

# THE CARLISLE MINT COINAGES OF HENRY I, STEPHEN, DAVID I AND EARL HENRY

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## Introduction

THIS paper is intended to publish details of three newly discovered pennies of the Carlisle mint, an overstruck penny of either Henry I or Earl Henry<sup>1</sup> and two *Cross Fleury* pennies of Earl Henry by the moneyer Ricard, and to put them into the context of the early history of the Carlisle mint and also into the wider context of the Border counties in the reign of Stephen. It will also, briefly, cover other types issued at Carlisle in the names of Henry I, Stephen and David I and Earl Henry. Until recently, the sequence of types issued from the Carlisle mint seemed fairly straightforward but more recent discoveries have muddied the waters somewhat and have raised many interesting questions.

The mint at Carlisle is likely to have been established following the recorded visit of Henry I to the city in 1122. Silver for coinage was being obtained during the 1120s as a by-product of the smelting of argentiferous lead ores from the north Pennine orefields near Alston. The supply of silver was clearly sufficient to support a small local coinage. There are several interesting published discussions of the Alston Moor lead and silver mines and their output by Blanchard, Claughton and Allen,<sup>2</sup> each of whom have come to different conclusions about the amount of silver produced. The relative scarcity of the coins today would seem to support the Allen view that silver production was less than that stated by Blanchard and Claughton.

## Henry I's coinage of Carlisle

The earliest known coins from the Carlisle mint are of Henry I's *Pellets in Quatrefoil* type (*BMC type 14*), moneyer Durant (Fig. 1), which is consistent with the dating of the mint's opening after the visit of Henry I to the city in 1122 and also with type 14 beginning *c.* 1123 and type 15 soon after the Assize of the Moneyers in 1125, as proposed by Blackburn.<sup>3</sup> Although we do not know if Durant was one of the moneyers who were mutilated during the Assize of the Moneyers, or whether he bought off his punishment, he certainly seems to have fallen out of favour with Henry I. The only other of his coins that we have is an irregular one in the name of Henric – see Fig 4. below (p. 103) and possibly some from the Edinburgh mint where a Derind coined for David.



Fig. 1. Henry I type 14, moneyer Durant, +DVRANT:ON:CARLI (JM collection).

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<sup>1</sup> Henry, the son of David I of Scotland, will be referred to as Earl Henry, except where the context makes this unnecessary, in order to distinguish him from Henry I and Henry of Anjou (later Henry II). He was granted the earldom of Huntingdon after the first Treaty of Durham in 1136 and the earldom of Northumbria after the second Treaty of Durham in 1139.

<sup>2</sup> Blanchard 2001, 583–685; Claughton 2003, 148–9; Allen 2011, 121–4.

<sup>3</sup> Blackburn 1990, 68–73.

Coins of Henry I's *Quadrilateral on Cross Fleury* type (*BMC* type 15) were struck by the moneyer Erembald, a name of Flemish origin which may indicate a connection with imported mining skills (Fig 2).<sup>4</sup>



Fig. 2. Henry I type 15, moneyer Erembald, +EREBALD[ON:C]AR (PC collection).

### Scottish issues from the Carlisle mint

On the death of Henry I in December 1135, Stephen of Blois, Henry's nephew, crossed the Channel, secured the crown for himself and was crowned king on 22 December. Almost immediately David I of Scotland invaded the northern counties of England, gaining control of Carlisle, Newcastle upon Tyne, Wark, Alnwick and Norham and much of the present day counties of Cumbria (Cumberland and Westmorland) and Northumberland. Stephen hurried north to York with a large army and then continued to Durham, where he arrived on 5 February 1136 and confronted David. David's action may have been motivated by his vow of allegiance made in 1127 to support the claim to the English throne of his niece, Matilda, but was more likely an attempt to regain territory that, until 1092, had been part of Scotland and which he regarded as his rightful inheritance. This view is given added weight because, in the negotiations which followed and which led to the first Treaty of Durham in 1136, David's primary aim seems to have been territorial gain rather than advancing his niece's claim to the English throne. An added incentive may have been the wish to gain access to the recently discovered lead and silver deposits at Nenthead, near Alston in the northern Pennines. As part of the treaty of Durham, Henry, David's son, performed homage to Stephen and, in return, was granted the earldom of Huntingdon and the lordships of Doncaster and Carlisle. David gave up four of the five towns he had captured but retained Carlisle with its mint.<sup>5</sup>

Following the taking of Carlisle by David, the numismatic picture becomes confused, as a series of types were issued under Scottish control for both David and Earl Henry. These fall into four broad groups:

- a. *Quadrilateral on Cross Fleury* types, similar to Henry I type 15
- b. Coins of David I of Scotland copying Stephen *BMC* type 1
- c. Coins in the name of David with cross and pellet in annulets
- d. *Cross Fleury* types in the name of Earl Henry (and David I?).

### Scottish group a. *Quadrilateral on Cross Fleury* types, similar to Henry I type 15

One type in the name of David by moneyer Erembald has, hitherto, been regarded as a possible first issue by the Scots immediately following the taking of Carlisle by David, prior to the first Treaty of Durham (Fig 3).<sup>6</sup> However, recent discoveries make that attribution less secure. Firstly, there is a coin of this type in the name of 'HENRIC' by the moneyer Durand (Fig. 4.), probably the same person as the Durant who first struck coins at Carlisle, and possibly the Derind who struck coins for David at Edinburgh.<sup>7</sup> This coin is small and lightweight, measuring 17.6 mm in diameter and weighing 0.97 g (14.97 grains) and almost seems to be a 'mule'

<sup>4</sup> Stewart 1971, 193.

<sup>5</sup> Stringer 1993, 28–48; King 2010, 53–4.

<sup>6</sup> Stewart 1971, 193.

<sup>7</sup> Stewart 1967, 5. Spink Coin Auction 6018, 26 Sept. 2006, lot 423.



Fig. 3. David I, *Quadrilateral on Cross Fleury* type, moneyer Erebald (PC collection).



Fig. 4. Henric, *Quadrilateral on Cross Fleury* type, moneyer Durand, +DVRAND ON C[A] (British Museum, BM 1987-10-31-3).

of a Stephen type 1 obverse, profile bust facing right, with a Henry I type 15 reverse. However, the dies are irregular and the workmanship is very crude. The bust is narrow and elongated, rather similar in style to that found on later coins of Earl Henry minted at Carlisle and Bamburgh.<sup>8</sup> Where this falls into the chronology of the Carlisle issues is unclear, but it would seem to fall more naturally into the early period of Scottish occupation, when they may have been experimenting with the introduction of the first Scottish coinage. In addition, there are two coins from the same irregular dies in the name of 'hENRIC' (Figs. 5 and 6), plus the overstruck coin detailed below (pp. 105-6), by the moneyer Wilealme.



Fig. 5. Henric, *Quadrilateral on Cross Fleury* type, +WILEALM[E ON C]A[RD] (Fitzwilliam Museum, CM.1235-2001).



Fig. 6. Henric, *Quadrilateral on Cross Fleury* type, +WIL[EALME ON C]JARD (Dix Noonan Webb sale, 15 March 2006, lot 1318).

The identity of the moneyer Wilealme is unclear. It has been assumed that he was William FitzErebald, who struck coins of the *Cross and Crosslets* issue for Henry II at both Carlisle and Newcastle between 1158 and 1180,<sup>9</sup> but that would imply a career as a moneyer spanning approximately forty-five years. Another possibility is William FitzBaldwin, father of Erebald and grandfather of William FitzErebald, who is known to have held lands in Carlisle before 1130. He is mentioned in the pipe roll of 1130 as rendering account for 30*s.* for the old farm of the king's garden in Carlisle. A few entries later 'William and Hildred render account for

<sup>8</sup> Although there is still some uncertainty about where the coins with the OBCI or CIB mint signature were minted and the attribution to Bamburgh is often followed by a query it is generally assumed that they were minted there.

<sup>9</sup> Allen 1951, cxxiii-cxxvii, cxlix.

£40 of the farm of the silver mine for the year now ending.<sup>10</sup> If this is the same William, then he was also involved in mining and possibly minting silver from the Alston Moor mines. This would mean that three generations of the same family were issuing coins in Carlisle from c.1130 to 1180.

The question now arises whether these ‘hENRIC’ coins were issued in the name of Henry I or of Earl Henry. This question is discussed more fully below but if these coins are issues of Henry I then they introduce a new moneyer for Henry I type 15 from Carlisle – previously Erembald was the only known moneyer for this type at Carlisle (see Fig. 2). It would seem logical that these imitative coins of Henry I type 15 were the first Scottish issues from the Carlisle mint but the question arises as to why there were, apparently, so many different issues in the short interval (approximately two months) between the seizure of Carlisle by David I and the first Treaty of Durham. This will be discussed later.

### Scottish group b. Coins of David I of Scotland copying Stephen *BMC* type 1

The Carlisle coins copying Stephen type 1, all struck from local dies, are thought to have been issued by the Scots at Carlisle in the name of Stephen. They cannot logically have been issued before English coins of the type were available to copy. A context in which David I or Earl Henry might choose to issue coins in the name of Stephen at Carlisle is provided by the first Treaty of Durham, under which Earl Henry paid homage to Stephen for Carlisle.<sup>11</sup> Coins of similar type issued at mints in Scotland proper were (with one exception) in the name of David. That exception is the well known sterling struck from a Stephen obverse die and an ‘EDEN’, reverse die, regarded as representing a minting error where Erembald mixed a Carlisle obverse die of Stephen with an Edinburgh reverse die.<sup>12</sup> It would appear that the obverse die of the ‘EDEN’ sterling was also used by the moneyer Hudard at Carlisle.<sup>13</sup> It is probable that the issue of coins in the name of Stephen in Carlisle by the Scots was an overtly political act following the first Treaty of Durham. These coins in the name of Stephen were issued by the moneyers Erembald, Hudard and Wilealme (Figs 7–9). The moneyer’s name WILEALME is in the same form as on the ‘hENRIC’ coins and not WILEL or WILELM, which appears on later Carlisle issues and also those of Bamburgh.



Fig. 7. Stephen *BMC* type 1, moneyer Erembald, +EREBALD ON CARD (Dix Noonan Webb sale, 15 March 2006, lot 1319).



Fig. 8. Stephen *BMC* type 1, moneyer Hudard, +hVDARD ON CA[ ] (Fitzwilliam Museum, CM.1113 –2001).

<sup>10</sup> Wilson 1901–05, I, 338; Sharpe 2006, 21–2.

<sup>11</sup> Oram 2008, 123.

<sup>12</sup> Mack 1966, 98, no. 281 (BM ex L.A. Lawrence); Blackburn 1994, 192.

<sup>13</sup> See comments in the EMC records for EMC 2005.0142, 2008.0422, 2009.0155 and 2010.0347.



Fig. 9. Stephen *BMC* type 1, moneyer Wilealme, +WILEALMEONC[AR]D (JM collection).

### An overstruck coin of Stephen/David in Scottish group b

The Stephen *BMC* type 1 penny in Fig. 10 has recently been acquired by one of the authors and is now dealt with in some detail. At first glance this coin appears to be a Stephen type 1 penny from the Carlisle mint issued by the Scots using local dies.<sup>14</sup>



Fig. 10. Stephen type 1 penny overstruck on a 'hENRIC' penny (JM collection).

The start of the legend on the obverse is clearly STI. The lettering is closely spaced, which might indicate that the legend would have been consistent with the early, longer version of Stephen's name, STIFNE REX and not the later, abbreviated versions.<sup>15</sup> Blackburn does point out, however, that an assumed chronological progression based on the length of the obverse legend cannot be safely applied to locally cut dies.<sup>16</sup> The reverse shows the moneyer to be EREBALD, the BALD of ereBALD and the RD of caRD being clear. On a second glance however, there appears to be an initial cross at the top of the obverse and this is then followed by other letters. When the coin is turned anti-clockwise, so that the initial cross appears in its normal position, other features become clear. There is now a fleur-de-lys at the top of the coin, parts of a crown are visible and the letters following the initial cross appear to read hENR, thus confirming that the Stephen coin is overstruck onto one in the name of Henry. The fleur-de-lys and the crown and the hENR appear to be very similar to those on the two irregular Carlisle pennies mentioned above (Figs. 5 and 6). One of these two pennies was in the Conte collection and is now in the Fitzwilliam Museum (CM.1235–2001). The second of these pennies was sold in the Dix Noonan Webb sale of 15 March 2006, lot 1318, and is catalogued as Henry I, moneyer Willelm (?), 'the moneyer known for the mint but not recorded for the type, extremely rare'. On comparing the overstruck coin with these two examples it is clear that the Stephen coin is overstruck onto a coin from the same dies as the Fitzwilliam and the DNW coins:



Fig. 11. Details of the obverse of the overstruck penny:

A – Fitzwilliam Museum (CM.1235–2001)

B – Dix Noonan Webb sale, 15 March 2006, lot 1318

C – Overstruck coin (Fig. 10)

D – Overstruck coin turned 90 degrees anti-clockwise

E – Overstruck coin with parts of obverse legend and bust highlighted (actual size  $\times 1.5$ )

<sup>14</sup> Stewart 1971, 193.

<sup>15</sup> Blackburn 1994, 194.

<sup>16</sup> Blackburn 1994, 158 n.27.

On the reverse there is a clearly visible letter E which is not in line with the EREBALD ON CARD legend and does not correspond with the position where either of the Es of Erebald would appear. On comparing the reverse of the overstruck coin with the reverses of the Fitzwilliam and DNW pennies, it is obvious that the E that is visible can only be the middle E of *wilEalme* and on closer examination the preceding L and parts of the following A and L can also be discerned.



Fig. 12. Details of the reverse of the overstruck penny:

F – Fitzwilliam Museum

G – Overstruck coin showing letter E at top

H – Overstruck coin with parts of overstruck reverse legend highlighted (actual size  $\times 1.5$ )

This coin confirms two things beyond doubt: firstly, that the irregular issue ‘*hENRIC*’ coins of the moneyer *WILEALME* must predate the Stephen coins of Erebald, Hudard and *Wilealme* and, secondly, that it was sufficiently important to the Scots not to be seen to breach the terms of the first Treaty of Durham that they overstruck existing irregular ‘*hENRIC*’ type 15 coins rather than continue to issue them in an unaltered state. The authors are not aware of any other overstruck coins in the reign of Stephen. In contrast, anonymous issues and defaced dies are well known.

However, other questions are raised about the irregular type 15 coins issued in the name of Henry. Were they simply irregular issues of Henry I type 15 or were they actually issued in the name of Earl Henry? There appear to be several options:

- (i) They were simply issues of Henry I type 15 but coined by *Wilealme*: a new moneyer for this type. This may seem to be the most obvious explanation but, if they were Henry I issues, why would they need to be taken out of circulation and overstruck after the first Treaty of Durham?
- (ii) They were issued by the Scots, as copies of Henry I type 15, after the capture of Carlisle, but before the first Treaty of Durham. If this is the case then they would seem to predate the type 15 coins in the name of David, moneyer Erebald, hitherto assumed to have been the first Scots issues at Carlisle.<sup>17</sup> If the irregular ‘*hENRIC*’ coins fill the gap before the Stephen issues there is no reason to fill that gap with issues in the name of David. Conversely, why would the Scots, who regarded this area of ‘northern England’ as part of their kingdom, issue coins in the name of Henry I – a recently dead English king?
- (iii) They were issued in the name of Earl Henry after the capture of Carlisle and its mint but before the first Treaty of Durham or before the Stephen *BMC* type I issues were available to copy. It might seem unlikely that these irregular coins are correctly attributed to Earl Henry because they can only have been issued in the brief interlude between the Scots seizure of Carlisle and the first Treaty of Durham, at which stage there were no non-regal issues in England.

There is, however, another possible explanation. Prof. G.W.S. Barrow has discussed the evidence for a ‘joint kingship’ after 1136 between David and Henry.<sup>18</sup> If this is indeed the case, it could be a possibility that, as well as David issuing coins in his own name with a Henry I type

<sup>17</sup> Blackburn 1994, 192.

<sup>18</sup> Barrow 1999, 122.

15 reverse, of the moneyer Erembald, Earl Henry also issued coins in his name with a Henry I type 15 reverse, of the moneyer Wilealme. Would it not be natural that, after taking Carlisle and regaining part of the Scottish kingdom lost in 1092, they should issue coins in the names of the ‘joint kings’? There is no evidence that Earl Henry ever struck coins at mints in Scotland proper such as Edinburgh, Roxburgh and Berwick. He only struck coins at places within this newly recovered territory and this may give an indication of the area over which the ‘joint kingship’ operated. The issuing of coins in the names of both David and Earl Henry would foreshadow the issuing of *Cross Fleury* and *Cross and Pellets/Annulets* pennies by them from Carlisle in the 1140s, when they had thrown off any pretence of holding Carlisle from Stephen.

However, as has been mentioned above, crowding so many different issues into a very short period does not seem to be particularly feasible, but David and Henry did not have our benefit of hindsight and would not know that Henry would shortly be paying homage to Stephen for the lordship of Carlisle. Also, once the Scots had control of the Carlisle mint and were looking to produce their own coinage, it is likely that some experimentation, based upon Henry I type 15, would have been undertaken.<sup>19</sup> It is possible that the British Museum Henric/Durand coin mentioned above (Fig. 4) could have been minted during this period. If the ‘hENRIC’ coins were issued in the name of Earl Henry, it would have been politically expedient to destroy them after the first Treaty of Durham and start issuing coins in the name of Stephen. Indeed Stephen may have required that the issue of unofficial ‘hENRIC’ coins be stopped, thus requiring the overstriking of minted but unissued coins. With the punishments meted out to errant moneyers during the Assize of the Moneyers still fresh in mind it would probably be a considerable relief to the Carlisle moneyers to be able to issue in the name of Stephen and so avoid any accusation of treason. They may have been very keen to overstrike any irregular coin. All the above is, of course, conjecture until further, more solid evidence, is found.

### Scottish group c. Coins in the name of David with *Cross and Pellet in Annulets*

The first Treaty of Durham resulted for a while in an uneasy peace but David continued to raid into the Border lands and then, shortly after Easter 1138, he invaded again. Stephen, preoccupied as he was in the south, was unable to rush north, as he had in 1136. At the behest of Archbishop Thurstan of York, the northern barons met in York and a northern army was raised. On the 22 August 1138 this northern army routed the Scottish army at the Battle of the Standard, near Northallerton. Both David and Earl Henry, made their way, with difficulty, back to Carlisle. Even though they were defeated the Scots managed, under the terms of the second Treaty of Durham agreed in April 1139, to consolidate their hold upon northern England. It confirmed for Earl Henry the earldom of Huntingdon and the lordship of Carlisle, first granted in the 1136 treaty, but now also conferred upon him the earldom of Northumbria.<sup>20</sup> The geographic extent of the earldom was thought to include Northumbria between the Tweed and the Tees, as well as the future counties of Cumberland, Westmorland and northern Lancashire. However, Prof. Barrow argues that it was exclusively east of the Pennines with some areas excluded from the earldom.<sup>21</sup> Whatever the exact limits of the earldom, it is clear that the writ of David and Earl Henry ran over Northumbria, Cumberland, Westmorland and northern Lancashire. Consequently these areas suffered far less than the rest of the country, where the struggle for the throne of England between Stephen and Matilda continued to rumble on.

The civil war appeared to have reached a climax early in 1141 when, at the Battle of Lincoln, Stephen was captured and imprisoned. For a while it seemed that Matilda was about to achieve her ambition and become ‘The Lady of the English’.<sup>22</sup> It seems very likely that it was at this

<sup>19</sup> Archibald 1991, 10: ‘so often when a new coinage is introduced, there was a brief period of experimentation before a norm was established.’

<sup>20</sup> Stringer 1993, 32.

<sup>21</sup> Barrow 1999, 122.

<sup>22</sup> King, 2010, 158–9.

time that David and Earl Henry, once more actively supporting the Angevin cause, threw off the pretence of holding their lands from Stephen and started to mint coins at Carlisle in their own names (Fig. 13). These coins were struck by the moneyer Ricard, possibly Richard Rider, who is recorded as an official of Henry I in Carlisle in the 1120s.<sup>23</sup> The issue of these coins is likely to post-date the issues in the name of Stephen and demonstrates that David felt sufficiently secure in his occupation of Carlisle to issue coins in his own name.



Fig. 13. *Cross and Pellet in Annulets*, moneyer Ricard (Bolton Library and Museum Service).

#### Scottish group d. *Cross Fleury* types in the name of Earl Henry (and David I?)

The majority of the *Cross Fleury* coins of Carlisle are unequivocally in the name of Earl Henry and must have been struck at some time before his death in 1152. Most of these coins, including at least four recent finds, are in the name of the moneyer WILELM.<sup>24</sup> Their obverse legend is consistently 'NENCI CON' or a variation of this, which is attributed to Earl Henry. Similar coins with the obverse NENCI CON legend but with a Cross and Crosslets reverse of a moneyer WILELM are thought to have been struck at Bamburgh.<sup>25</sup> Stylistically the obverse dies used on the Carlisle and Bamburgh coins are very similar. In the few Carlisle coins known of this issue several different dies are represented, which suggests that despite the rarity of these coins today there must have been quite a large issue.



Fig. 14. *Cross Fleury* type, *obv.* NENCI CON, *rev.* WIL:EL:ON:CAR (Timeline Auctions, 14 March 2012, lot 213)

Recently two specimens of this *Cross Fleury* type by moneyer Ricard have emerged, which are from the same dies (Fig. 15). Presumably this moneyer is the Ricard who struck the *Cross and Annulets* type and the *Cross Fleury and Pellets* type for David I at Carlisle. Stylistically the reverse is broadly similar to that of the Wilelm coins but the obverse legend is different, being +[H]ENRICI (all letters reversed) followed by a series of curves and ending in some indistinct letters that can either be read as CITI or as ending in an N, which might conceivably be a representation of CON. The most distinctive feature of the bust is the crown or helmet, which is represented by a triangle with fleur-de-lys on each corner. This is similar to that on a coin in the National Museum of Scotland.<sup>26</sup> The reverse legend on the two coins (taking the visible letters from both coins) is 'RICARDI:DE:CARLEL'. This is unusual in the use of the Norman DE in place of the English ON, although this usage is not unprecedented in the Scottish series.<sup>27</sup> The mint signature is also unusual. Apart from the use of 'CARLI' for the

<sup>23</sup> Sharpe 2006, 13–14.

<sup>24</sup> *SCBI* 12, 292; National Museums of Scotland (H.C660); EMC 2010.0238 (cut halfpenny); EMC 2011.0014; EMC 2011.0165; PAS Lancum-9B99F8; Spink sale, 13 Dec. 2011, lot 109.

<sup>25</sup> Stewart 1971, 182–3; Spink Auction 6018, 26 Sept. 2006, lot 427.

<sup>26</sup> National Museums of Scotland, H.C660 (Burns 1887, fig. 26A; Mack 1966, 100, no. 287a).

<sup>27</sup> Stewart 1971, 178.

Henry I *Pellets in Quatrefoil* type (*BMC* type 14), subsequent mint signatures are usually 'CAR' or 'CARD' or a close variant (for Carduil), and the 'CARLEL' mint signature does not recur until the Long Cross issues of Henry III.



Fig. 15. *Obv.* +[JENRICI] all reversed, *rev.* + RICARDI:DE:CARLEL: (JM and PC collections).

One further cut halfpenny exists of this *Cross Fleury* type with nothing in the angles, which appears to have the obverse reading 'X SCO' and the reverse reading of 'ARLOL'.<sup>28</sup> If the complete obverse reading is 'REX SCO', then this would mean that either David I or Malcolm IV struck coins of this type at Carlisle. It may be significant that the reverse legend 'ARLOL' echoes the mint signature on the *Cross Fleury* type struck by Ricard.

A *Cross Fleury* type penny by the moneyer Wilelm appeared in the Spink sale 211 of 13 December 2011, lot 109, and was catalogued as having an obverse die in the name of David. This cataloguing followed that of the Glendining sale of 20 June 1990, at which the coin had previously been acquired.<sup>29</sup> We have not had an opportunity to study the coin itself and are unclear whether the partial letter interpreted as the base of the letter 'D' at the start of the obverse inscription is not in fact part of the base of a retrograde 'N', which was typical of obverse inscriptions attributed to Earl Henry. The remaining visible letter of the obverse inscription is stated to be a 'C' which is consistent with 'NENCI CON' but in a position inconsistent with 'DAVIT REX SCO' or 'DAVIT REX'.

Coins attributed to Earl Henry at Corbridge have obverse legends 'HENRIC ERL', 'HENRICVS' and 'NENC CN'. Those at Bamburgh have 'NENCI CON' and 'STIFENE'. Stylistically and politically the latter would fit uncomfortably into the period during which coins in the name of Stephen were struck at Carlisle. One alternative possibility is that they were struck in the period between the death of Earl Henry in 1152 and the death of Stephen in 1154 when again the Scots may have felt it expedient to acknowledge the English crown on coins issued in Northumbria. The issue by Earl Henry of coins of this type in his own name at Corbridge may reflect the breakdown of the truce with Stephen before the Battle of the Standard in 1138. Alternatively, they may post-date the second Treaty of Durham which ratified the status quo following the battle.

### The rest of the story

The inconclusive civil war in England continued to drag on but then, in 1147, Robert of Gloucester, Matilda's half brother and chief supporter, died and early in 1148 Matilda herself left the country and returned to Normandy. In 1149, Henry of Anjou, Matilda's son, came to England and went to Carlisle, where he was knighted by his great-uncle, David of Scotland. Henry was said to have promised David that, if he succeeded to the English crown, he would 'never deprive David's heirs of any portion of the lands which had passed from England to the

<sup>28</sup> *BNJ Coin Register* 1992, no. 305; EMC 1992.0305.

<sup>29</sup> Glendining, 20 June 1990, lot 1127 (illustrated as lot 815).

dominion of that king'.<sup>30</sup> And then, within a very short time, all the plans of David and Stephen were thrown into disarray by the deaths of their respective sons and heirs to the kingdoms of Scotland and England. Earl Henry died unexpectedly in 1152 and in May the following year David died in Carlisle Castle and was succeeded by Malcolm, his eleven-year-old grandson. Also in 1153, Henry of Anjou, by now duke of Normandy, returned to England with a small force of knights and infantry. Throughout the year there were indecisive skirmishes between the royalist and Angevin forces but major battles were avoided because of the reluctance of either side to commit to battle. Eustace, Stephen's son and heir, died suddenly in August 1153. By the end of the year peace had been agreed between Stephen and Henry. Stephen would continue to reign but on his death would be succeeded by Henry. Henry did not have long to wait because on 25 October 1154 King Stephen died and was succeeded by Henry of Anjou who became Henry II of England.<sup>31</sup>

In 1157 Henry, contrary to his agreement with David, 'persuaded' Malcolm of Scotland to give up the counties of northern England that his grandfather had tried so hard to regain and hold.<sup>32</sup> This meant that the northern mints were now able to participate in the new English coinage introduced in 1158. This recoinage brought to an end all of the baronial and irregular issues that had been so much a part of the coinage for the previous twenty years. The new *Cross and Crosslets* coinage, popularly known as the *Tealby* coinage, was possibly the worst struck of any English issue. The coins were quite often misshapen and only partly struck up with the notable exception of the northern mints of Durham, Newcastle and Carlisle, where the coins are uniformly round.<sup>33</sup>

### Conclusions and areas for further investigation

The reign of Stephen must be one of the most numismatically interesting and challenging of any. Over the years there have been many studies that have pushed forward our knowledge and understanding of the coinage of this reign but, largely due to the use of metal detectors, there has also been a stream of new discoveries that have meant that previously accepted findings are having to be reassessed.

The Carlisle mint and those others of the 'English'/'Scottish' border are particularly interesting because they reflect, not only the internal struggles of a civil war, but the attempt by the Scots to regain large areas of disputed land. In doing so, they obtained the resources of the northern Pennine silver mines and the already active Carlisle mint which allowed them to begin minting the first Scottish coinage. After a short period of experimentation, the introduction of Stephen's coinage and the first Treaty of Durham interrupted the development of a distinctive Scottish coinage. This Scottish coinage may have been started in the names of the 'joint kings' immediately after the capture of Carlisle in 1136, imitating Henry I type 15, and continued, probably after 1141, once again in the names of the 'joint kings' with the *Cross Fleury* coinage. Even though Earl Henry minted in his role as the earl of Northumbria (cf. the NENCI CON coins of Carlisle and Bamburgh and the HENRIC ERL coins of Corbridge), he was not exploiting the anarchy of the civil war in England as other English noblemen did. In an area of relative peace and stability nominally controlled by his father as king of Scots, but in reality controlled by them both, he must have issued coins in his own name with the express authority, perhaps encouragement, of his father – perhaps one more indication of the 'joint kingship' that operated in this area.<sup>34</sup>

The authors are very aware that this is only a partial study and has perhaps raised more questions than it has answered. There are other minor varieties of coin that have not been mentioned at all. There are other productive areas of study which could further our knowledge of the Border mints. These could include:

<sup>30</sup> Stubbs 1868–71, I, 211; Howlett 1884–89, I, 70.

<sup>31</sup> King 2010, 300.

<sup>32</sup> Howlett 1884–89, I, 105–6.

<sup>33</sup> Allen 1951, cxxiii.

<sup>34</sup> Howlett 1884–89, I, 70, 'the northern districts as far as the river Tees remained in peace through that king's efforts'.

1. A corpus of the known coins that could help to clarify the chronology of the issues.
2. An obverse die study of the coins of Earl Henry from Carlisle, Corbridge and Bamburgh, which could shed light on the inter-relationship of the mints – they are known to have shared moneyers and, stylistically, some coins from the different mints are very similar.
3. A metallurgical analysis of the coins that could determine how widespread the use of northern Pennine silver was.

The main conclusion that can be drawn is just how much more there is still to be learned about the coinages and administration of the Border mints while under Scottish control and this, in turn, could throw valuable light onto the wider administration of this volatile area.

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