

SHORT CROSS STERLINGS FROM THE ROTENFELS HOARD

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THE Rotenfels hoard of 1936 provided much of the data used by Friedrich Wielandt in his 'Beiträge zur oberrheinischen Münz- und Geldgeschichte'.¹ The general characteristics of the find are apparent from Wielandt's summary totals.²

	Total	Percentage	Average weight g
Strassburg types	547	39.5	0.49
Heller	167	12.1	0.50
Cologne	551	39.8	1.34
Sterlings	112	8.4	1.30
Speyer type	6	0.2	0.49

It is the purpose of this article to re-examine the sterling element of the hoard to improve on certain points of detailed classification. This will provide additional chronological data perhaps of some importance for the dating of certain German issues from Cologne, Münster and Lippe and for our understanding of the Rotenfels find as a whole. It is also our purpose to consider the implications of such a large hoard of sterlings found outside those parts of Germany most usually associated with the circulation and imitation of sterling.

The structure of the English element in the hoard may be seen from Tables I-III which deal with the Mint/Class/Moneyer pattern of the sterlings. These tables may be compared with those prepared by Dumas and Brand in their paper on the Gisors hoard, which usefully also calculates the corresponding figures from a range of other hoards containing Short Cross from Britain and the Continent.³ The latest English coins in it may be closely dated 1218/19. The Rotenfels sterlings are thus earlier than most of the finds of English Short Cross pennies which have been adequately reported. The Clifton find of 1947 is closest in date.⁴ Although the Rotenfels sterlings may be firmly dated on their own, internal evidence, comparison with other Short Cross hoards tabulated by Dumas and Brand is instructive since it can highlight any unusual characteristics. Thus the scanty numbers of Class VII coins confirm the early date. The dominance of the London mint, in a ratio of 2.7 : 1 with Canterbury coins, is only what we would expect in a group of this date since Canterbury output rose markedly only after the *terminus post quem* of these sterlings.

Table II, showing the coins of the four London moneyers Abel, Ilger, Rauf and Walter is of some interest. Ilger is the dominant moneyer, as is usual; Rauf's output is perhaps slightly less fully represented than we might have expected. As a group, these moneyers accounted for thirty-four coins, classes Vb-VIIa, or 31.7 per cent of the English Short Cross sterlings. This is a much greater share than they enjoy in the later hoards, (Eccles 27 per cent, France

¹ F. Wielandt, 'Beiträge zur oberrheinischen Münz- und Geldgeschichte: Die Münzfunde von Rotenfels, Osn und Illingen.' *Jahrbuch für Numismatik und Geldgeschichte* 2, (1950-1), 68-125.

² Wielandt, p. 97. These totals do not always tally exactly with the subtotals in the main body of Wielandt's article but they are accurate enough to convey the overall shape of the find. Examination of the sterling element in the hoard, now preserved in the Badisches Landesmuseum at Karlsruhe, suggests that the overall totals may be more accurate than the subtotals though Wielandt's sterling total 112 omits the Münster coin. The authors would like to

express their warmest thanks to Dr Peter-Hugo Martin for providing casts of all the sterlings from the hoard. It is hoped that this re-examination of the Rotenfels sterlings will be seen not so much as a criticism of Dr Wielandt's work but as a celebration of it. Without his original work on the find the present essay would not have been possible.

³ F. Dumas and J. D. Brand, 'The British Coins in the Gisors (1970) Hoard', *BNI* 40 (1971), 22-43. We are also grateful to Mr Brand for his comments on an earlier draft of this paper.

⁴ P. A. G. Carnoy, 'The Clifton (Canterbury) Find of Short Cross Pennies', *JC* 6th ser. 7 (1947), 30-2.

TABLE I
Sterlings from Rotenfels by Mints and Classes

	I	II	III	IV	V	VI	VII	Total	% of 107
London	4	1	1	11	16	22	2	57	53.3
Bury						2	1	3	2.8
Canterbury				4	7	6	4	21	19.6
Durham						1		1	
Exeter	1							1	
Ipswich					1			1	
Lincoln	5				2			7	6.5
Northampton	1				1			2	
Norwich/Northampton	1							1	
Winchester	3				4			7	6.5
York	2			3	1			6	5.6
Totals	17	1	1	18	32	31	7	107	
Irregular								2	
Lippe								1	
Münster								1	
Scotland								2	
								113	

TABLE II
Four London Moneyers

	No. of coins
Abel	7
Ilger	12
Rauf	6
Walter	9
	34 = 31.7% of 107

21 per cent, Colchester 18 per cent, Gisors 18 per cent, Ribe I 16 per cent, Ribe II 12 per cent, Wrexham 11 per cent), but rather less than their 41 per cent share of the Clifton hoard, with which the Rotenfels sterlings must be roughly contemporary. Indeed the Clifton coin by the London moneyer Terri suggests that Rotenfels may indeed have been the earlier of the two sterling parcels. How, then, can the 31.7 per cent representation of the quartet of London Class VI moneyers be reconciled with a date *earlier* than that of the Clifton find which scored 41 per cent?

The explanation for this anomaly lies in the unusually high proportion of early Short Cross coins in Rotenfels. Lawrence Classes I to IV account for 34.6 per cent of the English sterlings found at Rotenfels. This early bias not only explains the unexpectedly low proportion of coins from the London moneyers Abel, Ilger, Rauf and Walter, but also points up the really distinctive feature of the Rotenfels group: far more coins of Class I-IV occur than would have been expected in a typical sample of the currency collected in England

TABLE III
Proportions of Classes

	No. of coins	% of 107
I-IV	37	34.6
V	32	29.9
VI	31	29.0
VII	7	6.5

c.1220. The foreign wars and diplomacy of Richard and John, and John's recoinage of lightweight coin in 1205, together reduced what must initially have been a substantial issue between 1180 and 1204 to a very small proportion of the coin in use in England in the first half of the thirteenth century. Dumas and Brand show that Classes I-IV never accounted for more than 12 per cent of the other known finds.

It thus appears that hoards of sterling actually accumulated abroad may be distinguished from parcels recently exported from England by their higher proportion of the earlier classes. Sterling on the Continent would not have been subjected to the 1205 English recoinage while the very large royal expenditure which removed the early types from England would have increased the numbers of those types on the European mainland. We may therefore conclude that the Rotenfels sterlings were probably not a group recently exported to Germany from England c.1220 but put together on the Continent from sterling already there.

Further analysis below will attempt to refine the picture still further, identifying different patterns of use in different parts of Germany. A necessary preliminary task, however, is to date the Rotenfels find, taking into account the chronological information provided by the sterlings.

The latest English sterlings cannot be dated much after 1218 or 1219. There are seven coins of Class VII, which was introduced in December 1217. Willelm, the moneyer of the Bury St Edmunds coin in the find, was replaced early in 1218.⁵ The other moneyers represented in Class VII at Rotenfels, Iger and Rauf at London and Henri, Ioan, Roger and Simon at Canterbury all figure in both the useful lists of moneyers extant for 1217-18 and 1221-22.⁶ However, all seven coins exhibit the early forms of lettering, especially the small E and C and the pointed and bar-topped A noted by Stewart as early features.⁷

The later forms of Class VII are plentiful enough, so the date of the English sterling element is relatively firmly fixed. It must have been roughly contemporary with the Clifton hoard, which is probably slightly later since it contained a coin by Terri at London who figures in the 1221-22 moneyer list but not in that of 1217-18.

The two Scottish pennies are both of the Short Cross issue in the name of William the Lion with the Hue Walter reverse without specification of mint. The details are as follows:

1. facing left, 6 point stars, Burns⁸ Class I, Burns, PL. V, 47, same obv. die
2. facing left, 5 point stars, Burns Class III, Lockett⁹ photos I, 39, same obv. die

and the legends are given in full in Appendix 1.

In the present state of our knowledge of the chronology of the Scottish Short Cross series, these two coins do not significantly influence our dating of the find.

The hoard was dated by Wielandt to the 1240s, but evidence of the sterlings tells us that the latest English coins can be closely dated c.1219. Similarly the latest Cologne pfennigs, of Archbishop Heinrich I (1225-38), reward closer examination. They are all of Hävernick 647, except for five pfennigs and two halfpennies of an unpublished but closely corresponding type. There are thus 134 examples of Hävernick 647 and none of Heinrich I's other substantive type, Hävernick 642. This argues strongly that Heinrich I's first type was Hävernick 647, and that it can be assigned to the first part of Heinrich's archiepiscopacy.¹⁰ The Cologne coins therefore suggest a date of deposit in the early 1230s. The chronology

⁵ Ian Stewart, 'English Coinage in the Later Middle Years of John and the Minority of Henry III' Part One, *BNJ* 49 (1979), 33-5.

⁶ The interesting references to the moneyers in the king's and lord treasurer's remembrancer's memoranda rolls were first brought to the notice of numismatists by J. D. Brand, 'Some Short Cross Questions', *BNJ* 33 (1964), 65.

⁷ Stewart, pp. 35-36.

⁸ Edward Burns, *The Coinage of Scotland* (Edinburgh,

1887).

⁹ A complete set of photographs of the Lockett collection is kept at the British Museum. The coin in question is on the first pair of plates (obv. and rev.) in the Scottish Series.

¹⁰ Walter Hävernick, *Die Münzen von Köln* (1935). When Hävernick wrote, without the Rotenfels evidence, he dated both types 1226-38, noting that there were then no grounds for placing either issue first.

of the Strassburg and Heller content is more uncertain. Wielandt dated it 1230–50, and settled on a date of deposit in the 1240s. He was aware that Rotenfels was earlier than Oos because of the types of Strassburger pfennigs in the two hoards, and this is confirmed by a comparison of sterlings in Oos and Rotenfels.¹¹ Only new finds will show whether the Strassburg and Heller coins in Rotenfels are compatible with a date in the 1230s as the Cologne and sterling element seems to suggest. Although the sterlings and Cologne pfennigs can be firmly dated earlier than Wielandt supposed, it would not be safe to assume that the Strassburg and Heller element was necessarily of similar date. Once a currency moves out of its normal milieu the date of the latest issues is no longer a reliable guide to the probable date of concealment.

Questions about the use of sterling in Germany arise from the fact that Rotenfels is one of the largest hoards of Short Cross sterlings found in Germany but it lies far to the south of the principal area of sterling circulation and imitations which centred on Westphalia. The Hilschied find poses the same problem. The resolution of this paradox requires first that we define carefully what we mean by 'circulate'. This term will here only be used to indicate genuine integration with the existing local currency permitting regular and easy use at all levels of society. It will be argued that this did occur in Westphalia and those parts of northern Germany operating a heavy, Cologne weight standard. By contrast where a light standard prevailed, sterling was more likely to be used more as bullion. In the south it occurs in fewer finds, almost always in the company of Cologne pfennigs, but when it does occur it is likely to be in larger conglomerations, as a store of wealth perhaps more than as a means of exchange.

The supporting evidence for this theory calls for an analysis which will distinguish between areas of heavy and light standards, and between north and south, and which is capable of incorporating both documentary and find evidence.

The find evidence from south Germany and beyond is easily summarised. Apart from the large sterling content in Rotenfels and Hilschied, smaller quantities occurred in Beratshausen, Ladenburg, Oos and Obermörten, always in the company of Cologne pfennigs. Beyond Germany to the south, the Ostrovo 1898 find exhibits the same phenomenon, of Short Cross and Cologne pennies together.¹² Finds of Short Cross further north in Germany are more plentiful but usually contain only a handful of English coins. It would seem that the English coins were fully integrated into the local currency which operated on the heavy Cologne weight standard. This common standard of weight and fineness is the principal reason why in the early thirteenth century sterling did circulate in northern Germany, and was indeed extensively imitated there, while in the Low Countries, where English trading contacts were much greater, Short Cross sterling is almost never found. A brief examination of the find and documentary evidence for Short Cross sterling in the Low Countries points up this contrast with Germany and serves to emphasize the overriding importance of the weight standard of the host country.

Only one Short Cross penny has been recorded found in the Netherlands: Abel on Lunde found on Terschelling beach. Moreover, 'the close searching of this beach by a local collector resulted in several more unusual coins (probably washed ashore)' being found.¹³ The only Short Cross hoard from the Low Countries seems to have been a second find from Beveren, of similar composition to the first find but with the addition of sterlings.¹⁴ The imitation

¹¹ Oos contained a London coin of Class VII by Ricard, who was appointed moneyer in 1230. Summary details of and the references to other German finds containing English Short Cross are given in the list of finds, Appendix 2. Fuller details of finds from part of Westphalia are available in Peter Ilisch, *Münzfunde und Geldumlauf in Westfalen in Mittelalter und Neuzeit* (Münster, 1980).

¹² For the Ostrovo hoard, and a summary of other finds including sterling from Yugoslavia, Roumania, Hungary

and Greece, see N. J. Mayhew and B. H. I. H. Stewart, 'The Sterling Element in the 1898 Ostrovo Hoard', *NC* 144 (1984), 173–9.

¹³ Letter from Prof. Enno van Gelder and Drs Jacobi of the Hague.

¹⁴ See A. de Witte in 'Les relations monétaires entre la Flandre et l'Angleterre jusqu'au XVII^e siècle' *Revue de Droit international* (1894), 75–94.

of the Short Cross sterling type on the so-called 'Kopfchen' from Holland suggests, however, that the sterling coinage was not unknown, as does a Utrecht rent of 1208 cited in sterling.¹⁵ The early use of the sterling reverse with a profile head on the obverse of the small Holland deniers may perhaps be explained partly in terms of the contacts between Floris III and Scotland.¹⁶ In Artois early documentary evidence for sterling seems particularly plentiful, beginning as early as 1177 and becoming more frequent in the first half of the thirteenth century.¹⁷ Because of its reliable fineness sterling may sometimes have been cited as a measure of value, rather than actually used, and some of the Artois documentary evidence suggests this particularly strongly, e.g. the earliest reference, when the payment originally stipulated was sixty sous de Chalon, but 'si moneta deteriorabitur vel forte meliorabitur, 20 solidus sterlingorum ecclesia Saint-Vaast nobis persolvat.' The men of the Low Countries were clearly familiar with sterling from an early date, but the absence of finds argues strongly that it did not *circulate* till the second half of the thirteenth century. Before then sterling was perhaps reserved to international merchants, aristocrats and the church. For the rest of the population in the first half of the thirteenth century sterling had to be recoined in those areas where a coinage on a light standard operated, but was tolerated in those parts of Germany where it circulated alongside the Cologne pfennig.

The documentary evidence for Germany suggests that English Short Cross sterling was not so very plentiful. Hatz has noted that in Schleswig-Holstein the documents, and the finds, indicate that the role of sterling begins only after about 1250.¹⁸ The first Danish documentary evidence for sterling is dated 1251, almost exactly contemporary with the Ribe hoard.¹⁹ Similarly Kennepohl dated the influx of English sterling into East Friesland to the middle of the thirteenth century.²⁰ However, it is Hävernicks's invaluable study of the Cologne pfennig which provides most information on documentary evidence for sterling.²¹ Thus Hävernicks cites a payment from Cologne to Rome of 500 *marcis bonorum novorum et legalum sterlingorum* in 1214, but notes that this early use of sterling is almost without parallel: the next example known to him from the lower Rhine is dated 1268, from which date sterling references become more common. Similarly the Utrecht rent of 1208 mentioned above is over fifty years earlier than the next sterling reference for the area. The same picture of the dominance of the Cologne pfennig in the first half of the century, and the gradual appearance of other currencies including sterling after 1250 emerges from the archives of monasteries such as Kaiserwerth, Heisterbach and Altenberg. Gelderland and Zutphen provided Hävernicks with two sterling references, 1238 and 1248, amongst a mass of Cologne pfennig evidence before 1250, and an increasing number of sterling references thereafter. Quix's *Codex Diplomaticus Aquensis* provides a similar picture for Aachen. Most interestingly Hävernicks found no documentary evidence for English sterling from Westphalia. Cologne pfennigs are found in the Westphalian documents, though only rarely in northern Westphalia. Hävernicks notes that the Cologne pfennig could enter the circulation of an area on a heavy coinage standard and circulate equally with the local currency without needing specific mention in the documents and the same reasoning could apply to the sterling. This total integration with the host currency may thus explain the scarcity of documentary references to sterling and the widespread but scanty representation of English

¹⁵ W. Hävernicks, *Der Kölner Pfennig im 12 und 13 Jahrhundert* (Beiheft 18, zur Vierteljahrschrift für Sozial- und Wirtschaftsgeschichte. Stuttgart, 1930), p. 108.

¹⁶ Ian Stewart, 'Imitation in later medieval coinage: the influence of Scottish types abroad' in *Studies in Numismatic Method Presented to Philip Grierson*, edited by C. N. L. Brooke and others (Cambridge, 1983), pp. 303-25.

¹⁷ C. Richebé, *Les monnaies féodales d'Artois* (1963), pp. 121-22.

¹⁸ G. Hatz, 'Finds of English medieval coins in Schleswig-Holstein' in *Studies in Numismatic Method Presented to*

Philip Grierson, edited by C. N. L. Brooke and others (Cambridge, 1983), pp. 205-24.

¹⁹ *NNA* 1955, p. 11.

²⁰ *HBN* 4, (1950), p. 22.

²¹ W. Hävernicks, *Der Kölner Pfennig*, p. 132 (citing Th. J. Lacomblet, *Urkundenbuch für die Geschichte des Niederrheins* I 1840, II 1846, III 1853), and following p. refs. 108, 133-4, 138-9 (citing L. W. Stoet, *Oorkondenboek d. Grafschappen van Gebe en Zutphen*, 1872/6), 140-1, 205 (Münster sterlings may of course appear in the documents merely as Münster pfennings), 209, 210.

sterling in north German finds. Nevertheless, it is clear from both finds and documentary evidence that compared with Long Cross sterlings, Short Cross was not as plentiful. Why then was it so widely imitated?

Ian Stewart has usefully distinguished between various grades of imitation ranging from abject copies to independent yet derivative types.²² Westphalia did produce some copies, but it is the extensive range of adaptations/derivatives, especially from Münster in the 1220s and from Hamm in the 1240s, which are the distinctive feature of its monetary history at this time. If the English sterling presence was as modest as the existing finds and documents seem to suggest, why was sterling so extensively imitated? Clearly the English coin was well known and liked; its weight and fineness were reliable. But is it possible that it was also imitated in preference to the imitation of Cologne pfennigs because the two coins habitually circulated together but the legal and political implications of copying the coinage of the archbishop were more worrying than those of copying sterling?²³

Rotenfels contains only four German sterlings, three copies attempting English legends and types, and one sterling of Münster with the reverse Henri on Lund. Münster imitations of this type have already been dated early, c.1210, because of the correspondence of the obverse type with that used on the Münster Dom denars.²⁴ A date at any rate before 1220 is confirmed by the Rotenfels provenance, which is incidentally the only hoard provenance known for coins of this type, using the obverse of the type used on the Dom denar with a Henri on Lund reverse. Of the three copies, one is an instantly recognisable Lippe type with a rose in the crown already identified by Wielandt. The other two, however, have not been recognised as imitations hitherto: one is in fact a very good copy, reading +IOHANON-CAN while the other reads +ROBERD-ON-GAI. Assuming that all these copies may be dated with the English parcel, i.e. before 1220, this provides interesting evidence for their early date. Such copies are known in very small numbers in one or two relatively early hoards, e.g. Eccles, Hessein (both c.1230) and Colchester c.1237, but they are more plentiful in later hoards such as Ribe, Naxos and Hildesheim. Thus a firm early date for these types is important.

APPENDIX 1

The Coins

All Cs and Es are round and closed unless otherwise indicated. Coins illustrated by Wielandt are marked with an asterisk.

London				Wielandt Number
Ia	Eimer	LVN·	Es and Cs square, M round	123*
Ib	Pieres	LVND		128
Ib	Pieres·M·	LVN		129
Ib	Raul	LVND		134
IIa	Raul	LVNDEN		133*
IIa	Raul	LVN[]		130
IVa	Ricard	LVND	ND ligatured	136*
IVa	Stivene	LVN	C used in place of E on reverse	137

²² Ian Stewart, 'Imitation in later medieval coinage', pp. 304-5.

²³ The exploration of this possibility would call for a major study of Cologne imitations. It should be stressed that it is only offered here tentatively, and that the idea is restricted to sterling adaptations and derivatives. The copying of sterling may have been intended for the Flemish

or English market. We even know of Cologne pfennigs overstruck with copied 'English' Westphalian types. See Ian Stewart, *Lagom, Festschrift für Peter Berghaus zum 60 Geburtstag am 20 November 1979* (Münster, 1981), pp. 205-10.

²⁴ P. Berghaus, *Westfälische Münzgeschichte des Mittelalters* (1974), p. 11.

London				Wielandt Number
IVa	Stivene	LVN	VN ligatured	137
IVa	Stivene	LVN		137
IVb	Uncertain	LVND		146
IVb	Ricard	LVN		135*
IVb	Willelm	LVN		141 or 142
IVb	Willelm	LVN		141 or 142
IVb	Willelm	LVN	VN ligatured	143*
IVc	Fulke	LVND		124*
IVc	Willelm	LV		141
Va	Willelm fragment	[]LN·ON·LVN	Reversed S on obv., no pellets in curls	141 or 142
Vbi	Beneit	LVND		122
Vbi	Beneit	[]ND		122
Vbii	Ilger	LVN[]		126
Vbii	Willelm·L·	LV		144
Vbiii	Adam	LVNDE		121
Vbiii	Willelm·T·	LV		145
Vc	Abel	LVNDE	ND ligatured	120
Vc	Abel	LVNDE	ND ligatured	120
Vc	Ilger	LVNDE		127*
Vc	Ilger	LVN	/REX	125
Vc	Ilger	LVND	ND ligatured	126
Vc	Rauf	LVNDE	ND ligatured	131
Vc	Walter	LV		138 or 139
Vc or VIa1	Walter	LV		138 or 139
Vc or VIa1	Walter	LV		138 or 139
VIa1	Abel	LVN[]		118?
VIa1?	Abel	LVNDE	ND ligatured	119?
VIa1	Rauf	LVND[]	ND ligatured	130
VIa1	Walter	LV	/REX	138 or 139
VIa1	Walter	LV		138 or 139
VIa1	Walter	LV		138 or 139
VIa1	Walter	LV		138 or 139
VIa1?	Ilger	LVND	ND ligatured obv. cast faulty	126
VIa1?	Walter	LVN	VN ligatured	140
VIa2	Rauf	LVND	ND ligatured	130
VIa2	Walter	LV		138 or 139
VIb1	Abel	LVNDE	ND ligatured	120
VIb1	Ilger	LVNDE		127
VIb1	Ilger	LVN[]		126
VIb1	Rauf	LVNDE	ND ligatured	131
VIb1 or 2	Rauf	LVNDEN	ND ligatured	132?
VIc1	Ilger	LVNDE		127
VIc2	Ilger	LVNDE	Turned over in the die	127?
VIc2	Ilger	LVNDE		127
VIc2	Abel	LVNDE		120
VIc2	Abel	[]NDE		120
VIc3/2 mule	Ilger	LVNDE		127
VIIa	Ilger	LVND		126
VIIa	Rauf	LVNDE	Rev. with grained inner circle	131
Bury				
VIc2	Rauf	SANTE:		98
VIc3	Rauf[]	SANTAD		110
VIIa	Willelm	[]ANT	Same obv. die as a coin of Rauf in BM, see <i>BNJ</i> 49 (1979), Pl. V, 91	107

			<i>Wielandt Number</i>
Canterbury			
IVa	Roberd	CAN	100
IVb	Goldwine	C	85
IVb	Ioan	CANTI	93
IVb	Menir (sic)	CANT	96 (illus.no.95)
Vbi	Goldwine (GOLD·WINE)	(·ONC)	86
Vbi or ii	Hue	CANTE	90
Vbii	Hue	CANTE	90
Vbii	Hue	CANTE	90
Vbii	Simon	CANT	105
Vc	Arnaud	CA	84
Vc	Iohan·M·	CAN	95
VIb2	Hiun	CANTE	No stop on obverse 89
VIc2/3 mule	Roger	CANTE	101
VIc3	Henri	[JANTE	Turned in die 88
VIc? Samuel	Samuel	CAN	Obverse cast faulty 102
VIc3	Simon	CANTE	104
VIc3	Walter	CAN	106
VIIa	Henri	CANT	87
VIIa	Ioan	CANT	92
VIIa	Roger	CANT	97?
VIIa	Simon	CANT	103
Durham			
VIa2	Pieres	DVR	Dies = Allen Du 615/ du 612 (new combination) 108
Exeter			
Ib	Roger	EXEC	109
Ipswich			
Vbii	Alisandre	G	111
Lincoln			
Ib	Edmund	NICO	113
Ib	Lefwine	NICO	115
Ib	Lefwine	NICO	115
Ib	Willelm	NICO	117
Ic	Willelm	NICO	117
Vbii	Hue	NICOLE	114
Vbiii	Andreu	NIC	112
Northampton			
Ib late	Walter	NOR	150*
Vbii	Roberd	NOR	149
Norwich or more probably Northampton			
Ib	[Will]elm	N	148?
Winchester			
Ib	Gocelm	W[]	152
Ib	Rodbert	WIN	156
Ib late	Gocelm	WINC	152
Vbi	Iohan	WINC	153
Vbii	Adam	WINC	151
Vbii	Lukas	WIN	154
Vbii	Miles	WINC	155

Wielandt Number

York			
Ib	Hugo	EVERW	160
Ib late	Turkil	EVER	162*
IIIa	Hue	E[]	91
IVa	Everard	EI	159?
IVb	Nicole	(C for E)EVE	161
Va or Va/b mule	[D]avi	[]E[]	157 or 158

Scotland

Short Cross in the name of William the Lion

*Burns**Class*

I	+LERAIVILLAME	first A unbarred	Burns PL.V,47. Same obv. die
	+hVEWALTER:OI		6 point stars
III	+LEREIWILA		Locket photos I,39
	+hVEWALTER:		Same obv. die 5 point stars

Lippe, probably Lemgo

hENRIC[]

With Lippe Rose
composed of pellets in
the crown
Illustrated by Wielandt
Pl.VI,157)

+LV[NDEC]IVITA

Münster

Probably Herman II von Katzenellenbogen, 1174–1203 and Otto I von Oldenburg 1203–18

+SANCTUSTAS	initial cross pommée; final S reversed	Bust of St. Paul, small saltire pommée above each shoulder
+hENRI-ON-LVND	initial cross pommée	Illustrated by Wielandt Pl.VI,166

See B. Peus, 'Das Münzwesen der Bischöfe von Münster bis zum beginnenden 13jh' *Westfalia Sacra* 2, 1950, pp. 205–11 and P. Berghaus, op. cit.

Unattributed imitations

hENRICVSR/EX	+IOhAN-ON-CAN	Plate, No. 1
hENRICVSR/EX	+ROBERD-ON-CAI	Plate, No. 2

*Unattributed imitations*

APPENDIX 2

Finds of Short Cross Sterling in Germany

Beratshausen

RN⁴ 18 (1914), 120; *Blätter für Munzfreunde* 13 (1913), 5435.
No numbers, but only a sprinkling of sterlings.

Bevern-Bokel

O. Meier, *Das Brakteatenfund von Bokel* (1932). One crude
imitation Short Cross with several other Netherlands and West-
phalian coins and a mass of Hohlpfennigs.

Brümmerloh	Berghaus, Werl report, <i>Centennial Publication of the ANS</i> , 122. Mentions one Short Cross from England, though this coin is not mentioned in <i>Blätter für Münzfreunde</i> (1922), 217-20, nor in Fundakten Hamburg. It is difficult to determine which of the sterlings in the Schellhass (Erbstein) Catalogue come from the hoard. At all events any English portion of this hoard could only have been tiny.
Bünstorf	<i>ZfN</i> 5 (1878), 197; <i>ZfN</i> 7 (1880), 382-419; <i>ZfN</i> 8 (1881), 197-8, Hatz, Grierson <i>Festschrift</i> , p. 217). One Short Cross class V out of nearly 700 pieces recovered.
Coesfeld Detmold	<i>HBN</i> 5 (1951), 84. Twenty-four Westphalian sterlings, no English. <i>HBN</i> 1 (1947), 39 n. 32. A number of English Short Cross – presumably the whole find.
Flensburg 1709 Flensburg 1892	<i>NNA</i> (1936), 65. Two Henry III found in graves. <i>NNA</i> (1936), 65. Ten English Short Cross and two Irish (plus thirty-three English Long Cross, one Irish, one Scottish) amongst 825 coins seen from a find of about 10,000.
Friesoythe	<i>Oldenburger Jahrbuch</i> 41 (1937), 129-144. One Short Cross of Henry III out of just over 300 coins.
Gerbstedt	<i>Fundakten Hamburg</i> . Two Henry III Short Cross out of 470 coins.
Herford	<i>Blätter für Münzfreunde</i> 5 (1881), 794ff, Fundakten Hamburg. Two English Short Cross out of 984 coins seen.
Hesseln	<i>Z.f. vaterl. Gesch. Westf.</i> 29 (1871), 2 Abt., 236. Five English Short Cross out of 537 coins. Of the seven English pennies listed by Wippo two were certainly imitations.
Hildesheim	<i>HBN</i> 2 (1948), 16ff. Twenty-two English Short Cross and ten Long Cross with one Scottish Long Cross, out of 2,519 coins seen.
Hillschied	<i>Bonner Jahrbücher</i> 61 (1877), 170-1. 156 British Short Cross coins out of 330 seen.
Holzmülheim Kreuznach	<i>HBN</i> 14 (1960), 497. Three Short Cross from 684 seen. Fundakten Hamburg. At least one London Short Cross from an uncertain number seen.
Ladenburg	<i>Frankfurter Münzzeitung</i> (1905), 353ff; 1906, 388. Seven Short Cross from about 400 coins.
Lechtingen Modesse II	<i>Mitt.d.Bayer.Num.Gesell.</i> 42 (1924), 52ff. No English coins. <i>Braunschweiger Jb</i> (1956), 140-144. Perhaps the earliest find including sterlings: four out of 2,214.
Münster, Salzstrasse	<i>Dona Numismatica</i> , 202; Ilisch, <i>Münzfunde und Geldumlauf in Westfalen</i> , p. 83. One Winchester Short Cross out of 225 coins.
Ober-Mörten	<i>Frankfurter Münzzeitung</i> (1930), 4 and 24. One London Short Cross out of nine coins seen.
Oos	<i>Jahrbuch für Numismatik und Geldgeschichte</i> 2 (1950-1), 98-118. About ten out of over 5,000 coins.
Piesdorf Rendsburg	Fundakten Hamburg. One Short Cross out of 466 seen. <i>NNA</i> (1936), 59-62. Unknown numbers of English Short and Long Cross and north German bracteates.
Rotenfels	<i>Jahrbuch für Numismatik und Geldgeschichte</i> 2 (1950-1), 69-97. 112 Short Cross out of 1,383 coins.
Schleusingen	<i>Die Mittelalterlichen Münzfunde in Thüringen</i> edited by W. Hävernack (Jena, 1955), pp. 241-262. Three English Short Cross out of 430.
Tornschau	Hatz no. 23 and <i>NNA</i> (1952), 43 = Hornskov. One (?) Short Cross in a group of over 200 later sterlings and five gros tournois.
Werl	<i>Centennial Publ. of ANS</i> 1958, pp. 89-123. Five English Short Cross out of 382 coins.
Wermelskirchen	<i>Frankfurter Münzzeitung</i> (1914), 262 = Luffringhausen. At least one Short Cross, and a number of Long Cross out of 280 coins. A further 140 coins in separate pot contained no English sterlings.
South east Westphalia	H. Grote, <i>Münzstudien</i> 5, p. 166. Uncertain Long or Short Cross sterling find. Grote observed that a large number of sterlings may be Lippische imitations.