, ex Rashleigh colln. From the Watford find 22.4 g.  
 \* (b) BMC 234a ex Pierpont Morgan, Sir J. Evans 22.7 g.  
 \* (c) ex Ryan 922, Reynolds 73, Kennard From the Linton find 22.0 g.  
 \* (d) Ballingal ex Lockett 1169, Watters 184, Rashleigh 635. From the Watford find 22.6 g.  
 (e) ex Grantley 1305, Murdoch 266, Montagu II 363.

a, b, c and d are from the same pair of dies.

## STAMFORD MINT

49. O. + PERERIC:

R. + LEFSE:ON:STANC:

I:ON:STA

- \* (a) ex Roth II 160 18.0 g.  
 (b) The Hon. Ralph Assheton

## WINCHESTER MINT

50. O. + PERERIC:

R. + GEFREI:ON:PI:NE:

ex Drabble 723, Roth I 145

16.0 g.

## MULE STEPHEN TYPE 1 AND TYPE 2.

Obverse. Similar to type 1.

Reverse. Similar to type 2.

## UNCERTAIN MINT

51. O. [ ] STIEFNE

R. [ ] VILAMON

- \* (a) Chatsworth. From the Sheldon find 16.0 g.

The obverse of the above coin appears to be from a standard type 1 die but the reverse lettering is crude and VILAM for WILLELM is an unprecedented spelling<sup>1</sup>.

- \* (b) Chatsworth From the Sheldon find. Cut halfpenny 8.0 g.

- \* (c) B.M. ex Roth II 163<sup>2</sup>. From the Linton find. Cut halfpenny

The possibility of these three coins being contemporary forgeries cannot be ruled out. The reverse legends of the cut half-pennies are illegible.

## RYE MINT (1)

52. O. [ ] STIEFNE

R. [ ] BA[ ]NER[ ]

- \* Cambridge

This coin is from regular dies. The first letter of the mint reading appears to be R. The moneyer is probably RAYLF of Rye who coined in Type 2. There is no die link with RAYLF of Lincoln who coined in Type 1.

## TYPE 2.

*Obverse.* Bust three quarters to the left, crowned and holding a sceptre in the right hand. The inscription which, with the one exception noted below, reads STIEFNE or STEFNE, is placed around, divided by two beaded circles; on some coins the inner circle, which is only partial, is omitted altogether (Nos 57, 58a and 63).

*Reverse.* Plain cross voided, in centre an annulet, at end of each limb three pellets, in each angle a mullet of six points. The name of the moneyer and mint is placed around between two beaded circles.

The lettering, although generally similar to Type 1, is smaller.

Average weight about 21.5 grains.

It is reasonably certain that Type 2 followed Type 1 but it is impossible to say exactly when. It is fairly certain that Type 1 continued to be struck up to 1141 and it may well be that the type was changed on the release of the King from captivity in November 1141. In the Linton find of 1883 there were 40 coins of Type 1, 39 coins of Type 2, 7 coins of Henry I type 15, 2 coins with the 'PERERIC' inscription and 6 irregular coins of the moneyer SANSON which are discussed later in this paper. Types 1 and 2 are linked by a mule, probably of the mint of Rye, and also by the Type 1/2 mules from the Sheldon and Linton finds but these latter are of rough work and may be contemporary forgeries. The Rye coin, however, appears to be from perfectly regular dies. With the exception of 2 contemporary forgeries of Type 2<sup>3</sup> the Sheldon hoard was entirely composed of Type 1 and its local variants so that the Type 1/2 mules must have been struck very early in the issue of Type 2.

The only exception known to me of the obverse inscription STIEFNE or STEFNE is a coin of the London mint which reads STIEFNE<sup>4</sup>. This is probably one of the earliest coins of the type and it forms a significant link with Type 1.

As mentioned previously a few rare coins of the type, probably the latest, omit the partial inner circle on the obverse in which respect they form a link with Type 7. One cannot but be struck by the great similarity in the design and general appearance of the two types and

<sup>1</sup> *BNJ*, xxxvi, p. 544.

<sup>2</sup> *BNJ*, vii, p. 43.

<sup>3</sup> *BNJ*, vii, p. 85, wrongly attributed to Masibda.

<sup>4</sup> Lockett's Sale Catalogue, lot 1128.

this is particularly so in the case of the rare coins of Type 2 on which the inner circle on the obverse is omitted. In fact, as mentioned later, there are good grounds for thinking that Type 7 may well have immediately followed Type 2<sup>1</sup>.

It is certain from the composition of the Awbridge find, in which 31 coins of Type 7 were associated with 104 coins of Henry II's first issue, that Type 7 must be the last of the reign and incidentally it is the only type on which the King's portrait is bearded. It is quite possible that Type 2 continued to be struck right up to the time of the Treaty of Winchester<sup>2</sup> in 1153 when it was superseded by Type 7. The only firm evidence we have for dating Type 2 is that the mints were all in the eastern half of the country or, at any rate, that part held by the Royalists. The coins must therefore have been issued during the period of the Civil War and, if it is assumed that Type 2 was introduced in 1141, it must have come to an end by 1153. Twelve years seems a long time for a type to run, even during a period of anarchy, but it is hardly possible that Type 7 can have been introduced before the peace treaty. It was struck at mints all over the country including those previously in Angevin hands and is clearly indicative of a settled state of affairs and a stable currency. However, there may well have been some overlap between the two types.

An important link between Types 2 and 7 is provided by a very remarkable transitional coin in the British Museum (*BMC* 185), possibly of the Castle Rising mint, which is from the same obverse die as an equally remarkable coin of the Ipswich mint in the Hunterian Collection at Glasgow. Both coins are from perfectly normal Type 7 reverse dies but the portrait on the obverse, which is otherwise a normal Type 2 die of the late variety omitting the partial inner circle, is bearded as on Type 7<sup>3</sup>.

The following are the recorded mints and moneyers for Type 2. The fullest reading is given in each case but readings vary with different dies.

53. BEDFORD

+ TOMAS:ON:BED:

54. BURY ST. EDMUNDS

(a) + ACE:ON:S:EDMYND

(b) + hVN:FREI:ON:S:ED:

55. CANTERBURY

\* (a) + EDPARD:ON:CAN:

(b) + ROGIER:ON:CANTO:

(c) + ROGIER:BO:ONCANT

56. CASTLE RISING<sup>4</sup>

\* + ROBERT:ON:RIS

57. COLCHESTER

\* + RANDVLF:ON:CO

57y. DOVER<sup>5</sup>

+ ADAM:ON:DOVRE:?

58. HASTINGS

\* (a) + ALDRED:ON:HAS or HAES:

(b) + ROBERT:ON:HAS

<sup>1</sup> See also F. Elmore Jones in *BNJ*, xxv, p. 230.

<sup>2</sup> Winchester, not Wallingford as sometimes stated. See footnote to p. 89.

<sup>3</sup> F. Elmore Jones, *BNJ*, 1958, p. 544 and pl. xxi nos 1 and 2 and nos T1 and T2, plate II of

this paper.

<sup>4</sup> *BNJ*, xx, p. 117.

<sup>5</sup> Unpublished coin in Vienna Museum. See *BNJ*, xxviii p. 543.

## 59. IPSWICH

- \* (a) + AEDGAR:ON:GIFE:
- (b) + EDMVND:ON:GIP
- (c) + GERMANS:ON:GIP:
- (d) + GILLEBERT:ON:GIP:
- (e) + OSBERN:ON:GIP

## 60. LEWES

- (a) + ELMAR:ON:LEPE:
- (b) + OSEBERN:ON:LEV:

## 61. LONDON

- (a) + EDTARD:ON:LVN
- (b) + GEFREI:ON:LVN
- (c) + GODARD:ON:L
- \* (d) + HAMVND:ON:LVN
- (e) + RODBERT:ON:LVN
- \* (f) + THIERRI:D:ON:LVN

## 62. NORWICH

- (a) + ETSTAN:ON:NOR:
- \* (b) + HERMER:ON:NOR:
- (c) + RAVL:ON:NORPIC:
- (d) + STANCHIL:ON:NOR
- (e) + PALTIER OF WALTIER:ON:NON:

## 63. PEVENSEY

- \* + ALPINE:ON:PEVEN:

64. RYE<sup>1</sup>

- + RAPVLF:ON:RIE:

## 65. SANDWICH

- \* + PVLFRIC:ON:SAN

## 66. THETFORD

- (a) + BALDEFIN:ON:TEF:
- (b) + HACVN:ON:TEF:

## TYPES 3, 4 AND 5 (c.1143 to 1152).

The following three types classified by Brooke as types 3, 4 and 5 were probably issued sometime between 1143 and 1152. So few coins of these types are known that it is always possible they do not represent regular issues at all, or again that may have all been issued simultaneously. But the lettering, which is small in the first two and a mixture of large and small in the other, is on the whole good and it seems likely they represent local issues confined to the east midlands. This is to some extent borne out by the mints that can be identified with any degree of certainty which are Lincoln, Nottingham, Leicester and Northampton.

No mules are known and except for a coin of type 3 from the Winterslow find and a cut-halfpenny of the same type from the London Bridge find none are recorded as being in any known finds.

<sup>1</sup> *BNJ*, xx, p. 117.

## TYPE 3.

*Obverse.* Bust of King Stephen facing, crowned and diademed. The inscription which reads, SIEFNE, STIEFNE:R, is placed around divided by two beaded circles.

*Reverse.* Cross pattée, annulet in centre, in each angle a fleur-de-lys springing from inner circle. The name of moneyer and mint is placed around, divided by two beaded circles.

Average weight about 18.5 grains.

The lettering is small and similar to Type 2.

## MINTS (2).

Northampton. Uncertain.

## NORTHAMPTON MINT

67. O. + STIEFNE:R

R. + PAEN:ON:NORh:

\* (a) ex Roth I 156.

18.5 g.

(b) Mack.

18.2 g.

a and b are from the same pair of dies.

68. O. + STIEFNE:R

R. + PILLEM:ON:NOER

\* BMC 177 ex B. C. Roberts

From the Winterslow find

18.3 g.

69. O. + STIEFNE:

R. + PILLEM:ON:NOR

\* BMC 176 ex Banks presentation

18.6 g.

Nos 68 and 69 above are, in the *BMC*, attributed to Norwich, but Northampton, as an undoubted Type 3 mint is perhaps more likely.

## UNCERTAIN MINT

70. O. ]IEFNE[

R. ]ER:ON:h[

\* Ballingal ex Lockett 3940, Carlyon-Britton 1483,

Rashleigh 612, cut half-penny

From the London Bridge find c. 1850

9.7 g.

Possibly Huntingdon mint (see No. 112).

## UNCERTAIN MINT

71. Obv. and Rev. readings blundered and unintelligible.

\* Ballingal ex Lockett 1132, Dawnay 35, Rostron 40, Murchison 33, Cuff 759.

This coin has been attributed to Launceston<sup>1</sup>.

## TYPE 4.

*Obverse.* Bust of King Stephen facing, crowned and diademed. The inscription which reads STEINER:OR STIEFNE or STIEFNE:R is placed around, divided by two beaded circles.

*Reverse.* Lozenge with concave sides, a fleur at each angle, in centre a star of six points, in field an annulet at each side of lozenge. The name of moneyer and mint is placed around, divided by two beaded circles.

Average weight about 18.0 grains.

The lettering is small and similar in style to Types 2 and 3.

<sup>1</sup> In Lockett sale 1955 lot 1132, and *BNJ*, vol. iii, p. 113.

## MINTS (2).

Lincoln. Nottingham.

## LINCOLN MINT

72. O. + STIEFNE:R

R. + PAEN:ON:LINCO

\* ex Mossop, Lockett 1133, Reynolds 59a

17.5 g.

73. O. + STIEFNE

R. [+ G]ODPNE:ON:LINC

\* Hill ex Ryan 914, Roth I 128, Murdoch 257, Montagu II 350, Webb 39, Neck, Wigan

18.8 g.

74. O. + STIEFNIFIHI (the s reversed)

R. + DIHOED[ ]:LINC (the N reversed)

\* Hill ex Grantley 1299

16.0 g.

The moneyer's name is partly retrograde and unintelligible.

## NOTTINGHAM MINT

75. O. + STE[ ]ER:

R. ]O:ONSNOTI[

\* BMC 178 ex Cuff 761

15.3 g.

## TYPE 5.

*Obverse.* Bust of King Stephen three-quarters to the right, holding sceptre. The inscription which reads STIEPENER is placed around divided by two beaded circles.

*Reverse.* Lozenge with concave sides, a pellet at each angle and in the centre, within it, four small crescents across the four angles, all within a tressure of eight arcs from which spring four fleur-de-lis. The name of moneyer and mint is placed around between two beaded circles.

Average weight about 16.0 grains.

Some of the lettering is small and similar to Types 2, 3 and 4 but other lettering is of the larger type characteristic of the two following types.

## MINTS (1)

Leicester.

## LEICESTER MINT

76. O. + STIEPENER

R. + SIMVN:ON:LERE

\* (a) BMC 179 ex Hazlitt 1050

16.2 g.

(b) B.M. ex Lawrence

15.7 g.

\* (c) ex Lockett 1134, Roth I 120.

\* (d) Ballingal ex Ryan 915, Drabble 707, Ready 251

16.0 g.

Probably all from the same obv. die and two reverse dies.

## TYPE 6 (c.1153).

*Obverse.* Bust of King Stephen to the left, crowned, holding sceptre in front of head. The inscription which reads STIEFNE is placed around; all in a beaded outer circle. There is no inner circle.

*Reverse.* Cross fleury, small saltire in centre, in each angle a pile surmounted by a trefoil of annulets. The name of moneyer and mint is placed around between two beaded circles.

Average weight about 20.5 grains.

# MINTS (8).

|               |            |
|---------------|------------|
| BEDFORD       | LEWES      |
| CANTERBURY    | LONDON     |
| CASTLE RISING | NORWICH    |
| HASTINGS      | (?)SUDBURY |

If Type 2 continued to be struck until as late in the reign as 1153, then to be superseded by Type 7, a theory for which there seems to be good evidence, then Type 6 must have been issued concurrently with Type 2. The type is very rare, only about 26 coins being recorded so that its duration was probably very short. So far as is known no coin of Type 6 has an English hoard provenance. Eight mints are represented, all in the eastern half of the country, so presumably the coins were issued before the Treaty of Winchester and therefore almost certainly before Type 7 made its appearance although there is always the possibility of an overlap. On the whole the dies seem to be well engraved; they would appear to have come from a central distribution centre and London is included in the list of mints. Although it seems definite that this is a substantive type, not a local variant, some of the coins have the appearance of being debased and a coin of the London mint in the British Museum is silver plated on copper. The lettering is generally larger than that of Type 2 and conforms more to the lettering of Type 7, possibly denoting a late date of issue but epigraphy is known to be misleading in this reign.

The conclusion must be that Type 6 is earlier than Type 7 and that it was struck fairly late in the reign. That it immediately preceded Type 7 is proved by the mule Type 6/7 of Hastings mint (No. 99y) which has recently come to light in Moscow but there is every likelihood of its having run concurrently with Type 2 towards the end of the run of the latter.

The following coins have been recorded.

## BEDFORD MINT

77. O. + STIEFNE  
R. + TOMAS:ON:BED  
\* ex Lockett 2961, Drabble 708.  
78. O. + STIEFNE  
R. + ]ON:BED  
\* ex Parsons 254.

The moneyer's name is possibly *TOHAN*, but the reading is not certain.

## CANTERBURY MINT

79. O. + STI[EFN]E  
R. + ROBERT:ON:CA  
\* Mack ex Lockett 1135, Carlyon-Britton 1481 20.1 g.  
80. O. + STIEFNE  
R. + ROGIER:ON:CAN  
Ballingal ex Ryan 916.

## CASTLE RISING MINT<sup>1</sup>

81. O. + STIEFNE  
R. + ROBBET:ON:RIS  
\* (a) BMC 180 ex Montagu II 305, Holmes 3. 20.2 g.  
(b) Coats Collection, Glasgow. 20.3 g.

<sup>1</sup> *BNJ*, xx, p. 117.

82. O. + STIEFNE  
 R. + RODBERT:ON:RIS  
 \* (a) Copenhagen Museum.  
 (b) ex Montagu V 108, Toplis. From the Nottingham find.  
 (c) Elmore Jones ex Drabble 709, Braun 232. (Cracked and plugged).  
 83. O. + STI[EFNE]  
 R. + ]:ON:RIS  
 \* ex Lockett 2962, Wheeler 188, Carlyon-Britton 1969.

#### HASTINGS MINT

84. O. + STIEFNE  
 R. + ALDRED:ON[:h]AS  
 \* King, ex Lockett 1136, Spink, O'Hagan 422, Webb 67. 16.9 g.

#### LEWES MINT

85. O. + ]IEFNRE:  
 R. + hvN[FREI:O]N:LEV  
 ex Wills 403, Reynolds 60.

#### LONDON MINT

86. O. + STIEFNE  
 R. + RAVLF:ON:I[  
 B.M. ex Mabbott. Silver plated on copper. 18.1 g.  
 87. O. + STIEFNE  
 R. [ + F]VLEFINE:ON:LV[  
 Mack, ex Lawrence 362. 18.3 g.  
 88. O. + [STIEFNE]  
 R. + R[ ]ON:LVN  
 ex Parsons 255.

#### NORWICH MINT

89. O. + STIEFNE  
 R. + HILDBRAN:ON:NO  
 \* ex Ryan 917. Found at Navestock Churchyard, Essex.  
 90. O. + STIEFNE  
 R. + PILLEMI:ON:NOR  
 Leeds University ex Winchester Cathedral Library.  
 91. O. + STIEFNE  
 R. + THOR:ON:NOR  
 ex Roth II 138.  
 92. O. + STIEFNE  
 R. + STENCI[ ]ON:NO  
 Coats collection, Glasgow. 21.0 g.

#### SUDBURY MINT

93. O. + STIEFNE  
 R. + AL[ ]N:SVB  
 \* Copenhagen Museum.

#### UNCERTAIN MINTS

94. O. + STIEFN[E]  
 R. + RODBERT:ON[ ]N  
 \* ex Lockett 3941, Rashleigh 619, Cuff 762. 21.7 g.  
 Probably either Canterbury or London mint.

95. O. + [STIEFNE]  
R. + AELFINE:[  
Blunt, ex Shirley-Fox.
96. O. + STIEF[NE]  
R. ]FRI[  
Ballingal, ex Lockett 1137.
97. O. + STIEFNE  
R. Uncertain reading.  
ex Taffs 138
98. O. + [STIEFNE]  
R. ]RODBERT[  
Ballingal ex Marshall 79, Grantley 1327, Reynolds 61.  
The dies differ from the RODBERT coins of Canterbury, Castle Rising and London.
99. O. + STIEFNE  
R. + HACRONNIENEN (the N's reversed) (a very uncertain reading).  
\* ex Lockett 3942, Drabble 994.

#### MULE TYPE 6/7.

##### HASTINGS MINT

- 99y. O. + STIEFNE A Type 6 die.  
R. [ +RO]DBERT:ONHAS (the h of unusual form). A Type 7 die.  
\* Moscow Museum of Fine Arts

21.4 g.

Only two specimens from the same reverse die of this mint and moneyer are known in Type 7 and this is from a different reverse die<sup>1</sup>. The mint is known in Type 6 from only one specimen but different moneyer<sup>2</sup>.

#### TYPE 7 (c.1153 TO c.1158).

*Obverse.* Crowned bust of the King three-quarters to the left, bearded and holding a sceptre in his right hand. The inscription which reads STIEFNE is placed around, the whole enclosed by a beaded outer circle. There is no inner circle.

*Reverse.* Cross voided within beaded quatrefoil; in centre an annulet, in each angle a fleur-de-lis springing from the quatrefoil; a pellet in each angle of the quatrefoil. The name of the moneyer and mint is placed around between two beaded circles.

The lettering is larger than that of the preceding types.

Average weight 21 to 23 grains.

The composition of the Awbridge find of 1902, which must have been buried at least eight years after Stephen's death, makes it quite certain that Type 7 is the last type of the reign. Of the approx. 180 coins originally comprised in the hoard the composition of the 138 specimens which were examined and classified was 31 pennies of Stephen Type 7, 3 pennies of the irregular coins of Stephen Type 1 by the moneyer SANSON of (?) Canterbury, which are discussed elsewhere in this paper, and 104 pennies of Henry II's first issue struck between 1158 and 1165<sup>3</sup>.

The mints of Type 7 are evidence of the more settled conditions prevailing throughout the country immediately following the Treaty of Winchester in 1153 and include towns in the West Country such as Gloucester and Hereford which were previously Angevin strongholds.

<sup>1</sup> H. H. King, 'Coins of the Sussex mints', *BNJ*, xxviii, p. 260, no. 196 and no. 109 below.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>3</sup> *BMC*, pp. lvii and lxxiv.

This is the only type on which the King is depicted wearing a beard and there is no inner circle on the obverse. It is very possible that Type 7 immediately followed Type 2 and that Type 6 was issued concurrently with Type 2 for a short period towards the end of the run of the latter. On the evidence of the Pipe Rolls it is known that Type 7 continued to be issued throughout the first four years of Henry II's reign.

The dies of the regular coins of the type are well engraved and the inscriptions are free from blundering. Very occasionally the initial letter of the moneyer's surname appears, punctuated with a colon.

Some coins of the type are known which are obviously struck from irregular dies, often of tolerably good workmanship but with meaningless reverse inscriptions. They are generally of base metal and light weight and must be contemporary forgeries (See Plate II No. 135a)<sup>1</sup>.

The following are the recorded mints<sup>2</sup> and moneyers for Type 7. The fullest reading is given in each case but readings vary with different dies.

99z. BATH<sup>3</sup>

+ [ ]VR[ ]:BATH

Bath is unrecorded in any type later than c. 1130 in preceding reign.

Moneyer could be either AL]VR[ED or AL]VR[IC

100. BEDFORD

(a) + DAV[ID]:ON:BEDE

\* (b) + TOMAS:ON:BEDE

101. BRAMBER?<sup>4</sup>

(a) + ORGAR:ON:BR[

(b) + PILLEM:ON:BRAN

(c) + RODBERT:ON:BRAN

102. BURY ST. EDMUNDS

(a) + PILLEM[:ON:SC]:ED

(b) + ACL:ON:SEDMV:<sup>5</sup>

103. CANTERBURY

(a) + EDPARD:ON:CAN:

(b) + RODBERT:ON:CAN

(c) + ROGIER:ON:CANTER

104. CASTLE RISING<sup>6</sup>

+ HIVN or IVN:ON:RISINGES

105. COLCHESTER

+ GOD[ ]ON:COLN

106. DOVER

+ ADAM:ON:DOVRE

107. EXETER

+ AILRIC:ON:EXECS

<sup>1</sup>Type 7 is fully discussed by Mr. Elmore Jones in *BNJ*, xxviii, 1958, pp. 537ff.

<sup>2</sup>*BNJ*, xxviii, pp. 548-551.

<sup>3</sup>Moscow Museum of Fine Arts.

<sup>4</sup>*BNJ*, xxv, pp. 119ff.

<sup>5</sup>*Spink's Numismatic Circular*, Sept. 1906.

<sup>6</sup>*BNJ*, xx, pp. 117ff.

108. GLOUCESTER  
 (a) + RALF:ON:GLOYCE  
 (b) + PILLEM:ON:GLOECE
109. HASTINGS  
 + ROBBERT:ON:HAS
110. HEDON (E. Yorks.)<sup>1</sup>  
 + GERARD:ON:hEDVN
111. HEREFORD  
 \* + DRIV:ON:HEREFOR:
112. HUNTINGDON  
 (a) + GODMER:ON:hVN:  
 \* (b) + WALTIER:ON:hVN:
113. ILCHESTER  
 + [ ]:ON:IV[
114. IPSWICH  
 (a) + A[ ]RI:ON:GIPES  
 (b) + DAVI[D]:ON:GIPE:
115. LEWES  
 \* + hVNFREI:ON:LEVE:
116. LINCOLN  
 \* (a) HVE:ON:LINCO  
 (b) + G (or O)[ ]:ON:LINCO  
 (c) + PAEN:ON:LINCO
117. LONDON  
 (a) + ADAM:ON:LV  
 (b) + ALISANDRE:ON:LV  
 (c) + DEREMAN:ON:LV  
 (d) + GEFREI:ON:LVND  
 (e) + RAVLF ON:LVN  
 (f) + RICARD:ON:LVNDE  
 (g) + ROBBERT ON:LVND:  
 (h) + TERRI.D.[  
 (j) + PVLFPIN:ON:LVN
118. NORWICH  
 (a) + ALFRICH:ON:NOR or + ALVRIC:ON:NOR  
 (b) + DAVI:ON:NORPIC:  
 (c) + HILDEBRAN:ON:NOR  
 (d) + RAVLF:ON:NORP  
 (e) + THOR:ON:NORVI:  
 \* (f) + PILLEMONNOR
119. NOTTINGHAM  
 + SVEIN:ON:NOTINE

<sup>1</sup> BNJ, xxvi, pp. 28 ff.

## 120. PEVENSEY

- \* (a) + ALPINE:ON:PIEF:  
 (b) + FELIPE:ON:P[EV]EN

121. RYE<sup>1</sup>

+ RAPVLE:ON:RIEE:

## 122. SALISBURY

- \* (a) + STANYNG:ON:SAL  
 (b) + VINMAN:ON:SAL

## 123. SANDWICH

- (a) + OSBERN:ON:SANPI  
 (b) + PYLFRIC:ON:SAN

## 124. SUDBURY

- (a) + EDPARD:ON:SVB:  
 (b) + GILBERT:ON:SVB

## 125. TAUNTON?

+ [ ]ANTVN

## 126. THETFORD

+ GEFREI:ON:TEFFO

## 127. WARWICK

+ EVERARD:ON:PARPI

## 128. WATCHET

- \* (a) + h[ ]N:PACHE  
 (b) + T[ ]che

## 129. WILTON

- (a) + ELLER:ON:PILT  
 \* (b) + PILLEM:ON:PILTV

## 130. WINCHESTER

+ hVEG:ON:PINCEST:

## 131. WORCESTER

- (a) + ADAM:ON:PIRCES  
 (b) + ALLEM:ON:PIREC

## 132. YORK

- \* (a) = GEFREI:ON:EVER (132 on plate II)  
 (b) ]N:ON:EVER

## UNCERTAIN MINTS

133. = ALVRED:ON:[ ]AM (possibly Tamworth)  
 134. + [ ]D:ON:CLPEN  
 135. [ ]:ON:BYR[  
 135b. ]AD:ON:[ ]T[<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> BNJ, xxx, p. 188.

<sup>2</sup> Moscow Museum of Fine Arts.

The first letter of mint signature of 135b could be s in which case either Stafford or Stamford, both of which were Type 1 mints, could be possible. Stafford is perhaps more likely since that mint also struck in the next reign (Henry II 'Tealby' type) whereas Stamford did not.

#### COINS OF TYPE 1 STRUCK FROM ERASED OBLVERSE DIES.

There is a series of coins of the first type of King Stephen struck from erased obverse dies. The erasure generally takes the form of either a series of criss-cross cuts across the King's face, a long cross extending to the edge of the coin, a small cross placed variously on the King's face or shoulder or even the shaft of the sceptre, or a bar across the shaft of the sceptre, and on one coin of York, which may be a contemporary forgery, two parallel lines from edge to edge. Sometimes a pellet or small cross is added. The erasure is either stamped or cut in the die. That this was done after coins had been struck from the dies in the ordinary manner is proved by coins of the Stamford mint which are known struck from the same obverse die both before and after the erasure was made<sup>1</sup>.

These coins vary considerably both in weight and fineness. The majority are of low weight, anything from 14 to 17 grains, and many have the appearance of being of base silver, but on the other hand some are obviously of good silver and weigh up to 21 grains or more.

The reason for this erasure is not quite clear but the generally accepted explanation is that the dies were either erased by a moneyer loyal to the king when the mint he was working at was in danger of falling into the hands of the Angevin party, or else the die was so treated after capture by the king's enemies, who would no doubt wish to use the king's dies without acknowledging his title. In the first instance, should the mint not fall into the hands of the enemy, the moneyer had no alternative but to go on striking coins from the die he had erased, unless he was prepared to cut another one himself, but it is unlikely that he would have much difficulty in passing defaced coins into circulation. If, on the other hand, the mint was captured, there is no reason to suppose that the Angevin party would not strike coins from dies so erased. It is likely that the coins of base metal and light weight were the product of dies in Angevin hands. Most of the wealth of the country was held by the Royalists and the majority of Angevin coins are debased.

It has been suggested<sup>2</sup> that the armorial badge of certain barons may be seen in the erasing cross and that the large cross extending to the edge of the coin on the Norwich and Thetford coins may signify they were issued under the authority of Hugh Bigod, earl of Norfolk, and the smaller cross on the Nottingham coins signify they were issued under the authority of William Peverel, earl of Nottingham. But it is doubtful whether any baron would risk such an open procedure, even if armorial badges were in common use at this early date, and it is more likely that the crosses were only used as a convenient method of defacing the die.

The following coins have been recorded.

#### A. *Obverse erased by series of vertical and horizontal cuts.*

##### BRISTOL MINT

130. R. + GYRDAN:ON:BRIS:

|  |                                    |                          |         |
|--|------------------------------------|--------------------------|---------|
| * (a)  | B.M. ex Roth I 140, Rashleigh 602, | From the Dartford find   | 23.2 g. |
| (b)  | B.M. ex Wells                      |                          | 20.2 g. |
| (c)  |                                    | From the South Kyme find | 21.9 g. |
| All from the same reverse die and perhaps from the same obverse die as well. |                                    |                          |         |

<sup>1</sup> BMC, p. lxxvii and nos 151 and 152,

<sup>2</sup> W. J. Andrew in *BNJ*, vii, pp. 59 ff.

These Bristol coins could easily be the first to be struck on behalf of the Empress Matilda. They were almost certainly struck from royal dies with Stephen's portrait and title heavily erased, probably during the winter of 1139-40 and before the Empress issued coins from local dies bearing her own name.

*B. Obverse erased by plain cross from edge to edge.*

NORWICH MINT

137. O. + STIEFNE R

R. + ALFFARD:ON:NOR

\* (a) ex Wheeler 185, Carlyon-Britton 1973, Douglas.

From the Nottingham find.

\* (b) ex Bruun 230, Roth II 153.

From the Nottingham find

16.0 g.

a and b are from the same pair of dies.

138. O. + STIEFNE R

R. + [ ]DA[ ]N:NOR:

(a) Nottingham

From the Nottingham find (broken)

14.9 g.

\* (b) Ballingal ex Lockett 2970

The moneyer's name is possibly ADAM

139. O. + STIEFNE R

R. + EDSTAN:ON:NOR

(a) ex Reynolds<sup>1</sup>

From the Nottingham find

17.5 g.

(b) B.M. ex Lawrence

From the South Kyme find

19.0 g.

(c) Nottingham ex Burton

From the Nottingham find (fragment)

8.3 g.

(d) ex Spink & Son<sup>2</sup>

The reading of c and d is not certain

140. O. + STIEFNE R

R. + OTERE:ON:NOR[

ex Carlyon-Britton, Hilton-Price

141. O. + STIEFNE:

R. + WALTIER:ON:NO OF + WALTER:ON:NOR:

\* (a) BMC 229, ex Montagu II 333, Marsham 261

21.1 g.

\* (b) ex Ryan 919, Carlyon-Britton 1489

(c) ex Roth I 141.

(d) Nottingham

From the Nottingham find

17.4 g.

(e) Nottingham

From the Nottingham find

15.3 g.

(f) Nottingham

From the Nottingham find

19.2 g.

d and f are from the same reverse die. a and b are from the same pair of dies.

THETFORD MINT

142. O. + STIEFNE

R. + BALDEWI:ON:TETE, TEF OF T

(a) BMC 230, ex Parkes Weber

(Cracked)

15.7 g.

\* (b) ex Drabble 721, Brown, Roth II 154

15.5 g.

(c) Oxford ex Marshall 82, Grantley 1302, Lawrence, Andrew, Canon Pownall.

(Cracked)

15.8 g.

(d) Norwich Castle Museum, ex Lockett 1167, Burstal

a and b are from the same reverse die.

UNCERTAIN MINT

143. O. + STIEFNE

R. + ROBERT:ON:[

\* Chatsworth

From the Sheldon find

15.5 g.

<sup>1</sup> BMC, p. lxxvi but not in sale.

<sup>2</sup> Spink's Numismatic Circular, 1927, no. 64816, probably this.

144. *O.* illegible  
*R.* ]:ON[  
 Stewart ex Lawrence 367      Fragment.

*C. Obverse erased by plain cross from edge to edge and additional small crosses in second and fourth angles.*

## NORWICH MINT

145. *O.* + STIEFNE  
*R.* [+AL]FPARD:ON[:NOR]  
 \* Nottingham      From the Nottingham find      17.4 g.
146. *O.* + STIEFNE  
*R.* + OT[ ]A:O[N:NOR]P  
 Nottingham      From the Nottingham find. (Chipped) 15.3 g.  
 From the same obverse die (with erasure), as preceding coin.
147. *O.* + STIEFNE  
*R.* [ + E]VSTACE:ON:N[  
 ex Wheeler 184, Reynolds 71.      From the Nottingham find. (Cracked) 15.0 g.  
 Eustace coined at Norwich in Type 1.

*D. Obverse erased by small cross over the shaft of sceptre.*

## NOTTINGHAM MINT

148. *O.* + STIE:[ ]EX (the s reversed)  
*R.* + [ ]:ON:SNOT:  
 \* Chatsworth      From the Sheldon Find      14.0 g.

*E. Obverse erased by small cross on King's face. A pellet is sometimes added and the cross varies in form and position.*

## NOTTINGHAM MINT

149. *O.* + STIEFNE:R  
*R.* + SPEIN:ON:SNOT:
- |   |  |         |
|---|--|---------|
| (a) BMC 229a, ex Pierpont Morgan, Evans | From the Nottingham find                     | 16.6 g. |
| (b) B.M. ex Lawrence (Fragment)         |  | 10.8 g. |
| (c) Chatsworth                          | From the Sheldon find                        | 15.0 g. |
| (d) Chatsworth                          | From the Sheldon find                        | 15.0 g. |
| * (e) Chatsworth                        | From the Sheldon find                        | 15.5 g. |
| * (f) Chatsworth                        | From the Sheldon find                        | 16.0 g. |
| (g) Chatsworth                          | From the Sheldon find                        | 16.0 g. |
| (h) Chatsworth                          | From the Sheldon find                        | 16.5 g. |
| (j) Chatsworth                          | From the Sheldon find                        | 16.5 g. |
| (k) Chatsworth                          | From the Sheldon find                        | 17.0 g. |
| (l) Chatsworth                          | From the Sheldon find. Cut halfpenny         | 8.0 g.  |
| (m) Chatsworth                          | From the Sheldon find. Cut halfpenny         | 7.7 g.  |
| (n) Chatsworth                          | From the Sheldon find. Cut halfpenny         | 8.2 g.  |
| * (o) Chatsworth                        | From the Sheldon find                        | 14.5 g. |
| (p) Nottingham                          | From the Nottingham find                     | 16.5 g. |
| (q) Nottingham                          | From the Nottingham find. (very slight chip) | 16.3 g. |
| (r) Nottingham                          | From the Nottingham find. (slight chip)      | 16.2 g. |
| (s) Nottingham                          | From the Nottingham find                     | 15.6 g. |
| (t) Nottingham                          | From the Nottingham find                     | 16.3 g. |
| (u) Nottingham                          | From the Nottingham find                     | 15.6 g. |
| (v) Nottingham                          | From the Nottingham find                     | 15.6 g. |
| (w) Nottingham                          | From the Nottingham find                     | 15.3 g. |

|  |   |         |
|--|---|---------|
| (x) Nottingham   | From the Nottingham find                | 14.7 g. |
|  | (very slight chip)                      |         |
| (y) Nottingham   | From the Nottingham find                | 14.5 g. |
|  | (very slight chip)                      |         |
| (z) Nottingham   | From the Nottingham find (chip)         | 14.5 g. |
| (aa) Nottingham  | From the Nottingham find (chip)         | 13.9 g. |
| (bb) Mack ex Ryan 920, Carlyon-Britton 1490                          |   | 14.6 g. |
| (cc) Ballingal ex Lockett 1166, Roth II 156, Toplis                  | From the Nottingham find                | 14.5 g. |
| (dd) Oxford, ex Marshall 81, Grantley 1301, Lawrence, Canon Pownall. |   |         |
|  | From the Nottingham find                | 15.7 g. |
| * (ee) ex Drabble 720, Bruun 231                                     |   |         |
| (ff) ex Roth II 155, Montagu 334, Toplis                             | From the Nottingham find                | 15.5 g. |
| (gg) ex Roth I 142, Toplis   | From the Nottingham find                | 16.1 g. |
| (hh) Nottingham, ex Burton   | From the Nottingham find                | 17.0 g. |
| (ii) Nottingham, ex Burton   | From the Nottingham find (slight chip)  | 16.4 g. |
| (kk) Nottingham, ex Burton   | From the Nottingham find                | 15.9 g. |
| (ll) Nottingham, ex Burton   | From the Nottingham find                | 16.8 g. |
| (mm) Nottingham, ex Burton   | From the Nottingham find. Cut halfpenny | 7.0 g.  |
| (nn) ex Roth I 136   | Cut halfpenny                           |         |
| * (oo) ex Lockett 2968, Sheriff Mackenzie                            |   |         |
| (pp) Ballingal ex Lockett 2969                                       | Cut halfpenny                           |         |
| * (qq) Ballingal ex Lockett 3953, Roth I 135, Wills                  |   |         |

*v* to *m* are from the same obverse dies but from three different reverse dies.

*p* to *s*, *cc*, *ff* and *kk* have no pellet in cross.

*p* to *s* and *ff* are from the same dies.

*t* to *bb*, *gg* to *kk* and *mm* are from the same dies.

*qq* has crude bust with uncertain readings.

On some of the coins from the Sheldon find the King's name and title are more or less hammered out similar to coins of Nottingham No. 157 below.

It is very likely that all these coins came originally from the Sheldon and Nottingham finds.

#### F. Coins with the sceptre erased with cross bar.

##### LINCOLN MINT

150. O. + STIEFN

R. + GLADPINE:ON:LIN

|   |                          |         |
|---|--------------------------|---------|
| * (a) B.M. ex Lockett 1152, Burstal 123, Toplis | From the Nottingham find | 18.8 g. |
| (b) Hill  |                          | 15.8 g. |
| (c) Nottingham                                  | From the Nottingham find | 19.5 g. |

These coins are all from the same pair of dies. There is an annulet on the King's shoulder. On *b* the cross bar across sceptre is not visible and it is possible the coin was struck before the die was erased.

##### STAMFORD MINT

151. O. + STIEFNE:R (the s sideways)

R. + LEFSI:ON:STAN:

|                                     |                                     |         |
|-------------------------------------|-------------------------------------|---------|
| * (a) ex Roth II 143, Rashleigh 005 | From the Dartford find              | 14.8 g. |
| (b) ex Wells                        | From the Nottingham find (fragment) | 13.8 g. |
| * (c) Chatsworth                    | From the Sheldon find               | 15.5 g. |
| (d) Nottingham                      | From the Nottingham find            | 16.2 g. |

These coins have a small cross on the King's shoulder in addition to the bar through the shaft of the sceptre. Also a pellet on each limb of the reverse cross.

*a*, *c* and *d* are from the same reverse die.

*a* and *c* are from the same obverse die.

152. *O.* + STIEFNE:R (the s sideways)

*R.* + LEFNI:ON:STAN:

\* (a) ex Drabble 716, Wells

From the Nottingham find

17.7 g.

\* (b) Ballingal, ex Lockett 1114, Day

These two coins, from the same dies, were struck from the same dies as No. 151(a) above before the erasure of the obverse die took place<sup>1</sup>.

Another coin is known, also ex Wells' collection, struck from the same obverse die and the reverse die of ordinary type (15.2 g.)<sup>2</sup>.

#### UNCERTAIN MINT

153. *O.* + STIEFNE

*R.* + EDPARD:ON[

\* B.M. ex Lockett 1153, Drabble 718, Ready 250

*G. Erasure cross on King's shoulder and ornamented sceptre shaft.*

#### UNCERTAIN MINT

154. *O.* + STIEFNE RE

*R.* + [ ]BE[ ]ANE

\* BMC 231, ex Montagu II 335, Toplis

From the Nottingham find

20.6 g.

The shaft of the sceptre is ornamented with two fleur-de-lys set end to end.

*H. Obverse erased by arc of circle through King's chin and vertical line downwards.*

#### HASTINGS MINT

155. *O.* + ST[IE]FNE

*R.* + SAPINE:ON[:h]ASTI:

From the Nottingham find. (Broken and repaired)

18.6 g.

*J. Obverse erased by two parallel lines across the coin.*

#### YORK MINT

156. *O.* Uncertain

*R.* + MARTIN:ON:EVE

\* ex Lockett 1165, Roth II 146. (Broken and held in rim)

The bust faces to the left and there is no sceptre. The coin is struck from dies of very rough workmanship. Brooke suggests<sup>3</sup> the coin was struck from forger's dies which had been obliterated by the two lines cut on the obverse.

<sup>1</sup> *BNJ*, iv, p. 361-62, xv, p. 306.

<sup>2</sup> *BNJ*, vii, p. 55. *BMC*, p. lxxvii.

<sup>3</sup> *BMC*, p. lxxxii.

K. Coins of Type 1 of coarse work with obverse legend either partly or entirely obliterated by hammer marks<sup>1</sup>.

Obv. and rev. similar to Type 1.

#### NOTTINGHAM MINT

157. O. + STIEPNE:R

R. + SPEIN:ON:SNOT:

|                            |                        |         |
|----------------------------|------------------------|---------|
| * (a) Chatsworth           | From the Sheldon find  | 15.7 g. |
| (b) Chatsworth             | From the Sheldon find  | 16.0 g. |
| (c) Chatsworth             | From the Sheldon find  | 17.0 g. |
| * (d) ex Rashleigh 610     | From the Dartford find | 22.2 g. |
| * (e) Mack ex Lockett 3925 |                        | 20.4 g. |

Similar coins exist from same dies with varying degrees of erasure.

It is known that William Peverel, earl of Nottingham, held Nottingham for the Empress in 1138<sup>2</sup> and it is probable that he had deserted the King some time shortly before this date. These coins were most likely struck from the Royal mint at Nottingham before Peverel deserted the Royal cause for the Empress, but the dies from which they were struck must have been made locally and not with regular punching irons as the coins are of much coarser work than the normal and certainly earlier coins of Type 1.

The reason the King's name is wholly or partly hammered out could be that Peverel, after his revolt against the King, seized the mint and with it the stock of coined money<sup>3</sup>, but not wishing to put it into circulation bearing the King's name and title had the obverse legend stamped or hammered out before the coins left the mint.

Peverel eventually rejoined the Royalist party, probably in 1139 and fought for Stephen at the battle of Lincoln in February 1141, being captured and forced to surrender Nottingham Castle as the price of his personal safety<sup>4</sup>. He was, however, still kept a prisoner, being released in November 1141 after earl Robert's capture when a general exchange of prisoners took place. He is last heard of in the next reign when he fled as Henry approached Nottingham and spent the rest of his life in a monastery.

There were other coins of this variety in the Sheldon find without the hammer marks.

#### THE IRREGULAR COINAGE OF STEPHEN (c.1135-1141).

The following varieties of Type 1 were issued in the name of the King, probably up to the end of 1141. Many of these coins were almost certainly issued by Barons and Bishops throughout the country, but it is impossible to say who they were, and some may just be contemporary forgeries.

William of Newburgh<sup>5</sup> tells us that the Barons one and all coined their own money but this is unlikely to be correct. Mention is also made in the introduction of Hoveden's chronicle of the 'Duke's money' supposed to have been issued by Henry of Anjou in 1149. On Henry's arrival in 1149 he is said to have called in all the money coined by the Barons.

Some of the coins are well struck and the dies made with regular punching tools but other dies are roughly made and the coins so poorly struck and in such inferior metal that it is very difficult to decipher some of the legends. But at the same time it must be borne in mind that some legends were intentionally blundered or made unreadable to disguise the source of origin of the coins.

<sup>1</sup> *BNJ*, vii, p. 66.

<sup>2</sup> *BMC*, p. lxxx.

<sup>3</sup> *BNJ*, vii, p. 67.

<sup>4</sup> Ramsay, *Foundations of England*, vol. ii, p. 105.

<sup>5</sup> *William of Newburgh*, Rolls series, no. 82, vol. i, p. 69; sub anno 1149.

The varieties of Type 1 are arranged according to the areas in which they were minted with the exception of the coinage of York which is dealt with separately.

#### SOUTH-EASTERN AREA.

*Obverse.* Similar to Type 1 but the sceptre terminates in an annulet from which issue seven rays or spikes. The annulet has a pellet in the centre.

*Reverse.* Similar to Type 1.

#### CANTERBURY MINT

158. O. + STIEFN

R. + RODBERT:ON:CA

\* BMC 235, ex Willett 35, Hollis 178

20.1 g.

A similar coin reading OSVLF ON LVNDE was in the Marsham sale of 1888, lot 269. This and the succeeding lot were reputed to have been found at Catal in Yorkshire and were purchased by Mr. Richardson as doubtful coins for presentation to the SSA Museum<sup>1</sup> where they now are. They are both modern forgeries from the same dies as the forgeries illustrated by Lawrence in *BNJ* iii, plate iii, Nos. 64 and 67<sup>2</sup>.

It has been suggested that the object in front of the King's head is a horseman's mace and it certainly has this appearance<sup>3</sup>. It is not known when maces were first in use. A mace is depicted in the Bayeux tapestry made some 60 years earlier but this is a foot soldier's mace as opposed to a horseman's mace<sup>4</sup>. Another and rather improbable suggestion is that the object represents the Host elevated on a monstrance<sup>5</sup>.

The c in the mint name is rounded which is an unusual feature for this period.

#### COINS WITH ROUNDELS PLACED IN VARYING POSITIONS ON REVERSE CROSS.

*Obverse and reverse* similar to Type 1.

*A. Roundels at opposite ends of one limb of cross.*

#### IPSWICH MINT

159. O. + STEFNE:REX

R. + OSERERN:ON:GIP

\* (a) Ballingal, ex Lockett 1151, Carlyon-Britton 1484, Murdoch 249, Allen 380

\* (b) ex Grantley 1309, Drabble 736, Wheeler 198, Reynolds 69. (Broken and repaired)

a and b from the same pair of dies.

160. O. + STEFNE:RE

R. + ROGER:ON[:GI]PE[ ]PI:

Nottingham

From the Nottingham find

15.1 g.

#### UNCERTAIN MINT

161. O. ]ANE

R. + s[ ]FRA: (the R reversed)

\* Ballingal, ex Ryan 923, Roth II 162, Montagu II 331, Toplis

From the Nottingham find

15.1 g.

<sup>1</sup> Now the National Museum of Antiquities, Edinburgh.

<sup>2</sup> See also *N.C.* 1899, pp. 241-250.

<sup>3</sup> *BMC*, p. lxxxix.

<sup>4</sup> Mann in Sir F. Stenton's edition of the *Bayeux Tapestry*, p. 66.

<sup>5</sup> W. J. Andrew in Stephen M/s. in B.M.

*B. Roundels at the end of first and second arms of cross.*

SUDBURY MINT

162. *O.* + STIEFNE:R

*R.* + EDWARD:ON:SVB:

- |   |                |                          |         |
|---|----------------|--------------------------|---------|
| * | (a) Nottingham | From the Nottingham find | 14.9 g. |
|   | (b)            | From the South Kyme find | 17.5 g. |

*C. Roundels at opposite ends of one limb of cross and additional roundel in centre.*

IPSWICH MINT

163. *O.* + ST[IEFNE R]

*R.* + RODGIER:ON:GIPES:

- \* ex Lockett 3949, Carlyon-Britton

164. *O.* + STIEFNE R

*R.* + EDMUND:ON:GIP:

Quoted by W. J. Andrew but whereabouts unknown<sup>1</sup>.

165. *O.* [ + ST]EFNE:REX

*R.* [ + OS]EB[ER]N:ON[:GIP]

Nottingham

From the Nottingham find

17.9 g.

Moneyer OSEBERN. From the same obverse die as No. 159 above, also from the same reverse die with additional roundel in centre.

*D. Single roundel in centre of cross.*

BURY ST. EDMUNDS MINT

166. *O.* + STIEFNE

*R.* + GILBERT:ON:SA[

- |   |             |                          |         |
|---|-------------|--------------------------|---------|
| * | Nottingham. | From the Nottingham find | 15.9 g. |
|---|-------------|--------------------------|---------|

*E. Roundels at opposite ends of one limb of cross and additional small roundel in third quarter<sup>2</sup>.*

IPSWICH MINT

167. *O.* ÷ STIEFNE

*R.* ÷ PAGANYS:ONGIP

- |   |          |  |         |
|---|----------|--|---------|
| * | Ballinal |  | 20.0 g. |
|---|----------|--|---------|

168. *O.* + STIEF[NE]

*R.* ]ONGI[

- \* ex Lockett 3950, Roth I 136. Cut halfpenny.

Only one large roundel is visible on this cut halfpenny, but it is probable there would be another on the full coin.

The badge of the house of Boulogne was three bezants<sup>3</sup> and it is possible these roundels might be intended to represent bezants. Queen Matilda was the only child of the earl of Boulogne and therefore his sole heiress. It is possible that she placed this mark on the coins of Stephen during his captivity in 1141 when she was intent on raising money and arms for

<sup>1</sup> W. J. Andrew in Stephen M/S in *B.M.*

<sup>2</sup> *BNJ*, xxxii, p. 220.

<sup>3</sup> *BNJ*, vii, p. 76.

her husband's cause. Some force is lent to this theory by the fact that all the known coins bearing this mark come from East Anglian mints, a part of the country known to favour Stephen.

#### EASTERN AREA.

A. *Obverse*. Similar to Type 1 but of very coarse work.

*Reverse*. A broad cross with a pellet at the end of each limb, in each angle a fleur-de-lis and pellet.

#### LINCOLN MINT

169. O. + STEPH[ANVSRE]X

R. AILR[ICVS] + ONLIN

\* (a) Hill ex Ryan 927, Roth II 124. From the Dartford find 22.5 g.

\* (b) BMC 247, ex Montagu II 345, Marsham 264 22.1 g.

a and b are from the same pair of dies.

170. O. [ + ST]EPHAN[VS]R[EX]

R. GLADEVIN[

\* Chatsworth From the Sheldon find 22.0 g.

171. O. [ + STEP]HANVS-REX

R. ]VS + ONIN[

\* BMC 248, ex Montagu II 346, Marsham 265 Found at Gravesend, 1817 21.7 g.

172. O. + STEPHA[NVS]REX

R. ·ROGE[ ]N

\* Hill ex Lockett 2966, Reynolds 77, Rashleigh 616 From the Dartford find 21.4 g.

173. O. [ + STEPHANVS]REX

R. ] + ONL[

\* Hill ex Grantley 1324, Rashleigh 615 From the Dartford find 22.0 g.

All these coins appear to be of good silver and weight. Due to their close resemblance, the mint name Lincoln occurring on one coin and the fact that Gladewin is a known Lincoln moneyer, they may all be attributed to the Lincoln mint. It is possible they may be an ecclesiastical issue struck by the Bishop of Lincoln.

B. *Obverse*. Similar to Type 1 but of coarse work.

*Reverse*. Similar to Type 1 but a small broad cross superimposed on the cross moline.

#### THETFORD MINT

174. O. + STIEFNE·R

R. + BALDEWI·ON·T·

\* (a) BMC 249, ex Montagu II, 336 Toplis From the Nottingham find 17.2 g.

\* (b) Ballingal, ex Lockett 1157, Reynolds 78, Toplis From the Nottingham find 17.0 g.

a and b are from the same pair of dies.

The coins are of base metal. Baldwin was a regular Thetford moneyer.

#### MIDLAND AREA.

A. *Obverse*. Very crude bust to the right with sceptre in front.

*Reverse*. Short cross voided with a martlet in each angle.

## DERBY MINT

## 175. O. + STEPHANVS REX

R. + WALCHELINVS DERBI (the N reversed)

- (a) BMC 245, ex Roberts, Tyssen, Hodsoil, Lord Moira. From the Ashby find, 1788 20.9 g.  
 (b) Ballingal, ex Ryan 925, Carlyon-Britton 1972, Hilton Price  
 \* (c) ex Carlyon-Britton 1482, Murdoch 256, Lord Kesteven 18, Montagu II 347, Brice, Lake Price 51, Whitbourn 156 21.3 g.  
 (d) ex Grantley 1310, Rashleigh 618, Marsham 267 20.5 g.  
 \* (e) ex Lockett 1156  
 (f) ex Drabble 725, Reynolds 76, Bateman 361, Dymock 187, Barclay 47 22.0 g.  
 \* (g) ex Roth I 138, Marsham 267, Wigan, Cuff 759, Tyssen 1131  
 (h) ex Baldwin Found in London  
 (j) Mack ex Ward (Glendining May 18, 1904)? 20.8 g.  
 (k) From the Ashby find. Cut half-penny.

The use of the 4 martlets in the angles of the reverse cross, found also in the well-known type of Edward the Confessor (Brooke type 7), cannot readily be explained. All the known coins of this type are from the same pair of dies. They are of good weight and apparently good metal. Three coins and a cut-halfpenny were found in the parish of Ashby-de-la-Zouch, a few miles south of Derby, in 1788 with other coins of Stephen.<sup>1</sup> Another was found in London<sup>2</sup> at an unspecified date.

Walkelin, the moneyer of Derby, is referred to in contemporary deeds and it is suggested that this type may have been issued by Robert de Ferrers, earl of Derby, during Stephen's captivity in the summer of 1141 when there was considerable chaos all over the country, particularly amongst the King's supporters, the unusual lettering and crude workmanship of the coins being the work of the local seal cutter.<sup>3</sup>

B. *Obverse*. Similar to Type 1 but with plain crown without any fleurs. There is an annulet on the King's shoulder.

*Rev.* A short cross voided with a quadrilateral with incurved sides imposed upon it. There is a pellet in the centre and in each angle.

## (?) OXFORD MINT

## 176. O. + STIE[

R. + OSBER[ ]X:

## \* BMC 239

From the smaller Watford find. (Chipped) 17.6 g.

As this coin came from the smaller Watford find it must have been struck at the same time as Type 1, but it is difficult to account for the peculiar reverse. The lettering is small and apparently the die was made with ordinary punches but it cannot be a separate type as the Watford, Dartford and Linton finds prove the sequence of the first two types, as well as the Rye mule of types 1/2. Presumably it is a baronial issue of someone and perhaps struck at Oxford in support of the King.

C. *Obv.* Similar to Type 1 but of coarse work.

*Rev.* Similar to Type 1 but with long cross fleury superimposed on the cross moline of the reverse and dividing the legend. The type is very similar to no. 178 below but is of coarser work.

<sup>1</sup> *Gentleman's Magazine* 1796, p. 843 and 983 and plate opposite p. 841. *Gentleman's Magazine*, 1797, p. 37.

<sup>2</sup> *BNJ*, vi, p. 371.

<sup>3</sup> *BNJ*, v, p. 439, and Carlyon-Britton sale catalogue note under lot 1482.

## PROBABLY NEWARK MINT

177. O. + ·ST RE ANG

R. CIGDENW ERCA·

\* (a) BMC 244, ex Cuff 755

17·3 g.

\* (b) ex Drabble 1001, Roth II 136, Montagu II 341, Toplis.

From the Nottingham find

a and b are from the same pair of dies.

D. *Obv.* Similar to Type 1.

*Rev.* Similar to Type 1 but with long cross fleury superimposed on the cross moline and dividing the legend. Very similar to no. 177 above but of quite different style.

## LEICESTER MINT

178. O. + STIEFNE RX

R. + SIMVN ON L[EC]E:

\* (a) Ballingal, ex Ryan 924, Roth II 130,

Montagu II 340, Toplis

From the Nottingham find

22·2 g.

\* (b) B.M. ex Lockett 1155, Roth I 155, Bruun 228

From the Nottingham find

18·0 g.

(c) Ballingal ex Lockett 3948

Fragment

a and b are from the same pair of dies. Simun is a known Leicester moneyer and coined in Type I and Type 5 at Leicester. The coins are of good style and work, the lettering being made with ordinary punches.

E. *Obv.* Crude head to the right, rather similar to the coins of Walchelinus of Derby, no. 175 above, with sceptre in front.

*Rev.* Short cross voided, over it a saltire fleury.

## UNCERTAIN MINT, POSSIBLY NOTTINGHAM

179. O. STEFRANVS REX

R. + ·RAINALD·ONSTO·

\* BMC 246, ex Montagu II 339, Marsham 266

14·9 g.

The last letter in the mint reading may be a v which has led to the suggested possibility of the mint being STUTESBERNIA<sup>1</sup> which is the ancient name for Tutbury, a town about nine miles from Derby.

F. *Obv.* Similar to Type 1 but of coarse work.

*Rev.* Cross patonce over large cross pattée.

## PROBABLY NOTTINGHAM MINT

180. O. + STPEN[ (the s reversed)

R. ]ONI ON SNIDI:

\* B.M. ex Mabbott, Ryan 926

16·1 g.

## MIDLAND AND SOUTH-WESTERN AREA.

*Coins with Rosette of Pellets on Obverse*

The reason for the rosette of pellets which occurs on the obverse of a number of coins of this period in this area (see also Henry of Anjou type 2), either in place of the sceptre or at the end of the obverse legend, sometimes in place of the King's title, is not clear. Perhaps

<sup>1</sup> BMC, p. xcvi and BNJ, v, p. 440.

there is some significance in the fact that the mint names, where readable, are all in Angevin territory, or in parts of the country which were at one time or another occupied by the Angevin party, e.g. Exeter, Cricklade, Oxford and possibly Wilton.

A. *Obv.* Bust to the right similar to Type 1 but instead of a sceptre there is a rosette of pellets in front of the King's forehead. The legend begins above the crown.

*Rev.* Cross pattée with three pellets at the end of each limb, in each angle a mullet of six points.

#### OXFORD MINT

181. O. ]STEF[

R. + ADAM:ON:OX:

\* Oxford, ex Manning

Found at Horspath, near Oxford

16.0 g.

#### UNCERTAIN MINT

182. O. ]STEF[

R. ]VBERT:ON[

\* BMC 237, ex B.C. Roberts

From the Winterslow find

16.3 g.

Similar, but with bust to the left.

#### UNCERTAIN MINT

183. O. + STIEF[

R. ]ON:[ ]v

\* Oxford, ex Christchurch College

14.9 g.

It is possible the mint reading is PILTV for Wilton.

B. *Obv.* Similar to Type 1, but a large rosette of pellets at the end of the legend.

*Rev.* Similar to Type 1.

#### CRICKLADE MINT

184. O. [ + s]TIEFNE

R. + ANGIE[ ]N:CRI:

\* Nottingham

From the Nottingham find

14.6 g.

#### UNCERTAIN MINT

185. O. ]TIEFN

R. + BRIHTPIN[

\* BMC 236, ex Webster

16.6 g.

The style of these two coins is good and the lettering made with ordinary punches.

C. *Obv.* Similar to Type 1, but of coarse work. There is a rosette of pellets at the end of the legend.

*Rev.* A quadrilateral fleury with incurved sides in place of the cross moline of Type 1 and, superimposed upon it, a large cross fleury which separates the legend.

#### EXETER MINT

186. O. ]NER (retrograde)

R. ]ODVINVS OOEX[

\* Chatsworth

From the Sheldon find

16.0 g.

This coin is not made with ordinary punches. The workmanship is very coarse.

## UNCERTAIN MINT

187. O. + STIE[

R. ]NR[

\* Hunter Collection, Glasgow.

16.0 g.

This coin is also of very coarse work.

D. *Obv.* Similar to Type 1, but of coarse work and inscription followed by a symbol having the appearance of a star with curved rays or estoile.

*Rev.* Similar to Type 1.

## UNCERTAIN MINT

187y. O. ]IEFN

R. Illegible. Possibly blundered and meaningless.

\* Moscow Museum of Fine Arts

15.4 g.

The symbol following the obverse legend is unrecorded on any other coin of the period.

## NORTH-EASTERN AREA.

The obverses of coins struck in this area have much in common with one another. The peculiar formation of the letter R, where it occurs, is common to all and, except for the earl Henry coins in Stephen's name, possibly Bamburgh mint,<sup>1</sup> does not seem to appear on any other coins of this period. The impression is therefore that they were all struck in or around the same neighbourhood. The place of minting of the Durham coins is quite certain and Newcastle, some fifteen miles to the north of Durham, seems to be a likely place from which some of the other coins may have been issued and the mint reading could well stand for this.

A. *Obv.* Similar to Type 1 but star in front of sceptre.

*Rev.* Similar to Type 1 but annulets on the points of the fleurs and at the end of each limb of cross.

## DURHAM MINT

188. O. + STIFENEI RE (the R with two downward strokes)

R. + FOBVND:ON:DVNLE: (the E rounded)

\* (a) BMC 252, ex Montagu II 337, Toplis From the Nottingham find 15.5 g.

\* (b) Oxford, ex Lockett 1160, Roth I 119, Toplis From the Nottingham find 15.2 g.

(c) ex Drabble 997, Wheeler 197, Thorburn 123,  
Montagu II, 338, Toplis From the Nottingham find. (Broken and mended)

(d) Nottingham From the Nottingham find 17.6 g.

All these coins are from the same obverse die. a, b and possibly d are from the same reverse die.

d is of base silver, possibly silver plated.

It is possible these coins may be an ecclesiastical issue and were struck by authority of the Bishop of Durham.

A coin of the ordinary type 1 of similar style to these coins<sup>2</sup> reads + FOBVND:ON:DVNI:CM (c reversed, M rounded) (15.2 grains) and another<sup>3</sup> in the Nottingham Castle Museum, from the Nottingham find, also of similar style, ]ND:ON:DVN[.

<sup>1</sup> No. 288 below.<sup>2</sup> ex Rashleigh 608.<sup>3</sup> BMC, p. c.

B. *Obv.* Similar to Type 1.

*Rev.* Similar to Type 1, but a long cross voided is superimposed on the cross moline.

PROBABLY NEWCASTLE MINT

189. *O.* + STIFENE RE: (the R with two downward strokes)

*R.* + AI:LPO:N:OD CAIT (first A inverted, second A unbarred, F inverted, N and D reversed)

\* BMC 250, ex Murchison 31 Found at Exeter 19.9 g.

190. *O.* + STIEENE RE: (the R with two downward strokes)

*R.* + WI:LEL:N:ON:CAST: (the N's reversed, A unbarred)

\* BMC 251, ex Rollin and Feuadent 21.5 g.

The obverse of the above two coins is very similar to the so-called Bamburgh Castle coins with cross-crosslet reverse, attributed to earl Henry<sup>1</sup>.

191. *O.* ]NEEH· (second E rounded, ornament after H)

*R.* ]HAN EEE[ (ornament after N, first and third E rounded)

\* Ballingal ex Ryan 928, Reynolds 81, Lawrence 21.5 g.

UNCERTAIN MINT

192. *O.* FILEMREX:AN

*R.* + N· IOIOSINA

\* Hunter Collection, Glasgow 19.9 g.

The obverse legend must be a moneyer's concoction, the reverse legend is not certain. There is an annulet to the right of sceptre and behind head.

C. *Obv.* Similar to Type 1.

*Rev.* Similar to Durham coin above, no. 188, but annulets take the place of the spikes of the fleurs and an annulet occurs at the base of each fleur as well as at the end of each limb of the cross.

POSSIBLY YORK MINT

193. *O.* Illegible

*R.* + [ ]INDINEDON:EI (the first two N's reversed)

\* (a) BMC 253, ex Montagu V 120 18.6 g.

(b) Nottingham (broken in two) From the Nottingham find 17.5 g.

These two coins are from the same reverse die and possibly the same obverse die.

COINS FROM UNCERTAIN AREAS.

A. *Obv.* Similar to Type 1 but with very large head, turned either to the right or to the left, and of very coarse work.

*Rev.* Similar to Type 1.

UNCERTAIN MINTS

194. *O.* + STEFENE Bust to left.

*R.* + DAGVN:ON[

\* Hunter Collection, Glasgow 16.3 g.

<sup>1</sup> No. 288. See also BMC, pp. xcix ff.

195. O. II[ ] + IFENE Bust to left  
R. Illegible
- \* (a) Ballingal ex Ryan 947, Roth II 147 16.5 g.  
(b) Chatsworth From the Sheldon find. Cut half-penny<sup>1</sup> 7.0 g.
196. O. ]ST[ Bust to right  
R. ]OBERTVS·ON[  
ex Carlyon-Britton<sup>2</sup>

These coins are all of similar style and probably came from the same neighbourhood. Their very coarse work suggests they may be contemporary forgeries.

- B. *Obv.* Similar to Type 1 but with annulet on King's shoulder.  
*Rev.* Similar to Type 1 but an annulet enclosing pellet replaces the fleur-de-lis and there is an annulet at the end of each limb of the cross.

#### UNCERTAIN MINT

197. O. + STIE[  
R. Blundered and uncertain
- \* BMC 238, ex Batting 15.9 g.  
This coin is of very rough work.

- C. *Obv.* Similar to Type 1.  
*Rev.* Similar to Type 1.

#### UNKNOWN MINT

198. O. + TIFNH (the N reversed)  
R. Vertical strokes with two pellets occasionally inserted. From the South Kyme find<sup>3</sup> 18.2 g.
199. O. Unintelligible  
R. Meaningless letters and sometimes symbols
- \* (a) Ballingal ex Parsons 260, Rashleigh 606 From the Watford find 19.4 g.  
(b)<sup>4</sup> Ballingal ex Ryan 945, Grantley 1328, Murdoch 267, Montagu II 365, Brice  
(c) ex Ryan 946, Reynolds 95 From the Dartford find<sup>5</sup>  
(d) Ballingal 17.2 g.
200. O. Uncertain  
R. ]VMIC·ON[  
\* ex Roth I 139, Montagu II 364, Brice, Wakeford

These coins with meaningless legends and sometimes symbols in place of letters were presumably issued by some influential baron or barons of the period.

- D. *Obv.* Similar to Type 1 but King's head is in a complete inner circle.  
*Rev.* Similar to Type 1.

#### UNCERTAIN MINT

201. O. + TEI[ ]REE  
R. + [ ]N·ON·ETB:
- \* (a) From the South Kyme find<sup>6</sup> 18.4 g.  
(b) Ballingal ex Taffs 138 16.7 g.

<sup>1</sup> *BNJ*, vii, p. 79 and plate II no. 31.

<sup>2</sup> *BMC*, p. lxxxix but not in sale.

<sup>3</sup> *NC*, 1922, p. 82, no. 328.

<sup>4</sup> Stewart, p. 5, footnote.

<sup>5</sup> The evidence for this provenance will be published by Mr. Blunt and Mr. Elmore Jones in the next volume of this *Journal*.

<sup>6</sup> *NC*, 1922, p. 82, no. 327.

These coins are of very fine work, the lettering much resembling that on the coins of Eustace Fitzjohn. The head is of very similar work to a coin of Durham mint in the B.M. (ex Rashleigh sale lot 608, 15.2 g).

- E. *Obv.* Similar to Type 1 but legend runs all round the bust.  
*Rev.* Similar to Type 1.

## UNCERTAIN MINT

202. O. + STFNE REX ANGLO

R. ]N O LV

ex Montagu II 332, Toplis

From the Nottingham find

The obverse and reverse legends are doubtful. Possibly London mint.

203. O. + STIE[ ]GLO

R. + LEFRICVSONLIHC

Nottingham. (Cracked and broken)

From the Nottingham find

17.0 g.

The obverse and reverse legends are not altogether clear.

Possibly Lincoln mint. The moneyer LEFRIC is recorded for Henry I Type 15 at Lincoln.

- F. *Obv.* Similar to Type 1 but crosses take the place of fleurs on the crown.  
*Rev.* Similar to Type 1.

## UNCERTAIN MINT

204. O. ]IEFNE R

R. A[ ]TNIRYCE

Ballingal ex Lockett 1154, Reynolds 94, Toplis

From the Nottingham Find

16.3 g.

- G. *Obv.* and *Rev.* similar to Type 1 but of very coarse work.

## UNCERTAIN MINT

205. O. + STEFA[

R. ]ON:VISE

\* B.M. ex Rashleigh 603.

From the Dartford find

17.5 g.

The mint is quite uncertain.

The form VISES for Devizes is not found until the fourteenth century so the mint name cannot be Devizes<sup>1</sup>. The coin is of very irregular work.

- H. *Obv.* Crowned bust to the right somewhat similar to Type 1 but of coarse work.  
*Rev.* Cross fleury with trefoil of annulets in each angle.

## UNCERTAIN MINT

206. O. Unintelligible

R. + s[ ]NEO[ ]ER.

\* Ballingal ex Lockett 1138, Carlyon-Britton 1494

18.0 g.

This coin, with a reverse somewhat resembling Type 6 and with the obverse very similar to Type 1, could with some justification be regarded as a Type 1/6 mule. This however is most improbable and a much more likely suggestion<sup>2</sup> is that it is a local issue of some baron, the dies being engraved by an imaginative die-engraver who merely combined two types.

<sup>1</sup> *The Place Names of Wiltshire*, English Place-Name Society, xvi, pp. 242-3.

<sup>2</sup> *BNJ*, xxviii, p. 544.

*J. Obv.* Similar to Type 1, but the King's collar is generally, but not always, represented by annulets instead of pellets.

*Rev.* Similar to Type 1, but the cross moline is voided and has an annulet in the centre and at the end of each limb of cross.

UNCERTAIN MINT—(?) CANTERBURY

207. *O.* + STEFNE·REX

*R.* + SANSON:ONANT

- |  |                                   |         |
|--|-----------------------------------|---------|
| (a) <i>BMC</i> 240                                   | From the Awbridge find            | 16·7 g. |
| * (b) ex Lockett 1158, Murdoch 253, Kennard          | From the Linton find              |         |
| (c) <i>BMC</i> 241                                   | From the Awbridge find            | 17·4 g. |
| (d) Mack ex Roth I 162                               |                                   | 14·3 g. |
| (e) Leeds University ex Winchester Cathedral Library | Found under Winchester Cathedral. |         |
- a* and *b* are from the same dies.  
*d* has collar of pellets

208. *O.* + STEFNX

*R.* + SANSON:O[

- |  |                      |         |
|--|----------------------|---------|
| * <i>BMC</i> 243, ex Montagu V 120, Wakeford | From the Linton find | 16·2 g. |
|--|----------------------|---------|

209. *O.* + STEFNEREX

*R.* + SANSON:ONAN:

*BMC* 242

From the Awbridge find 17·3 g.

210. *O.* + STEFNERE

*R.* + SANSON:ONANT

- |   |  |         |
|---|--|---------|
| * Ballingal ex Drabble 1000, Reynolds 75, Wheeler 191 |  | 14·0 g. |
|---|--|---------|

211. *O.* s[ ]

*R.* ]ONL:ONAN

- |  |                       |                |
|--|-----------------------|----------------|
| (a) Ballingal ex Lockett 3948, Roth II 163 | From the Linton find. | Cut half-penny |
| * (b) B.M. ex Mabbott, Drabble 724         |                       |                |

212. *O.* + STEFNE·REX

*R.* + SANSON:ONAN

- |                                     |  |         |
|-------------------------------------|--|---------|
| * Mack ex Lockett 3947, Reynolds 74 |  | 16·0 g. |
|-------------------------------------|--|---------|

213. *O.* + ST[ ]AHN

*R.* + SANSONN[ (the first s reversed)

Coats collection, Glasgow.

14·7 g.

The A in the obverse legend could be a badly formed R, the meaning of the other letters is uncertain.

This is the only recorded example in this coinage with the initial s in SANSON reversed. The first two letters of the reverse legend are in line with the Henry II Tealby type coin, *BMC* 749 and the curious Bust 'c' Tealby in Mr. Elmore Jones's collection referred to below, both of which have the initial s reversed.

213a. *O.* ]STEFNE[

*R.* + w[ ]NANT

Mack ex Bliss 184.

14·3 g.

The moneyer could be WILLEM and if so this could be another pointer to the coins being of the Canterbury mint. Willem coined at Canterbury in the Henry II Tealby type, about 8 specimens being recorded, all from the same dies.

Also recorded from the Linton find but readings not recorded—2 pennies and 1 cut halfpenny<sup>1</sup>.

These very rare coins are still one of the minor mysteries of the period. It is possible however that the problem of their place of mintage or perhaps, to be more accurate, the place of issue which the die sinker *intended* should be *implied*, may have been brought nearer a solution since Brooke's discussion of them in *BMC* (Introduction pp. xcl-xclv) and his queried acceptance of their then prevailing attribution to Southampton.

Mr. Elmore Jones writing in *BNJ* xxviii, p. 541, was the first to associate them with the early Henry II 'Tealby' type moneyer SANSVN (and this exact spelling of the name occurs on one of the Stephen coins)<sup>2</sup>, a moneyer until recently known from one single coin only<sup>3</sup> and whom he attributes to Canterbury on the strength of a second coin which has come to light since the publication of *BMC* Henry II 'Cross & Crosslets' ('Tealby') type in 1951.

Neither coin is fully legible and the attribution still has to be established with complete certainty but the fact that the same name (and one which is otherwise unknown) is found on coins of both Stephen and Henry which must have been in circulation at the same time, and were buried in the same (Awbridge) hoard, is too much of a coincidence to be ignored.

Certainly Canterbury, rather than Southampton, makes much better sense of the ANT (o) mint signature which is used on all the coins of this group bearing Stephen's name. Possibly this curious spelling of the mint name may have originated from a copyist's error in the engraving of the inscription which was used as the prototype for the coinage. No other explanation seems possible despite the volume of the coinage, which must have been considerable, at least eight different pairs of dies being known. In this connection however it is relevant to bear in mind Brooke's suggestion, however tentative, that the coins may not have been issued from the place which the inscriptions were intended to signify.<sup>4</sup> Certainly the coins are of base metal and all the known specimens are of light weight. Brooke's conclusion was that this issue represents organized forgery, and forgery on a considerable scale to judge from the number of dies used, but that it is impossible to guess by whose authority it could have been made.

The standard of the die engraving varies considerably; some (for example nos 207b and 211a<sup>5</sup>, both from the Linton find and presumably early in the issue) achieve a remarkably high standard for an irregular coinage.

The evidence of the Awbridge find makes it certain that these coins were in circulation after Stephen's death, possibly until 1162 or even later. Consequently their presence in the Linton find, their only other known hoard provenance and a find in which the latest regular coins were of Stephen's second type, would seem to be an anomaly. However this may not be the case; their presence there could well be another pointer to the tentative conclusion expressed earlier in this paper that Type 2 may have run until as late a date as 1153.

One further aspect of these baffling coins remains to be mentioned. Their reverse design, in which are combined features of *both* Types 1 and 7, is precisely the same as that of the unique coin of Henry of Anjou (No. 246 from the Winterslow find) struck at Gloucester by the moneyer RADEWLF, presumably, but not necessarily, the RALF of the Type 7 coins of that mint. Its precise dating is quite uncertain but it is hardly likely to have been later than

<sup>1</sup> W. J. Andrew. *BMC*, p. xcii in a footnote.

<sup>2</sup> No. 210 above.

<sup>3</sup> *BMC* No. 749 (ex Awbridge find) and very tentatively assigned to Wallingford. There is no obverse die link with *BMC* 750. The second specimen

referred to above is a late class 'C' coin in Mr. Elmore Jones' collection which clearly reads + SA[ ]ON:CA (the s reversed).

<sup>4</sup> *BMC*, p. xci-xciv.

<sup>5</sup> Lockett sale catalogue nos 1158 and 3948.

1147 from which it seems inconceivable that the dies for the SANSON coins could have been the work of the same hand. Furthermore its obverse has the distinctive appearance which is characteristic of the Hereford coins in Stephen's name from 'local' dies. Probably therefore the exact similarity of the reverse design to that of the 'SANSON' coins is simply a coincidence. As to these latter this latest interpretation of the mint signature, if right, could well be a step forward but all the main problems surrounding these coins still remain unresolved<sup>1</sup>.

K. *Obv.* Very crude but in some ways resembling the obverse of Henry I Type 15.

*Rev.* Similar to Stephen Type 1

#### UNCERTAIN MINT

214. O. Unintelligible

R. IED:ON:AN[ (A unbarred, N's reversed)

Ballinal

15.5 g.

This is a very peculiar coin. Unfortunately the obverse is in rather poor condition but it has some resemblance to Henry I Type 15. It is unlikely to be a Henry I/Stephen mule. Like no. 206 it is probably the work of an imaginative die-engraver copying two types and struck locally by some baron. Whether the AN mint signature has any connection with the SANSON coins it is impossible to say.

L. *Double Reverse Die.*

*Obv.* Similar to reverse of Type 1.

*Rev.* Similar to Type 1.

214a. O and R. legends blundered and uncertain

B.M. ex Mabbott

(Chipped)

11.4 g.

#### THE ROYAL COINAGE OF YORK.

During the generally unsettled condition of the country due to the civil war, particularly about the time of Stephen's captivity in 1141, York, the principal mint in the north of England, found itself cut off from London and was thrown upon its own resources for the production of money. This not only led to variations of the standard types of coin but also presented the moneyers with an opportunity to issue coins of light weight and base silver without much risk of being found out. It seems they were not slow to take advantage of this and there is an attractive series of coins of this period that can only have been struck at York. One such coin does in fact bear the York mint name<sup>2</sup>. The fact that they are generally below weight and standard in no way detracts from their appearance, except perhaps accounting for the many coins of this period that have reached us in a broken condition. To avoid detection the moneyers intentionally blundered the reverse inscriptions, often substituting various ornaments in the legend instead of letters, so that in place of the moneyer's name and mint there was a meaningless jumble of letters and ornaments. This probably meant little to the general public, the majority of whom could not read or write.

But from the artistic side the moneyers made full use of their opportunity and produced some attractive and original designs which on the whole were very well executed. These were

<sup>1</sup> See also *BNJ*, xx, pp. 89 ff.

<sup>2</sup> No. 217h below.

not confined to the Royal mint alone. Eustace Fitzjohn and Robert de Stuteville both struck coins bearing their own names which by their style, lettering and ornaments cannot have been issued from any mint other than York, even if these two barons were not intimately connected with this part of the country. The very rare penny of Henry, Bishop of Winchester, (No. 229) must also have been struck at York.

All these coins have very much in common with one another and a detailed examination reveals lettering of a neat though disjointed type which is peculiar to this series alone. The ornaments in the legend do not occur on any other coins outside this series while the same ornaments are found on all the issues with the exception of some coins of the lion type of Eustace Fitzjohn.

As stated above, one coin bears the York mint name whilst the obverse of all the Royal coins bearing Stephen's name, with the exception of the Two-figure type, are similar to the first type of Stephen. Assuming the Two-figure type to have been struck at York during Stephen's captivity, it is safe to assume the remainder were all struck at York sometime shortly before 1141.

The Royal coins of York struck in the name of Stephen other than those of the regular Type 1 are of five distinct types.

#### TYPE 1.

*Obv.* Crowned bust to the right, holding sceptre, very similar to Stephen type 1 but of rather curious workmanship; the beaded inner circle runs through the King's bust. Inscription around between two beaded circles.

*Rev.* Similar to Stephen Type 1.

215. *O.* + NSEPEFETI (the N reversed)

*R.* + WISEGNETA (the N reversed) interspersed with ornaments

\* *BM* ex Lockett 1162, Reynolds 82, Murdoch 258

20.0 g.

216. *O.* + STIEFNEI (the N reversed)

*R.* + WISEGNOTA (the N reversed) interspersed with ornaments

\* Ballingal ex Lockett 2967, Roth I 166

19.5 g.

This is probably the first type struck at York shortly after the loss of central control from London. It forms a connecting link between the ordinary first type of Stephen and the Flag type.

This type is also closely connected with the profile type of Robert de Stuteville (No. 227).

#### TYPE 2, THE FLAG TYPE.

217. *Obv.* Crowned bust to the right, similar to Stephen type 1 but instead of a sceptre the King holds a flag or pennant in his right hand. There is a star in the field to the right. + STIEFNE R.

*Rev.* Similar to Stephen Type 1.

One coin reads + VI[ ]DNESIONEVI: (the N reversed) and may definitely be attributed to the York mint (h below). Other coins of this type have meaningless legends principally composed of a few letters interspersed with various ornaments.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *NC*, 1896, p. 59.

|       |   |                      |         |
|-------|---|----------------------|---------|
| * (a) | BMC 254 ex Roberts  | From Winterslow find | 19.0 g. |
| * (b) | BMC 255 ex Murdoch 255, Montagu II 342, Brice, Lady-in-the-North 15, Murchison 32, Martin 68              |                      | 17.9 g. |
| * (c) | BMC 256, ex Montagu II 343  |                      | 19.0 g. |
| (d)   | BMC 257, ex Montagu II 344, Wakeford  |                      | 14.9 g. |
| * (e) | BMC 258, ex Durrant 197, Dimsdale 220?  |                      | 16.6 g. |
| * (f) | BMC 259, ex Sewening  |                      | 14.5 g. |
| * (g) | Oxford ex Lockett 1161  |                      | 13.0 g. |
| * (h) | ex Ryan 930, Wheeler 190, Reynolds 83   |                      | 19.5 g. |
| * (j) | Ballingal ex Ryan 931, Carlyon-Britton 1496   |                      | 16.5 g. |
| * (k) | Mack ex Drabble 1003  |                      | 18.2 g. |
| * (l) | ex Drabble 730  |                      |         |
| (m)   | Ballingal ex Grantley 1312, Rashleigh 621   |                      | 15.1 g. |
| * (n) | ex Wheeler 189, Watters 181, Rashleigh 620, 'Anonymous', Dean of St. Patrick 389                          | (Clipped)            |         |
| (o)   | ex Roth II 148, Webb 37   |                      |         |
| * (p) | ex Roth I 137, Richardson 70, Marsham 268, Bergie 335, Whitbourn 153, Cuff 757, Durrant 196, Tyssen 1129. |                      |         |

The object which replaces the sceptre in the King's right hand on the obverse of these coins has been variously described but the most likely explanation is that it represents in miniature the standard which was carried into battle at Northallerton in August 1138 when Stephen's army, raised by Archbishop Thurstan of York, defeated the Scots<sup>1</sup>. The standard consisted of a heavy mast carrying the flags of St. Peter of York, St. John of Beverley and St. Wilfrith of Ripon, borne on a four-wheeled wagon and crowned with a silver pyx containing the Host. If this issue was struck to commemorate the battle, as seems likely, the date of issue would be late 1138 or early 1139.

### TYPE 3.

218. *Obv.* Similar to Stephen Type 1 but lozenge containing a pellet in place of spike of lis on sceptre.

+ STIEN and ornaments (the S reversed).

*Rev.* Saltire fleury on cross pattée. Ornaments take the place of a legend.

|       |   |                   |
|-------|---|-------------------|
| * (a) | BMC 260, ex Mrs. Combe  | 17.2 g.           |
| * (b) | Ballingal ex Lockett 1163, Carlyon-Britton 1497, Rashleigh 614, Cuff 760, Jones-Long 14 | (Clipped) 16.6 g. |

This is an interesting type as it combines the obverse of Stephen's first type with the reverse of the horseman type of Robert de Suteville. The ornaments, too, on both sides of the coin, are similar. It was probably struck before 1141.

### TYPE 4.

219. *Obv.* Similar to Stephen Type 1.

[ RE

*Rev.* Cross fleury over cross with floreated ends.

[ RT:ON[

|   |   |               |        |
|---|---|---------------|--------|
| * | Ballingal ex Lawrence 370, Montagu 351, Brice | Cut halfpenny | 7.5 g. |
|---|---|---------------|--------|

This type is only known to us through the above cut halfpenny. The style of the coin is somewhat similar to the Two-figure type (Type 5 below).

<sup>1</sup> BMC, p. cvii.

## TYPE 5.—THE TWO-FIGURE TYPE.

220. *Obv.* King Stephen and Queen Matilda standing, facing each other, supporting between them a long sceptre fleury.

+ STIENER or + STEFID

*Rev.* Cross fleury over saltire pommée, annulets in the field.

Ornaments take the place of a legend. On some coins the annulets in the field are omitted.

This type is one of the most interesting and curious of the whole period. The figures depicted on the obverse have in the past been attributed to Eustace, the son of Stephen, and Queen Matilda;<sup>1</sup> Prince Henry of Scotland and Queen Matilda;<sup>2</sup> and King Stephen and Queen Matilda<sup>3</sup>. The last is now considered to be the correct attribution. Eustace was not knighted until 1147 or 1149, presumably when he reached the age of seventeen, so when this type was issued he would have been no more than a child. The male figure on the coin is that of a fully grown man in armour. That the figures represent Prince Henry and Queen Matilda struck in 1139 to commemorate the peace treaty concluded at Durham after the battle of Northallerton is also improbable. It is most unlikely that the King's ex-enemy would be placed beside the Queen on any coin struck in the name of Stephen.

The two figures, one a male in chain armour and wearing a peaked helmet and long trousers, the other a female with her long hair tied with a ribbon and wearing a mail bodice and triangular skirt may be taken to represent Queen Matilda helping King Stephen to support the sceptre of the Kingdom of England during the latter's captivity in 1141.

|   |                     |
|---|---------------------|
| * (a) BMC 263, ex Roberts, Rebello?   | 17.3 g.             |
| * (b) BMC 262, ex Hans Sloane   | 21.7 g.             |
| * (c) BMC 261, ex Montagu II 352, Brice, Lady-in-the-North 17, Murchison 38, Cuff 764                                     | 17.8 g.             |
| * (d) Cambridge ex Lockett 1164, Roth I 146, Spurrier 38, Bentham, Loscombe 1115  | 18.0 g.             |
| * (e) ex Ryan 932, Bliss 186, Maynard 19  | 18.0 g.             |
| * (f) ex Wheeler 192, Reynolds 85, Montagu II 353, Addington, Bergne 335, Durrant 208, Tyssen 1133, Tutet 53, Grainger 25 | 20.0 g.             |
| (g) Mack ex Bruun 233   | (Chipped)           |
| * (h) ex Grantley 1313, Rashleigh 623, Pembroke 61  | (Chipped) 16.9 g.   |
| * (j) Oxford ex Marshall 87, Grantley 1314, Carlyon-Britton 1499  | 19.4 g.             |
| * (k) Ballingal ex Drabble 1005, Huth   | 18.0 g.             |
| * (l) ex Drabble 734, Reynolds 84   | 20.5 g.             |
| (m) Ballingal ex Lawrence 369   | Broken and repaired |
| (n) Oxford ex Browne Willis   | 18.4 g.             |
| (o) Oxford ex Corpus Christi College  | 19.4 g.             |
| * (p) ex Rashleigh 622, Brumell 266, Martin 72  | 18.2 g.             |
| (q) Archbishop Sharp  |                     |
| (r) Hunter Collection, Glasgow  | 13.2 g.             |

## THE BARONIAL COINAGE OF YORK

## EUSTACE FITZJOHN.

All the coins bearing the name of Eustace can be attributed to Eustace Fitzjohn, a Yorkshire magnate who was prominent at the beginning of Stephen's reign<sup>4</sup>. It is true that at the present time only one coin, and that a fragment (see No. 225 below) is known with his name inscribed upon it but by the style and lettering it may be connected with the Eustace

<sup>1</sup> *Spink's Numismatic Circular*, Nov.-Dec. 1914.

<sup>2</sup> *NC*, 1896, pp. 69-70, *NC*, 1914, p. 628.

<sup>3</sup> *BMC*, p. cviii.

<sup>4</sup> *BMC*, pp. cxiii ff.

full-figure type and we cannot very well separate the two Eustace lion types.<sup>1</sup> The lion type bearing the name IOANES is very similar in style to the full-figure type, the lettering, design and ornaments being of very good workmanship. The other, with the name EVSTACHIOS, although being similar in style and lettering has ornaments in the reverse inscription that are different to any others found in the York issues. That the issue was a Yorkshire one is made certain by the similarity of the ornaments of the Eustace full-figure type with those of the Flag type of Stephen from York (see No. 217 h), in fact some of the ornaments may have been made with the same punches. Not only this but some of the full-figure types have an inscription which identifies them with York though the rest of the legend is undecipherable whilst others have the name Thomas FitzUlf, which can be interpreted as Thomas FitzUlvet, an Alderman of York mentioned in the Pipe Rolls of 1130,<sup>2</sup> inscribed upon the reverse.

The Stephen York coins were almost certainly struck before the end of 1141, so presumably the Eustace coins are of about the same date. This being so the attribution of these coins to Eustace, the eldest son of Stephen, may be discounted. We do not know for certain the date of his birth but we do know he was knighted in either 1147 or 1149<sup>3</sup>, so at the most he could only have been ten years old when these coins were issued and had the figure on the coins been intended to represent him he would hardly have been depicted as a knight in full armour.

The date of Eustace Fitzjohn fits the date of the Eustace coins but we know very little about him. He was certainly a Yorkshire baron and was lord of Malton and Knaresborough but his connection with York City is uncertain. He is supposed to have been connected with the court of Henry I and this no doubt led him to support the Empress Matilda during the civil war. In February 1138 he was deprived of the custody of Bamburgh Castle by Stephen on the grounds that he was conspiring with the Empress. In July 1138 he joined David of Scotland, surrendering to him his castle at Alnwick and fighting on his side at the Battle of the Standard in August 1138. After the battle he retired with David into Northumberland and later went to Carlisle. He may have been wounded in the fighting as he is referred to in contemporary chronicles as 'that one-eyed traitor'. After this he seems to have been reconciled to Stephen, at least for a time, for we see him witnessing a charter at Stamford early in 1142, but after this he is lost sight of and we only hear of him again towards the end of the reign 'founding and endowing religious houses'.<sup>4</sup>

The only coin of Eustace from a recorded find is the one from Catal, Yorkshire, in 1684, which cannot today be identified.

#### FULL-FIGURE TYPE.

*Obv.* Full-figure standing to the right, bearded, in mail armour and pointed helmet, holding sword; pellet, or annulet enclosing pellet, each side of helmet. In field to the left, an ornament. Around, inscription between two circles divided by figure, the outer circle beaded.

*Rev.* A quatrefoil enclosing a cross pattée with bar across each limb. In the field are annulets enclosing pellets. Around, inscription between two circles, the outer one beaded.

<sup>1</sup> *NC*, 1890, pp. 42 ff.

<sup>2</sup> Pipe Roll, Henry I, ed. Hunter, p. 34.

<sup>3</sup> Ramsay (*Foundations*, vol. ii p. 437, note 4).

<sup>4</sup> G. C. Brooke in *BMC*, pp. cxi-cxvi. For further

discussion on the attribution of these coins see *NC* III 5, x, p. 42; *BNJ*, iv, p. 363 and *Numismatic Circular*, Dec. 1914.

## YORK MINT

221. *O.* EVSTACIVS + (the s reversed)*R.* + EBORACIEDTS (the s reversed and ornaments in legend)

- \* (a) *BMC* 264, ex Durrant 207, Dimsdale 223 18.5 g.  
 (b) Hunter Collection, Glasgow 18.7 g.  
 \* (c) ex Ryan 933, Wheeler 195, Reynolds 86, Murdoch 262, Webb 43  
 \* (d) ex Drabble 731, Bruun 236, Roth I 147, Montagu II 358, Brice, Wigan 18.7 g.  
 (e) Oxford ex Corpus Christi College 16.0 g.  
 (f) ex Spink & Son (Pierced)  
*a* and *b* are from the same obverse die.  
*c* and *d* are from the same obverse die.  
*a*, *b*, *c* and *d* are from the same reverse die.

222. *O.* EVSTACIVS + (the s reversed)*R.* + EBORACITDEF (ornaments in legend)

- \* *BMC* 265, ex Roberts, Bootle and Selby 18.3 g.  
 From same obverse die as 221a above.

223. *O.* EVSTACIVS + (the s reversed)*R.* + TH(lig.)OMASFILIUSVLF

- \* (a) *BMC* 266 ex Murchison 40, Cuff 766 19.0 g.  
 (b) *BMC* 267, ex Pembroke 62 18.9 g.  
 \* (c) Mack ex Lockett 2972, Roth II 149, Rashleigh 624, Maynard 20 14.7 g.  
 All from same pair of dies.

224. *O.* EVSTACIVS

No annulet enclosing pellets in field. Pellet each side of helmet.

*R.* Ornaments in place of legend.

Annulets enclosing pellets omitted in field round quatrefoil.

- \* (a) *BMC* 268, ex Roberts, Lister Parker 16.1 g.  
 \* (b) Ballingal ex Lockett 1170, Middleton 17.5 g.  
 (c) The Hon. Ralph Assheton collection  
 (d) Archbishop Sharp collection

## LION TYPE.

*Obv.* Lion passant to the right, various ornaments in the field above and below. Around, inscription between two beaded circles.

*Rev.* Cross fleury over saltire, each limb terminating in small crosses patées. Annulets in the field.

## YORK MINT

225. *O.* + [ ] CH IOANIS (A inverted, N reversed) interspersed with ornaments*R.* Meaningless letters and ornaments

- \* B.M. ex Lawrence, Dimsdale 225 (Fragment)

226. *O.* EISTACHIVS:*R.* Ornaments in place of legend

- \* (a) *BMC* 269 (acquired before 1810) 18.8 g.  
 (b) *BMC* 270, ex King George III (Chipped) 16.6 g.  
 (c) ex Lawrence 368 (Broken)  
 \* (d) Mack ex Bruun 237 (Chipped)  
 (e) Leeds University ex Winchester Cathedral Library (Broken)

- \* (f) ex Lockett 1171, Carlyon-Britton 1500, Montagu II 359, Brico, Bergne 336, Durrant, Dimsdale 224 19.1 g.  
(g) Mack ex Grantley 1315. Bought in Rome (Chipped)
- \* (h) ex Drabble 732, Packe
- \* (j) ex Ryan 934, Roth I 148, Robinson
- (k) Oxford ex Corpus Christi College 18.7 g.  
(l) Oxford ex Passmore (Fragment) 12.6 g.  
(m) Ballingal ex Drabble 1004 16.2 g.
- (n) The Hon. Ralph Assheton collection
- (o) The Hon. Ralph Assheton collection
- (p) Conns collection, Glasgow 16.3 g.  
(q) Hunter collection, Glasgow 15.2 g.
- \* (r) ex Reynolds 87, Murdoch 263, Roston 80a, Montagu (1888) 89, Addington, Murchison 39, Cuff 765, Devonshire 71 18.0 g.
- \* (s) ex Rashleigh 625, Loscombe 1116
- (t) Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris. Bought in France c. 1963 (Chipped)
- All the coins illustrated are from the same pair of dies.

## ROBERT DE STUTEVILLE.

History has practically nothing to tell us about Robert de Stuteville except that he was a Yorkshire baron who, with others, met at York in 1138 to consider measures of defence against David of Scotland. He is supposed to have been the father of the sheriff of Yorkshire of 1170-75 and during Henry II's reign is heard of laying claims to land at Coxwold which adjoins Newburgh Priory.<sup>1</sup> Only seven of his coins are known to-day. Six of these are of the horseman type depicting an armed figure on horseback and the similarity of their style to that of other irregular issues struck at York (the reverse is similar to one of the Royal issues of Stephen struck at York (No. 218)) suggests an early date of issue, probably before 1141. Unfortunately only one of these six coins, the one in the Hunter collection at Glasgow, is whole, the others all being chipped or broken with pieces missing. The Hunter coin has the full reading with the exception of the letters *DE*, but these can be read by comparison with another specimen (e below).

The remaining coin of different type was found at Peterborough and is probably earlier than the horseman type as it somewhat resembles Stephen Type 1 but with Robert's name on the obverse. The reverse has a legend which appears on a coin of Stephen interspersed with ornaments (No. 216).

As this issue came from York it is unlikely that the coin belongs to any of the other Roberts of the period.

An interesting brooch was found in a barrow in Norfolk, with armed figures on horseback to the right, very similar to the coins.<sup>2</sup> The brief inscription on it undoubtedly stands for Robertus.

TYPE 1.<sup>3</sup>

227. *Obv.* Crowned bust to the right similar to Stephen Type 1.

+ *ROBDS* [ ]

*Rev.* Cross moline with fleurs in the angles similar to Stephen Type 1.

+ *WISDGNOTIA* (retrograde)

Found at Peterborough. This coin cannot now be traced.

<sup>1</sup> *NC.* 1896, p. 70; *BMC*, p. cxvi.

<sup>2</sup> *Archaeological Journal*, ii, p. 314-315.

<sup>3</sup> Brooke, *English Coins*, p. 94.

## TYPE 2.

228. *Obv.* Armed figure on horseback to the right wearing helmet. Around, inscription between two beaded circles, broken by sword and helmet.

+ ROBERTVS DE STV

*Rev.* Cross pattée over saltire fleury. Ornaments in place of legend between two beaded circles.

- \* (a) BMC 271, ex Barclay 50, Dimsdale 227 (Broken) 16.4 g.
  - \* (b) Hunter collection, Glasgow 17.4 g.
  - \* (c) ex Grantley 1316, Carlyon-Britten 1501 (Edge broken) 15.6 g.
  - (d) Mack ex S. M. Spink collection, Roth II 150 (Fragment)
  - \* (e) ex Ryan 935, Wheeler 196, Reynolds 88, Lawrence, Montagu II 357, Marsham 273, Wigan, Pembroke 59 (Broken)
  - \* (f) ex Drabble 733 (Broken)
- a, b and c are from the same pair of dies.

## HENRY OF BLOIS, BISHOP OF WINCHESTER.

Henry of Blois was the younger brother of Stephen. On Stephen's accession in 1135 Henry gave his brother his full support and was undoubtedly instrumental in winning over the Church and Archbishop, as well as the Treasury, to Stephen's cause. On March 1, 1139 he received a legatine commission from Pope Innocent II. This gave him authority over the Primate, Archbishop Theobald, whose see he is supposed to have hoped for before Theobald's appointment in 1136.

In the summer of 1139, Henry deserted his brother and gave his support to the Empress Matilda. In July 1141 he was persuaded by Queen Matilda to rejoin Stephen, the King still being a captive at Bristol.

In 1142 Henry urged the Pope to raise the see of Winchester to a metropolitan see for the West of England but this was refused. Henry, no doubt, had his eye on the future when his appointment as legate would terminate on the death of Pope Innocent II and he would become subordinate to Archbishop Theobald.

Pope Innocent II died in 1143 and Henry's legateship was not renewed by the new Pope Eugenius III. After this there was more or less open hostility between Henry and Theobald until in 1153 the two came together in the cause of peace which culminated in the treaty of Winchester when Henry of Anjou was declared Stephen's successor and heir.

The coinage of Henry of Blois is a most unusual and interesting one. Like the pennies struck by the Archbishops of Canterbury in the late eighth century it has the episcopal title on the obverse and the Royal title on the reverse, denoting no doubt that the coinage was issued with the authority of or in support of the King. The coin has much in common with other baronial issues struck at York and it seems the die must have been made there and probably the coins struck there also. But the question arises why should the Bishop of Winchester strike coins at York and why should he strike coins at all? The answer may be that besides being the King's brother he was an extremely powerful man. From 1139 to 1143 he was legate and it is known that during Stephen's captivity the Pope urged him to work for his release. The coins are very similar to Stephen Type I and must therefore have been issued fairly early in the reign; they would certainly be issued during his term of office as legate. It therefore seems possible that they were struck between July and November 1141 during the King's captivity and after Henry had rejoined the Royalist party, perhaps

to indicate his loyalty to the King. He may even have assumed the leadership of the party in his capacity of legate and King's brother. William of Malmesbury (if any reliance can be placed on his statements) quotes Henry as saying that by the condescension of the Pope he acted as vice-regent at this period. But the connection with York must for the time being remain a mystery<sup>1</sup>.

At the present day only two coins are known of Henry of Blois. One, a fragment, was in the Pembroke sale of 1848 and is now in the British Museum. The other, which has a slight chip, was bought in a junk shop in York early this century by a Mr. Walker for one shilling. On his death in 1907 it was acquired by Major P. W. Carlyon-Britton and then passed through the Grantley and Ryan sales. It is now in the writer's collection.

229. *Obv.* Bust to the right, similar to Stephen Type 1, holding crozier; in field to right, a star; around, inscription divided by bust within beaded circles.

+ HENRICUS EPC (the N and S reversed).

*Rev.* Cross pattée, with bar on each limb, over saltire fleury. Around, inscription between two beaded circles.

STEPHANUS . REX (the N and S reversed).

\* (a) BMC 272, ex Pembroke 35

(Broken) 15.9 g.

\* (b) Mack, ex Ryan 936, Grantley 1317, Carlyon-Britton 1498, Walker

(Chipped) 18.0 g.

## THE COINAGE OF THE ANGEVIN PARTY

### THE EMPRESS MATILDA.<sup>2</sup>

Matilda was born in 1103, the daughter of Henry I and his wife Edith. She left England at the age of eight and her early childhood was spent in Germany. In 1114 she married the Emperor Henry V. He died in 1125 and there were no children of the marriage. In 1126 she returned to England and was accepted by the barons as the rightful successor to the throne. In 1128 she returned to the continent and married Geoffrey of Anjou. Three sons were born of this marriage, Henry, Geoffrey and William. On the death of Henry I in 1135 the barons refused to acknowledge her as Queen and Stephen, her cousin, was crowned King in her place.

On September 30th, 1139, she came to England to try and gain the throne, landing on the coast near Arundel in Sussex with her half-brother Robert, Earl of Gloucester. She remained in Arundel for a short time with her step-mother, Adeliza, eventually going on to Bristol protected by an escort somewhat surprisingly provided for her by Stephen. On October 15th she went to Gloucester. She remained in the west of England making Bristol and Gloucester her headquarters until after the battle of Lincoln on February 2nd 1141 when Robert of Gloucester brought Stephen a captive to Gloucester. She then went to Cirencester and from there, on February 16th, carried on negotiations with the legate, Henry, Bishop of Winchester. On March 2nd she met Henry at Wherwell, near Andover, when arrangements were made for her accession, being admitted to Winchester the following day and being received in state in the cathedral. She was probably in Oxford for Easter 1141 and at Winchester, on April 8th, was formally elected Queen of England. Shortly after this a deputation arrived from London demanding the release of the King and while efforts were being made

<sup>1</sup> BMC, p. cxvii; NC, 1914, p. 628.

<sup>2</sup> BMC, p. lxxxiv.

to win over the Londoners to her side she went to Reading and St. Albans, being joined there by her uncle, King David of Scotland, who had come south to assist at the coronation. Shortly before midsummer the Londoners gave in and received her in the city but having demanded a subsidy and generally behaved in an arrogant and high-handed manner she was thrown out and went back to Oxford. She then quarrelled with Henry, Bishop of Winchester, who deserted her and went back to his brother Stephen's side. Robert of Gloucester having failed to reconcile Henry, the Empress went to Winchester with an armed force and on July 31st laid siege to the bishop in his new palace at Wolvesey. Meanwhile Queen Matilda, Stephen's wife, and William of Ypres, who had entered London on the departure of the Empress, arrived at Winchester and in turn besieged the Empress and Earl Robert. The Empress eventually escaped on September 14th, going through Ludgershall and Devizes to Gloucester, but Robert was not so fortunate and he was captured at Stockbridge, later being exchanged for Stephen who was released at Bristol on November 1st. After this the Empress went back to Oxford where she spent the winter of 1141-2, at the end of March going to Devizes. From here she sent a message to her husband Geoffrey, who was still in Normandy, asking him to come over and help her. Geoffrey did not come himself but in the autumn sent their eldest son, the young Duke Henry, now nine years old. From September to December 1142 the Empress was besieged by Stephen in Oxford Castle and only escaped at night over ice and snow when provisions began to get short, making her way to Wallingford via Abingdon. After this she went back to her old headquarters at Bristol and Gloucester and ceased to take much further interest in the civil war which for the next five years was carried on by Robert of Gloucester on behalf of her eldest son, Henry of Anjou. On October 31st, 1147 Robert died and in February 1148 the Empress Matilda left England for good. She died on September 10th 1167 at Notre Dame des Prés.

The titles used by the Empress Matilda on her charters were as follows:—

M Imperatrix regis Henrici filia

Matildis Imperatrix H Regis filia

Matildis Imperatrix Henrici regis filia et Anglorum domina

In two cases *regina* was wrongly substituted for *domina*, no doubt in anticipation of her coronation which had been fixed for June 24th, 1141, but was prevented by the revolt of London. On her coins, which are all of the first type of Stephen, she is variously described on the obverse in abbreviated forms as Imperatrix, Matildis Comitissa, and Matildis Imperatrix. The coins are of good silver but generally below standard weight. They are of rough work, the dies having been cut by hand instead of being made with punching irons. An exception is an Oxford penny the reverse of which is made in the usual way with punches, the die perhaps having fallen into the Empress' hands when Oxford Castle surrendered to her at Easter 1141. The coins all come from central and west country mints as might be expected. They were probably all struck between 1139 and 1142. Some have the letters DE instead of ON separating the moneyer's name and mint.

MINTS: Bristol,  
Oxford,  
Wareham,  
Uncertain.

*Obv.* Similar to Stephen Type 1.

*Rev.* Similar to Stephen Type 1.

## BRISTOL MINT

## 230. O. :IMPERATR:

R. + TVRCHIL·DE·BRIST

- \* (a) Oxford ex Marshall 84, Grantley 1307, Carlyon-Britton 1507, Rashleigh 628 From the Dartford find 17·3 g.  
 \* (b) ex Carlyon-Britton, Rashleigh 629 From the Dartford find 15·8 g.  
 (c) Oxford 15·8 g.  
 a and b are from the same pair of dies.

## 231. O. :MATILDIS·INPER: (the N reversed)

R. + ARFENI:[ ]BRIST

- \* (a) Ballingal ex Drabble 1006, Bruun 234, Roth I 149 From the Dartford find 18·6 g.  
 \* (b) ex Marshall 83, Grantley 1306, Murdoch 261, Wright, Toplis, Andrew From the Nottingham find 15·1 g.  
 (c) B.M. From the South Kyme find 15·1 g.  
 a and c are from the same obverse die

## 232. O. MATILDI:IMP

R. + GVRDAN·DE·BRIS

- \* (a) ex Carlyon-Britton 1508, Rashleigh 632, Marsham 272 17·0 g.  
 \* (b) ex Lockett 2973

## 233. O. [:MI] MPERA·

R. + RODBERD: DE:BR[ISTO]V

- \* (a) Mack ex Taffs 139 16·8 g.  
 \* (b) ex Drabble 735  
 a and b are from the same pair of dies.  
 The reading BRISTOV occurs in the Pipe Rolls of Henry II and in Domesday.

## OXFORD MINT

## 234. O. MATILDI:IMP:

R. + SVETIG:ON:OX:

- \* (a) BMC 273, ex Montagu II 354, Toplis From the Nottingham find 17·2 g.  
 \* (b) ex Ryan, 938, Reynolds 89, Rashleigh 630 From the Dartford find 16·5 g.  
 (c) Oxford Found near Folkestone in 1878<sup>1</sup> 16·2 g.

## WAREHAM MINT

## 235. O. MATILDI:IMP

R. + RAVL·DE·WAR

- \* Ballingal ex Lockett 1173, Bruun 235, Roth I 152, Douglas 16·9 g.

## 236. O. MATILDIS IMP

R. + RAVL·ON·WAR

- (a) ex Roth I 151, Montagu V 119 17·0 g.  
 \* (b) ex Roth II 152, Toplis From the Nottingham find 14·0 g.

## UNCERTAIN MINTS

## 237. O. :MATILDIS:IMP

R. + SI[ ]ER:CA

- (a) ex Roth II 150 From the Nottingham find 13·5 g.  
 \* (b) ex Lockett 3954, Roth II 151 From the Nottingham find 14·0 g.  
 a and b are from the same pair of dies.

<sup>1</sup> *Archaeologia*, xlvii, p. 2.

The mint reading CA could stand for either Canterbury, Carlisle or Cardiff but the attribution of these two coins to these places is extremely unlikely. Canterbury castle was in the hands of Robert of Gloucester's troops when Stephen first arrived in England and he was refused admittance there,<sup>2</sup> but it is evident that the town was in the hands of the Royalists throughout the civil war and it was from this part of the country that Queen Matilda raised the troops she led to London in June 1141 when Stephen was a captive.

In the South Kyme find there were two coins of Stephen Type 1 of rough work with obverse reading + :ISTIEN, reverse + WILLEM:ON:CA[<sup>3</sup>. William is a known moneyer of Carlisle and colon stops before the King's name also occur on the obverse of the CA coins of Matilda. It is possible, but unlikely, that David of Scotland struck coins at Carlisle in support of the Empress.

There is no evidence that the Empress Matilda ever visited Wales and Cardiff must be out of the question.

The style of the Matilda coins suggests they were struck in the south rather than the north of England and a possible attribution is to Calne in Wiltshire. The borough of Calne is situated between Malmesbury and Chippenham, a part of the country which was always loyal to the Empress. She passed through Calne on her way to Bristol after her arrival in England in 1139.

238. O. MATILDI COL:

R. + ALFRED[ ]VD

\* ex Marshall 85, Grantley 1308, Rashleigh 631 From the Watford find 18.5 g.

239. O. MATILDI:IM

R. ]RA[ ]F: DE[ ]VN[

\* ex Ryan 937, Roth I 150, Marsham 272, Bohn 14.0 g.

240. O. ]C: IMP[

R. ]VRIC :[ ]N[

ex Roth I 149

#### HENRY OF ANJOU.

Henry of Anjou was born on March 5th, 1133, the eldest son of the Empress Matilda and Geoffrey of Anjou. In the spring of 1147 he was sent over from Normandy with a small band of adventurers but little or no money. His object was to create a diversion to help Gilbert of Clare at Pevensey. He attacked Cricklade and Bourton but both attacks failed, his men deserted him and at the end of May he was compelled to return to Normandy.

Early in 1149 he paid another visit to England, landing at Wareham and going on to Carlisle where on May 23rd he was knighted by his great uncle, David of Scotland. At Carlisle plans were made for a campaign against Stephen but these fell through and Henry was once again forced to return to Normandy where he landed in January 1150.

When he reached the age of seventeen his father transferred to him the Duchy of Normandy and for the next year or so he was fully occupied fighting a war against Louis VII. In September 1151 his father died and he inherited all his titles. In 1152 Henry married Eleanor, the former wife of Louis VII, and was again involved in a war with France from which he was not free until January 1153 when he once more came to England, this time at the request of the beleaguered garrison at Wallingford. On landing he met with more success than he had done

<sup>1</sup> BMC, p. lxxxvii.

<sup>2</sup> NC, 1922, p. 82, nos. 325 and 326.

on previous occasions and having defeated Stephen's force at Malmesbury went on to relieve Wallingford castle. From there he went to Bristol and having been joined by the Earls of Chester and Leicester made a triumphant march through the midlands. There was little that Stephen could do to stop him, so when Eustace, the King's eldest son, died on August 10th, 1153, Stephen seized the opportunity for a compromise and at Winchester on November 6th, 1153, a treaty was drawn up in which Stephen formally declared Henry of Anjou to be his successor and heir.<sup>1</sup> The treaty was ratified at Westminster later in the year. After this, Henry stayed in England until Easter 1154 when he went back to Normandy, returning on Stephen's death in October to ascend the throne as Henry II.

We have seen that the coinage issued by the Angevin party in England in the name of the Empress Matilda was probably struck between the years 1139 and 1142 and this is borne out by their similarity to Stephen Type 1. After her flight from Oxford in December 1142 the Empress took no further part in the civil war which was carried on by Robert of Gloucester on behalf of her son, Henry of Anjou. After 1142 the name of Henry was substituted for Matilda on the Angevin coinage, at first the type otherwise remaining the same but later adopting varied reverses. It seems likely that the profile types continued up to about the time of Earl Robert's death in 1147, the type then changing to a facing bust to coincide with Stephen's regular Type 2 which would have been issued sometime earlier. This is more or less borne out by the Winterslow find in which coins of all types of Henry of Anjou, except the first and fourth, were found in company with coins of Stephen's first three types. For a few years after 1147 the fortunes of the Angevin party were at a low ebb and it is doubtful if much money was coined until a revival took place in 1153. But there were no coins of Henry of Anjou from the Awbridge find which was composed mostly of the last type of Stephen and the first type of Henry II.

The coinage of both the Empress Matilda and her son Henry must have represented the main currency of the west of England at that time and would in all probability have been issued from many of the larger towns in that part of the country. But surprisingly few of the coins have survived to the present day.

|        |          |            |            |
|--------|----------|------------|------------|
| MINTS: | Bristol  | Gloucester | ?Sherborne |
|        | Hereford | Malmesbury | Uncertain  |

#### TYPE 1.

*Obv.* Crowned bust to the right holding sceptre, similar to Stephen Type 1. Inscription around between two beaded circles.

*Rev.* Cross moline similar to Stephen Type 1. Inscription around between two beaded circles.

#### HEREFORD MINT

241. *O.* + HENICVS

*R.* + WILLELM ON]:HEREFORD

\* ex Drabble 737, Bruun 238, Roth I 153, Marsham 254, Ellis, Tyssen

242. *O.* ]INN:IIOI

*R.* + W[LLELM ON]:HEREFORD

\* BMC 275, ex Rev. G. J. Chester

(Pierced) 17.6 g.

From same reverse die as No. 241 above.

<sup>1</sup> A. L. Poole, *Oxford History of England, Domesday to Magna Carta*, p. 165 and footnote. The statement, still often repeated, that the treaty was

made at Wallingford is based on a confusion by the thirteenth century chronicler, Roger of Wendover.

243. O. : + HENRICVS

R. + PIC[ ]RIC:ONHER:

\* (a) BMC 274, ex Durrant 195, Rev. W. Woolston

15.9 g.

(b) ex Marshall 86, Drabble 1008

## MALMESBURY MINT

244. O. : REX:AN:

R. + WAL[TE]RI:DE:MAL[ ]:

\* B.M. ex Roth II 137

From the Nottingham find

15.7 g.

## UNCERTAIN MINT

245. O. + HE[ ] (retrograde)

R. + ON:D[ ]ES (retrograde)

From the South Kyme find<sup>1</sup>

16.7 g.

This coin is of very coarse work and what remains of the legend on both sides is uncertain. The attribution to Henry of Anjou must be considered very doubtful.

## TYPE 2.

*Obv.* Crowned bust to the right holding sceptre, similar to Stephen Type 1. Rosette of pellets at end of legend. Inscription around between two beaded circles.

*Rev.* Similar to Stephen Type 1 but the cross moline is voided and has an annulet in the centre and at the end of each limb. Inscription around between two beaded circles.

## GLOUCESTER MINT

246. O. + HENRIC : rosette of pellets

R. + RADEWLF:ONGLO

\* BMC 276, ex B. C. Roberts

From the Winterslow find

16.7 g.

For coins of similar type reverse see Nos. 207-213.

## TYPE 3.

*Obv.* Crowned bust to the right holding sceptre, very similar to Stephen Type 1. Inscription around between two beaded circles.

*Rev.* Over a cross fleury a quadrilateral fleury with concave sides; in each angle of cross, a pellet. Inscription around between two beaded circles. Very similar to the last type of Henry I.

## GLOUCESTER MINT

247. O. + h[EN]RICVS

R. + R[o]BERT :[ ]ON:[ ]GLOE:

This coin is included on the evidence of W. J. Andrew's Ms. in the British Museum, but its whereabouts at the moment cannot be traced.

## HEREFORD MINT

248. O. + HENRICVS REX

R. + SIBERN:ON:HEREFOR

\* Mack ex Grantley 1320, Carlyon-Britton 1502

18.2 g.

249. O. + HENRICVS[ ]

R. + [ ]IC:ON:HER

\* ex Lockett 1174, Dawnay, 36, Rostron 37, Bergne

<sup>1</sup> NC, 1922, p. 83, no. 338.

## UNCERTAIN MINTS

250. O. + HENRICVS

R. + [WIL]LEMON:CRST (s sideways)

- \* ex Lockett 1175, Roth I 110, Montagu II 291, Webb 17, Neck, Whitbourn 145,  
Murchison 27, Dymock 184, Hollis.

The crown is square topped without ornaments. Inscription begins to right of sceptre and is not divided by bust.

It is quite possible, indeed probable, that the mint reading stands for Cirencester.

Cirencester was in all probability an important Angevin stronghold at this time. The Empress Matilda went there from Gloucester after the battle of Lincoln, arriving there on February 13th 1141 and carried on negotiations with Henry, Bishop of Winchester, prior to her being proclaimed Queen. In 1142 a council of the leaders of the Angevin party was held here. Later in 1142 a fortified post at Cirencester was captured by Stephen, but it seems doubtful if it remained in his hands after his defeat at Wilton in 1143.

See also William of Gloucester, No. 263 by same moneyer and with similar mint reading.

251. O. [ + h]ENRICVS

R. + ON:CAO[ ]:

- \* BMC 277, ex B. C. Roberts From the Winterslow find 12.4 g.

252. O. [N]

R. [JELFRE]A:

- \* BMC 278, ex B. C. Roberts From the Winterslow find 16.5 g.

There is an ornament between face and sceptre.

253. O. + HENRICVS REX

R. Illegible

- \* (a) BMC 279, ex B. C. Roberts From the Winterslow find (Chipped) 16.5 g.  
\* (b) Ballingal ex Grantley 1319, Drabble 738, Ready 252 15.7 g.  
\* (c) Mack ex Ryan 939, Wheeler 194, Roth II 157 17.2 g.  
(d) ex Reynolds<sup>1</sup>

In a and b, which are from the same pair of dies, the inscription commences near fleur of sceptre and continues unbroken round head between two beaded circles. They have a broad double diadem in place of crown.

Some or all may be Hereford mint and c could well be from the same dies as no. 248 above.

TYPE 4.<sup>2</sup>

*Obv.* Crowned bust to the right holding sceptre, very similar to Stephen Type 1. Inscription around between two beaded circles.

*Rev.* Cross-crosslet in quatrefoil, three pellets in each angle. Inscription around between two beaded circles.

## GLOUCESTER MINT

254. O. HENRICVS

R. + WIL[LEM]ON:GLOE:

- \* B.M. Found at Dorchester, Dorset (by O. Vidler) 14.8 g.

<sup>1</sup> BMC, p. cxxii.

<sup>2</sup> BNJ, xxv, p. 228.

## TYPE 5.

*Obv.* Facing bust, crowned, between two stars. Around, inscription between beaded outer and plain inner circles.

*Rev.* Cross bottonnée over quadrilateral with concave sides, each angle terminating in a pellet and enclosing a pellet. Annulet in centre. Inscription around between two beaded circles.

## BRISTOL MINT

255. *O.* + HENRICVS

*R.* + AREFIN:ONBRI (the N reversed)

No pellets in angles of reverse.

\* (a) BMC 280, ex Sir J. Twisden 16.6 g.

\* (b) Copenhagen Museum

\* (c) ex Lockett 2974, Reynolds 90, Murdoch 217 15.5 g.

All from the same reverse die.

## SHERBORNE MINT

256. *O.* + HENRICVS:RE: (the N reversed)

*R.* ÷ ON:SI[ ]YRNI (the N reversed)

\* BMC 281, ex B. C. Roberts From the Winterslow find 16.1 g.

## UNCERTAIN MINTS

257. *O.* + DININCV[ ]N (the C reversed)

*R.* + ADAM:ONWIVELOC (the A's unbarred)

No annulet in centre of reverse.

\* BMC 282, ex Webster, Cuff 745 16.0 g.

This coin has been attributed to Wiveliscombe in Somerset<sup>1</sup> and this is possible but a more likely attribution is to Ilchester. Coins were probably struck at Ilchester in Type 7.<sup>2</sup>

258. *O.* + PNOV[ ]EMOI

*R.* NIVOYNIN[ ]JOHN

\* BMC 283, ex Long 12 14.4 g.

Perhaps a contemporary forgery.

## TYPE 6.

*Obv.* Facing bust, crowned, between two stars, similar to Type 5. Inscription around between two circles, the outer one beaded.

*Rev.* Cross bottonnée over quadrilateral with concave sides, similar to Type 5 but the cross is voided. Inscription around between two beaded circles.

## MALMESBURY MINT

259. *O.* :DIINIXHIM[ ]LN (the N reversed)

An annulet enclosing pellet above each star.

*R.* + WALTERIS:ON:

\* Ballingal, ex Lockett 1176, Carlyon-Britton 1505, Rashleigh 626 16.0 g.

Although there is no mint reading, Walteris coined at Malmesbury in Type 1 (No. 244 above) so the attribution of this coin to Malmesbury and to Henry of Anjou seems reasonable, but doubt must always remain.

<sup>1</sup> BMC, p. 394; NC, 1851, p. 190; BNJ, xxv, p. 229. <sup>2</sup> See no. 113.

## UNCERTAIN MINTS

260. O. ]NE[

R. + [ ]DEV[ ]AI (A unbarred). The reading is not certain.

\* Mack ex Lockett 1177, Grantley 1318, Rashleigh 627, Cuff 746

15.4 g.

The reverse inscription of this coin is very difficult to read. In the past it has been assigned to Devizes<sup>1</sup> but this now seems unlikely. The early spelling always gives the first two letters of the place name as DI not DE. DE- is first recorded in 1195, although the name goes back to the old French Devise(s). The form VISES is not used until the fourteenth century.<sup>2</sup>

261. O. + HEN[

R. + ELF[ ]:A

\* BMC 284, ex B. C. Roberts

From the Winterslow find. Cut half-penny 7.4 g.

WILLIAM OF GLOUCESTER<sup>3</sup>

William was the eldest son of Robert, Earl of Gloucester, and inherited his father's titles when the latter died in October 1147. Very little is known about him but he probably became leader of the Angevin party in England after Robert's death and as such, in the absence of Henry of Anjou in Normandy, may have struck coins at about this time. The types of the coins fit in with this period, they are all similar to those issued by Henry of Anjou, the same mint names also occurring. This being so, their attribution to William de Mohun, Earl of Dorset and Somerset, which is an alternative suggestion, seems unlikely as we know this baron deserted the Empress Matilda before the end of 1143. Nevertheless we cannot be absolutely certain that these coins do belong to William of Gloucester. Two were from the Winterslow find in company with coins of Stephen and Henry of Anjou. The weight of the William coins is very low. On one coin of type 2 some attempt seems to have been made to express a title but the reading is very doubtful.

MINTS: Dorchester,

Warcham,

Uncertain

## TYPE 1.

*Obv.* Crowned bust to the right holding sceptre. The crown is square topped very similar to Henry of Anjou Type 3, No. 250. Inscription around between two beaded circles begins to right of sceptre.

*Rev.* Quadrilateral over cross fleury with pellet in each angle, similar to the last type of Henry I and Henry of Anjou Type 3. Inscription around between two beaded circles.

## UNCERTAIN MINT

262. O. [ + WIL]LELM (M rounded)

R. ]LEL[

\* Mack ex Ryan 943, Grantley 1322, Reynolds 91

14.0 g.

## TYPE 2.

*Obv.* Facing bust, crowned, between two stars. Around, inscription between beaded outer and plain inner circles.

*Rev.* Cross bottonnée over quadrilateral with concave sides, each angle terminating in a pellet and enclosing a pellet.

Inscription around between two beaded circles.

<sup>1</sup> Rashleigh sale, lot 627, Grantley iv, lot 1318; Name Society, xvi, pp. 242-3.  
BNJ, xvi, p. 75.

<sup>3</sup> BNJ, xxv, p. 229.

<sup>2</sup> The Place-Names of Wiltshire, English Place-

## UNCERTAIN MINT

263. O. + LVILL·ENDV·O· (the N reversed)

Two rows of pellets take the place of the crown.

R. + WILLEMON:CRST

\* ex Ryan 940, Reynolds 92, Murdoch 264,

Montagu II 360, Brice, Wigan, Jones-Long From the Winterslow find<sup>1</sup>

15.0 g.

Probably struck at Cirencester. See Henry of Anjou No. 250 with same moneyer and reading.

## TYPE 3.

*Obv.* Facing bust, crowned, between two stars, similar to Type 2 and Henry of Anjou Type 5. Inscription around between beaded outer and plain inner circles.*Rev.* Cross botonnée over quadrilateral with concave sides, the cross voided similar to Henry of Anjou Type 6. Inscription around between two beaded circles.

## DORCHESTER MINT

264. O. + WILLELMVS (M rounded, S reversed)

R. + S[ ]AND ON DOB (A unbarred)

\* Mack ex Ryan 942, Carlyon-Britton 1074

15.6 g.

## WAREHAM MINT

265. O. + WILLELMVS (M rounded, S sideways)

R. + ROGIER:DE WAR

\* (a) ex Ryan 941, Carlyon-Britton 1504<sup>2</sup>

15.0 g.

\* (b) Ballingal ex Grantley 1321, Reynolds 93, Lawrence

14.5 g.

a and b are from the same pair of dies.

## UNCERTAIN MINTS

266. O. + WILLELMVS: (M rounded, S sideways)

R. + VN[ ]ON·WIS (the S sideways)

\* BMC 285, ex B. C. Roberts

From the Winterslow find

(Broken) 15.4 g.

The place of mintage of this coin is quite uncertain.

267. O. + WILLELMVS: (M rounded, S sideways)

R. ]AS·ON·[ (A unbarred, S sideways, N reverse)

BMC 286

16.0 g.

From same obverse die as No. 266 above. Provenance not known

268. O. + WILE[ (the E retrograde)

R. Uncertain

\* ex Drabble 729

Found at Stalbridge, Dorset

## UNCERTAIN BARONIAL COINS.

The attribution of the following baronial coins must, for the time being, remain open to doubt.

1. *Coins inscribed* ROBERT.

The obverse reads Robert but the reverse legend is quite uncertain, possibly [ ]ERE for mint, but whether this stands for Hereford, Leicester, or some other place it is impossible to say. This could be an issue struck by Robert, earl of Gloucester. The type being similar to

<sup>1</sup> See Hawkins *Silver coins of England*, 3rd edition (1887) p. 185.

<sup>2</sup> See Samuel Page in *NC* 3, ix, p. 344, on the attribution of this coin to William, the second son of Stephen.

Stephen Type 2 makes this possible, but there is no reason to suppose that Robert issued coins other than in the name of the Empress Matilda or her son Henry. The Empress did not leave England until after his death in 1147. Robert was a fairly common name of the period and the coins may belong to some other baron of the times, possibly Robert, earl of Leicester, if the mint reading is LERE.

#### UNCERTAIN MINT

*Obv.* Crowned, bust three-quarters to the left, holding sceptre in right hand, very similar to Stephen Type 2. Inscription around. There is an outer beaded circle.

*Rev.* Plain cross voided, annulet in centre and mullet of six points in each angle, very similar to Stephen Type 2. Inscription around between two beaded circles.

269. O. ]ROBERTV[

R. ]VND:ON:[ ]ERE?

\* (a) ex Roth<sup>1</sup>

16.4 g.

\* (b) B.M. ex Lockett 1178, Roth (not in sale)

Cut half-penny 6.8 g.

#### 2. Coin with obverse reading BR:CIT.

The following coin has been doubtfully attributed to Brian Fitzcount, the son of Alan Fergant, a Breton count who had seen much service under Henry I. He was one of the barons who attended Stephen's first ceremonial court at Westminster in 1136 but later, in 1139, no doubt because of his father's connection with the court of Henry I, declared for the Empress Matilda and remained one of her most faithful adherents throughout the civil war. In fact he is described as being her inseparable companion. He was the holder of Wallingford castle, the stronghold on the eastern boundary of Angevin territory. He was with the Empress at London in the summer of 1141 and from there went with her to Oxford in July 1141 and then on to the siege of Winchester. When the Empress fled from Winchester in September 1141, under pressure from Queen Matilda and William of Ypres, he escorted her to Bristol via Devizes and remained with her for some time in Bristol<sup>2</sup> before going back to Oxford. At Christmas 1142 the Empress took refuge in the castle at Wallingford having been forced to flee from Oxford under cover of darkness. Brian Fitzcount was besieged by Stephen at Wallingford castle in 1146 and again in 1153. It was during this second siege that he sent word to Henry of Anjou in Normandy asking for assistance. Henry landed in January 1153 with about three thousand men and, after defeating Stephen at Malmesbury, relieved Brian Fitzcount at Wallingford castle.

At the present time only one coin is known which could be attributed to Brian Fitzcount. It is similar in type to Henry of Anjou Type 5 and William of Gloucester Type 2 and would have been struck in about 1146-9, perhaps during the first siege of Wallingford. The alternative suggestion that the coin is an issue of Baldwin de Redvers<sup>3</sup> is unlikely as little is heard of this baron after the siege of Winchester in 1141 and had he struck coins at all he would presumably have adopted the profile type and not full face. The obverse reading, which is doubtful, seems to favour Brian Comititis, but the reverse legend, unless it is a jumbled repetition of the obverse, is quite uncertain.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> BMC, p. cxxix, but not in sale.

<sup>2</sup> Dugdale, *Monasticon*, vol. vi, p. 137.

<sup>3</sup> *NO* 3, ix, p. 345.

<sup>4</sup> See also *Numismatic Circular*, Dec. 1914.

- Obv.* Facing bust crowned between two stars, very similar to Henry of Anjou Type 5. Inscription around between two beaded circles.
- Rev.* Quadrilateral over cross bottonnée each angle terminating in a pellet. Inscription around between two beaded circles.

## UNCERTAIN MINT.

270. *O.* † D-R-G-I-T[*R.* † BRIT[ ]-TO:

\* ex Lockett 1179, Carlyon-Britton 1506

15.9 g.

3. *Uncertain Baronial.*

The following two coins have been attributed to Patrick, earl of Salisbury,<sup>1</sup> but this cannot be accepted with certainty. One comes from the Winterslow find of 1804, the other was found in 1884 by workmen excavating for the foundations of the bell-tower of East Tytherley church, Wiltshire. It is interesting to note that East Tytherley is only four miles from the site of the Winterslow find.

- Obv.* Bust to the right in armour wearing helmet and holding sword in right hand, large star behind head. Around, inscription divided by bust within beaded outer circle.
- Rev.* Cross fleury over quadrilateral with concave sides, fleur-de-lis at each angle. Around, inscription between two beaded circles.

## UNCERTAIN MINT BUT POSSIBLY SALISBURY

271. *O.* [COM] (M rounded)*R.* S[ ]ON:SA (S sideways)\* (a) *BMC* 292, ex Vidal 33, Dimsdale 228. From the Winterslow find (Chipped) 15.8 g.

\* (b) ex Lockett 1180, Grantley 1323, Rev. S. Bourdillon. Found at East Tytherley, Wilts.

4. *Uncertain Baronial.*

Little can be said about the following coin except that it was issued by authority of or on behalf of some bishop.

- Obv.* Bust to right, holding sceptre, very similar to Stephen Type 1. Inscription around divided by bust within beaded circle.
- Rev.* Cross pattée, annulet enclosing pellet in each angle. Inscription around between two beaded circles.

## UNCERTAIN MINT

272. *O.* [NEPL: † (L inverted)*R.* † WLEMON[\* *BMC* 294, ex B. C. Roberts

From the Winterslow find

16.0 g.

## IRREGULAR COINS AFTER c.1141.

The following coins which probably represent local varieties or coins struck locally by barons in support of the King were in all probability in circulation sometime between 1141, or when Type 1 was superseded by Type 2, and the time that hostilities ceased in 1153.

A. *Obv.* Crowned bust facing, very similar to Type 3.

*Rev.* Cross voided over quadrilateral, each angle terminating in an annulet.

<sup>1</sup> *NC*, 1914, p. 632; *BNJ*, xvi, p. 73.

## UNCERTAIN MINT

273. O. + sti[

R. Unintelligible

\* ex Ryan 944, Lawrence

B. *Obv.* Crowned bust facing holding sceptre, a star in the field to the right.*Rev.* Cross pattée, annulet enclosing pellet in each angle.

## UNCERTAIN MINT

274. O. + TSEFN

R. + ALFRD ON TOM;

\* BMC 293, ex Manning

15.2 g.

An Alfred coined money at Taunton in Type 1<sup>1</sup> and possibly at Tamworth in Type 7<sup>2</sup>, so this coin could belong to either of these mints. The lettering is small, so the coin is probably not very late.

C. *Obv.* Large facing bearded head, the face being unusually large so as to fill the whole field.*Rev.* Similar to Henry I Type 15.

## UNCERTAIN MINT

275. O. + st[

R. + ALF[ ]MMORT

\* Northampton Museum. Found at Corby

15.9 g.

The fourth letter of the moneyers name may be R or P. The coin was found at Shire Lodge Farm, Corby in 1955 and is now in the Northampton Museum. The find spot suggests a blundered form of ON NORT (Northampton) for the mint reading<sup>3</sup>. As the King is shown wearing a beard the coin cannot have been issued very early in the reign, the only coins showing the King with a beard being Type 7. However, the reverse is exactly similar to the last type of the previous reign except that there are no colon stops.

## SCOTTISH BORDER COINS

## THE MINT AT CARLISLE.

Profitable silver mines were discovered near Carlisle in about 1132 and a mint was established here at about the same time, striking coins in the last two types of Henry I and the first type of Stephen. In January 1136 David I of Scotland, who was the Empress Matilda's uncle, crossed over the Tweed and captured much of Cumberland and Northumberland. At the resultant peace treaty David retained Carlisle and it seems probable that from here he struck the coins of Stephen Type 1, in Stephen's name, bearing the Carlisle mint signature. Simultaneously or subsequently he issued coins of the same type in his own name with the EDNEBVR mint signature. These coins may have been actually struck at Carlisle but the mint represented must be Edinburgh where perhaps they were issued. The Stephen 'Eden' coin,<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> No. 36 above.<sup>2</sup> No. 133 above.<sup>3</sup> *BNJ.* xxviii, p. 195.<sup>4</sup> *BNJ.* xviii, p. 325-6.

no. 281, must result from a mixing of the dies. Later, whilst Carlisle was still in his hands and the silver mines still active, David issued coins of different type and no doubt discontinued the issues in Stephen's name.<sup>1</sup>

#### DAVID I/STEPHEN GROUP

*Obv.* Similar to Stephen Type 1, inner circle omitted.

*Rev.* Similar to Stephen Type 1.

#### CARLISLE MINT

276. *O.* : + ISTIEN

*R.* + WILLEM:ON:CA[

- |            |                          |         |
|------------|--------------------------|---------|
| * (a) B.M. | From the South Kyme find | 18.9 g. |
| (b) B.M.   | From the South Kyme find | 18.5 g. |

*a* and *b* are from the same pair of dies. They are of very rough work.

277. *O.* + STIEFNE R

*R.* + WILEALME ON CARD:

- \* Stewart ex Lockett 1092, Bruun 225, Roth I 118, Rashleigh 494. From the Watford find  
Similar coins exist from same dies.

278. *O.* ST + IEFN REX

*R.* + WILLEM:ON:[CARD:]

- \* ex Drabble 727

This coin has three annulets in front of the crown. The mint reading is not clear.

279. *O.* + STIFNE REX

*R.* + EREBALD:ON CARD:

- |                            |                       |         |
|----------------------------|-----------------------|---------|
| * BMC 17, ex Rashleigh 496 | From the Watford find | 23.2 g. |
|----------------------------|-----------------------|---------|

Similar coins exist with slightly varied readings; one (B.M.C. 18) has moneyer's name + h[

280.<sup>2</sup> *O.* + DAVID REX

*R.* + EREBALD:ON EDEN

- \* ex Lockett V 11, Bearman, Rashleigh 1090, Cliff 763

Similar coins exist, some (e.g. Burns fig. 24) with the fuller mint signature EDENEVR.

281.<sup>3</sup> *O.* + STIFNE REX:

*R.* + EREBALD:ON EDEN:

- |                     |  |         |
|---------------------|--|---------|
| * B.M. ex Lawrence. |  | 20.7 g. |
|---------------------|--|---------|

Nos. 280 and 281 above perhaps struck at Carlisle but may have been issued in Edinburgh.

282.<sup>4</sup> *O.* + STIFNE REX:

*R.* [+O]DARD:ON[CARD:]

- |              |                       |         |
|--------------|-----------------------|---------|
| * Chatsworth | From the Sheldon find | 18.0 g. |
|--------------|-----------------------|---------|

From the same obverse die as No. 281 above. The mint most probably Carlisle.

#### HENRY OF NORTHUMBERLAND<sup>5</sup>

Henry was the only son of King David I of Scotland. When David advanced over the Tweed to Durham in 1136, at the resulting peace treaty he obtained for his son Henry the earldom of Huntingdon with Carlisle and Durham. After this Henry lived at the court of King Stephen in London for a time but was recalled to Scotland by his father after an incident

<sup>1</sup> *BNJ*, xxix, p. 293-6.

<sup>4</sup> *BNJ*, vii, p. 57.

<sup>2</sup> Burns, p. 23 and fig. 24d.

<sup>5</sup> *BMC*, pp. c. ff.

<sup>3</sup> *BNJ*, xviii, p. 325.

with the earl of Chester involving etiquette. In 1138 Henry was present with his father at the battle of the Standard which resulted in David's defeat and retreat to Carlisle where Henry, who had been cut off during the fighting, joined him later. At the subsequent peace treaty at Durham in 1139 Henry was made earl of Northumberland and undertook, with David, to take no further part in the civil war. Apart from being present at the knighting of Henry of Anjou at Carlisle in 1149 little more is heard of him. He died in 1153.

There is little doubt that earl Henry struck coins in Northumberland. The coin from the Bute find inscribed HENRICVS<sup>1</sup> and the other Corbridge coin which reads HENRICVS F[ILIVS] RE[GIS]<sup>2</sup> are sufficient evidence of this. Both these coins were probably struck shortly after 1136 and before he was created earl of Northumberland. Other coins which may be attributed to earl Henry are the extremely rare coins from the Carlisle mint with cross fleury reverse (Stewart Type 2) and the crosslet type (Stewart Type 3) many of which were found at Outchester near Belford in Northumberland in company with coins of the first type of Henry II whose reverse design of cross-crosslet they closely resemble. This has led to the suggestion that the earl Henry coins are of much later date<sup>3</sup> and were struck about the year 1170 by Henry the young King, the coin bearing Stephen's name being struck from an old Stephen die, but it is much more likely that the issue belongs to earl Henry and they are included as such in this work. The probable explanation of Stephen's name appearing on two of the coins is that the issue began in Stephen's name, probably after Henry had been created earl of Northumberland in 1139, and that later he replaced the King's name by his own.

The mint reading on these coins could stand for CASTRI BAEMBURGI for Bamburgh castle in Northumberland.<sup>4</sup> Under the terms of the peace treaty of 1139, Stephen retained the castles of Bamburgh and Newcastle. It seems unlikely that Henry of Northumberland would strike coins at Bamburgh but on the other hand Stephen may only have kept the castles in order to obtain the revenue accruing therefrom whilst allowing Henry to use them for the security of his earldom. Two charters are in existence which were granted by Henry of Northumberland, one at Newcastle to the Church at Durham and the other at Bamburgh to the monks of Tynemouth, so he may well have struck coins here.

MINTS (3): Carlisle  
Corbridge  
? Bamburgh Castle.

#### TYPE 1 (STEWART TYPE 1)

*Obv.* Crowned bust to the right holding sceptre, very similar to Stephen Type 1 but of rather crude style and no inner circle. Inscription around.

*Rev.* Similar to Stephen Type 1 but of crude style. Inscription between two beaded circles.

#### CORBRIDGE MINT

283.<sup>5</sup> O. + HENRICVS

R. + ERE[BALD]:[ON C]OLEB:

\* Edinburgh ex Richardson 13

From the Bute find

20.3 g.

284. O. + HENRIC F RE

R. + EREBALD:ON COREB:

\* B.M. ex Macdonald

19.0 g.

<sup>1</sup> No. 283.

<sup>2</sup> No. 284.

<sup>3</sup> D. F. Allen, *Catalogue of the English Coins in the British Museum, The Cross and Crosslet Type*

of Henry II. Note to p. i.

<sup>4</sup> G. C. Askew in *NC*, 1940, p. 51.

<sup>5</sup> Burns, fig. 24a.

285.<sup>1</sup> *O.* :NENCCN*R.* + AREB[ALD O]NC

\* (a) Edinburgh ex Coats Collection.

19.8 g.

(b) Edinburgh ex Coats Collection.

17.1 g.

*a* and *b* are from the same pair of dies. The reverse reading is not absolutely certain.

## TYPE 2 (STEWART TYPE 2)

*Obv.* Crowned bust to the right, holding sceptre, very similar to Stephen Type 1. Inscription around between two beaded circles.*Rev.* Cross fleury. Inscription around between two beaded circles.

## CARLISLE MINT

286. *O.* + N:ENCI:CON (the first N reversed)*R.* + WILLEN:ON:CARDI:C

\* Oxford ex Ryan 949, Walters

17.8 g.

287. *O.* Uncertain*R.* Uncertain but possibly [WIL]ELON CA\* (a) Edinburgh<sup>2</sup> ex Richardson 17

20.0 g.

\* (b) Edinburgh ex Lockett V 16, Carriek. Carlyon-Britton 1503

Found at Brough-under-Stainmore, Westmorland 17.8 g.

(c) Found Blagill silver mine, 1865<sup>3</sup>

(Fragment)

## TYPE 3 (STEWART TYPE 3)

*Obv.* Crowned bust to the right, holding sceptre, very similar to Stephen Type 1. Inscription around.*Rev.* Cross-crosslet, in each angle a cross pattée pendent from a crescent which hangs on the inner circle. Inscription around between two beaded circles.

## BAMBURGH MINT(?)

288. *O.* + STIFENE RE (the R with two downward strokes)<sup>4</sup>*R.* + :WI:L:ELM:ON:OBCI (the N reversed)

\* (a) ex Ryan 929, Rashleigh 613, Martin 69

19.3 g.

\* (b) Ballingal ex Lockett 1159, Reynolds 80, Lawrence

21.0 g.

*a* and *b* are from the same pair of dies.289. *O.* + N:ENCI:CON or + NENCI:CON (first two N's in each case reversed)*R.* + :WILEL:M:ONCI:B (the N reversed). There are several slight variants.

(a) BMC 287, ex Sewening

22.8 g.

(b) BMC 288

(Pierced)

23.0 g.

(c) BMC 289,<sup>5</sup> ex J. Dyer

(Clipped)

17.6 g.

(d) BMC 290, ex J. Dyer

(Broken)

15.6 g.

(e) BMC 291

(Clipped)

14.8 g.

\* (f) Ballingal ex Drabble 728, Walters

(Clipped)

19.2 g.

\* (g) Oxford ex Marshall 88, Grantley 1311. Found near Blyth, Northumberland. (Clipped).

\* (h) ex Wheeler 193, Reynolds 79

22.6 g.

\* (j) ex Lockett V 15, Rashleigh 1093, Martin 415

22.4 g.

<sup>1</sup> Burns, fig. 25.<sup>2</sup> Burns, fig. 26a; NC<sup>2</sup>, iv, p. 26.<sup>3</sup> Burns, p. 31.<sup>4</sup> See nos. 188-190 above.<sup>5</sup> Nos 289c and 289d are probably from the Outchester hoard. See D. F. Allen, *The Cross-and-Crosslets Type of Henry II.* p. li.

|       |   |                               |              |
|-------|---|-------------------------------|--------------|
| (k)   | Stewart ex R. Carlyon-Britton, Thorburn, Bruun 239                            | (Pierced and plugged)         |              |
| * (l) | ex Rashleigh 1092, Martin 414   |                               | 21.9 g.      |
| * (m) | ex Ryan 948   |                               |              |
| (n)   | ex Roth II 327, Longstaffe 340  |                               |              |
| (o)   | Mack ex Youde   | (Clipped)                     | 14.2 g.      |
| * (p) | Hanham ex Drabble 1002  |                               |              |
| (q)   | Edinburgh ex Coats Collection   |                               | 19.9 g.      |
| (r)   | Edinburgh ex Richardson 8.  |                               | 21.3 g.      |
| (s)   | Longstaffe <sup>1</sup>   |                               |              |
| (t)   | Blair   | Found at Morpeth <sup>2</sup> |              |
| (u)   | ex Murdoch 4, Pollexfen, Murchison <sup>3</sup>                               | (Plugged)                     |              |
| (v)   | Edinburgh, ex Thorburn, R. Carlyon-Britton                                    | Found at Dunwich              | Cut farthing |
| (w)   | Pakenham <sup>4</sup>   |                               |              |
| (x)   | Stavanger Museum. Found at an unspecified date at Naerbo, Norway <sup>5</sup> |                               |              |

#### VARIETIES OF TYPE 7, POSSIBLY OF NORTHERN ORIGIN

*Obv.* Similar to Type 7 but of coarse work and sceptre over King's left shoulder.

*Rev.* Similar to Type 7 but of coarse work.

#### UNCERTAIN MINT

290. O. [INI] [IN: (the second N reversed)

R. + :EN[ ]MO[ ]I

\* BMC 225 23.1 g.

There are three coins of this variety in the B.M.<sup>6</sup>. Average weight between 21 and 23 grains. The style is suggestive of north country origin. One coin was in the Awbridge find of 1902.

*Obv.* and *Rev.* similar to Type 7 but of coarse work.

#### UNCERTAIN MINT

291. O. STEF[

R. Uncertain

\* (a) B.M. ex Drabble 719

(holed)

(b) ex Lockett

The reverse inscription of these coins has been read as [h]ENRIC[.]D[E]CA[RD]<sup>7</sup> and the coins assigned to the Carlisle mint but this is doubtful. However the style is suggestive of north country origin. They are apparently die duplicates.

#### COIN HOARDS

Finds of coins of this period are fairly numerous and we are fortunate in having such large and important hoards as the Watford, Nottingham, Awbridge and others which connect up the types and give a definite clue to their order. Apart from mules, very few of which are in existence, it is only through hoards that this can be satisfactorily done. In the following pages the finds are described more or less in detail but much valuable information on the

<sup>1</sup> Burns, fig. 23A.

<sup>2</sup> Burns, p. 36-38.

<sup>3</sup> Burns, p. 38.

<sup>4</sup> This appears to read— O. + NEN:CON  
R. + :WILEL:M:ONTC:E(or N) (the N reversed)

<sup>5</sup> Stavanger Museum *Arbok* 1964, pp. 72-73.

<sup>6</sup> BMC, 224-226 and footnote.

<sup>7</sup> BNJ, xxviii, p. 553, and Drabble sale catalogue, p. 74.

older hoards has been lost and in such finds as at Catal in Yorkshire we have to be content with descriptions such as 'a few silver coins'. In many of the older hoards the number of coins described does not tally with the number supposed to have been found. It is always possible that some of the coins were melted down for their silver value.

CATAL, YORKS. (1684)<sup>1</sup>

|   | <i>Pennies</i> |
|---|----------------|
| Stephen, two figure type of York            | 1              |
| Eustace FitzJohn, Lion type of York         | 1              |
| Robert de Stuteville, horseman type of York | 1              |
| Stephen (type not known)                    | 1              |
|   | <hr/> 4        |

No details of this find are known. Catal is near Wetherby in Yorkshire.

ASHBY WOULDs, LEICESTER (1788)<sup>2</sup>

Stephen period about 450 coins.

About sixty of the coins were cut halfpennies and about a dozen cut farthings. They were nearly all of Stephen but some were of Henry I and possibly of Henry II and Henry III as well but this seems doubtful. The only type described is Stephen martlet type of which there were 3 coins and a cut halfpenny.

The coins were found on a common called the Woulds in the parish of Ashby-de-la-Zouch at a place called Millstone Gutter. They were contained in a small leaden box of oblong shape which fell to pieces when moved. Most of the coins seem to have passed into the possession of Lord Moira who owned the property on which they were found.

WINTERSLOW, WILTS. (c. 1804).<sup>3</sup>

|                                       | <i>Pennies</i> | <i>Cut Halfpennies</i> |
|---------------------------------------|----------------|------------------------|
| Stephen type 1                        | 1              |                        |
| Stephen type 2                        | 2              | 3                      |
| Stephen type 3                        | 1              |                        |
| Stephen irregular (182)               | 1              |                        |
| Stephen Flag type of York             | 1              |                        |
| Henry of Anjou type 2                 | 1              |                        |
| Henry of Anjou type 3                 | 3              |                        |
| Henry of Anjou type 5                 | 1              |                        |
| Henry of Anjou type 6                 |                | 1                      |
| William of Gloucester type 2          | 1              |                        |
| William of Gloucester type 3          | 1              |                        |
| Patrick, Earl of Salisbury (probable) | 1              |                        |
| Uncertain Bishop                      | 1              |                        |
|                                       | <hr/> 15       | <hr/> 4                |

This hoard was found in a chalk pit at Winterslow, near Salisbury. B. C. Roberts seems to have acquired a number of the coins and in 1810 the British Museum acquired 14 coins from this hoard, mostly from the Roberts collection.

<sup>1</sup> Thoresby, *Ducatus Leodiensis*, pp. 350, 351; *Proc. of Yorkshire Philosophical Soc.* 1856, p. 216, Thompson 80.

<sup>2</sup> *Gentleman's Magazine*, 1796, pp. 843 and 983

and plate opposite p. 841. *Gentleman's Magazine*, 1797, p. 37.

<sup>3</sup> *BMC*, p. xxx; *Gentleman's Magazine*, vol. lxxiv (1804), p. 15. Thompson 378.

WATFORD, HERTS. (April, 1818)<sup>1</sup>

|   | <i>Pennies</i> | <i>Cut Halfpennies</i> |
|---|----------------|------------------------|
| William I type 5                                |                | 1                      |
| Henry I type 14                                 | 58             |                        |
| Henry I type 15                                 | 398            | 21                     |
| Stephen type 1                                  | 632            | 11                     |
| Stephen type 1 with obverse inscription PERERIC | 2              |                        |
| Empress Matilda                                 | 1              |                        |
| Uncertain                                       | 3              |                        |
|   | <hr/> 1,094    | <hr/> 33               |

Some labourers were digging in a field near Watford, Herts., when they turned up about a dozen small silver coins. Further search was then made to see if there were any more in the vicinity and at almost the first dig the spade broke into a hollow space which turned out to be an earthenware jar containing a great number of coins. The jar was said to be buried about 10 to 12 inches below the surface. It was broken by the spade but was about 5 inches high with a diameter of 5½ inches. The top, if it had one, was missing. The hoard was preserved intact and eventually came into the possession of Jonathan Rashleigh. Many of the coins were purchased by the British Museum at the Rashleigh sale in 1909.

SMALLER WATFORD, HERTS., FIND, April 1818<sup>2</sup>

|                         | <i>Pennies</i> |
|-------------------------|----------------|
| Henry I type 14         | 1              |
| Henry I type 15         | 1              |
| Stephen Type 1          | 1              |
| Stephen irregular (176) | 1              |
|                         | <hr/> 4        |

Labourers who were hoeing a field of beans near the site of the ancient manor-house of Oxley Place in the parish of Watford, Herts., came across about a hundred silver coins lying scattered about on the surface of the ground together with a fragment of an earthenware jar in which they had presumably been buried. Only 39 were recovered out of which the above 4 were described. Whether this find was originally part of the larger Watford find it is impossible to say. We do not even know if both finds were in the same field, though both occurred near Watford in 1818. It is quite possible that they were two separate hoards buried at the same time by two neighbours for the same reason.

DARTFORD, KENT, 1825<sup>3</sup>

|  | <i>Pennies</i> |
|--|----------------|
| Henry I type 15                        | 4              |
| Stephen type 1                         | 44             |
| Stephen type 1 with erased obverse die | 1              |
| Stephen irregular (169, 172, 173)      | 3              |
| Empress Matilda                        | 5              |
| David I of Scotland                    | 1              |
|  | <hr/> 58       |

<sup>1</sup> *BMC*, p. xxvi; *NC* 1850, pp. 138 ff.; Thompson, 372; *NC* 1850, pp. 165 ff.

Thompson 373.

<sup>2</sup> *Archaeologia*, vol. xxi, p. 539; *BMC*, p. xxvi; 116.

<sup>3</sup> *BMC*, p. xxviii; *NC* 1851, p. 186. Thompson

No details are known about the finding of this hoard which is supposed to have contained about 65 pennies. The hoard, soon after its discovery, was acquired by Mr. Taylor, grandfather of C. R. Taylor the London coin dealer and many of the coins were bought by Rashleigh. Others were still being sold by Mr. Taylor in the middle of last century.

CROSTHWAITE, CUMB. 1841<sup>1</sup>

|                                     | <i>Pennies</i> |
|-------------------------------------|----------------|
| Stephen type? contemporary forgery? | 1              |

No details except 'some old coins of silver' including 'a leaden coin of Stephen' were found while restoring the church at Crosthwaite.

LONDON BRIDGE c. 1850<sup>2</sup>

'A few rare types of Stephen' amongst a quantity of coins of Henry II included:—

|                | <i>Cut Halfpenny</i> |
|----------------|----------------------|
| Stephen type 3 | 1                    |

No details of this find, which is supposed to have contained mostly coins of Henry II, are available. Rashleigh procured some of them (see lots 636-7 in his sale).

BUTE 1863<sup>3</sup>

|                                   | <i>Pennies</i> |
|-----------------------------------|----------------|
| Stephen type 1                    | 3              |
| David I of Scotland               | 14             |
| Earl Henry of Northumberland      | 1              |
| Uncertain, type as Stephen type 1 | 9              |
|                                   | <hr/> 27       |

On 7th June, 1863, some workmen were employed quarrying stone and building a wall on the moor on the south side of the island of Bute about 300 yards from the ruins of the ancient chapel of St. Blane. One of the workmen had occasion to remove a large stone with his pick over the side of the wall and, on moving some of the soil which was underneath the stone, discovered 27 silver coins, 2 gold rings (one twisted), 3 gold bands and a small bar of silver. These are all now in the National Museum of Antiquities of Scotland, Edinburgh.

SHELDON, DERBY 1867<sup>4</sup>

|   | <i>Pennies</i> | <i>Cut Halfpennies</i> |
|---|----------------|------------------------|
| Henry I type 15                                 | 3              |                        |
| Stephen type 1                                  | 73             | 3                      |
| Stephen, mule 1/2                               | 1              | 1                      |
| Stephen type 2 contemporary forgeries           | 2              |                        |
| Stephen type 1 with erased obverse die          | 11             | 3                      |
| Stephen type 1 with obverse inscription PERERIC | 1              |                        |
| Stephen irregular (170,186)                     | 2              |                        |
| David I of Scotland                             | 2              |                        |
|   | <hr/> 95       | <hr/> 7                |

<sup>1</sup> Thompson 108.

<sup>2</sup> Thompson 246.

<sup>3</sup> *BMC*, p. xxx; *NO* 1863, p. 216, 1865, p. 57.

Thompson 63.

<sup>4</sup> *BMC*, p. xxviii; *BNJ*, vol. vii, p. 27. Thompson

This hoard was discovered when a hole was dug for a stone gate-post when alterations were being made to the boundary wall of the burial ground of the old chapel at Sheldon. The coins were contained in a circular leaden dish about six or eight inches in diameter and were handed over intact to the Duke of Devonshire's agent at Chatsworth on whose property they were found. They are still preserved intact at Chatsworth.

NOTTINGHAM, NOTTS. 1880<sup>1</sup>

|   | <i>Pennies</i> |
|---|----------------|
| Henry I type 1                                  | 1              |
| Henry I type 10                                 | 1              |
| Henry I type 15                                 | at least 7     |
| Stephen type 1                                  | upwards of 150 |
| Stephen type 1 with erased obverse die          | at least 37+   |
| Stephen type 1 with obverse inscription PERERIC | 1              |
| Stephen irregular (160-204)                     | at least 19    |
| Henry of Anjou                                  | 1              |
| Empress Matilda                                 | probably 5     |

Perhaps more than 300 originally.

In January, 1880, some workmen who were excavating at the back of an old property in Bridlesmith Gate, Nottingham, for larger cellaring in connection with bonded stores, came across a heap of silver pennies of the reigns of Henry I and Stephen. Many of the coins were dispersed but some eventually reached the British Museum and many are in the Museum at Nottingham Castle. Others were in the Toplis collection in 1880. Coins from the Nottingham find may be recognised by the fact that they have been at some time subjected to intense heat and in consequence many are blistered and bent. Nottingham was sacked by Robert of Gloucester in September, 1141, and burnt to the ground. It is possible this hoard was deposited just before this date and suffered accordingly.

LATTON, WILTS. 1882<sup>2</sup>

|                | <i>Pennies</i> |
|----------------|----------------|
| Stephen period | upwards of 60  |

Three coins of Stephen Type 1 from this locality are in the Devizes Museum. The rest of the hoard has been dispersed. The coins seem to have been found at different times between 1860 and 1882, though the majority were dug up in Latton churchyard in 1882.

LINTON, MAIDSTONE, KENT 1883<sup>3</sup>

|  | <i>Pennies</i> | <i>Cut Halfpennies</i> | <i>Cut Farthings</i> |
|--|----------------|------------------------|----------------------|
| Henry I type 15                                  | 6              | 1                      |                      |
| Stephen type 1                                   | 32             | 4                      | 4                    |
| Stephen mule types 1/2                           |                | 1                      |                      |
| Stephen type 2                                   | 24             | 13                     | 1                    |
| Stephen type 1 with obverse inscription PERERIC  | 2              |                        |                      |
| Stephen <sup>4</sup> irregular by moneyer SANSON | 4              | 2                      | —                    |
|  | 68             | 21                     | 5                    |

<sup>1</sup> *BMC*, p. xxvii; *NC* 1881, p. 36. Thompson 295.

<sup>2</sup> *BNJ*, vol. vi, p. 187. Thompson 230.

<sup>3</sup> *BMC*, p. xxix; *NC* 1883, p. 108. Thompson 235.

<sup>4</sup> W. J. Andrew. See *BMC*, p. xcii.

In February 1883 while trenching a piece of waste land in the parish of Linton, about 3 miles from Maidstone, some labourers struck a small earthenware vessel which was about 15 inches beneath the surface. The jar was broken with the impact and disclosed about 180 coins of Henry I and Stephen. Of these, about 100 came into the possession of a Mr. G. Wakeford, the remainder being given to a local inhabitant.

AWBRIDGE, Hants., 1902<sup>1</sup>

|                                     | <i>Pennies</i> |
|-------------------------------------|----------------|
| Stephen irregular by moneyer SANSON | 3              |
| Stephen type 7                      | 31             |
| Henry II cross-crosslets type       | 104            |
|                                     | <hr/> 138      |

A farmhouse garden in the parish of Awbridge, near Romsey in Hampshire, was being enlarged and in the removal of a laurel hedge there were discovered, about 2½ feet beneath the surface and all close together as if they had been in a bag which had rotted away, about 180 silver coins. The finder thought little of his discovery and from time to time disposed of about 50 to his friends and acquaintances for sixpence to a shilling each, selecting the better preserved specimens. Eventually Mr. Dietz, of Braishfield Lodge, Romsey, mentioned the find to Mr. H. A. Grueber, the then Assistant Keeper of Coins and Medals in the British Museum, and the remainder of the hoard was sent to the British Museum for examination. These consisted of 34 coins of Stephen and 104 of Henry II, mostly in poor condition.

OUTCHESTER, NORTHUMBERLAND, 1817<sup>2</sup>

|                          | <i>Pennies</i> |
|--------------------------|----------------|
| Henry II Cross-Crosslets | 19             |
| Henry of Northumberland  | 2              |
| David I of Scotland      | 9              |
| Uncertain Scottish       | 1              |
|                          | <hr/> 31       |

These coins were found at Outchester which is about 2½ miles south-east of Belford in Northumberland. It is believed the hoard originally consisted of about 1,000 English and Scottish silver coins but the greater part of the hoard was claimed by Greenwich hospital which owned the land on which it was found and the coins cannot now be traced. The coins listed above were given to the British Museum.<sup>3</sup>

SOUTH KYME, Lincs.<sup>4</sup> (*Date uncertain but before 1922*)

|   | <i>Pennies</i> | <i>Cut Halfpenny</i> |
|---|----------------|----------------------|
| Henry I type 10                                 | 1              |                      |
| Henry I type 15                                 | 10             |                      |
| Mule Henry I type 15/Stephen type 1             | 1              |                      |
| Stephen type 1                                  | 308            | 1                    |
| Stephen type 1 from erased obverse die          | 1              |                      |
| Stephen type 1 with obverse inscription PERERIC | 6              |                      |
| Empress Matilda                                 | 1              |                      |

<sup>1</sup> BMC, p. xxxi; NC 1905, p. 354. Thompson 16.

*Type of Henry II*, p. li.

<sup>2</sup> BMC, p. xeviii. Thompson 299.

<sup>4</sup> NC 1922, p. 49. Thompson 337.

<sup>3</sup> See also D. F. Allen *The Cross-and-Crosslets*

|                             | <i>Pennies</i> | <i>Cut Halfpenny</i> |
|-----------------------------|----------------|----------------------|
| Henry of Anjou?             | 1              |                      |
| Stephen type Border Coins   | 2              |                      |
| Stephen irregular (198,201) | 2              |                      |
|                             | <hr/> 333      | <hr/> 1              |

These coins were discovered at an unspecified date at South Kyme which is six miles north-east of Sleaford and 18 miles south-east of Lincoln. No details of the find are now available but the land on which they were found belonged to earl Brownlow and the hoard had been in the family ownership since its discovery. The coins were covered in part with oxide, chiefly of a brownish-red colour but greenish patches were occasionally visible. Two hundred of the coins eventually came to the British Museum and it is believed the remainder were in the possession of L. A. Lawrence, but there were only 63 coins from the find in his sale in 1951.

COLCHESTER, ESSEX, 5th July, 1902.<sup>1</sup>

|                       | <i>Pennies</i> |
|-----------------------|----------------|
| Henry I type 10       | 1              |
| Henry I type 15       | 1              |
| Stephen type 7        | 1              |
| Henry II to Henry III | 10,572         |
| Scottish              | 168            |
| Irish                 | 160            |
| Foreign               | 23             |
|                       | <hr/> 10,926   |

These coins were found at a depth of 5 ft. 6 in. below the surface in a flat leaden vessel on premises in High Street, Colchester. It is one of the largest hoards of medieval coins ever found in this country and over ten thousand were examined at the British Museum. A few coins came into private hands but police recovered the majority.

HENLEY-ON-THAMES, BERKS. 1881<sup>2</sup>

|                | <i>Pennies</i> |
|----------------|----------------|
| Stephen type 1 | 5              |

Found at Park Place on the Berkshire side of the river. Two presented to B.M. in 1920.

## APPENDIX

### TABLE OF MONEYERS, MINTS AND TYPES

|         |   |
|---------|---|
| ACEL    | Bury St. Edmunds, Types 1 (5a) and 2 (54a) and 7 (102b) |
| ADAM    | Dover, Type 7 (106)                                     |
|         | Ilchester, Henry of Anjou (257)                         |
|         | London, Type 7 (117a)                                   |
|         | Oxford, Irregular (181)                                 |
|         | Worcester, Type 7 (131a)                                |
| ADELARD | London, Type 1 (22a)                                    |
| AEDGAR  | Ipswich, Types (17a) and 2 (59a)                        |

<sup>1</sup> *NC* 1903, p. 111. Thompson 94.

<sup>2</sup> R. H. M. Dolley in *BNJ*, xxxi, pp. 162-4.

|           |  |
|-----------|--|
| AEDFARD   | Canterbury, Type 1 (6a)  |
| AEDSTAN   | Norwich, Type 1 (24a)  |
| AELRIC    | Exeter, Types 1 (13a) and 7 (107)  |
| AELRICVS  | Lincoln, Irregular (169)   |
| AELWI     | Norwich, Type 1 (24b)  |
| ALARD     | Worcester, Type 1 (41a)  |
| ALDRED    | Hastings, Types 2 (58a) and 6 (84)   |
| ALFPARD   | Norwich, Type 1 (24c) and Erased obv. Die (137 and 145)  |
| ALFPINE   | Colchester, Type 1 (11a)<br>Gloucester, Type 1 (14a)<br>Pevensey, Type 2 (63)<br>Southwark, Type 1 (32a)                                 |
| ALFRED    | London, Type 1 (22b) and PERERIC (47)<br>Taunton, Type 1 (36)  |
| ALFRICH   | Norwich, Type 7 (118a)   |
| ALGAR     | London, Mule Stephen Type 1/Henry I, Type 15 (1)<br>Canterbury, Type 1 (66)<br>Exeter, Type 1 (136)                                      |
| ALGAR:MAN | London Type 1 (22d) (22e)  |
| ALISANDER | London, Types 1 (22e) and 7 (117b)   |
| ALLEM     | Worcester, Type 7 (131b)   |
| ALMER     | Chester, Type 1 (9a)   |
| ALPINE    | London, Type 1 (22c)<br>Pevensey, Type 7 (120a)  |
| ALPOLD    | Winchester, Type 1 (40a)   |
| ALVRED    | ?Tamworth, Type 7 (133)  |
| ANGIE[    | Cricklade, Irregular (184)   |
| AREFIN    | Bristol, Henry of Anjou (255)  |
| ARFENI    | Bristol, Matilda (231)   |
| ARNPI     | Lincoln, Type 1 (21a)  |
| AVTGRIM   | York, Type 1 (42a)   |
| BALDEPIN  | London, Type 1 (22f)<br>Thetford, Type 1 (37a), Type 2 (66a)   |
| BALDEWI   | Thetford, Irregular (174) and Defaced Obv. Die (142)   |
| BERTOLD   | Castle Rising, Type 1 (8)  |
| BRICMAR   | London, Type 1 (22g)   |
| BRIHTPI   | Exeter, Type 1 (13c)<br>Uncertain, Irregular (185)   |
| DAGVN     | Uncertain, Irregular (194)   |
| DAVID     | Bedford, Type 7 (100a)<br>Ipswich, Type 7 (114b)<br>Norwich, Type 7 (118b)   |
| DEREMAN   | London, Types 1 (22b) and 7 (117c)   |
| EDMVND    | Ipswich, Types 1 (17b) and 2 (59b) and Irregular (164)   |
| EDFARD    | Canterbury, Types 2 (55a) and 7 (103a)<br>Colchester, Type 1 (11b)<br>London, Type 2 (61a)<br>Sudbury, Type 7 (124a) and Irregular (162) |
| EDRED     | Warwick, Type 1 (38a)  |
| EDRICVS   | Hereford, Type 1 (16a)   |
| EDSTAN    | Norwich, Erased Obv. Die (139)   |
| ELLER     | Wilton, Type 7 (129a)  |

|           |   |
|-----------|---|
| ELMAR     | Lewes, Type 2 (60a)   |
| EREBALD   | Carlisle, Type 1 (279), Eden (280, 281)<br>Corbridge, Henry of Northumberland (283-5)   |
| ESTMVND   | London, Type 1 (22j)  |
| ETREI     | Norwich, Type 1 (24d)   |
| ETSTAN    | Norwich Types 1 (24c) and 2 (62a)   |
| EVSTACE   | Norwich, Type 1 (24f) and Erased Obv. Die (147)   |
| EVERARD   | Warwick, Types 1 (38b) and 7 (127)  |
| FALCHE    | Wilton, Type 1 (39a)  |
| FARDEN    | Bristol, Type 1 (4a)  |
| FELIPE    | Pevensey, Type 7 (120b)   |
| FOBVND    | Durham, Type 1 (12a) and Irregular (188)  |
| GAHAN     | Oxford, Type 1 (26a) and probably Type 2 <sup>1</sup>   |
| GEFFREI   | London, Types 2 (61b) and 7 (117d)<br>Thetford, Types 1 (37b) and 7 (126)<br>Winchester, Type 1 (40b) and FERERIC (50)<br>York, Type 7 (132a) |
| GERARD    | Hedon, Type 7 (110)   |
| GERMANS   | Ipswich, Type 2 (59c)   |
| GILEBERT  | Bury St. Edmunds, Type 1 (5b) and Irregular (166)<br>Gloucester, Type 1 (14b)<br>Ipswich, Type 2 (59d)<br>Sudbury, Type 7 (124b)              |
| GILPATRIC | Pembroke, Type 1 (27)   |
| GLADETIN  | Lincoln, Type 1 (21b) Irregular (170) and Erased Obv. Die (150)   |
| GOD[      | Colchester, Type 7 (105)<br>Sudbury, Type 1 (35a)   |
| GODARD    | London, Type 2 (61c)  |
| GODHESE   | Canterbury, Type 1 (6c)   |
| GODMER    | Huntingdon, Type 7 (112a)   |
| GODPINE   | Chichester, Type 1 (10)<br>Lincoln, Type 4 (73)<br>Norwich, Type 1 (24g)  |
| GODRIC    | Stafford, Type 1 (33)<br>Worcester, Type 1 (41b)  |
| GODRICVS  | London, Type 1 (22k) and FERERIC (48)   |
| GOIMER    | Sudbury, Type 1 (35b)   |
| GURDAN    | Bristol, Type 1 (4b), Matilda (232) and Erased Obv. Die (136)   |
| HACVN     | Thetford, Type 2 (66b)  |
| HAMVND    | London, Type 2 (61d)  |
| HENRI     | Durham, Type 1 (12b)  |
| HERMER    | Norwich, Type 2 (62b)   |
| HERREVI   | Lewes, Type 1 (20a)   |
| HERV[     | ?Pevensey, Type 1 (28)  |
| HILDERAN  | Norwich, Types 6 (89) and 7 (118c)  |
| HIVN      | Castle Rising, Type 7 (164)   |
| HVE       | Lincoln, Type 7 (116a)  |
| HVEO      | Winchester, Type 7 (130)  |
| HVNFREI   | Bury St. Edmunds, Type 2 (54b)<br>Lewes, Types 6 (85) and 7 (115)   |

<sup>1</sup> See BMC no. 173a.

|                  |   |
|------------------|---|
| IVN              | Bury St. Edmunds, Type 1 (5c)<br>Canterbury, Type 1 (6d)<br>Castle Rising, Type 7 (104)   |
| KIFFIG           | Winchester, Type 1 (40c)  |
| LAISIG           | York, Type 1 (42b)  |
| LEFRED           | London, Type 1 (22f)  |
| LEFRIC           | Warwick, Type 1 (38c)   |
| LEFRICVS         | ?Lincoln, Irregular (203)   |
| LEFSI            | Stamford, Type 1 (34a) FERERIC (49) and Erased Obv. Die (151)   |
| MARTIN           | York, Type 1 (42c) and Erased Obv. Die (156)  |
| ODARD            | Carlisle, Type 1 (282) (probably)   |
| ODE or ODDE      | Thetford, Type 1 (37c)  |
| ORGAR            | ?Bramber, Type 7 (101a)   |
| OSEBERN          | Ipswich, Types 1 (17c) and 2 (59e) and Irregular (159 and 165)<br>Lewes, Types 1 (20b) and 2 (60b)<br>?Oxford, Irregular (176)<br>Sandwich, Type 7 (123a)   |
| OSLAC            | Lincoln, Type 1 (21c)   |
| OTBVRN           | York, Type 1 (42f)  |
| OTERche          | Norwich, Type 1 (24h)   |
| OTERE            | Norwich, Erased Obv. Die (140)  |
| PAEN             | Lincoln, Types 4 (72) and 7 (116c)<br>Northampton, Types 1 (23) and 3 (67, 68 and 69)   |
| PAGANVS          | Ipswich, Irregular (167)  |
| PAEN             | Ipswich, Type 1 (17d)   |
| PICRIC or PITRIC | Hereford, Type 1 (16c, d and e) and Henry of Anjou (243)  |
| RADEWLF          | Gloucester, Henry of Anjou (246)  |
| RALF             | Gloucester, Types 1 (14c) and 7 (108a)  |
| RANDVLF          | Colchester, Type 2 (57)   |
| KAPVLF           | Lincoln, Types 1 (21d) and FERERIC (45)<br>Oxford, Type 1 (26b)<br>Rye, Mule 1/2 (52), Types 2 (64) and 7 (121)   |
| RAVL             | Norwich, Type 2 (62c)<br>Wareham, Matilda (235-6)   |
| RAVLF            | London, Types 6 (8b) and 7 (117e)<br>Norwich, Type 7 (118d)   |
| RAVENSPERT       | Chester, Type 1 (9b)<br>Shrewsbury, Type 1 (31a)  |
| REINALD          | Lincoln, Type 1 (21c)<br>?Nottingham, Irregular (179)   |
| RICARD           | London, Type 7 (117f)<br>Shaftesbury, Type 1 (30a)  |
| RODBERT          | ?Bramber, Type 7 (101c)<br>Bristol, Matilda (233)<br>Canterbury, Types 1 (103b), 6 (79) and 7 (103b) and Irregular (158)<br>Castle Rising, Types 2 (56) and 6 (81)<br>Gloucester, Henry of Anjou (247)<br>Hastings, Types 1 (15a), 2 (58b) and 7 (109)<br>London, Types 1 (22m), 2 (61e) and 7 (117g)<br>Shrewsbury, Type 1 (31b) |

|                      |  |
|----------------------|--|
| ROGIER               | Canterbury, Types 2 (55b), 6 (80) and 7 (103c)<br>Ipswich, Irregular (160 and 163)<br>Lincoln, Irregular (172)<br>London, Type 1 (22n)<br>Wareham, William of Gloucester (265)<br>Winchester, Type 1 (40e) |
| ROGIER:BO            | Canterbury, Type 2 (55c)   |
| ROGIRVS              | Winchester, Type 1 (40d)   |
| SAFARE               | Colchester, Type 1 (11e)   |
| SAGRIM               | Shaftesbury, Type 1 (30b)  |
| SAIET                | Winchester, Type 1 (40f)   |
| SAMAR                | Leicester, Type 1 (19a)  |
| SANSON               | Canterbury, Irregular (207-213)  |
| SAPINE               | Hastings, Type 1 (15b) and Erased Obv. Die (155)   |
| SIBERN               | Hereford, Type 1 (16b) and Henry of Anjou (248)  |
| SIGAR                | Sudbury, Type 1 (35c)  |
| SIGFARD              | Lincoln, Type 1 (21f)  |
| SIHTRIC              | Norwich, Type 1 (24j)  |
| SIMVN                | Leicester, Types 1 (19b), 5 (7b) and Irregular (178)   |
| SIPARD               | Lincoln, PERERIC (46)<br>Stamford, Type 1 (34b)<br>Winchester, Type 1 (40g)  |
| SMEAPIN              | London, Type 1 (22o)   |
| SPEDMAN              | Norwich, Type 1 (24i)  |
| SPEIN or SVEIN       | Nottingham, Types 1 (25) and 7 (119) and Erased Obv. Die (149)   |
| SPETIG               | Oxford, Type 1 (26e) and Matilda (234)   |
| STANCHIL             | Norwich, Type 2 (62d)<br>York, Type 1 (42g)  |
| STANGHVN             | Salisbury, Type 1 (29)   |
| STANVNG <sup>1</sup> | Salisbury, Type 7 (122a)   |
| STENCI[              | Norwich, Type 6 (92)   |
| STIEFNE              | Winchester, Type 1 (40h)   |
| SVNEMAN              | Norwich, Type 1 (24k)  |
| THOR                 | Norwich, Types 6 (91) and 7 (118e)   |
| THVRBER              | Chester, Type 1 (9c)   |
| TIERRI:D             | London, Types 2 (61f) and 7 (117h)   |
| TOMAS                | Bedford, Types 2 (53), 6 (77) and 7 (100b)<br>Wilton, Type 1 (39b)   |
| TOVI                 | London, Type 1 (22p)   |
| TVRCHIL              | Bristol, Type 1 (4e) PERERIC (43), Matilda (230)<br>Southwark, Type 1 (32b)  |
| VILAM                | Uncertain, Mule 1/2 (51)   |
| VINMAN               | Salisbury, Type 7 (122b)   |
| VLF                  | York, Type 1 (42e)   |
| WALCHELINVS          | Derby, Irregular (175)   |
| WALTER               | Chester, Type 1 (9d)<br>Huntingdon, Type 7 (112b)<br>Norwich, Types 1 (24n) and 2 (62e) and Erased Obv. Die (141)  |
| WALTERI              | Malmesbury, Henry of Anjou (244 and 259)   |

<sup>1</sup> Probably the same as STANGHVN who coined in Type 1.

|          |   |
|----------|---|
| WENSTAN  | Hastings, Type 1 (15c)  |
| WIBERT   | Gloucester, Type 1 (14d)  |
| WILEALME | Carlisle, Type 1 (277)  |
| WILLEM   | ?Bamburgh, Henry of Northumberland (288-89)                     |
|          | ?Bramber, Type 7 (101b)   |
|          | Bury St. Edmunds, Type 7 (102a)                                 |
|          | Canterbury, Type 1 (6f) and PERERIC (44)                        |
|          | Cardiff, Type 1 (7)   |
|          | Carlisle, Henry of Northumberland (286-7)                       |
|          | ?Cirencester, Henry of Anjou (250), William of Gloucester (263) |
|          | Gloucester, Type 7 (108b), Henry of Anjou (254)                 |
|          | Hereford, Henry of Anjou (241, 242)                             |
|          | Launceston, Type 1 (18)   |
|          | Lewes, Type 1 (20c)   |
|          | ?Newcastle, Irregular (190)                                     |
|          | ?Northampton, Type 3 (68 and 69)                                |
|          | Norwich, Types 1 (241), 6 (90) and 7 (118f)                     |
|          | Wilton, Type 7 (129b)   |
| WVLFOLD  | Southwark, Type 1 (32c)   |
| WVLFERIC | Canterbury, Type 1 (6h)   |
|          | Sandwich, Types 2 (65) and 7 (123b)                             |
|          | Worcester, Type 1 (41c)   |
| WVLFWINE | Canterbury, Type 1 (6g)   |
|          | London, Types 1 (22q), 6 (87) and 7 (117j)                      |

## ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

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1

2

11b

14b

16d

16e

22e



22a

24h

26a

27

33

37a

42b



43a

44a

44b

45a

45b

46c

46d



46f

46g

47

48b

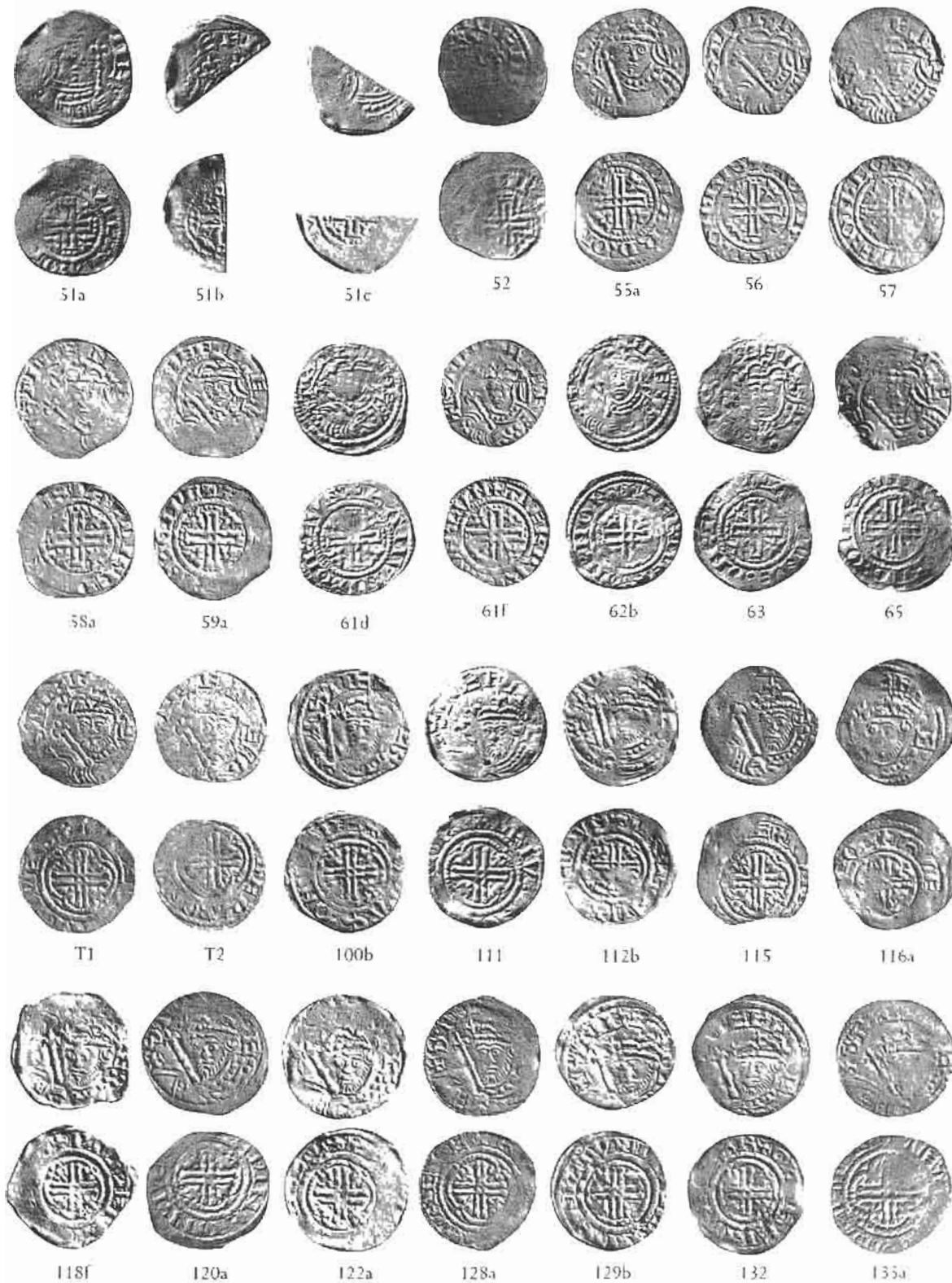
48c

48d

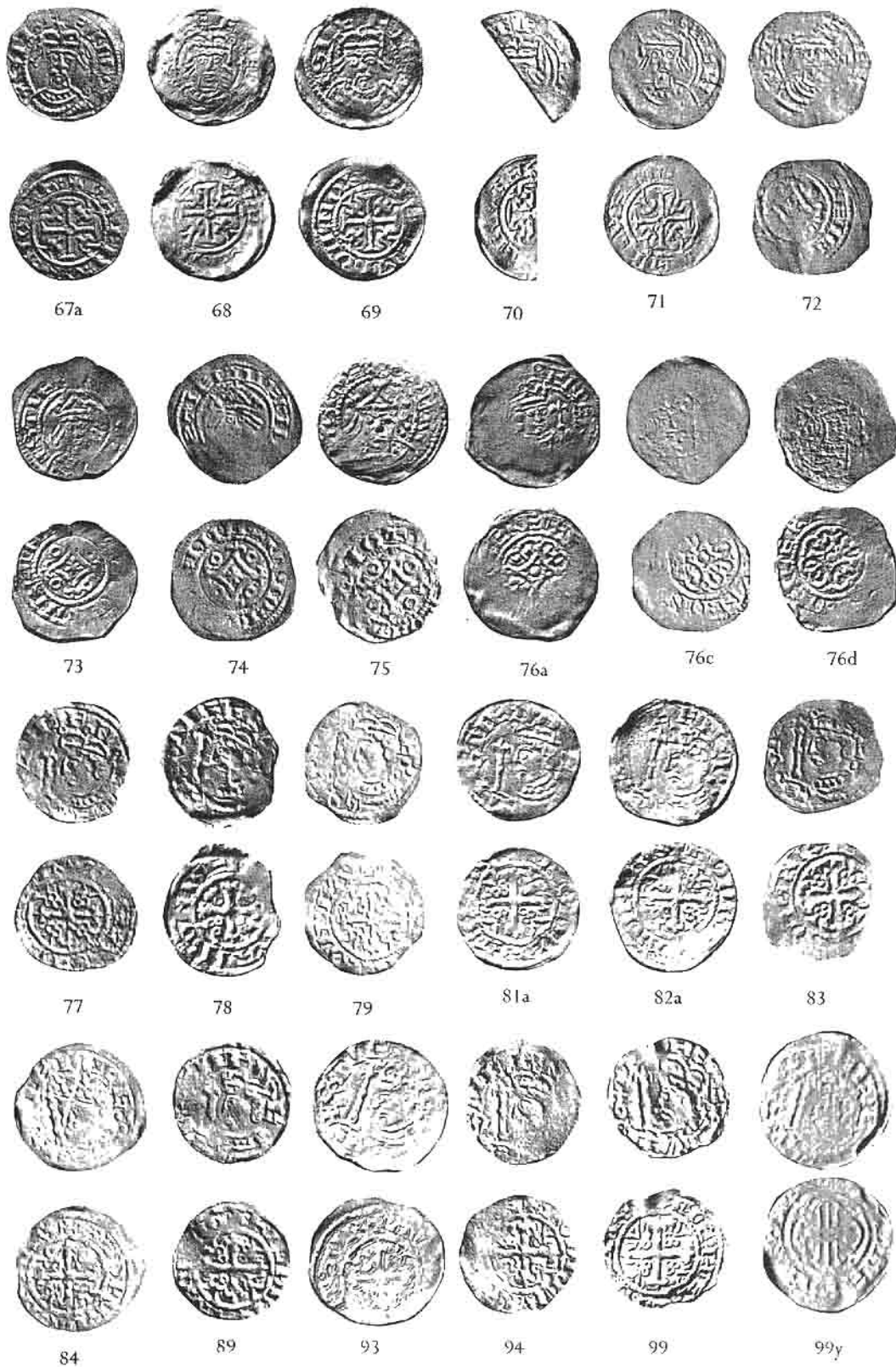
49a

STEPHEN, TYPE I AND COINS WITH OBTVERSE READING PERERIC













136a

137a

137b

138b

141a

141b

142b



143

145

148

149c

149f

149o

149ee



149oo

149qq

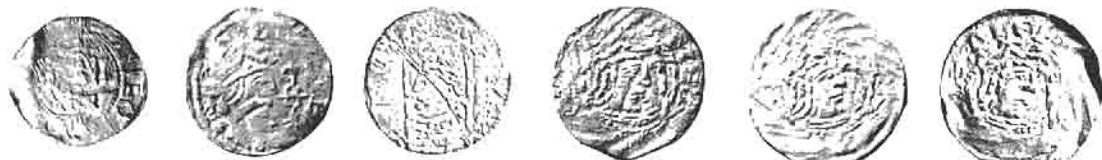
150a

151a

151c

152a

152b



153

154

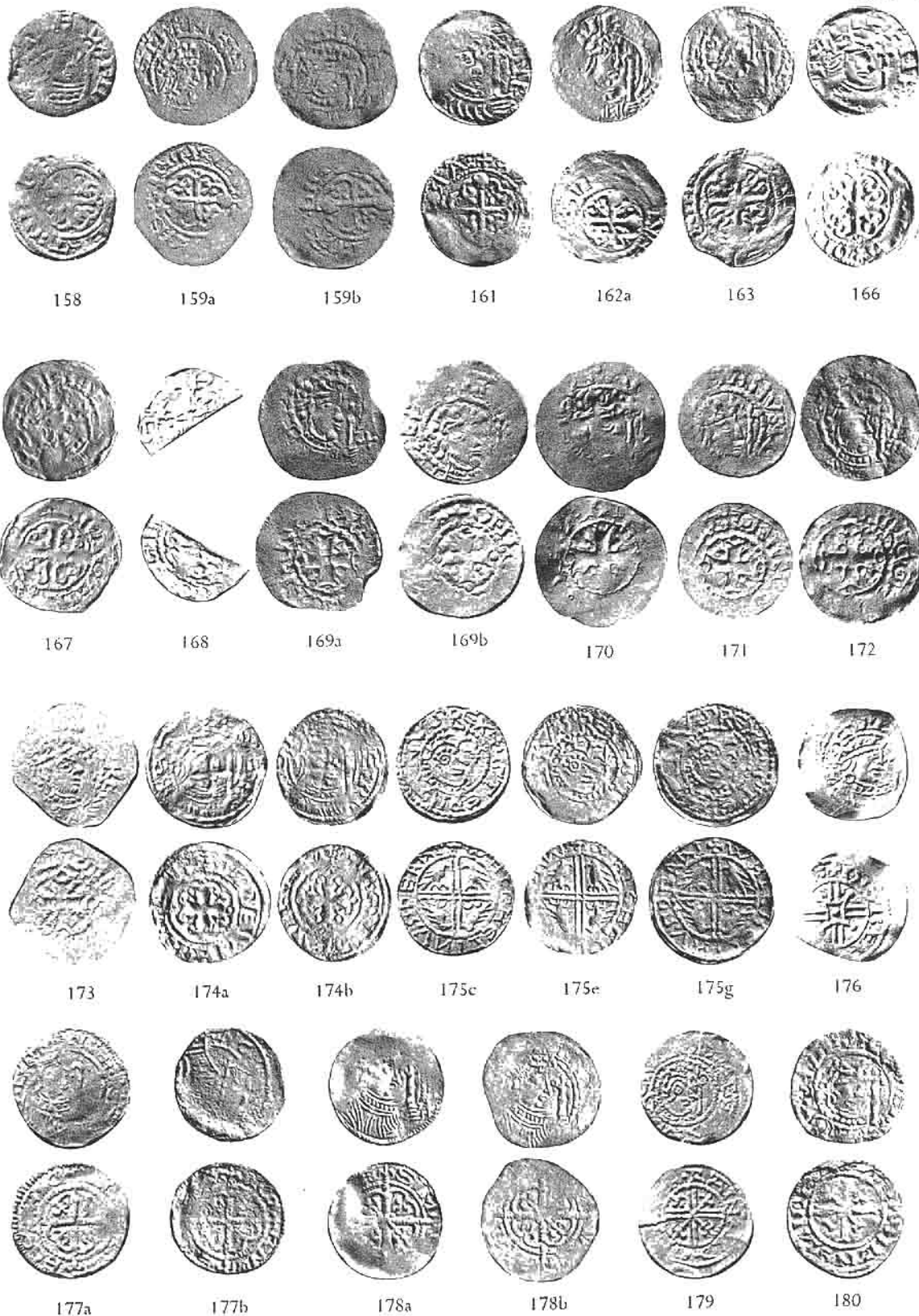
156

157a

157l

157e









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187y

188a

188b

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192



193a

194

195a

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199a

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201a



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206

207b

208

210

211b

212







215

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217a

217b

217c

217e

217f



217g

217h

217j

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217n

217p



218a

218b

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220a

220b

220c

220d



220e

220f

220h

220j

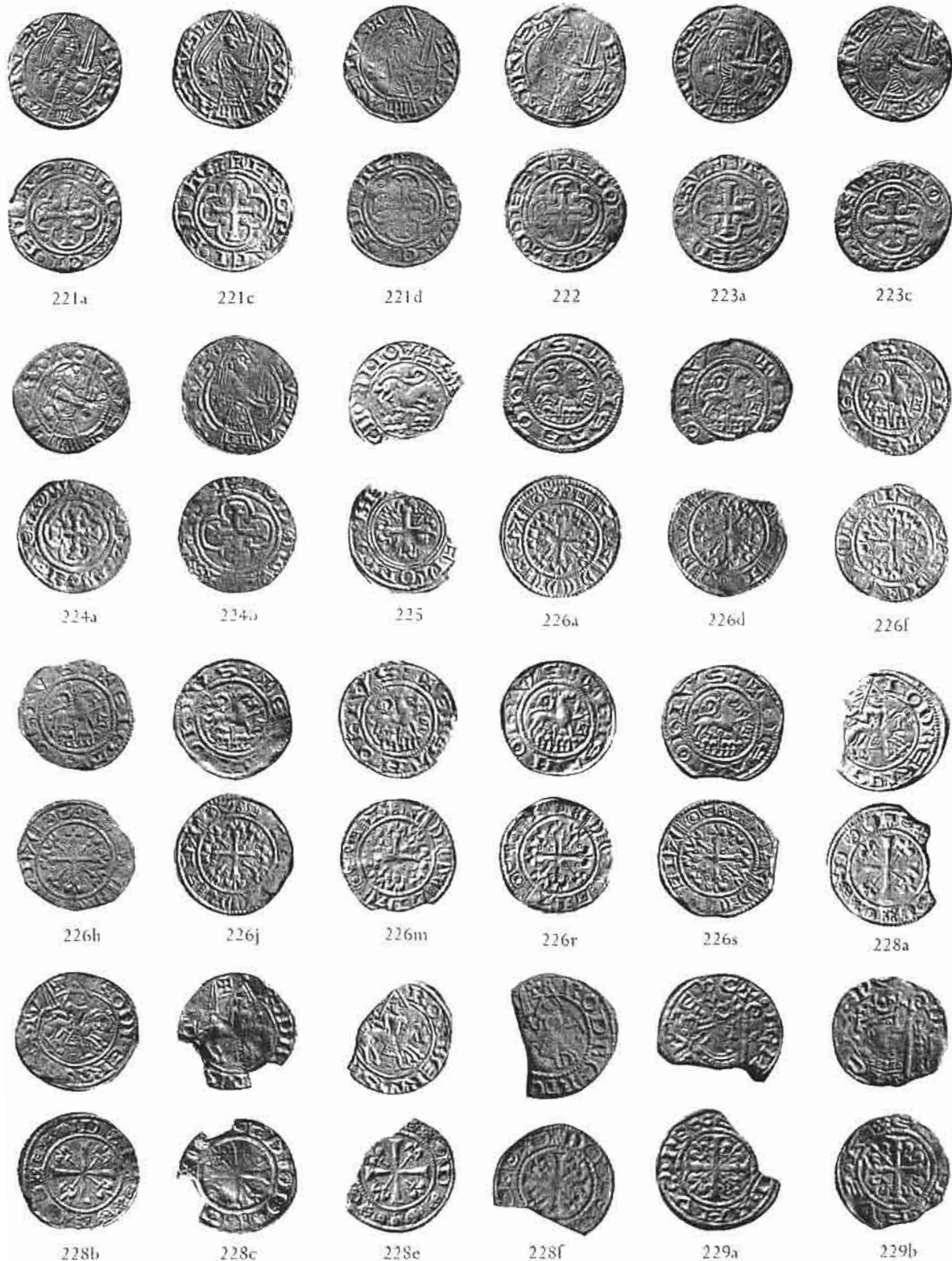
220k

220l

220p











230a



230b



231a



231b



232a



232b



233a



233b



234a



234b



235



236b



237b



238



239





241

242

243a

244

246

248



249

250

251

252

253a

253b



253c

254

255a

255b

255c

256



257

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264

265a

265b



266

268

269a

269b

270



271a

271b

272

273

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275



