



Mints and Money

IN MEDIEVAL ENGLAND

Martin Allen

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MINTS AND MONEY IN MEDIEVAL ENGLAND

Money could be as essential to everyday life in medieval England as it is today, but who made the coinage, how was it used, and why is it important? This definitive study charts the development of coin production from the small workshops of Anglo-Saxon and Norman England to the centralised factory mints of the late Middle Ages, the largest being in the Tower of London. Martin Allen investigates the working lives of the people employed in the mints in unprecedented detail, and places the mints in the context of medieval England's commerce and government, showing the king's vital interest in the production of coinage, the maintenance of its quality, and his mint revenue. This unique source of reference also offers the first full history of the official exchanges in the City of London regulating foreign exchange, and an in-depth analysis of the changing size and composition of medieval England's coinage.

MARTIN ALLEN is a senior assistant keeper in the Department of Coins and Medals at the Fitzwilliam Museum, University of Cambridge, and an affiliated lecturer in the Faculty of History. His first book on *The Durham Mint* (2003) was awarded the North Book Prize of the British Numismatic Society, and his numerous publications and research have established his reputation as one of the leading experts on the money and coinage of medieval England.

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Dedicated to the memory of Mark Blackburn (1953–2011)

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PREFACE

In 1992 Cambridge University Press published *A new history of the Royal Mint*, which provided an authoritative survey of the organisation of minting in England from the seventh century to the twentieth. When I embarked upon the research for a Ph.D. thesis on the Durham mint in 1993 it quickly became my indispensable 'Bible' on English mints and minting, but I also became acutely aware of its inevitable limitations. The authors of the chapters covering the medieval period were severely constrained by the space available and by the need to weave all of the aspects of minting into one more or less chronological narrative, and they were unable to do more than skim the surface of the vast quantity of unpublished manuscript sources available. Christopher Challis's book on *The Tudor coinage* had shown what could be achieved by applying an analytical framework to a thorough survey of the documentary evidence, looking at mint organisation, the sources of bullion for the coinage, the composition and size of the currency, and the role of government. Since 1997 I have had the great privilege of working in the Department of Coins and Medals at the Fitzwilliam Museum, and this has given me the opportunity to apply Challis's analytical methods to a much broader period, from Edgar's reform of the English coinage in the 970s to Henry VIII's debasement of it in 1544 (which can be regarded as the true end of medieval traditions of minting in England).

The first three chapters of this book provide a comprehensive account of the administration of the English mints from Edgar to Henry VIII, showing how they developed from the small local workshops of individual moneyers to the large and complex organisations of the late medieval period, foremost of which was the mint in the Tower of London. This is followed by a chapter on mint technology combining the written sources with the material evidence of the coins and other artefacts associated with the mints, and a chapter on standards of weight and fineness which examines the complex history of this fundamental aspect of the control of the minting process. The chapter on mint profits breaks new ground in the estimation of the mints' contribution to government revenue, and the chapter on the exchanges in the City of London also explores some largely uncharted territory, including an investigation of the early history of regulated foreign exchange. A survey of the sources of bullion for the English coinage, which should be of particular interest to economic historians, places

the mints in the context of foreign trade, large-scale international payments and supplies of mined silver. Chapters on mint output and the size of the currency provide comprehensive overviews of their subjects. The main text concludes with an analysis of the composition of the currency in circulation based upon the documentary sources and the evidence of coin finds. The appendices include summaries of the periods of activity of the mints, tables of mint output incorporating much new information, the first comprehensive survey of English mint profits before 1544, and summaries of the contents of all known English coin hoards from the period of the book.

This book could not have been written without considerable help from a large number of fellow numismatists and historians. Dr Stewart Lyon has been particularly generous in providing information from as yet unpublished research on Anglo-Saxon coinage, and Hugh Pagan has also supplied information from his study of Edward the Confessor's *Pax* type in advance of publication. My study of coin hoards has greatly benefited from information provided by Marion Archibald, Julian Baker, Adrian Marsden, John Newman, Martin Savage, Tim Tatton-Brown, Bob Thomas, Gareth Williams and Christopher Wren, and in particular from Barrie Cook, who has answered innumerable enquiries about hoards recorded at the British Museum with exceptional courtesy and patience. Ron Churchill and Bob Thomas have allowed me to use data from their analysis of the Brussels hoard in advance of publication. Professor Richard Sharpe has provided advice on the dating of writs of Henry I, Richard Cassidy has advised on the chronology of mint accounts in the pipe rolls, Paul Dryburgh has supplied much useful information from the fine rolls of Henry III, and Lord Stewartby has loaned transcripts of public records made for the Fox brothers and Christopher Blunt by Ethel Stokes in the first half of the twentieth century. Professor James Bolton has allowed the use of some of the preliminary results of the analysis of the accounts books of the Italian banking firm of the Borromei made by Francesco Guidi-Bruscoli and himself, and I have greatly benefited from many discussions about Italian financiers and mint masters with my colleague William R. Day. I have received much valuable advice on mint organisation in the reign of Edward III and government revenue from Professor Mark Ormrod, and Tony Moore has advised on foreign exchange in the fourteenth century. Gary Oddie has assisted me with statistical calculations. The staff of the National Archives, the British Library and Cambridge University Library have been unfailingly helpful throughout my work on the book. Parts of the text have been read by Professor Nicholas Mayhew, Edward Besly, Professor Martin Biddle, Barrie Cook, Sally Harvey, Professor Edmund King, Stewart Lyon, Rory Naismith, Peter Northover, Professor Mark Ormrod, Lord Stewartby and Gareth Williams, and I am extremely grateful to all of them for their comments and advice, which have saved me from numerous errors. Finally, I should like to thank my colleagues in the Department of Coins and Medals for their tolerance of my obsession with this book, and in particular Mark Blackburn, the Keeper of Coins and Medals, who has been a constant source of inspiration.

ABBREVIATIONS

BAR	British Archaeological Reports
BL	British Library
BM	British Museum
<i>BMC</i>	<i>British Museum Catalogue</i>
<i>BNJ</i>	<i>British Numismatic Journal</i>
BNS	British Numismatic Society
<i>CCbR</i>	<i>Calendar of Charter Rolls</i>
<i>CCR</i>	<i>Calendar of Close Rolls</i>
<i>CFR</i>	<i>Calendar of Fine Rolls</i>
<i>CH</i>	<i>Coin Hoards</i>
<i>CLR</i>	<i>Calendar of Liberate Rolls</i>
<i>CPR</i>	<i>Calendar of Patent Rolls</i>
<i>CR</i>	<i>Close Rolls of the Reign of Henry III</i>
<i>EcHR</i>	<i>Economic History Review</i>
<i>EHR</i>	<i>English Historical Review</i>
EMC	Corpus of Early Medieval Coin Finds of the British Isles AD 410–1180
<i>NC</i>	<i>Numismatic Chronicle</i>
<i>NCirc</i>	<i>Spink Numismatic Circular</i>
<i>PATAR</i>	<i>Portable Antiquities and Treasure Annual Report</i>
RNS	Royal Numismatic Society
SCBI	Sylloge of Coins of the British Isles
<i>SCMB</i>	<i>Seaby Coin and Medal Bulletin</i>
<i>TAR</i>	<i>Treasure Annual Report</i>
TNA: PRO	The National Archives: Public Record Office
<i>TTRCAR</i>	<i>Treasure Trove Reviewing Committee Annual Report</i>

MONEYERS AND MINTS, c.973–1158

INTRODUCTION

In medieval England money principally consisted of precious metal coinage made by English mints. The English currency often included some foreign coins, and base metal tokens had a minor role as small change by the fifteenth century, but the issue of paper money from English banks began only in the seventeenth century. The coinage of late Anglo-Saxon and Norman England was produced by large numbers of moneyers in dozens of towns and cities (see [Map 1.1](#)): in this period the word ‘mint’ is a convenient term for all of the minting facilities in one town or city, but until 1180 English moneyers usually had their own individual workshops.¹ From 1279 the moneyers’ names were removed from the coins, and the king’s mints were placed under the management of masters supervised by wardens.² During the twelfth and thirteenth centuries there was a radical reduction in the number of mints, and by the second half of the fifteenth century London had the only regularly functioning royal mint, supplemented by temporary mints at times of recoinage and a small number of ecclesiastical mints.

MONEYERS IN BOROUGH AND SHIRES

Anglo-Saxon law codes contain some illuminating references to the activities of moneyers and to the numbers of moneyers allowed in each borough, but they do not refer to mints as institutions. Boroughs were expected or permitted to have moneyers, and minting was not allowed outside a borough.³ No law code states that a moneyer could not operate in more

¹ Brand 1984b, 45–9; Metcalf 1987a, 187–8; 2001, 59–60; Stewart 1992a, 59–61; Metcalf Symons 2003, 20, 313–14. Stewart (1978b) 98, suggests that ‘minting places’ might be a better term than ‘mints’ in the period before centralisation occurred.

² The Bury St Edmunds moneyer Robert de Hadeleie is the only moneyer named on English coins after 1279, in the 1280s.

³ Metcalf 1978, 160–1; Brand 1984b, 45. Screen (2007) reviews the references to moneyers and coinage in the Anglo-Saxon law codes.

than one borough, and there is reason to believe that they often struck coins or exchanged their new coins for old coins and bullion at several different places. Henry I's writ of 1100 concerning false money and exchangers (*de moneta falsa et cambiatoribus*) states that no moneyer should exchange (*mutet*) outside his own shire, apparently implying that it was legitimate for moneyers to exchange anywhere in their shire, travelling around to provide a moneychanging service.⁴ In a survey of the estates and revenues of Peterborough Abbey during a vacancy of 1125–8 the moneyers of Stamford owe 20s. at Easter for the exchanges at the markets of Oundle and Peterborough, and another 20s. at a recoinage (*de torno monete*).⁵ Stamford was partly in the same shire as Oundle and Peterborough (Northamptonshire) and partly in Lincolnshire. A charter of Henry I issued in 1129–33 granted to the bishop of Norwich the customs, exchange (*bursam*), market and port of Lynn in Norfolk, which did not have a mint and presumably would have needed the exchanging services of Norwich moneyers.⁶ Reading Abbey was granted a moneyer at London in 1125–6 or 1127–8, with the provision that the moneyer could exchange within the abbot's land in Reading (*cambiet in terra abbatis Rading*).⁷ In this case Reading and its shire (Berkshire) did not have a mint when the grant was made.⁸

There is no known documentary evidence for the operation of moneyers in more than one borough before 1100, but there is evidence from the coinage itself. Coincidences of name between moneyers at different mints may sometimes indicate that a moneyer struck coins in more than one borough, although they cannot show when a moneyer simply exchanged coins in another borough without using dies bearing its name (the Stamford moneyers exchanged in Oundle and Peterborough but they did not use dies naming those places).⁹ Studies of the dies used to produce the late Anglo-Saxon coinage have provided numerous examples of the use of an obverse die at more than one mint, some of which may have occurred when a moneyer worked in two or more places, but there are other possible explanations of this phenomenon. Some transfers of dies may have occurred when minting in a particular place ceased entirely, which may explain for example the die-links between Cissbury and Chichester in Cnut's *Quatrefoil* type (c.1016–23), and between Guildford and Chichester in the *Paxs* type after the Norman Conquest (1087–c.1090?), while others may have been caused by a loan of

⁴ Davis *et al.* 1913–69, II, 4, no. 501; Stewart 1992a, 547; Symons 2003, 31–2, 169; 2006, 547. The writ also states that the moneyer must exchange before two lawful witnesses of the shire, and that nobody was to exchange (*cambire*) except a moneyer.

⁵ Stapleton 1849, 166; Wells 1934–7b, 54, 57; King 1996, 15.

⁶ Davis *et al.* 1913–69, II, 279, no. 1853; King 1996, 15.

⁷ Ruding 1840, II, 156; Andrew 1901, 373–5; Wells 1934–7b, 52; Stewart 1991, 6.

⁸ Blackburn (1990a), 68, notes that the reduction of the number of mints after the assize of moneyers in 1124–5 would have left many counties without a moneyer to exchange silver.

⁹ Dolley 1958–9a; 1966a; Lyon 1962, 51–2; Smart 1968, 217; Elmore Jones 1970; Stewart 1970a, 9–30 *passim*; Blackburn 1974, 19–22, 33–7; Stafford 1978, 39; Stewart 1978b, 103, 108–13, 116–17; Brand 1984b, 48; Jacob 1984, 40; Freeman 1985, 46–53, 80, 200–3; Eaglen 1999, 53, 59–60, 80–1; Symons 2003, 49–50, 154, 210, 314–15.

the die from one moneyer to another or by the die being returned to the die-cutting workshop and reissued to a moneyer from another mint.¹⁰

There were many exceptional movements of moneyers in the reigns of Æthelred II and Cnut that can be plausibly related to the Danish raids or to the resulting collection of *geld*. Wilton was sacked in 1003 and its moneyers seem to have moved to the greater security of the original site of Salisbury at the ancient hillfort of Old Sarum at about this time, although Old Sarum may also have been successfully attacked by the Danish army in 1003.¹¹ Other Iron Age hillforts were also used as mints, with Ilchester moneyers at Cadbury (c.1010–17) and another mint at Cissbury Hill in Sussex (c.1010–20).¹² In Æthelred II's *Crux* type (c.991–7) London moneyers worked in a series of eastern mints from Southwark to Thetford (and possibly also at the Thames Valley mints of Aylesbury and Wallingford), presumably to mint silver for *geld* payments.¹³ There are die-links between London and Buckingham, Hertford, Huntingdon, Rochester and Southwark in the *Long Cross* type (c.997–1003) which may indicate that moneyers from the non-metropolitan mints were working in London to produce coinage for *geld*.¹⁴ A coin of the Rochester moneyer Ælfwold in Cnut's *Quatrefoil* type, which is exceptionally from dies of a Stamford style, may have been struck in Stamford during the collection of the 1018 *geld*.¹⁵

After the Norman Conquest there are many examples of moneyers moving permanently from one mint to another.¹⁶ The moneyer Cild of Bedwyn moved to Marlborough in the same shire (Wiltshire) soon after the Conquest, between William I types 1 and 3.¹⁷ The Droitwich moneyer Heathwulf moved to Worcester and possibly then to Hereford in the 1070s.¹⁸ There seem to have been several permanent movements of moneyers between Devon and Somerset mints in the reign of William I (1066–87). A moneyer named as Sæward, Seword or Siword is recorded at Exeter in William I types 2, 3 and 5, and at Barnstaple in the same shire (Devon) in types 5, 6 and 8.¹⁹ Brihtric and Ælfwine may have moved from Exeter to Taunton, the main mint of Somerset.²⁰ Stewartby has suggested that some moneyers moved to other mints after the assize of moneyers in 1124–5, which is a suggestion that receives some support from twelve coincidences of name at different mints before and after the assize.²¹ The twelve moneyers concerned include Tovi (Tovius the engineer (*Inganet'*) in the 1129/30

¹⁰ Stewart 1978b, 98. See pp. 115–17 for a discussion of die supply in the Anglo-Saxon and Norman periods.

¹¹ Dolley 1954a; Brand 1984b, 30; Blunt and Lyon 1990.

¹² Dolley 1955–7b; Dolley and Elmore Jones with Daunt 1955–7, 277–82; Stewart 1992a, 66.

¹³ Stafford 1978, 40, 46. ¹⁴ Eaglen 1999, 54–5; 2002, 18.

¹⁵ Blackburn and Lyon 1986, 238 n.16; Eaglen and Grayburn 2000, 27–8, 31, 33.

¹⁶ Stewart 1978b, 103; 1992a, 74. ¹⁷ Carlyon-Britton 1902a; Elmore Jones 1971.

¹⁸ Symons 2003, 122–4, 179, 310.

¹⁹ Stewart 1970a, 26–7, 30, noting that there are three obverse die-links between the two mints in William I type 8 (*Paxs*), involving all three obverse dies known to have been used at Barnstaple in the type.

²⁰ Stewart 1970a, 26. A coin of William I type 3 of the Exeter moneyer Ælfwine is from the same obverse die as a coin of Sibode at London, in a later state (Brooke 1916, I, cxi; Stewart 1970a, 25).

²¹ Stewart 1989c, 262–4.

Table 1.1 *Moneyers of the same name at London and Southwark, 1066–1125*

Moneyer	London			Southwark		
	William I types	William II types	Henry I types	William I types	William II types	Henry I types
Ældred	—	1	—	—	1–3	—
Ælfwine	1–2, 4, 7	1–5	1–7, 9–14	—	—	10, 12
Algar ^a	1–4	3, 5	1–5, 7, 9–14	—	4	3, 7, 10–11, 13–14
Dereman ^b	—	—	7, 9, 11, 15	—	—	4
Edward	5–6	—	—	—	3–4	—
Godric	1–3, 5–6, 8	1–2	15	7–8	—	—
Godwine	2–8	1–4	14	—	—	7
Lifwine	—	2	—	2, 5–6	1, 3, 5	1–4, 6, 8, 10–14
Wulfgar	—	2	4–11, 13–14	—	2–3	—

Notes: ^a A Henry I type 3 reverse die of the Southwark moneyer Algar was found in spoil from the Thames exchange site in London in 1990 (Archibald, Lang and Milne 1995, 185–7), but no coins of the moneyer in this type are known at present.

^b The listing of Dereman as a Southwark moneyer is based upon a coin of Henry I type 4 with the ambiguous mint signature S (*BNJ* Coin Register 1988, no. 211).

Sources: Harris 1983–8; 1991; EMC; *SCBI*.

pipe roll), whose services for the king seem to have included acting as an itinerant moneyer in London, Oxford, Twynham (Christchurch) and Winchester at various times during the reigns of Henry I and Stephen.²²

Table 1.1 shows that there are many coincidences of moneyers' names between the London and Southwark mints in 1066–1125, which is perhaps not surprising in two places only separated by the River Thames. Only one name new to the coinage at Southwark in William II's types 1 to 5, Sprot, is not also found at London, and in the reign of Henry I all of the names of the Southwark moneyers can be matched on coins of London apart from Lifwine. The prohibition of moneyers exchanging in more than one shire in Henry I's writ of 1100 *de moneta falsa et cambiatoribus* does not seem to have had any significant effect upon the activity of the London and Southwark moneyers, although London was in Middlesex and Southwark was in Surrey.²³

Nightingale has connected many of the London moneyers of the late eleventh and early twelfth centuries with prominent inhabitants of the city recorded in written sources.²⁴ In her

²² Hunter 1833, 152; Nightingale 1982, 43, 46; Stewart 1991, 3.

²³ Davis *et al.* 1913–69, II, 4, no. 501; Stewart 1992a, 547; Symons 2006, 547.

²⁴ Nightingale 1982.

reconstruction of the family history of Deorman (who died c.1093) Nightingale suggests that each of his four sons (Algar, Edwine, Ordgar and Theoderic) may have become a moneyer.²⁵ Deorman's son Algar cannot have been responsible for all of the London and Southwark coins in the name of a moneyer Algar, if the assumption that he died no later than 1104 is correct, but Nightingale argues that he may have been succeeded in office by a son of the same name.²⁶ The London alderman Brihtmær, documented in about 1130, was a moneyer, and Ulgarius, an alderman in 1117, may have been the London moneyer Wulfgar.²⁷ The London moneyers may have had workshops in the area around St Paul's where many goldsmiths operated their businesses. In 1128 the moneyer Theoderic held land in Old Fish Street, later known as Old Exchange, which ran past the east end of St Paul's into Cheapside.²⁸

The best evidence for the location of the moneyers' workshops and houses in an English town or city before 1158 is provided by the two surveys of properties in Winchester compiled during the first half of the twelfth century. The Winton Domesday (c.1110) bears witness to the destruction of five moneyers' workshops (*monete*) in High Street on the king's orders, presumably to make way for the enlargement of the royal palace. There were at least eighteen forges (*forgiae*) at the north-eastern corner of the extended palace (shown in [Map 1.2](#)), which were evidently recent developments. Seven forges were held by Robert son of Wimund (Wimund being a Winchester moneyer of the period), and the others were occupied by people with no discoverable connection with the coinage, but they may well have been used by moneyers.²⁹ The moneyers lived elsewhere, and they presumably acted as exchangers at their own houses.³⁰ The survey names five holders of properties in the time of Edward the Confessor (probably in the 1050s) as moneyers, with properties in High Street and *Brudenestret* and outside West Gate. One of these five moneyers, Godwinus Socche, is given the title of master moneyer (*magister monetarius*), and another, Andrebodus, has the byname *cangeor* (exchanger).³¹ Nine other people in the survey may have been moneyers in the reign of Edward the Confessor, although they are not named as moneyers.³² Two moneyers are specifically identified as such at the time of the survey in c.1110: Odo (unknown from the coins) had a house in *Snidelingestret*, and the wife of Wimund (possibly recently dead)

²⁵ Nightingale 1982, 36, 41–2. Nightingale (1982) 42–3, notes that the name Deorman appears on Colchester and Hertford coins in the second half of the eleventh century.

²⁶ Nightingale 1982, 36, 41. Ordgar is recorded as a London moneyer from William II type 2 to Henry I type 2, and in Henry I types 13 to 15.

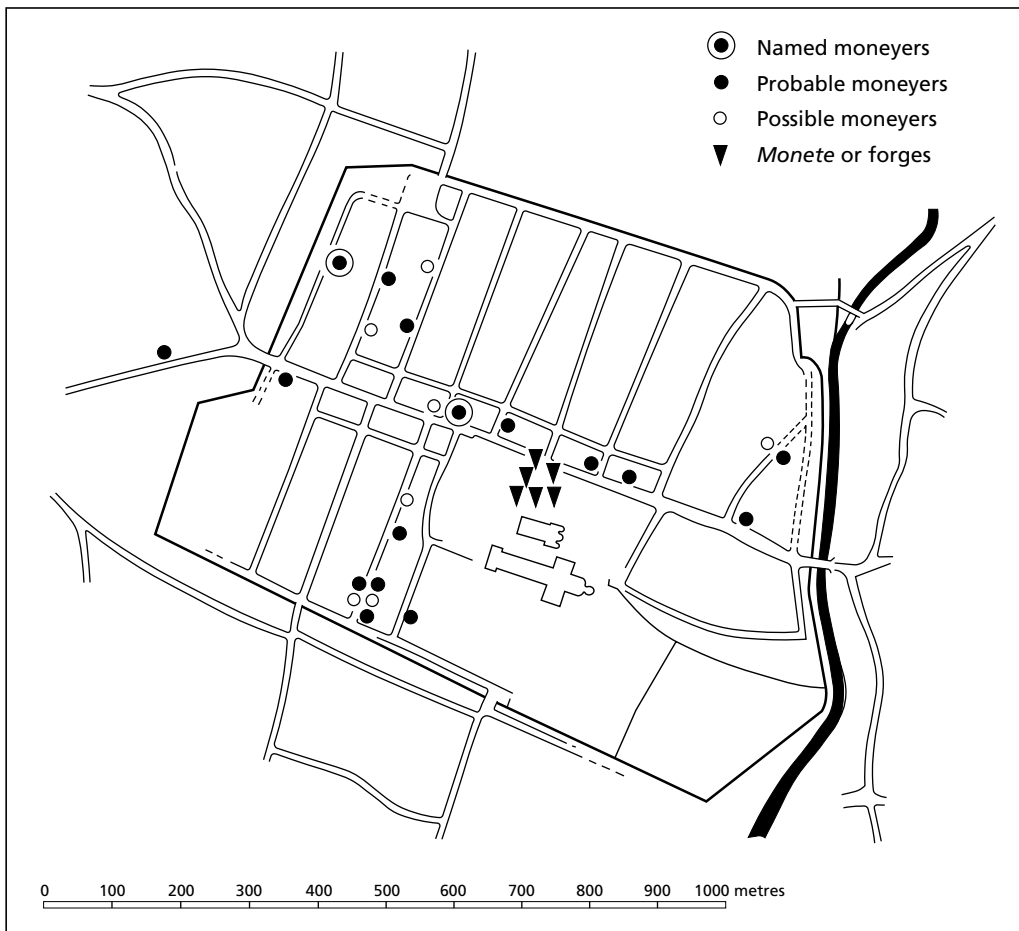
²⁷ Nightingale 1982, 48. Nightingale suggests that the London alderman Alwold may have been a moneyer of Stephen's reign, but this name is found only at Winchester in the coinage of Stephen (in type 1).

²⁸ Nightingale 1982, 46. ²⁹ Biddle 1976, 397–400.

³⁰ Biddle 1976, 405, 407; Metcalf 2001, 60–1.

³¹ Biddle 1976, 36, 400–3, 405, 421–2; Symons 2003, 173–4. Godwinus Socche may have had some kind of seniority amongst the Winchester moneyers.

³² Biddle 1976, 403–8.



Map 1.2 Moneyers' properties in Winchester, c.1110

had a property in High Street.³³ Twelve other Winchester property holders in c.1110 may have been moneyers in the reign of Henry I.³⁴

The Winchester survey of 1148 names two moneyers: Sanson (who was a moneyer in Southampton) and Siwardus.³⁵ Six other moneyers of the reign of Stephen (1135–54) might be identified with people named in the survey, mostly holding properties in the vicinity of High Street, and other holders of property in this area may have become Winchester moneyers in

³³ Biddle 1976, 407, 409–10. ³⁴ Biddle 1976, 410–15.

³⁵ Biddle 1976, 415–16; Dunger 2009. There are no known coins of Winchester between those of Stephen types 1 and 7, and Blackburn (1994, 190–1) suggests that the moneyers Sanson and Willem may have relocated the Winchester mint's operations to Southampton in the interval.

Henry II's *Cross-and-Crosslets* coinage of 1158–80.³⁶ Only two forges appear in the survey of 1148, held by Roger le Haia from Girinus the Butler (*pincerna*), but one of these was a property on the north side of High Street that seems to have been the forge held by Robert the son of Wimund in the survey of c.1110. The royal palace had been destroyed in 1141, and the moneyers were now moving back into the area formerly occupied by moneyers' houses and the five *monete* before the construction of the palace.³⁷

THE STATUS OF MONEYERS

The Winchester surveys show that the moneyers were of burgess rank, often with extensive property interests.³⁸ We have seen that some London moneyers of the first half of the twelfth century were aldermen, and there is reason to believe that moneyers of other English cities might be of a similar social status. Thomas FitzUlf, a York moneyer of Eustace FitzJohn in the 1140s, can be identified with Thomas FitzUlvieth, an alderman of the Merchants' Guild of York mentioned in the 1129/30 pipe roll, who was granted the vill of Bonwick in Holderness by William of Aumale in about 1150.³⁹ The names of five out of twelve witnesses to an inquest into the rights of the archbishop of York made in the reign of William I correspond to the names of York moneyers of the coinage of William I.⁴⁰ Similarly, Domesday Book records the names of the twelve lawmen of Lincoln in the time of Edward the Confessor, six of whom had the same names as Lincoln moneyers of the reign.⁴¹ Moneyers occasionally appear in witness lists of charters before the Conquest, including Hunewine (a Devon and Somerset moneyer in the reigns of Æthelred II and Cnut), who is named as a king's thegn (*minister*), and the York moneyers Osulf Thein (in the reign of Æthelred II) and Ulfcetel Thaginc (under Edward the Confessor) apparently also had that status.⁴² Such moneyers presumably employed other men to make the coins bearing their names. The law code known as IV Æthelred II (c.995) states that moneyers shall be responsible for the production of pure money of the proper weight by their men.⁴³ Moneyers must have had sufficient capital to fund their exchanging activities at recoinages and at other times.⁴⁴ Debts owed by moneyers in the 1129/30 pipe roll include the huge sum of 278 marks (£185 6s. 8d) due from the Winchester moneyer Salet.⁴⁵

³⁶ Biddle 1976, 416–21. ³⁷ Biddle 1976, 419.

³⁸ Biddle 1976, 402, 421, 443–4. ³⁹ Hunter 1833, 34; Mack 1966, 81; Blackburn 1994, 185.

⁴⁰ Rollason with Gore and Fellows-Jensen 1998, 192–3, 212–13.

⁴¹ Domesday Book, I, fol. 336^v; Smart 1968, 214–15; Symons 2003, 175–6.

⁴² Stewart 1988, 169–70; 1992a, 71–2; Symons 2003, 177.

⁴³ Kinsey 1958–9, 20, 27; Smart 1968, 212–13; Symons 2003, 171; Screen 2007, 168.

⁴⁴ Symons 2003, 170, 174; 2006, 547. Allen (1951, cv, cxxix–cxxx) notes that Walchelinus, who struck irregular coins at Derby in the reign of Stephen, was able to pay a fine of £100. There is no evidence that the mints received financial support from the king's treasury before 1180.

⁴⁵ Hunter 1833, 40; Andrew 1901, 462–4; Stewart 1991, 3, 5.

Nightingale has connected Deorman, the father of London moneyers, with a thegn of that name who held a manor in Hertfordshire at the time of Domesday Book (jointly with another thegn named Alwardus), suggesting that this may have been a reward for service relating to the coinage. She has also argued that other king's thegns or *ministri* in Domesday Book may have done service in the mints, either as moneyers or in some supervisory role.⁴⁶ Domesday Book records that when the king comes to Hereford the moneyers have to mint as much of the king's silver as he wishes, and that the king has 20s. when a moneyer dies or all of his effects if he dies intestate.⁴⁷ Metcalf has suggested that Godwinus Socche, the *magister monetarius* in Winton Domesday at the time of Edward the Confessor, may have had some special status as a king's servant, and that some other Winchester moneyers may have been provided with a free tenement as part of their reward for service, while others chose to perform the role on a strictly commercial basis.⁴⁸ In Domesday Book various moneyers are free tenants of the king, and a Wallingford moneyer has a house free for as long as he works at the mint (the houses may have been free of taxes and other obligations rather than being free of rent).⁴⁹ All of this would seem to support Nightingale's theory that there was a distinction between royal moneyers, who paid their profits directly to the king, and local men who farmed the minting profits as private contractors.⁵⁰ It is, however, worth remembering that there is no documentary evidence for the direct payment of profits by a special category of royal moneyer, and that we do not know how the king's moneyers were appointed in the Anglo-Saxon and Norman periods. The king may have asked boroughs to nominate moneyers, but it is also possible that people of sufficient resources and reputation might apply for dies.⁵¹

ECCLESIASTICAL MINTS AND MONEYERS

There can be no doubt that many of the moneyers were appointed by ecclesiastical authorities. Coins were issued in the names of archbishops of Canterbury and York as early as the eighth century. The earliest documentary evidence for ecclesiastical minting rights in England is provided by Athelstan's Grately law code of c.925–30, which stipulates that there should be two moneyers in Canterbury for the archbishop and one for the abbot of St Augustine's Abbey, and that the bishop of Rochester should have one moneyer.⁵² There is no later evidence for the bishop of Rochester's possession of a moneyer, but the abbot of St Augustine's had a moneyer until 1161, and the archbishop of Canterbury's minting rights continued in various forms until the reign of Henry VIII.⁵³

⁴⁶ Domesday Book, I, fol. 130^v; Nightingale 1982, 38–4–1.

⁴⁷ Brooke 1916, I, cxlii; Smart 1968, 213; Stewart 1992a, 69. ⁴⁸ Metcalf 2001, 61.

⁴⁹ Domesday Book, I, fols. 56^r, 154^r; Brooke 1916, I, cxli, cxlvi; Smart 1968, 213; Stewart 1992a, 69.

⁵⁰ Nightingale 1982, 44–6. ⁵¹ Metcalf 1978, 161; Symons 2003, 171–2.

⁵² Kinsey 1958–9, 14–15; Screen 2007, 166. ⁵³ See pp. 48, 96–102.

The text of the inquest into the rights of the archbishop of York, which is tentatively dated to c.1080, states that the archbishop has two moneyers, which may well have been the custom before 1066.⁵⁴ There is no other documentary evidence for the archbishop of York's minting rights before 1158, but Blackburn has attributed the York coinage of Bishop Henry in the reign of Stephen to Archbishop Henry Murdac (1147–53).⁵⁵

Domesday Book tells us that Walter, bishop of Hereford, had one of the seven Hereford moneyers in the time of King Edward (1042–66), receiving 20s. when new dies were issued, and that the bishop of East Anglia (whose see moved from Thetford to Norwich in the 1090s) now had one moneyer in Norwich if he wished.⁵⁶ In 1089–91 William II granted the city of Bath, with its customs, tolls and mint, to the bishop, and this was confirmed by Henry I.⁵⁷ The surviving coins of the Durham mint seem to indicate that the bishop of Durham was also granted minting rights by William II, perhaps in 1087–8, although there is no documentary evidence for this.⁵⁸

Abbot Baldwin of Bury St Edmunds was granted a moneyer by Edward the Confessor in 1065–6, but there seems to have been an earlier grant, because the coinage of the Bury St Edmunds mint begins with the *Trefoil/Quadrilateral* type of c.1046–8.⁵⁹ The grant of a moneyer was confirmed by William I between 1066 and 1070, and a writ of William II (1087–1100) amplifies the abbot's minting rights to include the possession of exchangers (*cambiatoribus*) as well as a moneyer.⁶⁰ Henry I confirmed the minting rights in 1102–7.⁶¹ There was a vacancy in the abbacy from 1107 to 1114, but the existence of a Bury St Edmunds cut halfpenny of Henry I type 7, dated by Blackburn to c.1111 (or c.1113 if type 8 is placed before type 7), may indicate that the mint was operated for the king's profit during the vacancy.⁶² A writ of 1125 protected the abbot's minting rights after Henry I's assize of moneyers, informing the bishop of Norwich that the abbot was to have his mint and moneyer and his exchange (*monetam et monetarium et cambium suum*) after justice had been done upon his moneyer.⁶³ Stephen (1135–54) granted a second and then a third die, but a writ of Henry II issued in 1155–8 confirmed the abbey's possession of one moneyer, implicitly eliminating the extra moneyers granted by Stephen.⁶⁴

⁵⁴ Rollason with Gore and Fellows-Jensen 1998, 192–3, 212–13; Allen 2004a, 26.

⁵⁵ Blackburn 1990a, 185–6.

⁵⁶ Domesday Book, I, fols. 117^v, 179^r; Brooke 1916, I, cxxxv, cxliii, clxxi; clxxvii; Blunt 1961, ii.

⁵⁷ Davis *et al.* 1913–69, I, 85, no. 326; Brooke 1916, I, lxx–lxxi, clxii.

⁵⁸ Allen 1994, 384–6; 2003a, 3, 14, 33, 165–6.

⁵⁹ Ruding 1840, II, 218; Sharpe 2003, 257–8; Eaglen 2006, 26–8; Palmer 2011.

⁶⁰ Ruding 1840, II, 218; Sharpe 2003, 258–61; Eaglen 2006, 42, 48–9.

⁶¹ Ruding 1840, II, 218; Sharpe 2003, 259–60; Eaglen 2006, 70.

⁶² Eaglen 2006, 79. ⁶³ Davis *et al.* 1913–69, II, 194, no. 1430; Seaby 1988, 35; Eaglen 2006, 71, 75.

⁶⁴ Davis *et al.* 1913–69, III, 281, nos. 762–3; Ruding 1840, II, 218; Allen 1951, cxvii; Blunt 1961, vi; Eaglen 2006, 98, 101–2, 106–7, 118–19.

The minting rights of Peterborough Abbey have attracted the attention of many authors, but a definitive understanding of their nature and history has proved to be elusive. A much debated charter of King Edgar (955/9–75) in favour of Peterborough Abbey, which includes the right to a moneyer at Stamford, is a twelfth-century fabrication, and a charter of 1067 confirming various privileges granted to the abbey by Anglo-Saxon kings does not mention moneyers.⁶⁵ A charter of Thurkil Hoche (who witnessed a charter of Cnut in 1024), granting North Collingham in Nottinghamshire to Peterborough Abbey together with a moneyer and land in Stamford, is listed in a cartulary of the abbey, but the text of this grant has not survived. Thurkil had presumably been originally granted the profits of the Stamford moneyer by the king, if the grant in the cartulary is authentic. There is no other known documentary evidence for the granting of the profits of moneyers to laymen in Anglo-Saxon England, but the custom of paying of a ‘third penny’ of a borough’s minting profits to a local earl is well attested in Domesday Book.⁶⁶ We have already seen that the Peterborough Abbey survey of 1125–8 records an expected revenue of 20s. from the moneyers of Stamford at Easter, for their exchanges at the markets of Oundle and Peterborough, and another 20s. at a recoinage.⁶⁷ The survey does not specifically state that the abbey had the exclusive right to the profits of any of the Stamford moneyers, and there is no mention of a mint at Peterborough. A bull of Pope Eugenius III (dated to 1146), which confirms various privileges granted to Peterborough Abbey, including the die (*cuneo monete*) at Peterborough and at Stamford, could be understood as referring to the revenues of exchanging by Stamford moneyers documented in the survey and not to an independent mint in Peterborough.⁶⁸

Blackburn has shown that coins of Æthelred II’s *First Hand* type (c.979–85) formerly attributed to a mint in Peterborough (Anglo-Saxon *Medeshamstede*) were actually struck at *Metheltun* (probably Melton Mowbray).⁶⁹ Coins of William I type 2 (c.1068–70) with the mint signatures BVR and BIIRI have been attributed to a mint briefly operated in Peterborough by a moneyer (Leofwine) who was active at Stamford from early in the reign of Edward the Confessor (1042–66) to William II type 3 (c.1070–2), but the discovery of a coin of Leofwine in William I type 7 reading BIIIRD supports the suggestion that the type 2 mint might be Barnstaple.⁷⁰ Two coins of a moneyer Edword in Henry I type 2 (c.1101–3) with the mint signature BIIR could also be attributed to Barnstaple in preference to Peterborough.⁷¹ The last

⁶⁵ Davis *et al.* 1913–69, I, 3, no. 8; Carlyon-Britton 1912, 143; Wells 1934–7b, 50–1.

⁶⁶ Hart 1966, 245, no. 351; Kelly 2009, 346–57, no. 31; Andrew 1901, 361–3; Wells 1934–7b, 72–7; Grierson 1985, 88.

⁶⁷ Stapleton 1849, 166; Wells 1934–7b, 54, 57; King 1996, 15.

⁶⁸ Dugdale 1846, I, 390; Ruding 1840, II, 203; Brooke 1916, I, clxxviii; Wells 1929, columns 105–6; 1934–37b, 63–5; Blunt 1961, iv.

⁶⁹ Blackburn 2000.

⁷⁰ Wells 1929, columns 109–10; Stewart 1955–7b, 107; Blunt 1960, xv–xvi; Stewart 1970b, 119; 1986; Blackburn 2000, 145.

⁷¹ Blackburn 2000, 145.

remaining coin that might be plausibly attributed to a mint in Peterborough is the unique penny of Stephen type 7 (1153/4–8) with a partially illegible mint signature apparently reading BVR[]⁷² If this is correctly interpreted as a Peterborough mint signature it is possible that the abbey was able to claim the right to a mint in the 1150s on the basis of the forged charter of Edgar or the rather ambiguous reference to the *cuneo monete* at Peterborough in the bull of Pope Eugenius.

Some reverse dies of Stamford from the coinage of Edward the Martyr (975–8) to the *Last Small Cross* type of Æthelred II (c.1009–16) are marked with an annulet, which is sometimes partly or wholly erased on later strikings from the die. It has been argued that the annulet may have been a mark of the abbot of Peterborough's die, assuming that the abbey had an occasional right to a die without being allocated one specific moneyer all of the time.⁷³ This is an interesting hypothesis, but it does not explain why annulet marked reverse dies briefly dominated the Stamford mint's output c.978 and then disappeared, apart from a few coins in Æthelred II's *Long Cross* type (c.997–1003).⁷⁴

If Peterborough Abbey received a new grant of minting rights in the twelfth century it would not have been the only grant of that nature after 1100. In 1125 Henry I's foundation charter for Reading Abbey granted a mint and a moneyer in Reading, but Roger of Salisbury subsequently granted a moneyer at London named Edgar to the abbot and monks, at the king's order.⁷⁵ It may not have been possible to implement the original grant of 1125, as a consequence of Henry I's radical reduction of the number of mints after the 1124–5 assize of moneyers.⁷⁶ In a charter of c.1149–54 King Stephen granted a die in Lichfield to Walter Durdent, bishop of Coventry, but this does not seem to have been acted upon.⁷⁷ Finally, a charter of Stephen probably issued in c.1153–4 confirmed various privileges of Robert de Chesney, bishop of Lincoln, including the right to a die in Newark Castle, with the provision that the bishop should not be impeded in exercising this right by reason of its non-use in the past. This seems to have been a confirmation of a grant made to Bishop Alexander (1123–47) by Henry I or Stephen. There are no known coins that can be associated with these grants.⁷⁸

NUMBERS OF MONEYERS AND THEIR NAMES

We have seen that grants of minting rights to ecclesiastical authorities usually specify the number of moneyers allowed. Two Anglo-Saxon law codes also stipulate the number of

⁷² Wells 1929, columns 109–10; Blackburn 2000, 145; Allen 2006b, 246, 280.

⁷³ Stewart 1955–7b, 107–10; 1970b; Jonsson 1987b, 157–8. ⁷⁴ Blackburn 2000, 145.

⁷⁵ Andrew 1901, 372–5; Ruding 1840, II, 156; Brooke 1916, I, clxxix; Wells 1934–7b, 51–2; Blunt 1961, v.

⁷⁶ See pp. 27–9 for the reduction of the number of mints after the assize.

⁷⁷ Davis *et al.* 1913–69, III, 172, no. 457; Ruding 1840, II, 215; Blunt 1961, ii; Blackburn 1994, 161.

⁷⁸ Davis *et al.* 1913–69, III, 182, no. 489; Ruding 1840, II, 205; Allen 1951, cxlviii–cxlix; Blunt 1961, iv; Blackburn 1994, 161. Allen (2001f, 598 n.27) notes that two Henry II *Cross-and-Crosslets* pence formerly attributed to Newark (Allen 1951, cxlviii) are actually coins of Norwich.

moneyers expected to be appointed in each borough. Under Athelstan's Grately decree (the geographical scope of which is limited to London, Kent and Wessex) there were to be eight moneyers in London, seven in Canterbury (four for the king, two for the archbishop and one for the abbot of St Augustine's Abbey), six in Winchester, three in Rochester (two for the king and one for the bishop), two in Lewes, Southampton, Wareham, Exeter and Shaftesbury, and one in other boroughs.⁷⁹ The law code IV Æthelred II (c.995) states that the moneyers 'shall be fewer in number than they have been in the past', being limited to three in each principal town, and one elsewhere.⁸⁰ In practice the numbers of moneyers in each borough were more flexible than these law codes might suggest, and certainly not limited to a maximum of three. For example, Winchester had six moneyers in Athelstan's law code, but by the time of Edgar's reform of the coinage in the 970s the number seems to have increased to eight, rising to a maximum of thirty-three in Cnut's *Quatrefoil* type (in a period of high output probably connected with the payment of danegeld), and falling to perhaps six by 1066.⁸¹ Freeman has estimated the number of moneyers at each mint during the reign of Edward the Confessor (1042–66), showing numerous changes through time.⁸² This comparison has been extended to the *Paxs* type (1087–c.1090?) and five periods in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries in Appendix B.⁸³ There are a few cases of continuity in the figures in Appendix B (most notably the six or seven moneyers at Canterbury from 1042 to 1180, seven being the number in Athelstan's Grately decree), but the overall impression is one of discontinuity. The final estimate in 1042–66 differs from the 1087–c.1090 estimate at thirty-four of the fifty-seven places with mints in both periods.

Domesday Book (which was compiled from information collected in 1086) records the number of moneyers at nine places in the time of Edward the Confessor (1042–66).⁸⁴ In Table 1.2 these figures are compared with the estimated numbers of moneyers in 1042–66 and 1087–c.1090. In two cases the Domesday Book figure corresponds with an estimate in 1042–66, four of the figures agree with the 1087–c.1090 estimate, two agree with estimates in both periods, and one (Huntingdon) does not correspond with any estimate. It may be that when enquiries were made about numbers of moneyers at the time of King Edward the answers were based upon a combination of current practice, genuine memories of numbers of moneyers before the Conquest, and guesswork.

The total number of moneyers in England was at its greatest under Æthelred II and Cnut, and it fell progressively during the eleventh and twelfth centuries.⁸⁵ Tables of mints and

⁷⁹ Kinsey 1958–9, 14–15, 166; Screen 2007, 166.

⁸⁰ Kinsey 1958–9, 20; Loyn 1961, 126–7; Smart 1968, 216–17; Stewart 1992a, 68–9; Screen 2007, 168.

⁸¹ Lyon 2011, 6–8. ⁸² Freeman 1985, 531–4.

⁸³ See pp. 398–403. Dolley (1966b) 12–13, provides estimates of the numbers of moneyers at London, Lincoln and York before and after the Norman Conquest.

⁸⁴ Brooke 1929–30, 105–6; Metcalf 1987b, 287–8. Grierson (1985, 85–7) provides the texts of the references to moneyers in Domesday Book.

⁸⁵ Stewart 1992a, 73.

Table 1.2 *Comparison of estimated numbers of moneyers with Domesday Book*

Mint	1042–66 estimates	Domesday Book	1087–c.1090 estimate
Bridport	0→1→0	1	1
Chester	8→7→8→7→6	7	4
Dorchester	1	2	2
Hereford	5→7→6	7	4
Huntingdon	2→1→2	3	2
Nottingham	4→3→1→2	2	2
Shaftesbury	1→2→1	3	3
Shrewsbury	5→4→5→6	3	3
Wareham	1	2	2

Sources: Freeman 1985, 531–4; Grierson 1985, 85–7; Appendix B.

moneyers compiled by Jonsson and van der Meer show 192 moneyers in the *Reform/Small Cross* issues of c.973–9, rising to 306 in Æthelred II's *Long Cross* type (c.997–1003).⁸⁶ In the reign of Cnut (1016–35) the number of recorded moneyers declines from a peak of 542 in *Quatrefoil* to 412 in *Pointed Helmet* and only 316 in *Short Cross*.⁸⁷ These figures are of course overestimates of the total numbers of moneyers active at any one time, because not all of the moneyers would have been in office throughout the issue of the types concerned. Freeman estimated that in the first half of the reign of Edward the Confessor (1042–66) there were some 210–20 moneyers in all, and that the number fell to about 162 at fifty mints in the *Pyramids* type (c.1065–6).⁸⁸ In the *Paxs* type (1087–c.1090) 177 moneyers' names have been recorded, at sixty-eight mints, but the real number of individuals may have been significantly less, if some of the moneyers worked at more than one mint and others took the place of moneyers last recorded in the type.⁸⁹ In Henry I type 14 (c.1123–24/5) 142 moneyers have been recorded at fifty-three mints, and there are 101 known moneyers at forty-seven or forty-eight mints in Stephen type 7 (1153/4–8).⁹⁰

The names of moneyers on late Anglo-Saxon coins are predominantly Old English (OE), as might be expected, but Scandinavian (Old Norse or ON) names are common in York, Chester, Lincoln, the Five Boroughs of the Midlands, and East Anglia, and they occasionally

⁸⁶ Jonsson and van der Meer 1990, 54–119; Symons 2003, 21–2. ⁸⁷ Jonsson 1994, 221–2.

⁸⁸ Freeman 1985, 25–7, 529–30. Metcalf (1987a, 184–7) discusses the possible inadequacies of Freeman's figures.

⁸⁹ Metcalf 1987b, 283–4; 1988, 16–17.

⁹⁰ Allen 2009a; 2006b. Blackburn (1994, 157) estimated that there were at least 139 moneyers in Henry I type 14, 97 in type 15, 162 in Stephen type 1, 50 in type 2, 47 in type 6, and 80 in Stephen type 7.

occur further south.⁹¹ There is a relatively small number of names of Irish origin, mostly at Chester and York, and Continental Germanic (CG) names are found particularly on the south coast (for example, Siboda at Winchester and Isengod at Exeter).⁹² Dolley estimated that more than 375 of some 400 moneyers' names found on the coins of William I and William II are attested before the Norman Conquest, although there are a few examples of Norman French names, such as Nigel.⁹³ In Metcalf's analysis of 165 moneyers' names in the *Paxs* type of William II, 19 (12 per cent) are ON, 4 or 5 are CG, and the remaining 141 or 142 (84 per cent) are OE.⁹⁴ Old English names began to lose ground after 1100, as they did in the population of England as a whole. Dolley suggested that about 50 of some 250 names found on the coinage of Henry I (1100–35) could not be matched on an Anglo-Saxon coin, and that the proportion of these names increases to more than half under Stephen.⁹⁵ In Henry II's *Cross-and-Crosslets* coinage (1158–80) less than a third of sixty-five different names recorded are Old English, over half are Norman French, and there is a small number of names of Scandinavian or Continental Germanic origin.⁹⁶

THE GEOGRAPHICAL DISTRIBUTION OF MINTING

The English mints, c.973–1087

It is possible to study the activity of late Anglo-Saxon and Norman moneyers in great detail because one of the main consequences of Edgar's reform of the coinage in the 970s was that the naming of the moneyer and place of minting on the reverse of the coins became universal practice for the first time.⁹⁷ It is unfortunate that the only written source for Edgar's reform is the thirteenth-century chronicler Roger of Wendover, who provides a rather muddled account of various events dated to 975, including 'Then he [Edgar] ordered a new coinage to be made throughout the whole of England, because the old was so debased by the crime of clippers that a penny hardly weighed a halfpenny in the scales' (*Deinde per totam Angliam novam fieri precipit monetam, quia vetus vitio tonsorum adeo erat corrupta, ut vix nummus obolum appenderet in statera*).⁹⁸ Roger of Wendover's source may have been a lost law code of a familiar kind from the reign of Edgar, stating that there should be one coinage throughout

⁹¹ Smart 1986, 177–82. ⁹² Stewart 1978b, 102; 1992a, 72, 74; Smart 1986, 182–3.

⁹³ Dolley 1966b, 12.

⁹⁴ Metcalf 1987b, 284; 1988, 17–18. Metcalf identifies twenty Old Norse names, but these include 'Unnulf' at Chester, which is probably only a variant of Sunolf, also included in his count.

⁹⁵ Dolley 1966b, 29. ⁹⁶ Allen 1951, cvi–cvii.

⁹⁷ Brand 1984b, 45. Stewart (1990, 466–7) discusses the geographical distribution of mints in the late Anglo-Saxon period, and also (1992a, 59–68) provides a more extensive review of the locations of late Anglo-Saxon and Norman mints. Metcalf (1977b) discusses the distribution of mints from the seventh century to the Edwardian recoinage of 1279–81.

⁹⁸ Coxe 1841–4, I, 416; Brand 1984b, 10, 12.

England, which he embroidered with a comment about clipping more appropriate to his own time, in the thirteenth century.⁹⁹ Dolley argued that the date should be 973, but he was unable to produce any definitive evidence to overturn Roger of Wendover's date of 975. The date of the reform could have been 973, 975 or some other year in the first half of the 970s, and the generally accepted date of c.973 is no more than a reasonable guess.¹⁰⁰

Half a century ago Dolley and Metcalf argued that a national network of mints was deliberately created as part of Edgar's reform, with new mints being opened to supplement the work of the existing mints. When the network was fully established most people south of a line from Lincolnshire to Chester and Shrewsbury would be within about 15 miles of a mint (a practical limit for a return journey on foot in one day).¹⁰¹ It might also be argued that the pattern of mints developed as it did without the need for any deliberate policy in Edgar's reform, because they would lack business if they were too close together. There does seem to have been a significant increase in the number of mints after the reform, although it is impossible to be certain about the exact extent of the increase because some mints were probably active in the pre-reform coinage without being named on it. Pre-reform coins of Edgar name thirty-one or thirty-two mints, whereas forty-four mints have been recorded in Edgar's reformed coinage.¹⁰² At least another five mints (Bath, Caistor, Horncastle, Torksey, Worcester and, possibly, Guildford and Louth) were active under Edward the Martyr (975–8), and some of these may also have been open during the issue of Edgar's *Reform* type.¹⁰³ Only two shires already in existence in the 970s have no coins of the *Reform* type or Edward the Martyr attributed to them at present (Cornwall and Huntingdonshire), and both of these shires were to acquire mints in Æthelred II's *First Hand* type (c.979–85).¹⁰⁴ If there was a plan for the location of places of minting after Edgar's reform it may have been to ensure that each shire had at least one moneyer to issue the new coinage, but not necessarily in the shire town. Three shire towns with borough status (Dorchester, Nottingham and Taunton) are not yet known to have had moneyers in the *Reform/First Small Cross* coinages

⁹⁹ Grierson 1962, viii–xiii; Brand 1984b, 10–17.

¹⁰⁰ Dolley 1979; Grierson 1962, xiii–xiv; Brand 1984b, 10–12; Jonsson 1987b, 83–4; Stewart 1990, 460–2, 477–8.

¹⁰¹ Dolley and Metcalf 1961, 147–52. Stewart (1990, 466–7) argues that the uneven provision of mints in late Anglo-Saxon England is inconsistent with the system proposed by Dolley and Metcalf.

¹⁰² Appendix A tabulates the mints of c.973–1158. Blunt, Stewart and Lyon (1989, 255–63) review the mints of 899–c.979, listing twenty-nine mints named on the pre-reform coinage of Edgar (including Thetford, doubtfully recorded on the basis of a coin with the mint name **ÐI**). To this can be added Cricklade (moneyer Sigewold; EMC 2009.0148), Lewes (Hyldric; collection of Dr C. S. S. Lyon) and Lincoln (Æthelverth; Blackburn and Leahy 1996).

¹⁰³ Jonsson 1987b, 122–3, 125–6, 135–6, 138, 146–7, 168–9, 175–6. Symons (2003, 46–50, 179, 208–9, 405) adds Worcester to the list of mints known to have been active under Edward the Martyr and suggests that Man and Martin, the first moneyers of Worcester in 975–c.979, may have come from Chester to set up the mint.

¹⁰⁴ Nottinghamshire was also without a mint in the *Reform/First Small Cross* type if the attribution of coins of Edgar (*SCBI* 20, 813) and Edward the Martyr (*SCBI* 2, no. 752) to Newark is incorrect.

of c.973–9, although their shires had at least one moneyer elsewhere. In this period and later, some moneyers of major urban centres such as London, Lincoln, Winchester and York may have had relatively continuous activity in their mint workshops, but in most boroughs minting was probably intermittent after an initial recoinage, responding to commercial or fiscal needs, the seasons and market days. More than half of England's total mint output was usually produced by only four or five mints, and the mints with more than 1 per cent of the total rarely exceeded about twenty.¹⁰⁵ The numbers of dies known for many small mints could not have sustained continuous production, and it is probable that the record of the types known from such mints is very incomplete. It can never be assumed with complete confidence that a mint was closed during the production of a type because no coins of that type are known at present.¹⁰⁶

As can be seen from [Map 1.3](#), eleven shires had more than one mint between Edgar's reform and c.979. The concentration of minting in the southern and eastern shires of Hampshire (Southampton and Winchester), Sussex (Chichester and Lewes), Kent (Canterbury, Dover, Lympne and Rochester), Norfolk (Norwich and Thetford) and Lincolnshire (Lincoln, Caistor, Horncastle, Stamford, Torksey and, possibly, Louth), and of course at London, is an indication of the importance of the trade of the south and east coasts as a source of silver. There is another cluster of mints in the western shires, with two each in Dorset (Shaftesbury and Wareham), Wiltshire (Malmesbury and Wilton) and Gloucestershire (Gloucester and Winchcombe), three in Somerset (Axbridge, Bath and Ilchester), and four in Devon (Barnstaple, Exeter, Lydford and Totnes).¹⁰⁷ The great number of small mints in the West Country, in c.973–9 and later, may have been at least partly related to the need to pay cash renders from some of the numerous royal manors and estates in the heartland of the former kingdom of Wessex, although the availability of silver from lead mines in the Mendips may also have been a factor.¹⁰⁸ In the area of the former kingdom of Mercia north of the rivers Thames and Avon, Staffordshire is the only shire with two mints known at present (Stafford and Tamworth).¹⁰⁹

Eleven new mints are recorded for the first and sometimes the only time after the reform of Edgar in Æthelred II's *First Hand* type (c.979–85). At least two of these new mints were in Dorset (Bridport and the shire town, Dorchester), and the unlocated mints of *Brygin* and *Niwan* (both only recorded in *First Hand*) may also have been in Dorset.¹¹⁰ Somerset had a new mint at Watchet, Cricklade is added to the list of Wiltshire mints (Cricklade is also known to have had a moneyer in Edgar's pre-reform coinage), and Cornwall had a mint for the first and only time before the Norman Conquest at Launceston.¹¹¹ The shire towns of

¹⁰⁵ Metcalf 1980, 32–4, 49; 1981, 68–79; 1998, 18–21. ¹⁰⁶ Stewart 1978b, 98.

¹⁰⁷ Winchcombe was the shire town of the short-lived county of Winchcombeshire from c.1007 or earlier to c.1017 (*SCBI* 19, 105–10; Metcalf 1980, 34; 1998, 227, 231).

¹⁰⁸ Stafford 1978, 37, 39; Stewart 1992a, 63; Maddicott 1989, 43–7. ¹⁰⁹ Stewart 1992a, 64.

¹¹⁰ Dolley 1955–7f; 1955–57g; Lyon 1970, 202. ¹¹¹ Blackburn 1974; 1976.

Huntingdon and Nottingham are recorded as mints for the first time since the reform, and Kenneth Jonsson has attributed an apparently unique *First Hand* penny with the mint name *Gre* to Grantham.¹¹² A fragmentary *First Hand* penny of a moneyer Hilde was attributed to Peterborough (*Medeshamstede*) by Dolley, but the discovery of a more fully legible coin of this moneyer has shown that the mint name is actually *Metheltu(n)*, which is probably to be identified with Melton Mowbray in Leicestershire.¹¹³ In contrast to the *First Hand* type, the *Second Hand* type (c.985–91) had only one new mint, in Hastings.¹¹⁴

There were four additions to the national network of mints in the *Crux* type (c.991–7). Southwark had moneyers for the first time, most of them probably also operating across the Thames in London, and moneyers also began minting at Colchester in Essex, Aylesbury in Buckinghamshire and Taunton in Somerset.¹¹⁵ In the *Long Cross* type (c.997–1003) Somerset had three more additions to its already substantial roster of mints, at Bruton, Crewkerne and Milborne Port, although these relatively minor new mints were apparently to become dormant for the rest of the reign of Æthelred II.¹¹⁶ The *Long Cross* type also adds Romney in Kent, Sudbury in Suffolk and Warminster in Wiltshire to the list of mints. The location of *Geothanburh*, which was a place of minting from the *Long Cross* type to the sole reign of Harthacnut (1040–2), is controversial. A die-link with Exeter in Cnut's *Quatrefoil* type and the use of dies of Exeter-related styles seem to indicate that this mysterious mint was located in the West Country, although there is also a die-link with London in Æthelred II's *Last Small Cross* type.¹¹⁷ A suggested attribution to Castle Gotha in Cornwall has been challenged on philological grounds but remains possible.¹¹⁸

The Danish raids of the later years of the reign of Æthelred II left their mark upon the location of minting (see [Map 1.4](#)). One possible example of this is to be found in the absence of coins from the Wilton mint in the *Helmet* type (c.1003–9) and the opening of a mint at Salisbury in this type. As has already been mentioned, the Wilton moneyers seem to have moved to the greater security of the hillfort site of Old Sarum after their town was sacked by the Danish army in 1003.¹¹⁹ The establishment of mints at the hillforts of Cadbury in Somerset and Cissbury in Sussex in the *Last Small Cross* type (c.1009–16) is further evidence of a need for greater security.¹²⁰ All surviving coins of Oxford and Wallingford in *Last Small Cross* are relatively heavy and therefore probably early in the type, which may possibly be related to the burning of the borough of Oxford by the Danes after Christmas 1009 recorded in the

¹¹² Eaglen 1999; 2002; Jonsson 1987a. ¹¹³ Dolley 1952–4a; Blackburn 2000.

¹¹⁴ King 1955–7, 249–60.

¹¹⁵ Turner 1941–4; Clarke and Symons 2007. Fifteen of the nineteen moneyers' names found on the *Crux* pence of Southwark also occur on London coins of the same type (Jonsson and van der Meer 1990, 84–8, 100–1).

¹¹⁶ Dolley 1958–9b. ¹¹⁷ Dolley and Elmore Jones with Daunt 1955–7, 270–7; Lyon 1970, 202–3.

¹¹⁸ Padel 1982; Metcalf 1998, 247.

¹¹⁹ Dolley 1954a; Lyon 1966, 37; Brand 1984b, 30; Blunt and Lyon 1990; Stewart 1990, 478.

¹²⁰ Dolley 1955–7b; Dolley and Elmore Jones with Daunt 1955–7, 277–82.



Map 1.4 Mints from Æthelred II to Harthacnut, c. 979–1042

Anglo-Saxon Chronicle.¹²¹ There is, however, no obvious connection between the opening of mints at Bristol and Newark in the *Last Small Cross* type and the Danish raids.

The emergency mints of Cadbury and Cissbury were closed after their issue of coinage in Cnut's *Quatrefoil* type (c.1016–23), reflecting the more peaceful conditions of Cnut's reign.¹²² The cessation of coinage at Southampton during the *Quatrefoil* type, which left Winchester with the only mint in Hampshire, may perhaps have been an act of royal policy to favour Winchester as the main centre of the king's administration. The Aylesbury and Melton Mowbray mints were briefly reopened in the *Quatrefoil* type, and there was also a short-lived minting operation in this type at the unidentified *Eanbyri*, which may have been in Dorset.¹²³ Moneyers were intermittently active at Langport and Petherton in Somerset from *Quatrefoil* to the reign of Edward the Confessor.¹²⁴ In Cnut's *Pointed Helmet* type (c.1023–9) the Torksey and Newark mints make their last known appearances, and minting at Sudbury ends temporarily (to be revived under Edward the Confessor). A *Pointed Helmet* penny with a mint signature reading *Cestr* may be evidence of an ephemeral revival of minting at Caistor in Lincolnshire.¹²⁵ The Sussex mint of Steyning opens in this type, and Michael Dolley suggested that there may have been a transfer of operations from Cissbury (last recorded in *Quatrefoil*), but the two mints have no moneyers in common.¹²⁶ The geographical distribution of minting was relatively stable in Cnut's last coinage, the *Short Cross* type (c.1029–35), the only notable changes being the cessation of minting at Lypne in Kent and the beginning of coinage at *Fro*, which may be Frome in Somerset.¹²⁷

During the reigns of Harthacnut and Harold I, between 1035 and 1042, the few minor changes in the pattern of minting concern West Country mints. Minting at Crewkerne in Somerset seems to have ended in the *Jewel Cross* type (1035–c.1038), and Harthacnut's *Arm and Sceptre* type (1040–2) provides the last known coins of Axbridge and Milborne Port in Somerset, Totnes in Devon (until the reign of William II) and *Geothanburh*.¹²⁸

Freeman has reviewed the distribution of mints in the reign of Edward the Confessor (1042–66). Twelve new mints were opened (if the unidentified *Brene* and *Stes* are not included), but only four of these mints are known to have continued in operation after the Norman Conquest (Bedwyn, Bury St Edmunds, Hythe and Sandwich).¹²⁹ Minting began at Sandwich

¹²¹ Lyon 1966. ¹²² Dolley 1955–7b; Dolley and Elmore Jones with Daunt 1955–7, 277–80.

¹²³ Clarke and Symons 2007, 173, 178–9, 184–5; Blackburn 2000, 143, Pl. 26a, 3; Dolley 1955–7b, 100–1.

¹²⁴ Dolley (1961a) attributes coins to Petherton in the reign of Edward the Confessor only, but a coin of Cnut's *Quatrefoil* type from the Alskog hoard (Malmer and Rasmusson 1975, 46, no. 1010; Stewart 1978c) can also be attributed to Petherton. Its mint signature is **PED** and the dies are of Taunton style B (Blackburn and Lyon 1986, 231–2), which would be normal for a Somerset mint.

¹²⁵ *SCBI* 27, xv, no. 1. ¹²⁶ King 1955–7, 260; Dolley and Elmore Jones with Daunt 1955–7, 280.

¹²⁷ Dolley 1955–7e; Freeman 1985, 424.

¹²⁸ Elmore Jones 1960–1, 65–6, 69; Baldwin's Auction 57, 23 Sept. 2008, lot 378; Dolley and Elmore Jones with Daunt 1955–7, 275–6.

¹²⁹ Freeman 1985, 69–77, 229. The mint signature *Brene* is only known from a cut halfpenny of the *Pointed Helmet* type (*SCBI* 18, p. ix, no. 751), and *Stes* appears on a *Radiate/Small Cross* penny (*SCBI* 18, no. 1201).

early in the reign, during the issue of the *Pacx* type (1042–c.1044), and this was probably connected with the use of Sandwich as a base for Edward the Confessor's fleet in 1044, which was to be repeated in 1045 and 1049. A substantial increase in minting at Sandwich in the *Small Flan* type may be connected with the presence of the fleet there in 1049.¹³⁰ The Suffolk mint of Sudbury, which seems to have been inactive after Cnut's *Pointed Helmet* type, was revived in the *Pacx* type.¹³¹ In the *Radiate/Small Cross* type (c.1044–6) Kent gained another mint at Hythe, and the Aylesbury mint was reopened.¹³² Also in this type, Bruton in Somerset appears as a place of minting for the last time, and Petherton in the same shire reappears after a long gap since Cnut's *Quatrefoil* type.¹³³ Reading had a moneyer for the first time in the *Pacx* type, but minting at Reading and Petherton was short-lived, apparently ending after the issue of the next type (*Trefoil/Quadrilateral*, c.1046–8).¹³⁴ In the *Trefoil/Quadrilateral* type another ephemeral mint was opened at Berkeley in Gloucestershire (which is recorded in this type and *Pointed Helmet* only), and more long-lived mints were opened at Bedwyn in Wiltshire and Bury St Edmunds.¹³⁵ Abbot Baldwin of Bury St Edmunds was granted the right to have a moneyer by Edward the Confessor in 1065–6 but the surviving coins of Bury St Edmunds seem to indicate that there was an earlier grant.¹³⁶ In *Small Flan* (c.1048–50) the mints of Lydford, Warminster and *Fro* appear for the last time, but the place or places with a name variously rendered as *Dyr*, *Derne* and *Dernt* are added to the list of mints.¹³⁷

Between 1050 and the death of Edward the Confessor in 1066 there are four new places of minting recorded (Droitwich, Horndon, *Niweporte* and Pershore), but none of these new mints seems to have survived after 1066. The known coinage of *Niweporte*, which may have been Newport Pagnell in Buckinghamshire or Newport in Essex, extends from the *Expanding Cross* type (c.1050–3) to *Hammer Cross* (c.1059–62).¹³⁸ The Worcestershire mints of Droitwich and Pershore are first recorded in *Hammer Cross*, and there are no known coins of Pershore in later types.¹³⁹ The Essex mint of Horndon is also found in only one type, *Sovereign/Eagles* (c.1056–9).¹⁴⁰ Four mints are recorded for the last time in the eleventh century between 1050

¹³⁰ Metcalf 1980, 34; 1998, 54; Freeman 1985, 72, 518–23; Stewart 1992a, 66. ¹³¹ Freeman 1985, 226–8.

¹³² Freeman 1985, 210–12, 503–6; Clarke and Symons 2007, 173–4, 179–82, 185–7.

¹³³ Dolley 1961a; Freeman 1985, 416–18, 420–1.

¹³⁴ Dolley 1960–1a; van der Meer 1962; Freeman 1985, 207–9.

¹³⁵ *SCBI* 19, 109–10; Elmore Jones 1971, 122–3; Freeman 1985, 380–2, 465–7. An Edward the Confessor *Pacx* penny of the moneyer Ulfctel in Copenhagen (*SCBI* 18, 749) with a mint signature reading **BEO** seems to be a coin of the Bedford moneyer of that name, although Freeman (1985, 74, 380–2) attributes it to Berkeley with reservations.

¹³⁶ Dolley 1955–7e; 1960; Elmore Jones 1962; Freeman 1985, 234–8, 264–6, 421–4; EMC 2003.0049. A coin of Edward the Confessor's *Pacx* type with a mint signature reading **DR1**, which has been associated with *Dyr/Derne/Dernt* (*SCBI* 18, ix, no. 800; Freeman 1985, 236, 238), is a contemporary imitation (pers. comm. Hugh Pagan).

¹³⁷ Sharpe 2003, 257–8; Eaglen 2006, 26–8, 36–8, 217; Palmer 2011.

¹³⁸ Freeman 1985, 214–17; Blackburn, Bonser and Conte 1993.

¹³⁹ Stewart and Blunt 1978; Freeman 1985, 348–53, 360–2. ¹⁴⁰ Freeman 1985, 217–19.

and 1066: Aylesbury, Buckingham, Langport and *Dyr/Derne/Dernt*.¹⁴¹ The Buckingham mint was reopened in the mid-twelfth century for the issue of King Stephen's types 6 and 7, but there was to be no mint in Buckinghamshire in the intervening period.¹⁴²

It is difficult to discern any evidence of a coherent royal policy in the rather chaotic pattern of changes in the location of mints during the reign of Edward the Confessor and earlier in the eleventh century. In exceptional cases (such as Sandwich and Bury St Edmunds) we have some plausible historical context for the opening of a mint, but it is possible that many of the changes in the geographical distribution of minting were the results of local initiatives by individuals who wanted to become moneyers or by borough officials. There is certainly no evidence of a national policy towards the location of mints in the reign of William I (1066–87), unless that policy was to leave everything well alone. Dolley argued that the Norman Conquest had little immediate effect upon the English coinage, and the relatively unchanged pattern of minting (see [Map 1.5](#)) supports this view.¹⁴³ Only one of the mints recorded in either Edward the Confessor's last type (*Pyramids*) or the brief reign of Harold II in 1066 was permanently closed (Droitwich), only two new mints were opened, at Pevensey and Twynham (now Christchurch), the mints of Hythe, Launceston and Watchet were reopened, and the Bedwyn moneyer Cild moved to Marlborough.¹⁴⁴

Mints in Wales

It has been suggested that a mint was established at Cardiff soon after its castle was founded by William I in 1081, but there is no convincing evidence for a mint in Wales before the period of issue of the *Paxs* type (1087–c.1090?). A damaged and partly illegible coin of William I type 6 (early/mid-1080s) excavated at Cardiff Castle has been attributed to a mint in Cardiff, but there is considerable doubt about this attribution because the surviving portion of the mint name ([]*eri*) is ambiguous. A William I type 7 fragment in Stockholm claimed to be from the Cardiff mint is actually a missing part of a published coin of London.¹⁴⁵ There are undoubted coins of Cardiff in the *Paxs* type from local obverse and reverse dies and a Bristol reverse die altered in such a way as to obscure the original mint name.¹⁴⁶ In addition, there are *Paxs* pence of Rhuddlan and two other places named on their local dies as *Devitun* (presumably St

¹⁴¹ Dolley 1960; Elmore Jones 1962; Dolley, Elliott and Elmore Jones 1965, 47, 52; Freeman 1985, 210–24, 234–8, 418–21; Clarke and Symons 2007, 173–4, 181, 186–7. Langport is recorded in only one of Edward the Confessor's types (*Expanding Cross*), Buckingham and *Dyr/Derne/Dernt* are last recorded in *Hammer Cross*, and the coinage of Aylesbury ends in *Facing Bust*.

¹⁴² Allen 2006a, 245 n.41, 267, 291. ¹⁴³ Dolley 1966b, 11–12.

¹⁴⁴ Carlyon-Britton 1902a; King 1955–7, 73–4; Elmore Jones 1971; Blackburn 1974, 17, 23, 32.

¹⁴⁵ Boon 1986, 40, 46; 1988, 13, 16; Blackburn 1990a, 57; *SCBI* 11, Stockholm, no. 55; *SCBI* 54B, no. 1306.

¹⁴⁶ Elmore Jones 1955–7b, 193–5; Besly 2006, 706–7.



Map 1.5 Mints before and after the Norman Conquest, 1042–1100

Dauids) and *Fani*, with some uncertain readings.¹⁴⁷ Courtney has argued that the Cardiff and St Davids mints may have been established by Rhys ap Tewdwr, the overlord of south Wales, to pay his tribute of £40 a year to the English king recorded in Domesday Book.¹⁴⁸ Boon suggested that *Fani* might refer to Abergavenny, which was founded in 1087.¹⁴⁹ If this attribution is correct the mint would have been under the jurisdiction of Hamelin de Balun (d. 1106), the Norman lord of Abergavenny. Finally, there are the *Paxs* pence of Rhuddlan, which are from three official obverse dies and two local reverse dies, one in the name of a moneyer Ælfwine and the other with the moneyer's name reading []*ivan*.¹⁵⁰ This must have been the coinage of Robert of Rhuddlan (d. 1088), who was entitled to share the profits of a mint in Rhuddlan with his overlord the earl of Chester, according to Domesday Book.¹⁵¹ Thus we seem to have four mints opened by two Norman lords (Hamelin de Balun and Robert of Rhuddlan) and a Welsh ruler under Norman influence (Rhys ap Tewdwr), all at about the same time. This could be reconciled with Metcalf's suggestion that the Welsh mints of the *Paxs* type had a moneyer in common, named Ælfwine de Turre, if he was an itinerant moneyer striking coins and possibly also making dies for more than one lord.¹⁵²

This sudden burst of activity at Welsh mints in the *Paxs* type must have occurred in the early years of the reign of William II (1087–1100), if *Paxs* was the first type of the reign. The dating of the *Paxs* type has been a matter of considerable debate, but there is some force in the argument that versions of the word *Pax* on the first type of Edward the Confessor (1042–66), the coinage of Harold II in 1066 and the *Paxs* type itself may refer to the king's peace, which died with the king and was renewed at his successor's coronation.¹⁵³ If Boon's identification of Abergavenny as one of the mints of the *Paxs* type in Wales is correct, the coins in question cannot have been minted before the foundation of Abergavenny by Hamelin de Balun early in the reign of William II. An apparent objection to the placing of the Welsh coins of the *Paxs* type after the accession of William II in 1087 is that the Rhuddlan mint is mentioned in Domesday Book, the composition of which is generally believed to have been completed no later than the death of William I in September 1087, although some historians have suggested that its writing may have continued into the early months of the reign of William II.¹⁵⁴ Roffe

¹⁴⁷ Carlyon-Britton 1905, 41–3, 47–54; Dolley 1966b, 31–3; Besly 2006, 706–7. Elmore Jones (1955–7b) 194, discusses a coin from an obverse die of the Devitun mint used with an apparently imitative reverse die in the name of the Shrewsbury moneyer Godesbrand.

¹⁴⁸ Archibald 1984, 328; Courtney 1986; Besly 2006, 706–7. ¹⁴⁹ Boon 1986, 67; Besly 2006, 707–8.

¹⁵⁰ Elmore Jones 1955–7b.

¹⁵¹ Domesday Book, I, fol. 269^r; Carlyon-Britton 1905, 41–3; Besly 2006, 708.

¹⁵² Metcalf 1987b, 287.

¹⁵³ Archibald 1984, 324, 328; Allen 1994, 385; Eaglen 2006, 55–8. Keynes (1978) suggests that the word *Pax*, *Pacx* or *Paxs* on these coinages may be an invocation of Christ, in the manner of a *chrismon*, as well as a call for peace. Blackburn (1990a, 57–8, 61–2) argues that the evidence for the significance of the various Pax types is inconclusive, and supports the conventional placing of Henry I's *Pax* type as the third of the reign.

¹⁵⁴ Thorn and Thorn 2001, 70–2.

has argued that Domesday Book was probably compiled in its present form in 1088–90, but there is no secure evidence to support this suggestion.¹⁵⁵ The statement of the twelfth-century chronicler Orderic Vitalis that Ranulf Flambard persuaded William II to revise the survey of all England in 1089 (*ut totius Angliae reviseret discriptionem*) is of doubtful validity as evidence, and the references to William de Warenne as an earl in Domesday Book, which is a title given to him by William II in 1087–8, can be explained as clerical errors.¹⁵⁶ The apparent conflict between the suggested dating of the *Paxs* type to the early years of William II and the references to a mint at Rhuddlan in Domesday Book is capable of resolution, however. Domesday Book recites a series of rights in Rhuddlan and its immediate vicinity that ought to be shared between Robert of Rhuddlan and the earl, listing the castle, the burgesses, the church, the mint, iron mines, the river Clwyd and its mills and fisheries, forest, tolls and the vill of Bryn, and it states that the burgesses of the new borough of Rhuddlan have been granted the laws and customs of Hereford and Breteuil.¹⁵⁷ Robert of Rhuddlan and the earl were entitled to share the profits of a mint if one should be established in the borough, but Domesday Book is notably silent about what these profits might be, in marked contrast to nearly all of its other references to mints and moneyers.¹⁵⁸

After the *Paxs* type there seems to have been a cessation of minting in Wales, although a penny of William II type 2 with the mint signature *Rupco* has been rather speculatively associated with William FitzBaldwin's occupation of Rhyd-y-Gors in c.1093–6.¹⁵⁹ The establishment of a mint at Pembroke by Henry I (1100–35) certainly constituted a new beginning for the production of coinage in Wales. Henry I settled Flemings in a new shire of Pembroke under English jurisdiction, and a mint was part of this settlement.¹⁶⁰ The Pembroke mint was to be active intermittently until Henry II's recoinage of 1158–c.1160.¹⁶¹ A revived Cardiff mint also issued coins for Henry I (in types 5, 11, 10 and 14), and it had a further period of activity under Matilda in the reign of Stephen (1135–54).¹⁶²

¹⁵⁵ Roffe 2000, 242–8; 2007, 104–8.

¹⁵⁶ Chibnall 1969–80, IV, 172; Lewis 1990; Holt 2001, 23–4; Thorn and Thorn 2001, 71–2.

¹⁵⁷ Domesday Book, I, fol. 269^r.

¹⁵⁸ Grierson 1985, 85–7. Domesday Book refers to mints or moneyers at twenty-eight places, omitting any reference to mint revenue at only four places: Rhuddlan, Norwich (where it records the bishop's right to have a moneyer if he wished) (II, fol. 117^v), and the entries concerning moneyers' houses at Wallingford (I, fol. 56^r) and York (I, fol. 298^r).

¹⁵⁹ Carlyon-Britton 1911; Boon 1986, 65; Besly 2006, 708. Dolley (1966b, 33) argued that this coin is a forgery which need not have any connection with Wales.

¹⁶⁰ In the pipe roll of 1129/30 Gillopatric the moneyer (the Pembroke moneyer of Henry I types 10, 14 and 15) paid off 40s. towards £4 owed for an offence relating to the old coinage (*pro foris (facto) veteris monete*), which probably refers to an amercement imposed in the 1124–5 assize of moneyers (Hunter 1833, 136; Andrew 1901, 213, 216–17; Stewart 1991, 3–4).

¹⁶¹ Boon 1988, 15, 20; Besly 2006, 709.

¹⁶² Dolley 1962a, 76–7; Boon and Dolley 1971, 172–3.

The English mints, 1087–1158

No completely new mints are known to have been established south of York between the accession of William II in 1087 and the death of Henry I in 1135, apart from the Rye mint, which has been recorded in Henry I types 11 and 12.¹⁶³ In the northern counties, the bishop of Durham's mint began operations in the *Paxs* type, most probably in 1087–8, and a mint was established at Carlisle in Henry I type 14 (c.1123–1124/5) to strike silver from the local mines.¹⁶⁴ These new creations were outnumbered by closures. The Bridport and Winchcombe mints are recorded for the last time in the *Paxs* type, and the final known coinage of the Guildford mint is in type 5 of William II (1087–1100). The last certainly identifiable issues of the Malmesbury and Maldon mints are in William II types 2 and 3 respectively, although a Henry I type 4 penny names its mint as *Ma*, which probably refers to one of these two places, and an irregular issue of the reign of Stephen (1135–54) has been doubtfully attributed to Malmesbury.¹⁶⁵ The Cricklade mint disappears from the record after William II type 3, and only reappears as the source of another irregular issue of the reign of Stephen.¹⁶⁶ The Totnes mint, which seems to have closed after Harthacnut's *Arm and Sceptre* type (1040–2), was revived in William II type 2, but its last known issue is a coin of Henry I type 12 struck c.1120.¹⁶⁷ The Hertford mint is last recorded in Henry I type 2 (c.1101–3).¹⁶⁸

There was a radical reduction of the number of mints after Henry I's assize of moneyers held at Christmastide 1124–5 (see [Map 1.6](#)). According to the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, Roger of Salisbury, acting on the instructions of Henry I (who was in Normandy) summoned the moneyers to Winchester at Christmas 1124, and by Twelfth Night (6 January) in 1125 they were all castrated and had their right hands amputated, as a punishment for their false-dealing with the coinage.¹⁶⁹ This event is also recorded in Symeon of Durham's *Historia regum*, the Continuation of Florence of Worcester, the Winchester Annals (which states that all of the moneyers were mutilated except three), and the Margam Annals (which says that ninety-four moneyers were punished).¹⁷⁰ Robert of Torigni tells us that the king was angered by complaints from his soldiers in Normandy who had been paid in debased money sent from England, and that he declined the opportunity to take a considerable amount of redemption money from the moneyers, but the pipe roll of 1129/30 shows that it was possible for a moneyer to pay his way out of trouble.¹⁷¹ The Chichester moneyer Brand paid £4 towards a redemption payment of £20, so that he should not be mutilated with the other moneyers

¹⁶³ The Pimprez hoard included a type 11 penny of the Rye moneyer Wulwacher, and a type 12 penny of this moneyer (*BNJ* Coin Register 1989, no. 101) is in the Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge.

¹⁶⁴ Allen 1994, 384–6; 2003a, 3, 14, 33, 165–6. See pp. 239–41 for a discussion of the mine of Carlisle.

¹⁶⁵ Fitzwilliam Museum, CM.970–2001; Mack 1966, 92, no. 259.

¹⁶⁶ Mack 1966, 70, no. 184. ¹⁶⁷ *BNJ* Coin Register 1988, no. 216. ¹⁶⁸ Blackburn 1993a.

¹⁶⁹ Swanton 1996, 255; Blackburn 1990a, 64.

¹⁷⁰ Arnold 1882–5, II, 281; McGurk 1998, 156–7; Luard 1864–9, I, 11; II, 47.

¹⁷¹ Van Houts 1992–5, II, 237–8.



Map 1.6 Mints of Henry I, 1100–35

(*ne esset disfactus cum aliis monetariis*).¹⁷² I have estimated that only about 58–78 of the 141 moneyers recorded in Henry I type 14 (c.1123–1124/5) were removed from office as a direct result of this assize of moneyers.¹⁷³ Henry I type 15 was probably introduced immediately after the assize, to distinguish new money from the coinage allegedly debased by the moneyers, and the number of mints was reduced by more than half from fifty-three or fifty-four to twenty-four.¹⁷⁴ Seventeen of the twenty mints with only one moneyer seem to have been closed (the exceptions being Carlisle, Nottingham and Pembroke) and four mints with more than one moneyer in type 14 were reduced to only one moneyer (Bury St Edmunds, Ipswich, Sandwich and Stamford). Pembroke became the only mint in Wales with the closure of the Cardiff mint, and in the northern counties the disappearance of the Durham mint left Carlisle with the only mint recorded north of York. The highly productive Southwark mint and eight mints around the coast of Kent and Sussex disappear from the coinage: the mints of Hythe, Rochester, Romney, Twynham (Christchurch) and Barnstaple were never to be reopened.

In the early years of the reign of Stephen (1135–54) many of the mints closed under Henry I were reopened (see [Map 1.7](#)), and in the 1140s mints proliferated as Stephen lost control of large areas of England in his civil war with the supporters of Matilda and her son Henry of Anjou, the future King Henry II. Fifteen of the thirty-two mints probably suppressed in 1125 were reopened during the production of Stephen type 1, and six more before the end of the reign (see [Map 1.8](#)). At least nine of these fifteen mints were reopened early in the issue of Stephen type 1, possibly as part of a general restoration of minting rights, consistent with Stephen's other concessions in 1136–7 to secure his succession to the throne. He may have sought to placate the earls who had lost their 'third-penny' share of the profits of mints closed under Henry I.¹⁷⁵

The proliferation of mints in parts of England beyond King Stephen's control (shown in [Map 1.9](#)) began with the loss of the northern counties of Cumberland and Northumberland to the Scots. In 1136 the Scots captured Carlisle and much of Cumbria, and in 1139 Stephen granted the earldom of Northumbria to Henry, the son of King David I of Scotland. Coins copying Stephen type 1 were issued at Newcastle and Carlisle in the name of Stephen, at Corbridge for Earl Henry, and at Edinburgh and Roxburgh for David I. In the 1140s and 1150s Scottish coinages of new types were struck at Carlisle, Newcastle and Bamburgh.¹⁷⁶

¹⁷² Hunter 1833, 42; Andrew 1901, 153, 156–7; Blackburn 1990a, 64; Stewart 1991, 3–4. Other references to moneyers in the pipe roll of 1129/30 are discussed by Stewart (1991) and Allen (2009a, 85–6).

¹⁷³ Allen 2009a, 78–83. Blackburn (1990a, 64–8) estimates that 80–85 moneyers were dismissed.

¹⁷⁴ Blackburn 1990a, 68–71; Allen 2009a, 82–5. The Continuator of Florence of Worcester says that everything was made expensive by the change of money shortly after the assize (*mutatione postmodum monetae, cara facta sunt omnia*) (McGurk 1998, 157). Lord Stewartby has argued that the introduction of type 15 and the reorganisation of the mints may have been delayed (Stewart 1989c, 259–60, 264; 1991, 1, 6).

¹⁷⁵ Blackburn 1994, 153–60.

¹⁷⁶ Mack 1966, 71–2, 97–101; Stewart 1971, 191–202; Blackburn 1994, 191–3.



Map 1.7 Mints of Henry I type 15 and Stephen type 1, 1125–c.1145



Map 1.9 Mints issuing local coinages, 1136–57

The evidence of the coinage is consistent with what we know about Stephen's loss of control over further large areas of England after his capture at the Battle of Lincoln in 1141, with Matilda's supporters dominant in western and south-western shires, and earls acting with a measure of independence in the Midlands and north of the Humber.¹⁷⁷ According to William of Newburgh, writing at the end of the twelfth century, the tyrannical lords of each castle minted their own coinage (*tot reges, vel potius tyranni, quot domini castellorum, habentes singuli percusuram proprii numismatis*), which may be an exaggeration but has some foundation in truth.¹⁷⁸ In the Midlands local variants of type 1 and coins from defaced dies were often followed by the independent coinages of local earls. Northampton, Huntingdon and Cambridge were within the earldom of Simon II of Senlis from 1141. The Northampton mint struck one or possibly two independent types before turning to the production of Stephen type 6 from official London-made dies, the independent coinage of Stephen type 3 seems to have been struck at Huntingdon, and there is a local variant of type 1 from official dies at Cambridge. Simon of Senlis's father-in-law, Earl Robert of Leicester, issued copies of Stephen types 2 and 6, and a coinage in his own name.¹⁷⁹ At Nottingham coins of type 1 from defaced dies and issues related to types 2 and 4 may be coinages of the local lord, William Peverel.¹⁸⁰ Derby, which was in the earldom of Robert of Ferrers (along with Nottingham), issued a very distinctive local coinage with a reverse copied from Edward the Confessor's *Sovereign/Eagles* type, and the same engraver was responsible for another type struck at Nottingham or Tutbury.¹⁸¹ Three local types in the name of Stephen (including type 4) were minted at Lincoln, probably for the earls of Lincoln, although some of them might have been issued by Earl Ranulf II of Chester, who held Lincoln from 1140 to 1146. William of Roumare was the earl of Lincoln from 1140 to 1149, being succeeded by Gilbert of Gant in 1149–53.¹⁸² York issued highly distinctive local coinages in the names of Stephen, William of Aumale, earl of York, Robert III of Stuteville, Eustace FitzJohn and Archbishop Henry Murdac.¹⁸³

In the West Country and Wales Matilda had a coinage of two types, the first of which copied Stephen type 1. This type (A) was issued at Bristol, Cardiff, Oxford and Wareham, and the second type (B) (seen for the first time in the Coed-y-Wenallt hoard found in 1980) is known from Bristol and Cardiff. Other coins in the Coed-y-Wenallt hoard were struck for Henri de Neubourg and a certain John (possibly John of St John).¹⁸⁴ In 1993–4 the discovery of the Box hoard revealed the existence of the previously unsuspected Lion coinage of Robert, earl of Gloucester (1121/2–47) and his son William (earl of Gloucester, 1147–83) from Bristol,

¹⁷⁷ Blackburn 1994, 164–6. ¹⁷⁸ Howlett 1884–9, I, 69; Stewart 1992a, 67; Blackburn 1994, 168.

¹⁷⁹ Blackburn 1994, 164, 181. ¹⁸⁰ Mack 1966, 64; Blackburn 1994, 181.

¹⁸¹ Mack 1966, 68–9; Blackburn 1994, 181–2. ¹⁸² Blackburn 1994, 180.

¹⁸³ Mack 1966, 77–85; Blackburn 1994, 182–7; 2005a.

¹⁸⁴ Mack 1966, 85–8; Archibald 1984, 337; Boon 1986, 37–82, 104; 1988, 14, 17–29; Blackburn 1994, 188–9; Besly 2006, 709.

Castle Combe, Marlborough, Salisbury, Trowbridge and Wareham.¹⁸⁵ Patrick of Salisbury, who was created earl of Wiltshire by Matilda, was the issuer of coins with a portrait wearing a cap instead of a crown and a figure holding a sword, presumably representing the earl himself.¹⁸⁶ A unique coin reading +BR:CITBR [] on the obverse has been doubtfully attributed to Brian FitzCount, constable of Wallingford Castle.¹⁸⁷

There are numerous coins of ‘Henry’ and ‘William’ from identified and unidentified western mints, at least some of which may have been intended to invoke the names of Henry I and William I, as a means to renounce allegiance to Stephen without overtly claiming the right of coinage.¹⁸⁸ Coins of ‘Henry’ were, however, struck in the name of Matilda’s son Henry of Anjou. A unique coin in the Fitzwilliam Museum actually names him as Henry, about to be king ([H]ENRICVS REX FVTVRVVS).¹⁸⁹ The chronicler Roger of Howden says that when Henry of Anjou invaded England for the first time in 1149 he struck a new coinage which became known as Duke’s money (*moneta Ducis*), and that all of the magnates, bishops, earls and barons also made their own money, but that Henry put most or all of these coins down. The name ‘Duke’s money’ can only have been applied after Henry became duke of Normandy in 1150. Roger of Howden’s reference to the suppression of local coinages may be based upon a memory of the eventual reunification of the English coinage in 1153.¹⁹⁰

During the issue of Stephen’s types 2 and 6, from the mid-1140s to 1153, the king was able to enforce the issue of a uniform coinage from London-made dies in the southern and eastern areas of England under his direct control. Local variants of Stephen type 1 from Norwich, Thetford, Bury St Edmunds, Ipswich and Sudbury, and from a new mint at Eye in Suffolk, seem to indicate a loss of royal control of the coinage in East Anglia in the later stages of type 1 in the early to mid-1140s, but this was reversed in type 2.¹⁹¹ East Anglia also gained two new mints in Norfolk during the issue of type 2, at the recently founded Castle Rising and at the port of Dunwich.¹⁹² In type 6 (c.1150–3) there may have been a further new Norfolk mint at Yarmouth, and the area of issue of the king’s coinage widened to include Buckingham, Northampton and Stamford in this type.¹⁹³

In November 1153 Stephen and Henry of Anjou negotiated an end to the civil war, leaving Stephen in possession of the throne, with Henry as his heir. Ralph of Diceto’s account of the negotiations refers to an agreement to have one currency throughout England (*Forma publica*

¹⁸⁵ Archibald 2001.

¹⁸⁶ Mack 1966, 96; Archibald 1984, 336; Blackburn 1994, 190; Fitzwilliam Museum, CM.1229–2001, CM.1230–2001 (PÆTRICIS on obverse), CM.1231–2001.

¹⁸⁷ Mack 1966, 95–6; Boon 1988, 27, 29, 32; Blackburn 1994, 189.

¹⁸⁸ Mack 1966, 88–94; Blackburn 1994, 187–9. ¹⁸⁹ Fitzwilliam Museum, CM.1226–2001.

¹⁹⁰ Stubbs 1868–71, I, 211; Stewart 1992a, 667–8; Blackburn 1994, 168. ¹⁹¹ Blackburn 1994, 162–4.

¹⁹² *BNJ* Coin Register 1988, no. 232; Allen 1994, 391–2; Alliss and Seaby 1984. William d’Aubigny II founded the town and castle of Castle Rising in 1138, at the time of his marriage to Adeliza of Louvain, the widow of Henry I (Blackburn 1994, 159, 161).

¹⁹³ Seaby 1984; Allen 2006a, 245 n.41, 267, 291, Pl. 31, no. 19; Blackburn 1994, 180–1.

percussa eadem in regno celebris erit ubique moneta).¹⁹⁴ Local coinages were suppressed, and there was a mint for the new national coinage of Stephen type 7 in most of the shires, with additional mints on the south and east coasts to serve the needs of foreign trade and in the old West Saxon royal heartland of Somerset and Wiltshire.¹⁹⁵ Four of the mints of type 7 (Bath, Huntingdon, Ilchester and Watchet) had been closed since the mint reorganisation of 1125 or before.¹⁹⁶ There were new mints at Bramber, Hedon and, possibly, Peterborough.¹⁹⁷ Hedon, which had been founded as a port with access to the Humber in the early twelfth century, was developed as a seigniorial borough by William of Aumale, the earl of York, in the 1130s and 1140s, and its mint may have received silver from the wool trade of the East Riding of Yorkshire.¹⁹⁸ The reopening of the bishop of Durham's mint for the issue of type 7 may be connected with Stephen's confirmation of the bishop's right to have a Weardale silver mine in 1153–4.¹⁹⁹ There are imitations of type 7 from local dies with apparently meaningless legends but of good weight, which may have been struck in the northern counties under Scottish control until 1157, using silver from the local mines.²⁰⁰

The total number of mints recorded in Stephen type 7 in 1153/4–8 (47 or 48) is similar to the number known in Edgar's reformed coinage in c.973–975 (44), but this masks the fluctuations in the intervening period. In five types of Æthelred II (978–1016) the number of mints recorded varies from 52 to 64, and in the three types of Cnut (1016–42) it ranges from 62 to 73.²⁰¹ Seventy-six mints have been identified in the reign of Edward the Confessor (1042–66), but the number recorded in one type varies from 50 to 63.²⁰² The *Paxs* type (1087–c.1090?) is known to have been issued by at least 68 mints.²⁰³ After the assize of moneyers in 1124–5 the number of mints recorded falls sharply from 53 or 54 to 24, but Stephen's first type was issued by at least 44 mints.²⁰⁴

PERIODIC RECOINAGES

In the 1950s and 1960s Dolley gradually developed the hypothesis that after Edgar's reform the coinage was changed at regular six-year intervals, which shortened to intervals of two or three years after 1035. In this conception of the Anglo-Saxon system of renewal of the coinage (*renovatio monetæ*) the initial *Reform/First Small Cross* issue introduced in 973 (in Dolley's chronology) was replaced by *First Hand* in 979, followed by *Second Hand* in 985, *Crux* in

¹⁹⁴ Stubbs 1876, I, 296–7; Blackburn 1990a, 194; Amt 1993, 128–9; Allen 2006b, 242; 2007a, 258–9.

¹⁹⁵ Allen 2006b, 245–8; 2007a, 259.

¹⁹⁶ Allen 2006b, 245; Allen and Webb Ware 2007, 279–80 (Durham); EMC 2009.0330 (Chester).

¹⁹⁷ See pp. 11–12 for a discussion of the attribution of coins to a mint in Peterborough.

¹⁹⁸ Elmore Jones 1949–51, 28–9; Blackburn 1994, 161; Allen 2006b, 245 n.43, 246.

¹⁹⁹ Allen and Webb Ware 2007; Davis *et al.* 1913–69, III, 92, no. 258; Page 1907, 348; Allen 1994, 393; 2003a, 33, 68.

²⁰⁰ Allen 2006b, 255, 290–1 (nos. 370–7). ²⁰¹ Freeman 1985, 53–4; Jonsson 1994, 221–2.

²⁰² Freeman 1985, 53–5, 531–4. ²⁰³ Metcalf 1988, 20–3. ²⁰⁴ Blackburn 1994, 154–7.

991 (after a brief issue of *Benediction Hand*), *Intermediate Small Cross* and then *Long Cross* in 997, *Helmet* in 1003, and finally *Agnus Dei* quickly replaced by *Last Small Cross* in 1009; the changes of type taking place at Michaelmas.²⁰⁵ Dolley also suggested Lady Day (25 March) as the date on which types were changed (in the context of a discussion of the introduction of Æthelred II's *Helmet* type in 1003 or 1004), before definitely deciding upon Michaelmas.²⁰⁶ The idea of a change of type at Michaelmas had originally been developed by Andrew and Carlyon-Britton in their attempts to devise chronologies for the coinages of William I, William II and Henry I, but it was based upon the highly questionable assumption that the use of Michaelmas as the end of the exchequer's accounting year in the twelfth century and later has some relevance to the administration of the Anglo-Saxon coinage, and it disregarded the fact that no post-Conquest recoinage is known to have begun at Michaelmas.²⁰⁷ A more fundamental problem with Dolley's conception of the *renovatio* system was that there are no written sources to support the assumption that the types were changed at completely regular intervals of a fixed number of years, and the coinage itself shows that the intervals must have varied from reign to reign. There were three substantive types in 1035–42, with an average length of about 2.3 years, and ten types in the reign of Edward the Confessor (1042–66), at an average of about 2.4 years.²⁰⁸ In the reign of Æthelred II the proposed connection between the movement of Wilton moneyers to Salisbury with the sack of Wilton in 1003 may provide some limited support for Dolley's dating of the beginning of the *Helmet* type to that year, and the issue of the *Agnus Dei* type may well be connected with Æthelred II's Penitential Edict in 1009, but the other points in Dolley's chronology have no support of this kind.²⁰⁹

Edgar's reform introduced a uniform national coinage (see Fig. 1.1), which was left essentially unchanged under his son Edward the Martyr (975–8) and in the early months of the reign of Æthelred II, apart from necessary changes of king's name.²¹⁰ It can be argued that there was a period of experimentation under Æthelred II before the *renovatio* system appeared in its final form.²¹¹

Æthelred II replaced the *Reform/First Small Cross* type he had inherited from his father and brother with the *First Hand* type (see Fig. 1.2, top) in about 979. At some time during the issue of this type moneyers in southern England began using dies of the *Second Hand* type (Fig. 1.2, bottom), which is a slightly modified version of *First Hand*, with a sceptre added on the obverse, and on the reverse two curved lines coming from the sleeve of the

²⁰⁵ Brand 1984b, 3–8; Stewart 1990, 458–60; Lyon 2003, 70. Petersson (1969, 84–6) suggested that the cycle of recoinage was septennial.

²⁰⁶ Dolley and Elmore Jones 1955–7, 84; 1961, 176.

²⁰⁷ Andrew 1901, 43, 101; Carlyon-Britton 1902b, 210, 212–15, 219–20; Brand 1984b, 3, 35 n.13.

²⁰⁸ The figures for the numbers of types exclude the brief continuations of Cnut's *Short Cross* type in 1035 and Harthacnut's *Arm and Sceptre* type in 1042, and of Edward the Confessor's *Transitional Pyramids* type.

²⁰⁹ Dolley 1954a; 1971b, 337–40; Lyon 1966, 37; Brand 1984b, 30; Blunt and Lyon 1990; Stewart 1990, 477–9; Keynes 2007, 197–201.

²¹⁰ Stewart 1990, 463, 475. ²¹¹ Grierson 1962, xii–xiii; Stewart 1990, 457–4, 474–7.

Fig. 1.1 Edgar's *Reform* typeFig. 1.2 Æthelred II's *First Hand* and *Second Hand* types

Hand of Providence and pellets underneath the alpha and omega. Relatively few coins were struck from regular dies of the *Second Hand* type north of the Humber, some rare issues of Chester and York being notable exceptions to this rule, although York moneyers also struck some *Second Hand* coins from local dies, as well as *First Hand* coins with blundered reverse inscriptions.²¹² The London (Chelsea Reach) hoard consisted of fifteen coins of the *Second Hand* type only, which might appear to support the idea that it was a recoinage type, but the metrology of *First Hand* and *Second Hand* can be interpreted as that of one type with weight standards declining from relatively heavy in *First Hand* to lighter weights in *Second Hand*.²¹³ The purpose of the modification of the type may have been to obtain revenue from the moneyers by obliging them to obtain new dies, but this was evidently not enforced in some more northerly areas.²¹⁴ The further modification of the type in *Benediction Hand*, with changes to the portrait and the Hand of Providence, may possibly have been a short-lived national type for a general recoinage that was abandoned because it was too similar to the *First* and *Second Hand* types. Bornholdt Collins and Screen have listed 176 *Benediction Hand* coins

²¹² Jonsson 1987b, 84–5; Stewart 1990, 473; Symons 2003, 211–12, 315; *SCBI* 7, no. 1251.

²¹³ Dolley and Grover with Blackburn 1983; Brand 1984b, 20, 24; 1967; Blackburn 1991, 160; Stewart 1990, 474. Petersson (1969, 82, 104–7, 148–52) notes that northern mints seem to have continued to produce coins of the *First Hand* type on the initial, reduced, weight standard of *Second Hand* (c.1.40–1.44 g).

²¹⁴ Stewart (1990, 471–4) offers cogent arguments against the concept of a geographically limited recoinage.

of fifty-eight moneyers at twenty-two mints and six mules with other types, including two *Benediction Hand/Crux* mules of York.²¹⁵

The *Hand* types were replaced by *Crux* in a general recoinage at all of the mints, conventionally dated to c.991 but possibly occurring in the late 980s, and by this time a system of national recoinages involving coins of completely new types had evidently become established. The new system did not run entirely smoothly. The *Intermediate Small Cross* type (which is recorded at only ten mints) seems to have been an abortive attempt to replace *Crux*, which was followed by a reintroduction of *Crux*.²¹⁶ It may have been realised that there could be confusion between the new coins of *Intermediate Small Cross* and the earlier *Reform/First Small Cross* coins of the same design. *Agnus Dei* is another type of a very limited nature (with only nine mints recorded), but it may have been a special issue connected with Æthelred II's Penitential Edict of August 1009 rather than being another abortive recoinage type.²¹⁷

Dolley assumed that there was a complete change of the coinage within a relatively short period after the introduction of a new type.²¹⁸ The hoard evidence summarised in Table 1.3 certainly suggests that recoinages were usually effectively complete before the end of a type, because only two of the thirty-six finds in the table are 'multi-type' hoards with coins of more than two types (the current type and the previous one).²¹⁹ The mechanism by which a change of coinage was enforced is, however, a matter of debate. New coins may only have been obtained when they were needed for official payments to the king, which might also cause people to demand coins of the new type in private transactions. It is possible that the legally binding transactions in the presence of witnesses described in the law codes usually involved coins of the current type, but this is not stated in any of the codes.²²⁰

Thirteen of the eighteen hoards of 1042–66 in Table 1.4 are multi-type hoards, but it can be argued that such hoards were probably stores of wealth that could be converted to current money by recoinage when needed, or possibly negotiated at a discount. There would have been an obvious financial incentive for the owners of such hoards to defer recoinage

²¹⁵ Bornholdt Collins and Screen 2007. Jonsson (1987b, 99–103) listed 138 *Benediction Hand* coins and two *Second Hand/Benediction Hand* mules.

²¹⁶ Dolley and Elmore Jones 1955–7; Stewart 1990, 476.

²¹⁷ Dolley 1971b, 337–40; Stewart 1990, 477–9; Keynes 2007, 193–201, 215–20. The Edict called for prayers on the three days immediately before Michaelmas (29 Sept.) to seek deliverance from the invasion by Thorkell's army.

²¹⁸ Dolley 1978a.

²¹⁹ The Welbourn hoard (Appendix E, no. 25; deposited c.1000) included coins of various types of the coinage of Æthelred II, probably beginning with the *First Small Cross* type (978–c.979), and the so-called 'Cnut' hoard (c.1030–5) opened with coins of the *Crux* type from the 990s (Blackburn 1985; Eaglen 1999, 63–5; Allen 2006c, 504–5, 515–16, nos. 11, 30; Appendix E, no. 35). Before the discovery of these hoards Dolley and Metcalf (1961, 156–8) noted that no English hoard deposited between the reform of Edgar and 1042 was known to have contained coins of more than two types in significant quantities.

²²⁰ Grierson 1962, x–xii; Stewart 1990, 465–8; Blackburn 1990a, 51 n.13.

Table 1.3 *Numbers of types in English hoards, c.979–1042*

Last type	2A	2B–C	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	Total
One type	2	2	4	11	0	2	1	3	5	0	1	0	31
Two types	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	3
Multi-type	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	2
Total	3	2	5	12	0	2	1	4	6	0	1	0	36

Notes: In Tables 1.3 and 1.4 types are indicated by the numbers proposed in Stewart 1975a (see p. 515). Table 1.3 excludes the hoard from Constantine in Cornwall (Appendix E, no. 42), the contents of which are uncertain apart from the presence of at least one coin of Cnut's *Quatrefoil* type.

Source: Appendix F.

Table 1.4 *Numbers of types in English hoards, 1042–66*

Last type	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	Total
One type	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	2	1	4
Two types	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	1
Multi-type	1	0	0	1	1	2	0	0	3	1	4	13
Total	1	0	0	1	1	2	2	0	3	3	5	18

Source: Appendix F.

as long as possible, because there might be another recoinage before the coins had to be spent.²²¹ This argument is supported by observed differences in the chronological distributions of coins in multi-type hoards of the same period, which would not be expected if they were drawn from a common stock of a multi-type currency in circulation. Some multi-type hoards of 1042–66 have abnormally large numbers of coins from local mints issued many years before the closure of the hoard, which is further evidence of the presence of a savings element.²²²

Brown has used an analysis of nine English hoards deposited between 1066 and 1125 to argue that the whole currency was usually subjected to recoinage during the first half of the period of issue of the new type.²²³ The Bournemouth hoard seems to provide evidence of an effectively complete recoinage in type 14 (c.1123–1124/5), because only four of the 376 coins recorded from this hoard belong to earlier types, and nine other English hoards from

²²¹ Lyon 1971, 115–17 (tabulating the contents of nine single-type and six multi-type hoards); Blackburn 1985, 81–3; Allen 2006c, 494–5.

²²² Stewart 1978b, 91–2; Metcalf 1980, 30–1; 1998, 95–9. ²²³ Brown 1997, 3–5, 9.



Fig. 1.3 Stephen's type 7 and Henry II's *Cross-and-Crosslets* coinage

the reign of Henry I (1100–35) probably or certainly consisted of one type only. Multi-type hoards arguably having a savings element continue (most notably the Lincoln hoard).²²⁴

The absence of a change of type between the mint reorganisation of 1125 and the end of the reign of Henry I in 1135 indicates that Henry I abandoned the system of periodic recoinages either in 1125 or possibly a few years later when a recoinage would have been due.²²⁵ A new coinage was introduced as a matter of course after the accession of Stephen in 1135, and the introduction of Stephen type 2 in the mid-1140s may have been intended to remove from circulation only the many lightweight and unofficial derivatives of type 1 circulating in the parts of the kingdom under the king's control. It is possible, however, that the introduction of Stephen type 6 in about 1150 represents a return to periodic recoinages as a means to raise revenue.²²⁶ Stephen type 7 (see Fig. 1.3, top) was a result of his agreement with Henry of Anjou in 1153 to issue one coinage throughout England.²²⁷ The hoard evidence seems to indicate that there was an effective recoinage between 1153 and the replacement of Stephen type 7 by Henry II's *Cross-and-Crosslets* coinage in 1158 (see Fig. 1.3, bottom).²²⁸

²²⁴ See Appendix F. ²²⁵ Blackburn 1990a, 72–3. ²²⁶ Blackburn 1994, 161–2.

²²⁷ Allen 2006b, 242; 2007a, 258–9. ²²⁸ Allen 2006b, 251–2.