

DATING STEPHEN'S FIRST TYPE

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IN recent years, two dating schemes for Stephen's substantive types have been current. Both allow that only *BMC* types I, II, VI and VII were substantive (II and VI being confined to areas controlled by Stephen), and agree that *BMC* types III, IV and V were not part of the consecutive series, but were parallel local issues of the middle numismatic period of the reign.¹ They also accept that the introduction of the last type, *BMC* VII, followed the Treaty of Westminster made between Stephen and the future Henry II in December 1153.² Where they differ is that what may be termed the short chronology still keeps to the traditional view – a few mutations apart – that type I began early in the reign, continued throughout Stephen's captivity between 2 February and 1 November 1141, and possibly for a short time after his release, but that type II followed relatively soon afterwards.³ The revised chronology, on the other hand, advocates a seriously extended period of issue for the initial type. This long chronology, first put forward in 1968, suggested that type I may have continued to be struck until 'the late 1140s'.⁴ The dating implications were more fully worked out in 1974, when type I was divided into periods distinguished by the presence of REX, RE, R or nothing after the king's name; each legend-group was given 'suggested dates of issue' of about five years, ending with coins reading STIEFNE which were assigned to '1147–1149/50'.⁵ A long chronology was lent support by the proposal put forward in 1980 that the defacement of obverse dies of type I should be associated with the imposition of a papal interdict in 1148.⁶

What is at issue is essentially how long *BMC* I continued to be struck. While this paper will comment on aspects of the earlier chronologies as appropriate, its intention is to re-examine the evidence for dating Stephen's first substantive type, as far as is possible, from first principles. The relative order of the coins will be considered first, without involving any discussion of their historical dates, and only when that has been established will an attempt be made to relate the resulting sequence to the events of the reign.

¹ In this paper Stephen's types are described by the Roman numerals given to them in G.C. Brooke, *British Museum Catalogue of Coins of the Norman Kings*, 2 vols. (London, 1918) eg *BMC* type I or *BMC* I. Since these numerals no longer represent the chronological sequence of all the types, it is now usual to refer to the substantive types by brief descriptions of their reverse designs: *BMC* I, Cross Moline type; *BMC* II, Cross Pattée type; *BMC* VI, Cross Fleury type; *BMC* VII, Cross Pommée type. While this is a good solution for many purposes, the writer found that in this discussion it was clearer to use the numerals. Individual coins in the British Museum are quoted by their Arabic catalogue number eg BMC 123 or, if they were acquired after the publication of the catalogue, by their registration number. Details of all the coins illustrated are given in the index to the plates. Moneyers names are quoted as they appear on the coins and not in their 'correct' form.

² This is essentially the scheme proposed in the latest detailed survey of Stephen's coinage by R.P. Mack, 'Stephen and the Anarchy 1135–1154', *BNJ* 35 (1966), 38–112, although Mack, while leaving the matter open, tended to favour the view that type VI was issued concurrently with type II.

³ This was the position which was adopted by the writer in the exhibition catalogue *English Romanesque Art 1066–1200*, Arts Council, Hayward Gallery, London 5 April–8 July 1984, 320–41, and also by G.C. Boon, *Coins of the Anarchy 1135–54*, National Museum of Wales, Cardiff 1988.

⁴ Michael Dolley in 'The Anglo-Norman coins in the Uppsala University cabinet', *BNJ* 37 (1968), 29–34, suggested (p. 34) that type II possibly began in the late 1140s. His views on aspects of dating also featured in M. Dolley and K.A. Goddard, 'The A.N. spellings "Stifne", "Stefne" and "Stiefne" found in the obverse legends of English coins of Stephen's first substantive type', *Proc. Royal Irish Academy*, Vol. 71, Section C, Number 2 (1971), 19–34.

⁵ R.J. Seaman, 'A re-examination of some hoards containing coins of Stephen', *BNJ* 48 (1978), 58–72, expanding and revising his earlier paper, 'King Stephen's first coinage, 1135–1141', *Seaby's Coin and Medal Bulletin*, February 1968, 60–2.

⁶ Peter Seaby, 'King Stephen and the Interdict of 1148', *BNJ* 50 (1980), 50–60, and 'The defaced pennies of Stephen from Sussex mints', *BNJ* 56 (1986), 102–107.

I Relative Chronology

Legends and style

At the beginning of Stephen's first type, as so often when a new coinage is introduced, there was a brief period of experimentation before a norm was established. The speed and unexpectedness of his seizure of the throne, and the disputed succession, may have added to the pressures for a new coinage in his name. It was evidently decided that the coins should have a right profile bust to distinguish them from the left three-quarter-face effigy of the last coins of Henry I. The earliest surviving coins of Stephen, from a die used by two moneyers at London, Liefred and Smaewine, follow the previous type (*BMC* XV) in setting out the king's name in Latin, STEFANVS R (pl. 1, 1), and in showing him wearing the same closed crown.⁷ This crown is also present on coins of Bury St Edmunds reading STIFNE REX (pl. 1, 2-3) although the annulet at each end of band on the Stefanus R die is here replaced by a pellet.⁸ The Bury die shows a lock of hair to the left of the face, present on the Stefanus R die but absent on other early dies reading STIFNE REX with the open lily crown used at Leicester (pl. 1, 4) and Lincoln (pl. 1, 5). Such permutations of early features, including crowns decorated in various ways with annulets e.g. at Lincoln (pl. 1, 6) and Norwich (pl. 1, 7), are indicative of the need to send out dies quickly at the start of the reign. An effigy was soon established which was to be the standard for the rest of the type (pl. 1, 8). The official dies were produced in the London workshop controlled by successive members of the Fitz Otto family who enjoyed the hereditary right to cut the dies used by all the moneyers of the kingdom. They were made from piece-punches and achieved a recognizable house-style throughout the type.⁹

Although coin-types can be issued over long periods with virtually no alteration in their inscriptions, legends often tend to become shorter with time, so the basic sequence of STIFNE REX, STIEFNE REX, STIEFNE RE, STIEFNE R and STIEFNE is certainly broadly correct.¹⁰ The presence or absence of colon punctuation marks at the end of the legends subdivides this sequence further. The coins show however that the stages in this devolution of the legend were not always mutually exclusive or of equal duration, and that old dies (more usually the obverses which occupied the less vulnerable lower position during the striking process) were sometimes re-used out of sequence. The length of the obverse legends does not always establish the order in which the dies were cut or the coins struck. The successive loss of several letters from the end of an obverse legend may, in some cases, point to the relative longevity of the type concerned, but can equally well be the result of a high demand for coin over a much shorter period.¹¹ This was just the situation in the earlier part of Stephen's reign when both sides required cash to pay mercenary troops. Thus, while the decreasing lengths of the legends on coins of type I are indicative of their relative date, they do not of themselves require a long chronology.

The shortening of the obverse legend is accompanied by a decline in the style of the effigy: the neat detailed representation of the king's bust on early dies of the substantive

⁷ B.H.H. Stewart, 'Stefanus R', *NC* 7th series 12 (1972), 167-175, discusses several striking from this die by Liefred and Smaewine at London and suggests that it had been recut from one of Henry I's last issue, *BMC* type XV. The writer does not see the necessity for this and, in view of the related coins discussed below, considers that it is unlikely.

⁸ *BMC* 7 and the double-struck *BMC* 8, both illustrated here (pl. 1, 2-3), are from the same dies, although the identity was not noted by Brooke who recorded their obverse legends as reading differently. He did not draw

attention to the use of the closed crown either here or under Liefred of London, *BMC* 68 (pl. 1, 1), the only coin of the Stephanus R group in the British Museum collection.

⁹ The Fitz Otto dies will be referred to hereafter as 'metropolitan', a useful description coined by G.C. Boon.

¹⁰ Seaman, 1978 and Dolley/Goddard, 1971. There are, of course, accidental misspellings even on official dies e.g. SIEFNE R (*BMC* 6, Gilebert of Bury St Edmunds).

¹¹ Henry I *BMC* type X rapidly devolved from HENRICVS REX ANGL to HENRICVS RE i.e. up to five letters lost in a maximum of three years.

type was succeeded by increasingly devolved simplifications of the original design. Stylistic considerations are more subjective than the presence or absence of a letter, but the appearance of the effigy also passes through recognisable, if usually less clearly-defined, stages. Where vital parts of the obverse legend are illegible (even with several die-duplicates to hand), the style of the bust can be a valuable and broadly reliable indicator of a coin's place in the official sequence. It can also alert the student to the possibility that dies may have been used in an abnormal order.

Devolution of Stephen type I obverse dies

The obverse dies of Stephen type I fall into two main groups. The first group all have inner circles and, although there is some devolution in the effigy, the deterioration in style is not very great (**pl. 1, 8–12**). On dies with STIFNE REX (**pl. 1, 8**) the effigy is neat, almost half length; from dies with STIEFNE REX (**pl. 1, 9**) to those with STIEFNE RE (**pl. 1, 10**) it is tending to become wider with a slightly bigger head; on dies with STIEFNE R (**pl. 1, 11**) the collar band is becoming flatter and on dies with STIEFNE (**pl. 1, 12**) the collar band is beginning to extend towards the sceptre. The features noted are again not mutually exclusive but, throughout, the dies exhibit a continuity in basic style and die-cutting technique indicative of their supply from a single source, the Fitz Otto workshop.

There is a clear division between the dies discussed above, all of which have an inner circle, and whose style is essentially good, and the later type I dies, most of which have no inner circle, and whose style shows a marked decline and rapidly becomes even worse (compare **pl. 1, 8–12** with **13–18**). After a brief period at the start of this second phase when some care was taken, including the continued use of an inner circle and the revival of the initial R of the king's title, the dies lose first the R, then the inner circle, and the effigies develop a gross, hurried, look with the collar band moving to the right and extending far beyond the line of the bust to touch, or almost touch, the sceptre. One series of these later dies is characterised by a pellet in a high triangular crown (**pl. 1, 13–15**), and another by a generally lower crown without a pellet (**pl. 1, 16–18**). Inferior in appearance though they are, their style is clearly still that of the Fitz Otto workshop. There is an overlap in the stylistic decline of these two groups which might indicate that they were the products of two different die-cutters, suggesting in turn that more dies than usual were required quickly at this time. One of the latest of these metropolitan dies apparently does not get further than STIEFN (**pl. 1, 15**).

Another group of late dies, in a style quite unrelated to the others, is distinguished by an almond-shaped eye and a wide crown with rounded instead of the usual pointed fleurs. Known only of three London moneyers, Alvred, Brimar and Robert (from different obverse dies, **pl. 1, 19–21**), and on one of the defaced obverses used at Norwich (**pl. 1, 22**), they have an inner circle and read STIEFNE R. The letters of the legends, which are neat, but of abnormal style and irregular size, may have used some punches but are not in the Fitz Otto house-style. One die was used before and after a small crescent mark was added in front of the nose, both by the London moneyer Alvred (**pl. 1, 19** and Boon no. 29). The moneyers' names, in a pronunciation spelling, are different from those found on their Fitz Otto dies: Alvred instead of Alfred and Robert instead of Rodbert. Brimar i.e. Brihtmaer is also a pronunciation spelling, but this Anglo-Saxon name clearly gave problems even to the official die-cutter(s), and it appears in several different forms on Fitz Otto dies. The place of this group in the sequence will be discussed in the dating section below.

Pereric

It has been necessary to discuss the Stephen dies in some detail so that other coin-groups of

the type I period can be placed correctly in the sequence. The first of these is the Pereric coins. They are in all respects like other official coins of type I except that their obverse dies, also cut in the Fitz Otto workshop, read PERERIC M (pl. 1, 24) or PERERIC (pl. 1, 23 and pl. 2, 1-3). They all have inner circles and the style of the effigy is similar to those of the better-style series, reading STIEFNE with an inner circle (pl. 1, 12; contrast with the later poorer-style group pl. 1, 13-18).

It would be difficult, on stylistic grounds alone, to decide whether the PERERIC dies come before or after these STIEFNE dies. The forms of the mint-signature on coins of Lincoln, plentiful thanks to the large type I hoards from the north, South Kyme (Lincs.) and Prestwich (Lancs.), are helpful on this point.¹² The Stephen type I coins of the series with better-style obverses have reverses with signatures of the NICOL type, whereas the coins of the later poorer-style series have signatures of the LINCOL type.¹³ The sole PERERIC M obverse die at Lincoln is paired with a single reverse die of the moneyer Siward reading NICO (Mack 46), and the only known PERERIC die is used with a reverse of the moneyer Rawulf (pl. 2, 1) similarly reading NICO.

There is one apparent problem: on two coins from the Prestwich hoard the Pereric obverse die used in good condition by Rawulf is found in worn state partnering reverses of Gladvine and Renaut both of which read LIN (pl. 2, 2-3). Each of these two reverse dies is however found paired with a (different) late Stephen type I obverse of the poorer-style STIEFNE group with no inner circle (pl. 1, 4-5), and for both moneyers, the reverse die is in a better condition than when it was used with the Pereric obverse. This shows that the Pereric die must have been re-used with two reverses of the later LIN series. The Gladvine and Renaut coins with Pereric obverses were therefore not struck in the Pereric period proper, but during a later phase of the coinage. Thus the coins struck at Lincoln in the Pereric period did indeed have the same NICOL-type mint signature as the dies of the Stephen type I better-style series, and the change in the mint-signature coincided with the break in the stylistic sequence. The Lincoln evidence thus shows that the Pererics follow the STIEFNE group at the end of the better-style series, and stand between them and the poorer-style series of Stephen type I. The multiple die-linking at this period at Lincoln is unusual as the normal pattern was of pairs of dies with no links between coins of the same moneyer or between those of different moneyers.¹⁴

Further confirmation of this position in the sequence for the Pereric coins comes from their presence in the Watford (Herts.) hoard which included STIEFNE coins of the better-style series with inner circle, but excluded all coins of the poorer-style series, whether with or without inner circle.

¹² The contents of the major hoards of the period are listed in detail with earlier bibliographies in J.D.A. Thompson, *Inventory of British Coin Hoards, A.D. 600-1500*, Royal Numismatic Society Special Publication No. 1 (London, 1956), and in outline in Mack 1966. Both require some emendation, especially for the important Nottingham hoard for which see E.W. Danson, 'The Nottingham find of 1880: a Stephen hoard re-examined', *BNJ* 37 (1968), 43-64. Seaman 1978 is an important review of the hoards' contents, especially for the attributing of 'strays'. For the Coed-y-Wenallt hoard see G.C. Boon, *Welsh hoards 1979-81*, National Museum of Wales, Cardiff 1986, pp.37-82. A summary of the contents of the Prestwich hoard appeared in *Coin Hoards I* (1975), 91-2, no. 360. Small or early hoards such as those discussed by C.E. Blunt, F. Elmore-Jones and P.H. Robinson, 'On some hoards of the time of Stephen',

BNJ 37 (1968), 35-42 are less useful for the present purpose since they are too small or incomplete to be representative.

¹³ The importance of the Lincoln mint signature was recognised by L.A. Lawrence in his publication of the South Kyme (Lincs.) hoard, 'On a hoard of coins chiefly of King Stephen', *NC* 5th series 2 (1922), 49-83, especially 54-7. Recent finds, in particular coins from the Prestwich hoard, have complicated his sequence of mutually exclusive groups, but the chronological order of the forms of the Lincoln mint signature on the dies which he demonstrated is still valid. The instances of the apparent use of the 'wrong' signature which have come to light, as in the cases discussed specifically here, are explicable on the grounds of the later re-use of either obverse or reverse dies.

¹⁴ H.R. Mossop, *The Lincoln Mint, c. 890-1279* (Newcastle-upon-Tyne, 1970), pl. LXXXVI-VII.

Matilda

The coins which unequivocally name Matilda are lighter in weight and in some cases baser than Stephen's regular issues. They were not struck from punched dies made in the Fitz Otto workshop, but from hand-engraved local dies (pl. 2, 22–3), so direct comparisons of the kind used above cannot be made. It is possible, however, in the case of her less idiosyncratic dies, to suggest broadly which of the metropolitan obverse groups provided their model. All Matilda's type I obverse dies have an inner circle which shows that their initial inspiration must have been one of the later groups of the better-style dies of Stephen, or the Pererics. Stylistically, the neatest Matilda obverses are of two Bristol moneyers Turchil (who had previously struck coins there for Stephen) and Rodbert where the inscription is a contracted form of the Latin *imperatrix*, empress, alone (Mack 230), or with an initial M before it (Mack 233). The other Bristol coins from obverse dies of Matilda type I, which set out her Christian name at greater length and contract her title (pl. 2, 22), show some deterioration in style, but this was probably an independent local devolution rather than one dependent on fresh inspiration from Stephen's issues.

The locally-made obverse dies known of Matilda at Oxford, which all have an inner circle as usual, show an effigy with the collar extended and, on one die in particular, it is in quite advanced form (pl. 2, 23). This feature first began to manifest itself on some later dies of the better-style series, but the Oxford die illustrated seems to be closer to the earlier of the poorer-style dies with inner circle. Both reverse dies paired with these Matilda obverses were punch-made Fitz Otto products for the moneyer Swetig, no doubt originally used with official obverse die(s) of Stephen. Unfortunately, no coins of Stephen from these particular reverse dies, which might help to resolve the question of the obverse prototype, have been traced. The Matilda type I dies of better style from the other mints, Cardiff and Wareham, as their legends with long Christian name and short title would suggest, seem to be roughly contemporary with these and her main Bristol type I issues. The absence of Matilda coins from the Watford hoard also confirms their relatively late position in type I.¹⁵

Defaced obverse dies

Some coins of Stephen type I were struck from obverse dies which have been defaced in various different ways (pl. 1, 22; pl. 2, 9, 11, 13, and 16–17).¹⁶ Several dies are known to have been used at the same mint both before and after this was carried out. The dies which were defaced include both metropolitan dies made by the Fitz Otto workshop and locally-made dies of the sort used as an emergency measure by the official moneyers. The metropolitan dies include all the obverse groups from the early Stifne Rex to the latest Stiefne without inner circle (pl. 2, 17), although the majority are of the Stiefne R and Stiefne groups. As it is clear that all the defacements were done at the same period; old obverse dies had apparently not been returned to London before new ones were issued, but had been retained by the moneyers, and remained potentially re-usable, until the end of the type.

¹⁵ The one coin (Mack 238) which was attributed to Matilda in the earlier listings of the Watford hoard can now be compared with three other coins from the same dies which show that it is irregular, and that the obverse inscription is likely to be a corruption of a Stephen rather than a Matilda legend. One of these additional coins was discussed by B.H.L.H. Stewart, 'A London penny of Matilda?', *BNJ*

46 (1976), 76–7; the second is in the British Museum from the Prestwich hoard (1974, 2–12–67) and the third was shown at the British Museum in 1981. The latter was without provenance but, as in the case of the Stewart specimen, may originally have derived from the Prestwich hoard.

¹⁶ Mack 1966, nos 136–157; Seaby, 1980 and 1986.

'Roundels'

Some dies of East Anglian mints, known as the 'roundels' series, have pellets in various configurations added neatly to the normal type I reverse cross (pl. 2, 19–20).¹⁷ The obverses paired with these pelleted reverses also include dies of all groups from Stifne Rex to Stiefne with no-inner-circle (pl. 2, 19), again with the same later groups more common. The defaced-obverse group and the roundels group are thus contemporary. Coins struck from dies of these two groups must be later than most, if not all, of those from Stephen's metropolitan dies of the type, and from local emergency dies also of this type used by the official moneyers.¹⁸ Once again this position in the sequence is confirmed by the absence of both groups from the Watford hoard, and their inclusion in other major hoards such as Prestwich and Nottingham closing with later coins of type I.

The relative chronological sequence of the substantive dies of Stephen type I and related issues (all with inner circles unless stated) is therefore as follows:

*Metropolitan dies**Local dies**Better-style series*

STIFNE REX

STIEFNE REX

STIEFNE RE

STIEFNE R

STIEFNE

PERERIC [M]

Poorer-style series

STIEFNE R

STIEFNE

STIEFNE without inner circle

Matilda

|

Matilda

Defaced dies with and without inner circle, metropolitan and local

II The Historical Context

The coins in this stylistic sequence are dateable in absolute terms only if stages in the devolution can be tied to historical events.¹⁹ The changing fortunes during the civil war seem to offer many potential points of contact in the dates when towns with mints were in Royal or Angevin hands. This is less helpful than might be imagined. The numismatic record is incomplete, and coins may not have been produced during all, especially brief, changes in allegiance; more fundamentally, there is the question, to be discussed below, of the extent to which coins struck in a town necessarily reflected the political affiliation of the earl or castellan who held it.

¹⁷ Mack 1966, nos 159–168.

¹⁸ Locally-made dies were used by moneyers in an emergency to strike coins of official standard. The main period of their use will be discussed in the consideration of the historical context.

¹⁹ The publication of new editions of the major sources over the past twenty-five years has intensified interest in Stephen's reign and prompted a wealth of books and papers. R.H.C. Davis, *King Stephen*, 3rd Ed. (1990) provides a detailed chronological outline of the reign,

with useful appendices on the narrative sources, and the careers and allegiance of the earls and other participants in the civil war; although extensively footnoted, this book has no separate bibliography. Marjorie Chibnall, who has edited the volumes of *The Ecclesiastical History of Orderic Vitalis* (Oxford, 1969–80), has recently published *The Empress Matilda* (Oxford, 1991), which offers a new perspective on the events of the reign, and provides an extensive bibliography of the original sources and secondary literature.

Pereric: national issue of Matilda

The interpretation of the Pereric group is the key to dating Stephen's substantive types since it occupies a central position in type I. It is at present known from seven mints distributed widely throughout the country: London, Canterbury (pl. 1, 23), Bristol, Ipswich (pl. 1, 24), Lincoln (pl. 2, 1-3), Stamford, and Winchester. It is important to decide whether the mints now known are broadly representative of a restricted issue, or are merely a random selection from a much larger number of mints active in the type.²⁰ The known provenances, with the number of coins present in each hoard given in brackets, are as follows:

<i>Mint</i>	<i>Hoard</i>
Bristol	Nottingham (1); Prestwich, Lancs. (1)
Canterbury	Linton, Kent (1); Prestwich, Lancs. (2)
Ipswich	unprovenanced, prob. Prestwich, Lancs. (1) ²¹
Lincoln	South Kyme, Lancs. (6); Prestwich, Lancs. (33); Sheldon, Derbys. (1)
London	Watford, Herts. (2); Linton, Kent (1); Prestwich, Lancs. (1)
Stamford	Prestwich, Lancs. (5)
Winchester	Nottingham (1) ²²

Quite apart from the large number of Lincoln coins in Prestwich, there is some geographical bias in the known provenances. None the less, it cannot be accident that Prestwich included five, possibly six, out of the seven Pereric mints known from all sources, the missing one being remote from the findspot. This must mean that the current list of Pereric mints is fairly representative of the those which actually issued the type, and is unlikely to be expanded very much further. This point is underlined by the fact that the extant Pereric coins are the products of very few obverse dies, those in Prestwich largely duplicating the ones known before. This suggests that the dies were issued for a very limited period to relatively few mints. The equation of the Pereric M inscription with a form of the Anglo-Norman *Empereriz*, empress, followed by the initial of her name, must surely be correct, and these coins ascribed to Matilda.²³ As noted above, what appear to be the earliest dies of Matilda from Bristol similarly have her title, rather than her name, in a longer form, and one die has an M, although it is there placed before the title rather than after it.

Many people have found it difficult to accept this attribution because it requires coins of Matilda to have been issued from places which were never under her control. Some have tried to solve the conundrum by suggesting that the legend was deliberately enigmatic, thus giving themselves a slightly wider choice for its period of issue.²⁴ Particular difficulty was presented by Canterbury, and now Ipswich, situated in Kent and East Anglia, the areas of strongest support for Stephen, from which his wife and her supporters launched their counter-offensive after his capture in February 1141.

²⁰ W.J. Andrew is quoted by Brooke as suggesting 'that the issue may prove more extensive than is at present known'. (*BMC*, p. lxxviii).

²¹ Christies, 4.xi.1977, lot 76; purchased by the British Museum, 1977-12-5-1. No provenance was given, but the coin's appearance suggests that it might originally have been a stray from the Prestwich hoard.

²² The provenance of this coin was established by Seaman 1978, p. 62.

²³ This explanation was first proposed by H.W.C. Davis in a letter to G.C. Brooke, quoted by the latter in 'Pereric', *NC* 5th series 20 (1920), 273-6.

²⁴ This was Brooke's position in *BMC*, and in the article cited in note 21. It was also the writer's: in M.M. Archibald in *Department of Coins and Medals, New Acquisitions no. 1* (1976-77), British Museum Occasional Paper No. 25 (1981), pp. 50-1. Medieval Series No. 27, I suggested that the limiting factors would be satisfied by locating the enigmatic Pererics in 1137 when Roger Bishop of Salisbury was in charge in England while Stephen was campaigning in Normandy, and the outcome was uncertain. Further study of the detail of the coinage, especially work towards the publication of the Prestwich hoard, has made me change my mind.

Even if some allegiance to Matilda could, arguably, be discovered at all of the known Pereric mints,²⁵ they still make an odd list if they are deemed to reflect the presence of Matilda's supporters. This is as true of the absentees as it is of those present. Why does it not include Chester, for example, whose Earl Ranulf had declared for Matilda in 1140? Chester coins of Stephen type I were almost equally plentiful in the Prestwich hoard as those of Lincoln, for which Pereric was heavily represented, and whose Earl William was Ranulf's half brother and also a supporter of Matilda.

The difficulty in accepting the Pererics as an issue of Matilda has been increased by trying to equate them with her local issues from engraved dies which could indeed only have been struck in those places where she or her supporters were in control. The correct way to regard the Pereric dies is to see them, for a brief period, as the official regal obverse dies of the kingdom, sent in the usual way to all mints in the country which requested them from the Fitz Otto workshop. They must therefore have been issued at the height of Matilda's success in the summer of 1141, when the hereditary die-cutter William Fitz Otto went over to her side.²⁶

Matilda no doubt envisaged that this would be a national issue lasting for what she anticipated would be the brief time until she was crowned; then her title as queen would appear on, as was usual, a new type. It was naturally struck by the moneyers to the official national standard of weight and fineness that had applied to the previous coins in Stephen's name. As it turned out, the time during which Pereric dies were issued was unexpectedly curtailed, and few were sent out. The political or personal needs of Matilda or her supporters may have dictated priorities in the provision of some of the new dies in her name e.g. those to Bristol. They also appear not to have reached, or to have been boycotted by, the mints supplying Queen Matilda in East Anglia, which preferred (Ipswich apart) to use locally-made dies in Stephen's name. Even so, any mint in England which had ordered an obverse die from Fitz Otto at this time, regardless of which side was supported there, would have been sent a Pereric one. Those mints which had not requested dies, or which Fitz Otto had not got around to supplying during that short period, never saw a Pereric die, even if their lord was a supporter of Matilda. To sum up, the Pereric (M) dies named the Empress and were issued to all comers among the mints and moneyers for a brief period in the summer of 1141.

Local issues of Matilda

The earliest Bristol coins for Matilda seem to have been, as shown above, those with obverse dies of the (M) Imperatrix group. It is possible that they could have begun at Bristol before her departure for London in 1141, and thus have been the source of the

²⁵ Andrew suggested that although Kent was strongly for Stephen, the Archbishop of Canterbury had felt constrained to give his support to Matilda in 1141, and so the Pererics from Canterbury could have been struck for him by virtue of his ancient privilege. (His views reported by Brooke in *BMC* p. lxxxviii.)

²⁶ Attention was first drawn to the numismatic significance of this charter by Davis in his letter to Brooke (see note 23 above). The charter is now no. 316 in H.A. Cronne and R.H.C. Davis, *Regesta regum Anglo-Normannorum 1066-1154*, Vol III, *Regesta Regis Stephani etc.* 1135-54 (Oxford, 1968), 120. Davis suggested that the confirmation of William Fitz Otto's lands at Benfleet in Essex was a reward for services already rendered. It is not known, however, when he went over to Matilda, although

his case may have been bound up with that of Geoffrey de Mandeville, Earl of Essex, to whom Matilda also granted a charter at this time. At a council at Winchester early in April 1141 when Matilda was declared 'Lady of England and Normandy', the Londoners who attended its later sessions did not agree to receive her at Westminster until after two months negotiation (Davis 1990, 53-6). Fitz Otto could have been one of the Londoners there, especially as he also held property in Winchester. (See the discussion of the various William son of Oddos in M. Biddle ed., *Winchester in the early middle ages, Winchester Studies I* (Oxford, 1976), pp. 551-2.) It might well be that Matilda had come to some understanding with him, and that he had made preparations in advance of Matilda's arrival at Westminster in June.

metropolitan inscription. It would seem more likely, however, that the Pereric Matilda coins of normal weight and fineness by the moneyer Turchil preceded, rather than interrupted, the coins of lower standard from local dies including those of the same moneyer. If so, the legend was a Latin version of the Anglo-Norman Pereric which had been used by Fitz Otto, following the linguistic precedent of the form of Stephen's name used on his metropolitan dies. The introduction of these Bristol Imperatrix coins thus probably followed Matilda's retreat from London, in the summer of 1141. The Pererics were then her first coins, and the others of type I at Bristol and elsewhere in her name from local dies followed after them.

Matilda also produced her lower-standard coinage of type I struck from locally-engraved dies in Cardiff.²⁷ These and her later Bristol coins of the type from local dies presumably continued to the end of the period during which the type was being issued in Stephen's name elsewhere. Her later coins of different types from these mints²⁸ were probably issued after the introduction of Stephen's type II.

The coins of type I for the Empress at Oxford reading MATILDI IMP were copied, it has been suggested above, from one of the earlier variants of the poorer-style group of Stephen's type I coins with inner circle produced shortly after Queen Matilda's entry into London in June 1141. The Empress's pre-London visits can therefore be ruled out as their context, as can her brief stay on her way back to Gloucester after her rejection by the Londoners. (This is confirmed by the absence of Matilda's Oxford coins from the Watford hoard.) Her stay in late July 1141 when several of her charters were issued,²⁹ would have been an appropriate occasion, although it could have been on a later visit. All the Oxford coins of Matilda must in any case have been produced before Stephen re-took the castle in December 1142 for Oxford was never out of his control thereafter. This means that the Stephen coins which were the prototype for Matilda's Oxford coins must themselves have been no later than the autumn of 1142 which would in itself rule out a chronology for type I lasting to the end of the 1140s.

Later coins of Stephen Type I

The coins in a good style with almond-shaped eyes, but not that of the Fitz Otto workshop (pl. 1, 19–22), may now be considered. A suitable place for them would be when dies were urgently required to strike coins for Queen Matilda when she was admitted to London in 1141, and before Fitz Otto had made his peace with her. This position is preferable to one immediately after Fitz Otto had gone over to the Empress because none of the London coins of this group was present in the nearby Watford hoard while Pererics were represented. (Coins of the group were included in all the other large type I hoards: South Kyme, Prestwich and Nottingham.) Further, one of the London moneyers involved was Robert/Rodbert who did not take part in the Pereric issue and is otherwise known at the mint only in the later poorer-style Fitz Otto group of type I (pl. 1, 14–15) and in type II. The name is common,³⁰ but he could be the Canterbury moneyer, even an itinerant palatine one, and might have come to the city from Kent in the company of Queen Matilda. Neither can this group be a parallel issue to the Pererics because one of the moneyers involved, Alvred/Alfred, also participated in that coinage. The small crescent added to his non-Fitz Otto die has been seen as a heraldic mark of

²⁷ Boon 1986, pp. 75–6.

²⁸ Boon 1986, pp. 76–7.

²⁹ See Matilda's itinerary, *Regesta* p. xlv, but note that not all listed there are specific to her July visit.

³⁰ Ian Stewart, 'The Sussex mints and their moneyers', in

P. Brandon, *The South Saxons* (London and Chichester, 1978), p. 126 Table U sets out the mints of the Stephen period with a moneyer Rodbert and discusses the role of itinerant moneyers in this reign.

Queen Matilda,³¹ but since it has not been found as yet on any others of the dies, it is perhaps just an internal control whose purpose is unknown. Alvred and Brimar are also known at London in both the earlier better-style, and the later poorer-style, issues. Bri(c)mar apparently later joined the Empress in Cardiff.³² The Norwich coin (pl. 1, 22) suggests that a few dies had been sent outside London, significantly to an area where support for Queen Matilda was strong.

The poorer-style Fitz Otto dies of type I for Stephen which followed were apparently needed quickly and possibly required the services of two die-cutters. There is no documentary evidence for when William Fitz Otto changed sides this second time, but it is likely that he did so fairly soon after Queen Matilda arrived. She would have needed coin to pay the mercenary troops who had accompanied her to London, and who would fight for her husband elsewhere in the country.

Stephen coins from mints in Matilda's area

Coins were struck from the later poorer-style metropolitan obverse dies of type I in Stephen's name not only in areas of the country which supported him, but also in places (e.g. Exeter and Chester) which were held by the Empress's supporters. Matilda did not, possibly could not, set up a die-distribution network throughout the area she controlled along traditional English lines such as she had briefly enjoyed in June 1141. In her headquarters areas of Bristol and South Wales she was able to institute a coinage in her own name probably beginning after her return to the west from London in 1141. She then evidently forbade the continued production of coins in Stephen's name which had been struck there from local dies between the ending of supplies of metropolitan dies from London and the institution of her own coinage at that time. Elsewhere, she seems to have had coins struck in her own name only in a few key places, and possibly chiefly when she was there in person.³³

Just as Matilda's Pereric dies were for a time the only official ones available from the Fitz Otto workshop so, after her departure from Westminster, the only metropolitan dies were in Stephen's name. Even in towns whose lords owed allegiance to Matilda, moneyers still continued to obtain dies from Fitz Otto in London if they could; when they could not, they had local dies made, but their coins were still struck in Stephen's name. It is not perhaps too difficult to accept that the moneyers for whom minting was a commercial enterprise chose to continue striking coins with dies which everyone would immediately recognise as official and trustworthy. The local castellan or earl, if not specifically ordered to ban coins in the name of the king, was apparently willing to condone their production, and use them himself. Matilda appears to have forbidden coining in Stephen's name only at mints in which she was issuing her own coins.³⁴

³¹ Boon 1988, pp. 33–4, no. 29.

³² Boon 1988, p. 21 no. 9 and p. 25, no. 15.

³³ Domesday Book records that when the king came to the city of Hereford it was the duty of moneyers to strike as many coins for the king as he required from his own silver (*BMC* p. cxlii). The light coins of Matilda suggest that she was short of silver.

³⁴ Matilda's coins must have been discriminated against by hoarders when circumstances allowed, so the scale of her

issues is difficult to estimate. The comparative dearth of site finds, and the way in which the Prestwich hoard again largely represents the range known from elsewhere, suggests, however, that her English coinage outside Bristol was not extensive. Her payments to her mercenaries were likely to have been made largely in Stephen's better coin, although no doubt she tried to get people to accept her own less valuable local ones at par when she could.

Coins from cancelled dies

If the obverse dies were really defaced as a sign of the interdict of 1148, then a long chronology would be inescapable.³⁵ The first group of such defacements are said to have been made by hammering out parts of the obverse legend, not on the dies, but on the coins. Hammered areas in the obverse inscription are random (pl. 2, 6), and the same effect also occurs elsewhere e.g. at the same mint on an obverse of *BMC* IV (pl. 2, 7), and on a reverse of *BMC* VII from Lewes (pl. 2, 8). The hammer marks were in fact made before, not after, striking. They are evidence of an abnormal method of preparing the flans which meant that the detail of the type was not fully struck up at the edges of the coins.

The only die which was probably defaced by Stephen's opponents was the one from Bristol which was almost completely obliterated (pl. 2, 18). Other defacements similar to those on dies used to strike coins of Stephen type I can be found on many other coins from Edward the Confessor onwards. The following are only a selection of those noted on obverse dies: parallel lines across the face (Stephen, pl. 2, 9, and Edward the Confessor, pl. 2, 10); a bar through, or nearly through, the sceptre (Stephen, pl. 2, 11, and Edward the Confessor, Boon 1988 p. 24, and pl. 2, 12); a large pellet (by the sceptre: Stephen, pl. 2, 13; by the face: William II type IV/V mule, pl. 2, 14; in the field: Edward the Confessor, Mossop 1970 pl. LXXIV, 12). Small crosses are found in one quarter of the reverse cross on dies of Edward the Confessor at Norwich (pl. 2, 15) and Thetford, echoed by the large obverse cross cancellation with small crosses in the angles found on dies of Stephen also from these mints e.g. Norwich (pl. 2, 16). The reasons for such defacements of the obverse dies in other reigns cannot be an interdict or action against the king by his enemies. They must be explained as a sign of the official cancellation of the dies before they were due to be returned to London, and that some emergency in each case had necessitated their return to use.³⁶ This must also be the explanation for the use of defaced obverse dies in Stephen's reign, and the idea that they had anything to do with the interdict of 1148 may be rejected.

The regional nature of these different forms of cancellation in Stephen's reign was identified in the proposed interdict context with the episcopal sees,³⁷ but in the context of the administration of the coinage, they may be seen as a system based on the counties, whose financial affairs were organized through the sheriffs (who were sometimes the same persons as the local earls at this time), or on wider areas as appropriate.³⁸ At mints in Norfolk (Norwich, Thetford and Castle Rising) obverse dies were generally cancelled by a long cross from side to side, with small crosses also used in some cases. This was possibly a traditional form of defacement in the district dating back to the reign of Edward the Confessor.

At Suffolk mints (Ipswich, Sudbury and Bury), the practice at this period seems to have been that it was the reverse, rather than the obverse, dies which were marked, the dies

³⁵ Seaby 1980. The defacement of the dies has also been seen as political (see discussion by Brooke in *BMC* pp. lxxviii–lxxxii).

³⁶ The writer discussed the technical reason for the 'hammered out' coins, and the parallels from earlier reigns in support of the views set out here on their purpose in a lecture to the British Numismatic Society on 25 January 1983, and on the subject matter of this article generally in a paper to the Society's day meeting on Stephen in June 1991.

³⁷ Seaby 1980, 57–60. Before his untimely death, Peter Seaby kindly sent the writer drafts of his papers on the rest of the 'defaced' series, and on the following issues which he proposed were based on Stephen's earldoms; these papers

had been given at various meetings of the Society and of BANS, and it is hoped that they will be published. In many friendly and helpful discussions of these matters with the writer, Peter Seaby maintained his view that the same kind of defacements at different periods need not necessarily have had the same purpose. The writer, as outlined here, preferred to see a regional administration of the coinage in operation earlier, and the pattern of cancellation marks as evidence of this.

³⁸ For a table of county officials, including earls and sheriffs (such as are known) see *Regesta* pp. xxiv–v, and additions in Davis 1990, p. 169; for the earls and earldoms, *ibid.* pp. 125–41.

being cancelled by adding pellets to the cross. Norfolk and Suffolk shared a sheriff at this time, which may explain the use of the long cross cancellation on the obverse on one die of a Suffolk mint, Bury or possibly Eye³⁹ (pl. 2, 17), and pellets on one die of the Norfolk mint of Thetford (pl. 2, 20). This die was later recut, and the pelleted cross in the centre of the reverse converted into a plain cross (Mack 174, pl. 2, 21) such as would have been a more 'normal' cancellation at a Norfolk mint. It would appear therefore that when the moneyers returned their dies at the end of the type it was normal practice for only one of the pair to be defaced, not both.⁴⁰

At mints in other counties, or groups of counties, different cancellation marks were added to metropolitan or local dies of type I. Bars were added to the obverses in Sussex,⁴¹ and a rosette of pellets in the Angevin-dominated counties e.g. the rosette on a Fitz Otto late obverse dies without inner circle reading STIEFNE at presumptively Cricklade, Mack 184, and Exeter, Mack 185.

There is no documentary evidence on the reason for the re-use of the cancelled Stephen dies, but the following hypothesis is put forward as to how it may have come about. When Stephen was released in November 1141 other affairs took priority, but he soon decided on a *renovatio* of the coinage. The current type I had been in issue for six years, and the circulating medium was in need of reform as it contained base or light-weight coins, and others struck with unofficial dies whose crudeness left the way open to forgeries; not least, it included coins in the name of Matilda. Orders would have been issued that all old dies of whatever date and status had to be returned, defaced on obverse or reverse in the usual way, and brought up to London to be exchanged for dies of the new type. Before Stephen could complete the procedures required (perhaps authorize the necessary writ to Fitz Otto or approve the new designs), he fell seriously ill, as mentioned in the chronicle sources, and was unable to take any administrative action for the whole of May and the early part of June 1142.⁴² In the emergency, orders were sent out that the defaced dies could, contrary to normal practice, be re-used until such time as the King had recovered and authorised the issue of the necessary writs. When the time came, in the summer of 1142, he decided to restrict the new type to the areas under his direct control in the south and East Anglia, and excluding completely mints in Angevin-held areas since access to coinage was one of the means of promoting his rival's war effort.

Coins of 'King Henry'

Another argument which has been advanced for the late chronology has been that the coins from locally-made dies of BMC I with obverses reading HENRICVS and REX AN (pl. 2, 24), which are included in the later hoards of the type, should be attributed to Henry of Anjou and therefore must date to his 1149 expedition.⁴³ These coins were struck in mints, Malmesbury and Hereford, in areas under Matilda's control, but coins cannot have been struck for her son with the title REX before his accession. If the Pereric coins are Matilda's and date to 1141, then these coins cannot be as late as 1149. They must be regarded as 'evasions' reusing the name of Henry I, many of whose coins were still current.

³⁹ Seaby 1980, 52.

⁴⁰ The reverse die of William I, BMC VII, of Warcham found on the spoil from Billingsgate, London (acquired by the British Museum in 1989), had certainly struck coins before being returned to London, and it was not defaced.

⁴¹ Seaby 1986.

⁴² Davis 1990 p. 67, quoting John of Hexham in *Symeon of*

Durham ii 312, and William of Malmesbury, *Historia Nova*, para. 516.

⁴³ Seaman 1978, 65–6; Seaby 1980, 55. If the chronology proposed here is accepted, even Henry's first visit as a child in the autumn of 1142 was probably too late for these coins which are present in the South Kyme and Prestwich hoards, as well as the just later Nottingham hoard. This does not rule out the attribution of later groups of coins to Henry of Anjou.

Hoard

On the basis of this chronology, the Watford hoard, whose latest coins are the Pereric Matildas, is dated to the summer of 1141. South Kyme, Prestwich and Nottingham,⁴⁴ all including coins from cancelled dies, are within a short time of one another and in that order, about a year later.

Summary of the historical context of type I

The better-style Stephen dies were issued up to Stephen's capture in February 1141. The Pereric dies were produced for Matilda in the summer of 1141, and they were followed by dies of the poorer-style series in Stephen's name during the rest of the king's captivity and for six months after his release. A recoinage was envisaged in the spring of 1142, but before the necessary orders could be completed the king was incapacitated. During his illness in May and June the coins from cancelled dies were struck. After his recovery, and presumably not long afterwards, the king put into operation his postponed plans for a new coinage. Matilda issued no coins in her own name until anticipating her coronation in the summer of 1141; these were the national Pereric issue, which was followed by coins from local dies in a limited number of mints in the area under her control. Coins continued to be struck in Stephen's name until the end of type I at mints in the Angevin area not producing coins regularly in Matilda's name.

Postscript

The discovery of the Wickelwood, Norfolk, hoard in 1989 made it clear that *BMC* type VI, of which there were 134 coins, was a substantive type of comparable duration to the preceding type II, of which there were 109 coins. This makes it unlikely that type II and VI were confined to the period 1149/50–1153. It is not intended to discuss here the dating of the end of type II, but given that type VI is less common elsewhere than type II, it probably had a slightly shorter period of issue. The types seem to have been intended to last six years each, type I lasting a little longer because of the king's various troubles, and type VI curtailed because of the need to mark the restoration of a national coinage, after the Treaty of Westminster, by a new type. The numismatic chronology of Stephen's reign on this basis is: *BMC* I, 1135/6–1142; *BMC* II, 1142–c. 1148; *BMC* VI, c. 1148–53 and *BMC* VII, 1153–8.

⁴⁴ This date would not allow an association between the Nottingham hoard and the fire of 1141, but is not an insuperable difficulty as some unrecorded fire could have been responsible for the burning of the hoard coins.

KEY TO THE PLATES

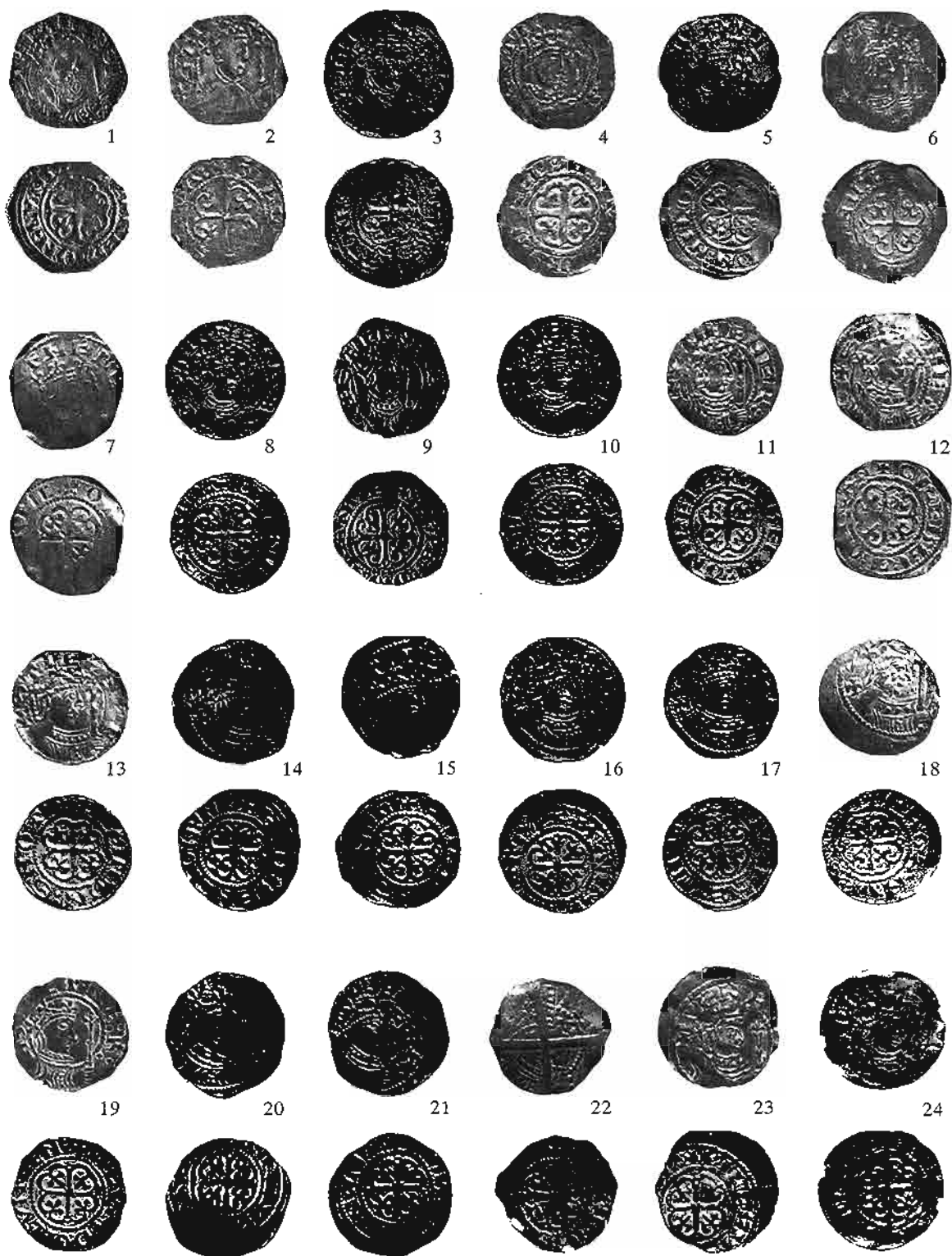
Coins from the Prestwich hoard are quoted as P followed by the last digit of their British Museum registration number eg P 49 denotes coin 1974-2-12-49. Coins from the South Kyme hoard are similarly denoted SK 114 for 1921-5-19-114. The moneyers' names are set out as they appear on the coin, not in their 'correct' form. All the coins are in the British Museum.

Plate 1

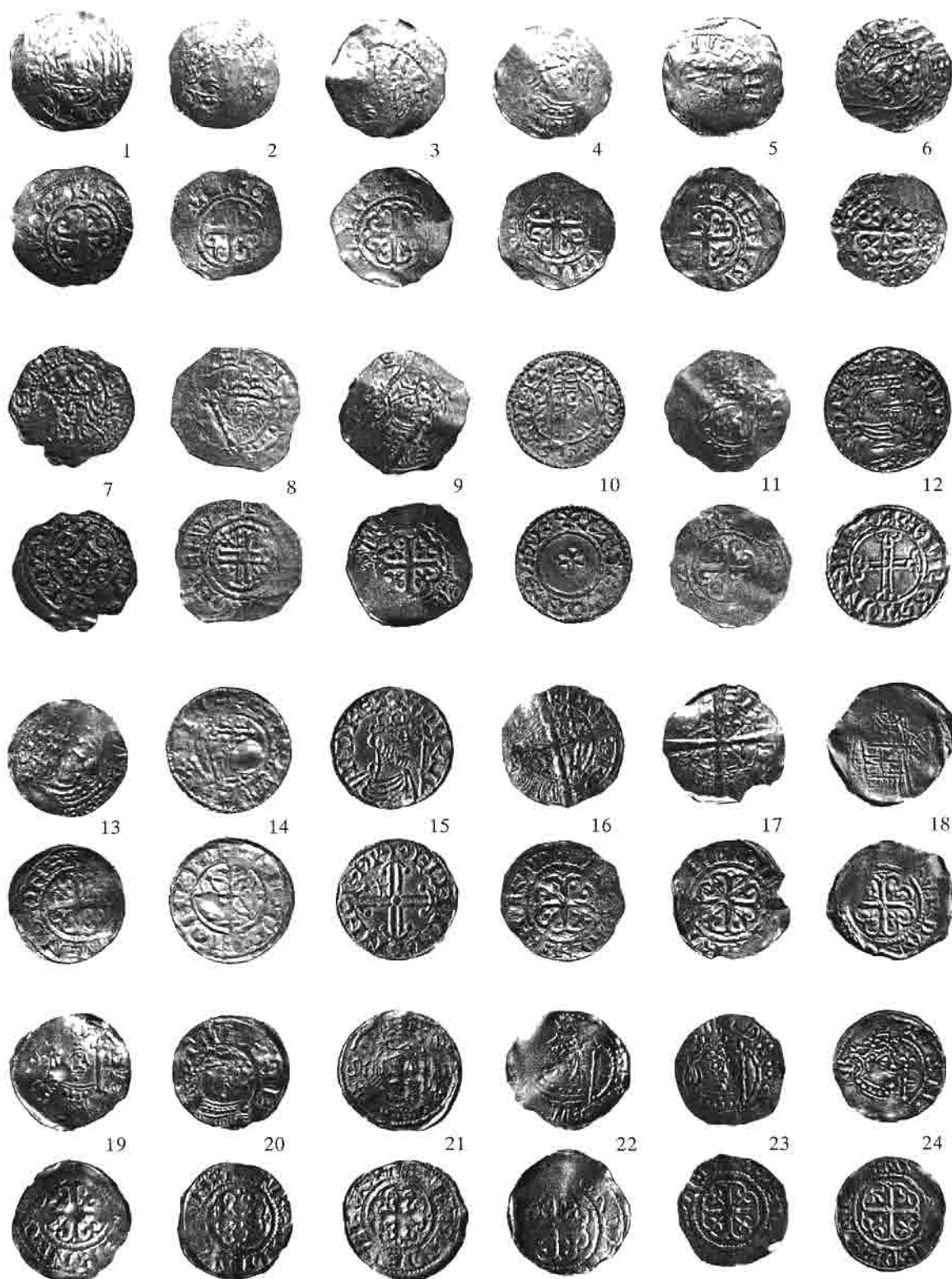
1.	Stephen	I	London	Liefred	BMC 68
2.	Stephen	I	Bury St Edmunds	Gillebert	BMC 7
3.	Stephen	I	Bury St Edmunds	Gillebert	BMC 8
4.	Stephen	I	Leicester	Samar	BMC 45
5.	Stephen	I	Lincoln	Aslac	P 49
6.	Stephen	I	Lincoln	Gladewin	BMC 53
7.	Stephen	I	Norwich	Oterche	SK 114
8.	Stephen	I	Stafford	Godric	BMC 99
9.	Stephen	I	Canterbury	Ædward	BMC 9
10.	Stephen	I	Pembroke	Gilpatric	BMC 88A
11.	Stephen	I	Lewes	Osbern	P 47
12.	Stephen	I	Bury St Edmunds	Gilebert	P 21
13.	Stephen	I	Nottingham	Swein	P 77
14.	Stephen	I	London	Rodbert	SK 28
15.	Stephen	I	London	Rodbert	P 65
16.	Stephen	I	Chester	Almer	P 23
17.	Stephen	I	Colchester	Safare	P 28
18.	Stephen	I	Ipswich	Paganus	P 40
19.	Stephen	I	London	Alvred	P 59
20.	Stephen	I	London	Brimar	SK 16
21.	Stephen	I	London	Robert	SK 31
22.	Stephen	I cancelled obv.	Norwich	Otte	P 140
23.	Matilda	I Pereric	Canterbury	Willem	BMC 232
24.	Matilda	I Pereric M	Ipswich	Païen	1977-12-5-1

Plate 2

1.	Matilda	I Pereric	Lincoln	Rawulf	P 111
2.	Matilda	I Pereric	Lincoln	Gladvine	P 110
3.	Matilda	I Pereric	Lincoln	Renaut	P 112
4.	Stephen	I	Lincoln	Gladvine	P 51
5.	Stephen	I	Lincoln	Renaut	P 54
6.	Stephen	I hammered flan	Nottingham	Swein	BMC 229A
7.	Stephen	IV	Nottingham	Uncertain	BMC 178
8.	Stephen	VII	Lewes	Hunfrd	BMC 195
9.	Stephen	I cancelled obv.	Newcastle	Willem	P 142
10.	Edward C.	Facing/Small+	Thetford	Atser	1944-4-1-197
11.	Stephen	I cancelled obv.	Lincoln	Gladvine	1955-7-8-159
12.	Edward C.	Pointed Helmet	Norwich	Thurfuth	BMC 1101
13.	Stephen	I cancelled obv.	S(Nottingham?)	[J]veng(Swein?)	P 143
14.	William II	BMC IV/V	Canterbury	Winedi	1925-11-3-1
15.	Edward C.	Hammer Cross	Norwich	Aelfwine	1946-10-4-204
16.	Stephen	I cancelled obv.	Norwich	Oter	P 139
17.	Stephen	I cancelled obv.	Bury St Edmunds	Gilebert	P 129
18.	Stephen	I cancelled obv.	Bristol	Gurdan	1932-4-1-3
19.	Stephen	I cancelled rev.	Ipswich	Osbern	P 116
20.	Stephen	I cancelled rev.	Thetford	Baldewi	P 118
21.	Stephen	I cancelled rev.	Thetford	Baldewi	BMC 249
22.	Matilda	I local dies	Bristol	Iordan	P 145
23.	Matilda	I local obv. die	Oxford	Swetig	BMC 273
24.	REX AN	I local dies	Malmesbury	Walteri	1932-4-1-4



ARCHIBALD: STEPHEN (1)



ARCHIBALD: STEPHEN (2)