

# **Coinage and Regional Authority in the Reign of King Stephen, 1135-1154**

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## **Abstract:**

Coinage is a long-studied yet frequently neglected aspect of medieval history. Highly portable, and performing vital economic, administrative, political, and social roles, coinage was essential even for those who handled little of it. This thesis explores coinage, authority and governance in the reign of Stephen, King of The English from 1135 to 1154. Over fourteen years Stephen fought, first against Empress Matilda, then her son Henry of Anjou, to preserve his kingship. Amidst contested royal authority and violent struggle, aspirant monarchs, their supporters, and others, issued coins. Anglo-Norman coinage temporarily ceased to be a royal monopoly, becoming fractured and decentralised in ways long familiar from mainland Europe. This thesis seeks to move beyond the paradigm of ‘Anarchy’ that dominates Stephen’s reign. Coinage as a source will be central, not secondary to written narratives. Sources including the Portable Antiquities Scheme, the Fitzwilliam Museum’s EMC, and previously unpublished data from the British Museum, will be used to explore coinage’s relationship with power and notions of authority across the Anglo-Norman community of Stephen’s reign. Expanding upon established theoretical approaches, coinage is interpreted regionally, dividing Stephen’s realm into four broad areas. Establishing geographic and political nuances distinctive to each region will better contextualise their local coinages. Simultaneously, overarching continuities with pre-war coinage will be explored. The historiography both of Stephen’s reign and of the English monetary system from the tenth century through to Henry I will be discussed, followed by chapters dedicated to each region. These chapters are subdivided into analysis of types and hoards, followed by broader commentary on how numismatic evidence informs the overall discussion of money and power. Closing remarks re-iterate the distinctive aspects of regional coinage, while placing them within broader trends of local coinage within a strong regalian tradition, and exploring potentialities for further exploration of the subject.

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## Abbreviations

HN - William of Malmesbury, *Historia Novella*

AMV1 - *Annales Monsatici* vol. 1

AMV2 - *Annales Monastici* vol. 2

AMV4 - *Annales Monsatici* vol. 4

ANS - *Anglo-Norman Studies*

ASC – *The Anglo Saxon Chronicles*

BMC – British Museum Catalogue

BNJ – *British Numismatic Journal*

‘C&C’ - ‘Coinage and Currency’

CRDT - Robert de Torigni, *Oxford Medieval Texts: The Chronography of Robert of Torigni, Vol 1: The Chronicle, AD 1100-1186*, ed. Thomas N. Bisson, (Oxford, 2020)

DDS - Richard fitz Nigel, Bishop of London, *Dialogus de Scaccario*

DGRS - Richard of Hexham, ‘De Gestis Regis Stephani’

EHC - *English Hammered Coinage* vol.1

EMC – Corpus of Early Medieval Coin Finds

GS – *Gesta Stephani*, ed. K.R Potter and R.H.C.Davis, (Oxford, 1976)

HA – Henry, Archdeacon of Huntingdon, *Historia Anglorum: The History of the English People*,

HOEA - William de Newburgh, *The History of English Affairs*,

JOW – John of Worcester, *Oxford Medieval Texts: The Chronicle of John of Worcester Volume III:*

LCH - *The Letters and Charters of Henry II, King of England*

LE - *Liber Eliensis*

M&M – *Mints and Money in Medieval England*

MCHBI – *Medieval Coin Hoards of Britain and Ireland*

MITMEE – *Money in The Medieval English Economy*

NC – *Numismatic Chronicle*

ODNB – Oxford Dictionary of National Biography

PAS – Portable Antiquities Scheme

RdD – Ralph de Diceto Decani Londoniensis, *The Historical Works of Ralph de Diceto, Dean of London*,

RdH – Roger de Hovedon, *Chronica Magistri Rogeri de Houedene*

RRAN - *Regesta Regum Anglo-Normannorum*,

SCBI – Sylloge of Coins of The British Isles



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## Chapter 1 – Historical and Historiographical Contexts.

### 1.1 Introduction

When Stephen of Blois (–1135-1154) was crowned king in 1135 he was already a long-established figure within the Anglo-Norman political community. Now in his forties, Stephen was regarded as gregarious and popular, wealthy and generous with his wealth. In this sense it is unsurprising that he was chosen by the wider Anglo-Norman elite to become king: he was one of their own.<sup>1</sup> Nevertheless, the defining event of Stephen's reign was his extended conflict with Empress Matilda (1167) and later her successor Henry of Anjou (1154-1189), which lasted effectively from Matilda's return to England in 1139 until the final peace of 1153. For these fourteen years royal authority was contested across the realm. The narrative sources speak of widespread violence, disorder and brutality. It would only be in the closing year of Stephen's reign and the initial years of Henry II's that peace and mechanisms of royal power would be restored to their pre-war state.<sup>2</sup>

This thesis is a history of King Stephen's reign that takes a new approach to understanding mechanisms of authority and power in Anglo-Norman Britain. It attempts a monetary history, applying the study of coinage to broader questions over the nature of authority and how money was used by actors at all levels of society in the later Norman period. Much scholarship on Stephen's reign has focused on debates around 'Anarchy', with the concept traditionally taken at face value.

Numismatic scholarship at one time followed the same trend, deploying the word uncritically when discussing Stephen's coinage.<sup>3</sup> The thesis will engage with this longstanding historiographical tradition, but the intention is not decisively to resolve this debate or champion one particular school of thought over another. Instead it is hoped that an entirely new approach to understanding Stephen's reign can be followed, one that uses a long neglected body of evidence to develop an understanding of the period which resists any binary categorisation. Coinage under Stephen will be contextualised

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<sup>1</sup> E. King, 'Stephen of Blois, Count of Mortain and Boulogne', *EHR* cxv (Oxford 2000), 271-296.

<sup>2</sup> E. Amt, *The Accession of Henry II in England: Royal Government Restored 1149-1159* (Woodbridge 1993), 1, 16-7.

<sup>3</sup> G. Boon, *Coins of The Anarchy 1135-1154* (London 1988) 17-20, R. Mack, 'Stephen and The Anarchy 1135-1154', *BNJ*, xxxv (1966), 34-7 pls.

within wider analysis of the development (or modification) of systems of monetary control. These systems will be interpreted, alongside their relationship to what might be called 'state' or seigniorial power from 1135 to 1154. The intention is better to understand how these two interconnected elements were deployed for political and economic reasons. Doing so will yield insight into the impact that changing systems had upon relations between the greater magnates, as well as the everyday lives of coin users at all levels of society.

## 1.2 On 'Anarchy'

Anarchy is a word that has (rightly or wrongly) been widely used through discourse on Stephen's reign. Indeed Stephen's reign was characterised as one of violence and disorder even before it had ended.<sup>4</sup> J.H Round (whose work on Stephen's rule is fundamental) viewed the reign as demonstrative of extreme 'feudalism', brought about by a deliberate reaction to the centralising tendencies of Stephen's predecessor. According to Round this reaction produced an enfeebled administration which allowed royal subjects (exemplified by Geoffrey de Mandeville) to indulge their anarchic spirit.<sup>5</sup>

R.H.C Davis' 1964 critique of Round's work was less concerned with the appropriateness of the term 'anarchy', and more with Round's overall conclusion regarding the motivations of the great magnates in carrying on the war. For Davis, the anarchy of Stephen's reign was not a matter of feudal lords resisting royal centralisation, but of magnates seeking to enforce their own hereditary rights amidst a broader shift from elective to hereditary monarchy.<sup>6</sup> The notion of a 'spirit of anarchy' was thereafter seen as unproblematic by John Appleby, who deployed the term in his own work in 1969. Appleby's *The Troubled Reign of King Stephen* describes the relationship between Robert fitz Hubert and William of Gloucester (at times co-operative and other times combative, depending on their individual needs) as indicative of a wider explosion of anarchy throughout the England of the 1140s.<sup>7</sup>

It was not until the 1970s that more revisionist histories emerged to challenge the concept of anarchy under Stephen. In 1973, John le Patourel built on Davis' understanding of institutional change under

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<sup>4</sup> E. King 'Introduction', in *The Anarchy of King Stephen's Reign* ed. E. King (Oxford 2001), 1-36.

<sup>5</sup> J.H Round, *Geoffrey De Mandeville: A Study of The Anarchy* (London 1892), i, 35.

<sup>6</sup> R.H.C. Davis, 'What Happened in Stephen's Reign, 1135-1154', *History*, xxxix (1964), 1-12.

<sup>7</sup> J.T Appleby, *The Troubled Reign of King Stephen* (London 1969), 81.

Stephen and identified notable continuities. Specifically, Le Patourel was concerned with the persistence of tenurial links between England and Normandy, despite the duchy's separation from Stephen's English realm. Le Patourel's work helpfully demonstrated the persistence of cross-Channel cultural and tenurial ties (albeit in diminished form) amidst the disruptions that occurred under Stephen.<sup>8</sup> Subsequently, Edmund King's 'King Stephen and The Anglo-Norman Aristocracy', rejected the notion that the aristocracy was explicitly aligned against royal power. Stephen's reign was reassessed as one misrepresented by hostile historians writing under Henry II, just as 11<sup>th</sup>-century Anglo-Norman writers had critiqued the disorders of their Anglo-Saxon predecessors.<sup>9</sup> Kenji Yoshitake's work on the Exchequer noted administrative continuities into 1154, where even regions ostensibly hostile to Stephen (including those parts of England that had been aligned with Matilda) saw the speedy re-establishment of efficient accountancy. The implication must be that, whatever institutional disruption there had been between 1139 and 1154, it was not as catastrophic as had traditionally been supposed.<sup>10</sup>

Emilie Amt meanwhile built on debates concerning the aristocracy's role under Stephen. In her work she argued that the war's end came about not simply because of Henry and Stephen's mutual desire for peace. Instead, peace-making was driven by war-weariness among the baronage, who were the principal secular pressure group demanding an end to the conflict, in company with the Church.<sup>11</sup> Amt also explored continuities and change within royal administration from Stephen to Henry, with various sheriffs enjoying careers under both monarchs, despite Henry's ostensible reluctance to recognise Stephen's authority as legitimate. Meanwhile Stephen's administrators were actually retained most often in the south-eastern counties where Stephen's authority had been most secure.<sup>12</sup>

By the end of the twentieth century, Warren Hollister was still writing that Stephen's reign was genuinely anarchic, but numbering himself in the minority for so writing.<sup>13</sup> Amt's comments on the

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<sup>8</sup> J. Le Patourel, 'What Did Not Happen in Stephen's Reign', *History*, lviii (1973) 1-18.

<sup>9</sup> E. King, 'King Stephen and The Anglo-Norman Aristocracy', *History*, lix (1974), 180-94.

<sup>10</sup> K. Yoshitake, 'The Exchequer in the Reign of Stephen', *The English Historical Review* ciii (1988), 950-9.

<sup>11</sup> E. Amt, *The Accession of Henry II in England*, (Woodbridge 1993), 12-3.

<sup>12</sup> Amt, *The Accession*, 113-5.

<sup>13</sup> C. Warren Hollister, 'The Aristocracy', *The Anarchy of King Stephen's Reign* ed. E. King (Oxford 2001), 37-66.

aristocracy's role in peace-making were echoed in David Crouch's *The Reign of King Stephen*. Crouch discussed the early emergence in Stephen's reign of aristocratic 'affinities' (networks of lesser regional landowners congregated around greater ones). He argued that early twelfth-century society was already organised in a fashion that recognised and even sanctioned the hegemony of local magnates. During Stephen's reign, local English magnates worked to marginalise regional rivals and develop consistent self-contained land-holdings similar to those in Normandy. According to Crouch, while the formation of regional networks of authority represented a decentralisation of power, it was by no means anarchic. Indeed, Crouch explicitly rejected any attempt to characterise England under Stephen in this manner.<sup>14</sup>

Graeme White's 'The Myth of the Anarchy' laid out a refined critique of anarchy as a historiographical concept, alongside a counter-narrative of administrative continuity and political stability.<sup>15</sup> White observed that though administrative authority may no longer have been in Stephen's hands, this did not mean that it was destroyed or that people did not assume royal authority would be restored. White also drew attention to the establishment of separate regional administrations. He noted the reconquest or surrender of Scots-controlled lands in 1158, and how the speed at which revenues were brought back under accountancy was indicative of continued local administrative efficiency. Furthermore White deemed the very concept of anarchy to be an anachronism, since the Greek term '*anarchia*' did not come into Latin usage until the 16<sup>th</sup> Century.<sup>16</sup> White's work represents a more nuanced model of authority in Stephen's reign, in which political power shifted from the King to other regional figures who may well have chosen to assume responsibility for peace and good order that had once been the responsibility of the monarch.

It is not the purpose of this thesis to define a concept of anarchy, and then array the numismatic evidence against it. Instead, anarchy will be discussed when it is relevant to wider discussions of authority within England, Wales and Scotland during Stephen's reign, and how mechanisms of coin

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<sup>14</sup> D.Crouch, *The Reign of King Stephen: 1135-1154* (Harlow 2000), 147-55, 165.

<sup>15</sup> G.White, 'The Myth of The Anarchy', *ANS*, xxii (2000), 323-337.

<sup>16</sup> White, 'The Myth of The Anarchy', 333-7.

production and control may have operated. With this said, White's comments on separate regional administrations supply a helpful framework for considering coinage more generally.

### 1.3 Numismatics and Stephen's Reign

Alongside scholarship on Stephen and the question of anarchy stands a longstanding tradition of numismatic scholarship. Numismatic scholarship has often been less concerned with a wider interpretation of structures and relationships under Stephen but has instead often adopted a 'collectors' mentality' towards the subject. This intellectual tradition is exemplified in the (nevertheless vitally useful) work of Commander R.P Mack, whose summaries of various hoards and coin types is heavily focused on minute technical details, but lacks integration with wider historical debates.<sup>17</sup> Mark Blackburn's articles on 'Coinage and Currency' under Henry I (1100-1135) and Stephen provided in depth discussion of typologies, chronologies, and mechanisms of control, particularly of those 'substantive' issues struck across England in the monarch's name.<sup>18</sup>

Modern scholarship is increasingly demonstrating the functions that coins can serve as evidence in their own right, not merely as a supplement to the written record. As the corpus of known coins is ever evolving, new types emerge and numismatists have been able more fully to explore coins within their wider context. Johanne Porter's recent article discussing the 'Matilda Rex' type has striking implications for understanding the Empress's title, and the status of coins as objects during her period of rule.<sup>19</sup> Martin Allen's work on the transition from Stephen's final issue to Henry II's first type used data from single finds, hoard analysis, and study of individual coins alongside scholarship on the Pipe Rolls and wider debates on Stephen's reign. Allen was then able to contextualise these coins within the wider historical record, and explore mechanisms of monetary control in the mid-twelfth century.<sup>20</sup>

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<sup>17</sup>Mack, 'Stephen and The Anarchy 1135-1154', 34-37.

<sup>18</sup> M. Blackburn, 'Coinage and Currency Under Henry I: A Review', *ANS*, xiii (1990) 49-83; M. Blackburn, 'Coinage and Currency', *The Anarchy of King Stephen's Reign*, ed. E. King (Oxford 2001), 145-205.

<sup>19</sup> J. Porter, 'A New Coin Type of The Empress Matilda?: The "Rex Matilda" Cross Moline type', *BNJ*, lxxxix (2019), 109-17.

<sup>20</sup> M. Allen, 'The English Hammered Coinage of 1153/4-1158', *BNJ*, lxxvi (2006), 204-26.

Allen also discussed the potentialities and limits of die studies, producing estimates of the volume of currency in circulation in England from the tenth to the twelfth century.<sup>21</sup>

Rory Naismith's research focuses somewhat earlier on the Anglo-Saxon period, but his exploration of (for example) moneyers and their identities in the tenth and eleventh centuries suggests that the precise status of those who oversaw coinage may have varied according to time and place. Late Anglo-Saxon moneyers came from diverse backgrounds, at least as far as personal wealth was concerned. Most may not have been rich when compared to the greater magnates of the kingdom. But even poorer moneyers were likely still of some means compared to their immediate neighbours. Moneyers were likely often urban figures, associated with the metalworking trades. Under certain circumstances (including exceptional coin shortage or perhaps local instability), pre-eminent local figures such as the thegns may have taken responsibility for coinage. Naismith's work on the moneyers named on late Anglo-Saxon coins drew attention to a possible division between 'professional' moneyers and 'gentlemen' moneyers. The former likely depended on their profession for a living, while the latter were wealthier and produced coins in response to socially or hierarchically-generated needs.<sup>22</sup> Such scholarship serves as a helpful prototype for understanding Anglo-Norman coinage and deploying it as a source. Naismith's comments on intermittent moneyers are of particular use when considering coinage under Stephen, under whom it appears that several moneyers emerged to produce distinct coinages amidst local political uncertainty.

Anglo-Norman coins are divided into 'types' by numismatists. Each type is distinguished by unique design elements on the obverse and reverse. These are then conventionally numbered in chronological order. For example, Henry I had fifteen types of penny, with Type 1 being the first, and Type 15 his final type. Other types (typically local variants or anomalous issues that cannot be placed firmly into a chronology) are named according to distinguishing features. Henry I's struck halfpenny, Robert of Gloucester's 'Lion' type, or the 'PAX' type issued in the name of William (either William I's final issue or William II's first) are examples of this. English pennies c.1135 uniformly bore the King's name,

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<sup>21</sup> M. Allen, 'The Volume of English Currency, c. 973-1158', *Coinage and History in the North Sea World, c. AD 500-1250: Essays in Honour of Marion Archibald*, eds. B. Cook & G. Williams (Leiden 2006), 487-523.

<sup>22</sup> R. Naismith 'The Moneyers and Domesday Book', *ANS*, xlv (2022), 181-274.

title, and likeness, having done so since the reform of king Edgar (959-975).<sup>23</sup> Aesthetic aspects of coinage were key in terms of transforming the object into a coin rather than a piece of bullion. Coinage may have been weighed by its users, but a trusted design may have ensured that a coin's degree of silver purity was taken for granted. Coinage also served as a statement of its issuer's legitimacy and authority, based on longstanding traditions of coinage as a vessel of royal propaganda.<sup>24</sup>

Coinage thus sits at the intersection between the theoretical and practical aspects of governance, economics and authority. The benefits of approaching coinage as a source of evidence are many. Yet these still remain under-utilised. The premise of this thesis is to take coinage of Stephen's reign in as great a quantity as can be coherently managed, and to interrogate it in response to the various wider questions that have defined scholarship on the reign. Individual types will be identified and discussed, as will hoards. The central focus will be the relationship between coinage and notions of power and its exercise from 1135 to 1154. Regardless of its character, medieval coinage (distinct from money) is fundamentally associated with notions of taxation, regulation of standards, temporal authority and royal (if not state) power. In this regard, an understanding of the coinage of Stephen's reign, and how it was affected or not by the extended conflicts brought about by the King's struggle with the Empress, should yield considerable insight into the wider questions, both of how authority was conceived, and projected via coinage.

#### 1.4 The Written Record

While the numismatic evidence is central here, it is important to note that the written record still supplies vital context to wider events under Stephen, as indeed under both his successor and predecessor. Anglo-Norman history writing up to Henry I's reign was dominated by Benedictine monastic scholars, operating in the Anglo-Saxon tradition. These scholars based their writing upon

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<sup>23</sup> J.L Bolton, *MITMEE*, 89.

<sup>24</sup> R. Naismith, *Money and Power in Anglo Saxon England: The Southern English Kingdoms, 757-865*, (Cambridge 2012), 47.



defining works such as the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, and their predecessors such as Bede.<sup>25</sup> This tradition is exemplified in the Peterborough continuation of the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, as well as the Chronicle of John of Worcester (itself a continuation of Florence of Worcester's work from 1124-40). Alongside these chronicles, William of Malmesbury's *Historia Novella* is one of the most important sources for Stephen's reign. A defining feature of history writing under Stephen was the emergence of secular clergy as writers. Figures such as Henry of Huntingdon and Geoffrey of Monmouth produced works in a new romance style, which was concerned with entertainment perhaps as much as edification or record.<sup>26</sup> It may be that the anonymous author of the *Gesta Stephani* (written in two phases from 1148 to c.1153) also worked in this style.<sup>27</sup> Subsequent texts (such as the various monastic annals of the 13<sup>th</sup>-14<sup>th</sup> centuries) typically based their accounts on these foundational works. Cartulary evidence, and the Pipe Rolls (both of Henry I and Henry II) also provide contexts to wider administrative practise, particularly concerning entitlement to rent and grants made in cash.

### 1.5 Monetary Control in the Reign of Henry I: The Assize of Moneyers

It is not possible properly to understand the ways in which coinage deviated from the *status quo* after 1135 without a clear picture of the pre-war situation. Establishing this requires not only that we consider coinage at the start of Stephen's reign, but that we reach further back to the final decade of Henry I's kingship.

In 1125 the 'assize of moneyers' was enacted, recorded in numerous sources, including John of Worcester's Chronicle, Henry of Huntingdon's *Historia Anglorum* and the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*. The incident is also recorded in the *Chronica* of Robert de Torigni, who likely drew upon Henry of Huntingdon's account. Many of the monastic chronicles (namely the Annales of Margan, Tewkesbury, Winchester, Worcester and Osney) also record the event, though these were written sometimes

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<sup>25</sup> A. Gransden, *Historical Writing in England: 550-1307 and 1307 to the Early Sixteenth Century*, (London 1997), 136.

<sup>26</sup> Gransden, *Historical Writing*, 186-7.

<sup>27</sup> Gransden, *Historical Writing*, 188-90.

centuries later and, barring subtle local details, all borrow chiefly from the foundational works mentioned above.

In terms of specifics, Margan states that 94 moneyers were punished and is the only source to provide an exact figure, albeit recorded more than a century after events.<sup>28</sup> The Annals of Winchester state that all moneyers in England were punished except for three at Winchester.<sup>29</sup> The moneyers' crime is exposed by several sources, including John of Worcester who accuses them of issuing 'falsa moneta' or coin of poor quality.<sup>30</sup>

The sources differ on precise details of the punishment and how many were punished, but broadly indicate that it involved some form of physical mutilation. The two exceptions are the Annals of Tewkesbury, which simply state that 'revenge was done on the moneyers', and the Annals of Worcester, which allude to a generic judicial punishment, or even possibly a fine.<sup>31</sup> In the other sources there is reference to the cutting off of the right hand and mutilation in lower regions (possibly genitals). Thomas of Wykes' account agrees and adds the punishment of exile, though given that Wykes was writing more than 150 years after the fact, his account should be treated with some caution.<sup>32</sup> Both Robert de Torigini and Henry of Huntingdon describe how king Henry 'emasculated' almost all the moneyers of England and severed their right hands for the crime of debasing the coin.<sup>33</sup>

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<sup>28</sup> 'Annales de Margan' *AMVI*, 11, 'Monetarii autem numero xciv. Jussi regis in Normannia consistentis iii. die Epiphaniæ dextris truncate et genitalibus præcisi sunt apud Wintoniam.'

<sup>29</sup> 'Annales de Wintonia' *AMV2* 47, 'Hoc anno mutilate sunt omnes monetarii totius Angliæ, exceptis tribus apud Wintoniam.'

<sup>30</sup> *JOW*, 156-7, 'Monetarii per Angliam cum falsa moneta capti, truncates dextris minimis et abscisis inferioribus corporis partibus, regis fere subvent edictum.'

<sup>31</sup> 'Annales de Theokesberia,' *AMVI* 45, 'et ultio facta est de monetariis', 'Annales de Wigornia' in *AMV4*, 377 'Monetarii totius Angliæ amerciati sunt.', 'Annales de Wintonia' *AMV2*, 47 'Hoc anno mutilate sunt omnes monetarii totius Angliæ, exceptis tribus apud Wintoniam.'

<sup>32</sup> 'Annales de Oseneia et Chronicon Thomæ Wykes' *AMV4* 18 'Rex Henricus gravissimam justitiam fecit de monetariis et falsariis monetæ convince poterant, abscisis dextris et ablatis testiculis, regnum suum abjurare et exulare coegit.'

<sup>33</sup> *HA*, 474 'Opere uero precium est audire quam seuerus rex fuerit in prauos. Monetarios enim fere omnes totius Angliæ fecit ementulari et manus dextras abscidi, quia monetam furtiue corruperant. Iste est annus karissimus omnium nostri temporis, in quo uendebatur onus equi frumentarium sex solidis', *CRDT*, 84-85 'Opere precium est audire quam seuerus rex Anglorum Henricus fuerit in prauos. Monetarios enim fere omnes totius Angliæ fecit ementulari, et manus dexterarum fabricantes nequitiam abscidi, quia monetam furtiue corruperant. Iste est in Anglia annus karissimus omnium, in quo uendebatur onus equi frumentarium .vi. solidis.'

These two sources comment that a horse load of grain could not be got for six shillings. Both also remark on how fiercely Henry dealt with the wicked during this incident.<sup>34</sup>

The *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* and *Annals of Margan* draw attention to the fact that Henry ordered the mutilations, though the latter indicates that the actual punishment occurred while the King was in Normandy.<sup>35</sup> The *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* seems to agree that Henry did not directly oversee the act, nor did he communicate with the moneyers. Instead it was Roger, Bishop of Salisbury (1139) who summoned the moneyers to Winchester at Christmas.<sup>36</sup> Furthermore, the accounts give contradictory information as to how many moneyers were punished. A thorough study of the moneyers' of Henry I's Type 14 coinage (his last before the assize) and those of his Type 15 (the replacement adopted following the assize, and the last issue of his reign) gives an indication of how widespread this punishment was. If we take John's use of the word 'ferale' to mean deadly, then widespread or localised disappearance of moneyers between types would be a possible indicator of how the assize was implemented in practice.

Blackburn identified a reduction in mints following the introduction of Henry's final type, from fifty-one producing type 14 to just 24 producing Type 15. A substantial cull of moneyers between Types 14 and 15 indicates an uncharacteristically sizeable purge that was possibly a result of the assize. Such an interpretation of the evidence also helps to date types 14 and 15, suggesting that Type 15 ran from 1124 until Stephen's Type 1 was introduced more than a decade later.<sup>37</sup> A similar decline is detectable between the number of mints recorded in Henry's Type 14 compared with Type 15. A substantial number of these closed mints would be reopened under Stephen's Type 1, with enough time presumably having passed for new moneyers to be found.<sup>38</sup> No contemporary source comments on the moneyers of Normandy (who would have been concentrated in Rouen), the quality of their coinage, or

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<sup>34</sup> *JOW*, 156-7 'Monetarii per Angliam cum falsa moneta capti, truncates dextris minibus et abscisis inferioribus corporis patribus regis fere subuent edictum.'

<sup>35</sup> 'Annales de Margan' *AMVI*, 11, 'Monetarii autem numero xciv. Jussi regis in Normannia consistentis iii. die Epiphaniæ dextris truncate et genitalibus præcisi sunt apud Wintoniam.'

<sup>36</sup> *ASC*, 255.

<sup>37</sup> Blackburn. 'Coinage and Currency Under Henry I'. See 62-71 for a thorough discussion of the assize and possible interpretations.

<sup>38</sup> Blackburn, *C&C*, 153.

any conceivable punishment they may have suffered. It is certainly to be expected that Robert de Torigni would have done so if such a purge occurred. Therefore it is reasonable to assume that Henry's assize only applied to English moneyers. This both illustrates and confirms the perceived and practical separation between the monetary systems of England and Normandy.<sup>39</sup>

While the assize was enacted ten years before Stephen became king, it has appreciable significance for any historian studying the relationship between coinage and government in England during Stephen's reign. At the most basic level, the event demonstrates how maintenance of a strong standard of coinage was important to those at the highest levels of power. Firm royal control over coinage had been a longstanding tradition in England, and it is not surprising that Henry continued to take a close interest in such things. However, there is no evidence per-se that Henry was acting entirely on his own initiative when he ordered the moneyers' punishment. The Anglo-Saxon-Chronicle makes repeated mention of poor coinage in its entries for 1124 and 1125 (actually still 1124). Henry's command was justified by referring to the fact that a pound's worth of pennies could not buy a penny's worth of goods at market, which is likely rhetorical exaggeration but nonetheless indicates a concern for the interests of everyday coin users.<sup>40</sup>

Furthermore, rather than overseeing this mass punishment himself, the King travelled to Normandy while the moneyers were summoned by his intermediary, the highly influential Bishop Roger. Roger would remain an influential figure into Stephen's reign, securing the chancellorship and treasury for his family.<sup>41</sup> There is further evidence of Roger acting in the King's stead when Henry was away in Normandy. The bishop often issued writs in his own name under the phrase '*per breve regis*' to indicate he was acting by royal order.<sup>42</sup> The Archbishops of Canterbury and York were also high ecclesiastics with close links to money, being entitled to issue coinage (though not in their own names) even before 1066 and the Norman dynasty's establishment.<sup>43</sup> Even under a monarch such as

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<sup>39</sup> F. Dumas, 'Les monnaies normandes (xe-xiie siècles) avec un repertoire des trouvailles' *Revue Numismatique*, (1969), 84-140, for wider discussion on Norman coinage in this period.

<sup>40</sup> *ASC*, 254-5.

<sup>41</sup> G. White, 'Continuity in Government', in *The Anarchy of King Stephen's Reign*, ed. E. King, (Oxford 2001), 117-43.

<sup>42</sup> *RRAN*, iii, ix.

<sup>43</sup> Bolton, 106; Allen, *M&M*, 128.

Henry, when royal authority was notably stronger, and the King's prerogative over money was rigidly enforced, practical control over moneyers and mints was delegated, exercised by influential intermediaries. Likewise, the relationship between coinage and authority was not simply a top-down affair in which rulers dictated terms and the lower orders obeyed. But rather, rulers could react to requests expressed by those beneath them.<sup>44</sup> These facts ought to be kept in mind when considering the relationship between Matilda, the magnates who supported her, and the coinage that was issued by them.

#### 1.6 Pre-War Foundations. Money and Power in Anglo-Norman England c.1135

The work of various historians and numismatists has established the long-standing relationship between control of money and royal authority, particularly in England. English coinage consisted, in practical terms, almost exclusively of silver pennies. These were issued from privately operated mints, based upon a system in which the type was strictly maintained and regulated by royal authorities. Technical aspects such as weight and bullion content were also closely controlled, though regional variance did occur, as did shifts in standards over time. This system had existed in England since the reforms of King Edgar, which had in turn underpinned the functioning of a wider system of land taxes or gelds.<sup>45</sup> English monetary administration stood in stark contrast to the coinages of France and the various Carolingian successor polities, where control over money was considerably less centralised.<sup>46</sup> This is not to say that money in mainland Europe had no mechanisms of control and regulation, but rather that they were of a different character from those in England.

There can be no denying that Stephen's reign saw distinct shifts in the manner in which coinage was controlled or used as a political tool by the powerful. This thesis will be chiefly concerned with various changes to the processes through which coinage was produced and used. Such uses included use by those who chiefly engaged with coinage as a practical medium of economic exchange, and

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<sup>44</sup> T.N. Bisson, *Conservation of Coinage*, (Oxford 1979), 126-30.

<sup>45</sup> Bolton, *MITMEE*, 28-31, 87.

<sup>46</sup> Bisson, *Conservation*, 3-7.

those who deployed coinage as a tool for expressing authority. A core change from Henry I's reign to that of Stephen is the emergence of local magnates named on Anglo-Norman coinage. The end to kingdom-wide uniformity, and the emergence of distinct local issues in Stephen's name, were likewise substantial changes. However, throughout this discussion it must never be forgotten that certain fundamental elements of how coinage operated in the Anglo-Norman realm, and what coinage represented, did not change. Stephen's nineteen-year reign was of a respectable length, but hardly long enough for all memory of the pre-war system of monetary control to have been lost. The return to uniformity c.1153 is evidence enough for this hypothesis. It is also important to remember that pre-war mechanisms of monetary control were the practical substrate from which more local moneys emerged, and in many areas pre-war money (particularly Stephen's first type) continued to circulate. Therefore it is doubly useful properly to consider and contextualise the state of coinage within Britain from the establishment of first principles in the Anglo-Saxon period until Stephen's reign.

Effectively all money produced in England in the twelfth century consisted of silver pennies, a standard that had been introduced under Edgar.<sup>47</sup> Pennies were struck using dies, metal stamp-like tools, between which a blank piece of silver was placed before being struck with a hammer, thus imprinting an image on the blank and creating a coin. Struck halfpennies had been struck intermittently during the Anglo-Saxon period from Alfred (871-899) to Edgar, and were experimented with under Henry I. However the struck halfpenny does not appear to have been a popular coinage. Smaller transactions were instead carried out by cutting whole pennies into halves (halfpennies) and then into quarters (farthings).<sup>48</sup> Fractional coinage is rarely found amongst the surviving hoards, which may indicate a lack of need for currency of lower value, or that cut fractions were simply not perceived as worth hoarding.<sup>49</sup> Hoards are (broadly) considered to represent the higher value coins that were available, but fractional pennies are also rare in single finds and it seems likely that fractional coinage was not as widely used under Stephen as it would come to be in subsequent centuries.

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<sup>47</sup> Bolton, *MITMEE*, 22.

<sup>48</sup> Allen, *M&M*, 346-7.

<sup>49</sup> M.Andrews, *Coin Hoarding in Medieval England and Wales, c.973-1544*, (Oxford 2019), 64-6.

At the start of Stephen's reign, royal dominance of coin production had been the legally enforced norm for centuries. Control over mints (in effect a collection of individual workshops located within urban settlements) and the right to strike money had been laid out in Æthelstan's (927- 939) Grately Laws. This tenth-century code made the royal prerogative clear, but also allowed for the Archbishop of Canterbury, and Bishop of Rochester to have their own moneyers. Various figures and institutions (for example the archbishops of York, abbots of St Augustine's, and even earls of Chester) also had the right to mint. While in mainland Europe various local figures issued their own distinct types from mints under their control, reference to minting rights in England seem to refer to the profits of minting, rather than the right of individuals to issue their own distinct types of coinage.<sup>50</sup>

Moneyers varied in social status and wealth. Some were certainly rich, and at a minimum a moneyer would likely have been of middling means in order to operate exchanges during recoinages. Some moneyers were royal appointees who passed their profits directly to the crown. Others were local individuals who paid for the right to farm a mint and the connected exchange where coins of the old type as well as bullion and foreign coins were exchanged for the current type.<sup>51</sup>

A core text for understanding mechanisms of fiscal administration in Norman England is the *Dialogus de Scaccario* of Richard fitz Nigel, Bishop of London (1198). It is from this work that inferences made from coinage, such as the existence of deliberate standards and the use of specific types for payments, are made more explicit. Richard describes the exchequer's practicalities, but also the theoretical underpinnings of its existence. The accumulation of wealth by secular authorities and their use of such treasure both in war and peace are presented as fundamental goods to be safeguarded and supported by the clergy.<sup>52</sup> A particularly relevant passage describes Henry I being accosted by crowds of farmers, who appealed to him that he might ameliorate the economic hardship they had suffered from provisioning the King. Henry in turn consulted his barons, and sent subordinates to convert what

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<sup>50</sup> Bolton, *MITMEE*, 106.

<sup>51</sup> Allen, *M&M*, 8-9.

<sup>52</sup> Richard fitz Nigel, Bishop of London, *Oxford Medieval Texts: Dialogus de Scaccario: The Dialogue of the Exchequer, Constitutio Domus Regis: Disposition of the King's Household*, ed. By Emilie Amt and S.D Church (Oxford 2019), 4-5, 14-5.

debts the farmers owed from goods into coin.<sup>53</sup> This account is likely fictitious, as Richard had no direct experience of Henry's rulership. However, it is arguably indicative of societal expectations, offering an ideal model of royal behaviour in respect to money. Despite being written twenty or more years after Stephen's death, the *Dialogus* provides vital insight into the mechanics of coin production and fiscal administration in the twelfth century. The text also depicts a culture in which those in power were expected to respond to the appeals and economic privations of their subjects. The process of doing so involved consultation between the King, his barons, and those lower down the social scale. Coinage was an essential component of royal administration: a way for monarchs to accumulate wealth, that could be deployed as a tool for the benefit of those of lower social status.

The process by which the current royal type changed, and associated profits thereof reached the monarch, is referred to in the literature as '*renovatio monetarum*'.<sup>54</sup> Scholars have debated precisely how regular these changes were, from every six years under Cnut (1016-1035), accelerating to every two or three under subsequent monarchs. Actual evidence for how regularly types changed is scanty, beyond the coins themselves. Henry I's 14 types from his coronation until the assize suggests a change in type (on average) every year-and-a-half until the introduction of Type 15. Henry's predecessor, William II, issued five known types over a thirteen-year reign, averaging one type every two and a half years. While the system presumably began with Edgar's reforms, there is no non-numismatic evidence for the *renovatio* until Domesday where moneyers are recorded as having paid a fee upon the change of type.<sup>55</sup> Even with Domesday evidence, it is unclear whether the change of types occurred at such clockwork-like intervals as was once supposed. What is undeniable is that types did in fact change.

Beyond what is reported in the *Dialogus*, evidence for insistence on payment in the 'current' type is relatively scarce. Many hoards, not only of Stephen's reign but across the Anglo-Norman period and beyond, contain a variety of types. It may therefore be that, while official transactions required the

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<sup>53</sup> DDS, 63-5.

<sup>54</sup> Sawyer, *The Wealth of Anglo-Saxon England: Based on the Ford Lectures delivered in the University of Oxford in Hilary Term 1993*, (Oxford 2013), 4.

<sup>55</sup> Bolton, *MITMEE*, 87, 90.



current type, in private transactions any royal type would do. Foreign (non-English) coinage however, looks to have been actively rejected in all forms for both official and private transactions. Murray Andrews' work noted that no English hoards of the late Anglo-Saxon and Norman periods contained foreign coinage, which hints at a policy of imposed uniformity and deliberate exclusion.<sup>56</sup> In terms of coinage produced by Stephen's contemporaries outside Britain, only three seem to have made their way to England.<sup>57</sup>

Tendencies towards central control in coin production are observable in Edgar's reform and also from trends in die cutting. Evidence from Domesday indicates that dies were obtained from London and for a fee, meaning modern observers can be fairly confident that this practice was the norm by the Conquest.<sup>58</sup> However die production in pre-conquest England could become de-centralised as well as centralised, and after Edgar's reform regional die centres developed up to c.991, only to be consolidated under Æthelred II (978-1016). From c.1009, regional die cutting re-emerged and persisted through to the end of Cnut's reign.<sup>59</sup> Charging fees for new dies was part of what made control over their issue so profitable for the King, and the number of surviving dies recorded on coins can be used (with all due caution) as an indicator of how productive any particular mint may have been.<sup>60</sup> Recorded instances of moneyers paying to take up or lay down their office suggest this could also be a reliable source of revenue for rulers, though as with other aspects of royal administration there may well have been regional differences.<sup>61</sup>

The *renovatio* system of frequent recoinages lasted until at least the twelfth century. Henry I's reign saw a reform of mints, and possibly an end to regular recoinages. As has been discussed, Henry's type 15 is sometimes taken as the first 'immobilised' coinage, which is to say coinage with designs that did

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<sup>56</sup> Andrews, *Coin Hoarding*, 62-3.

<sup>57</sup> A single coin each of Louis VI (reigned. 1108-1137), Alfonso I (reigned 1104-1134), and Tancred of Antioch (reigned. 1100-1112). All are single finds recorded by the Portable Antiquities scheme. NARC-5CAA85, NMS-E6BB06 and IOW-5FE084 respectively.

<sup>58</sup> Allen, *M&M*, 123.

<sup>59</sup> K. Jonsson, 'Cnut's Coinage', *The Reign of Cnut: King of England, Denmark and Norway*, ed. A. Rumble, (London 1994), 193-230.

<sup>60</sup> Brooke, 'Quando moneta vertebatur', 108; King, 'Introduction', 26.

<sup>61</sup> Blackburn 'C&C', 152.

not change even to acknowledge a change in monarch.<sup>62</sup> For the moment, it is worth re-iterating that the suggestion that Type 15 was the first immobilised English coinage is not necessarily correct, as Stephen introduced his own type (Type 1) in his own name, shortly after taking power. Stephen inherited a system of tightly controlled coinage including a profitable apparatus of mints and die distribution, and at the start of his reign he worked according to standard practice. Save for certain ecclesiastical and lay figures with access to mint profits, coinage was a royal monopoly. Coins were seemingly struck using centrally produced dies, and revenues from coin use and production were administered via a royal exchequer. Stephen was not able to maintain the system in the long run, at least not across the whole kingdom.<sup>63</sup>

Even prior to Stephen's reign there was a tradition of subtle regional variation in coinage.

Centralisation of die production in London began under Æthelred II and continued under the Norman kings. However William I's types 2 and 4 both appear to have been struck from local dies at the mints of Lincoln and York. As late as Henry I's Type 10, Cardiff used locally produced dies to produce the current type. There has not been a systematic study of local dies under Henry I, but regional variation seems to have been consistent (if relatively uncommon) throughout the Anglo-Norman period.<sup>64</sup> There is therefore an argument to be made for local adaptation in coin production even before Stephen's reign, despite coinage never being as varied across the kingdom as it was across neighbouring realms, most immediately and pertinently the kingdom of France.

In spite of local coin types emerging alongside isolated monetary zones during Stephen's reign, London's dominance and central authority collapsed neither immediately nor entirely. There are clear examples of the pre-war system functioning in a diminished capacity. For example Stephen's four official substantive types were likely intended to be general issues and were struck from dies produced in London.<sup>65</sup> Likewise *Pereric* coins (virtually identical to Type 1 though issued with an

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<sup>62</sup> Allen, *M&M*, 280-1; Blackburn 'C&C', 152.

<sup>63</sup> Blackburn 'C&C', 165.

<sup>64</sup> Allen, *M&M*, 115-6.

<sup>65</sup> Blackburn 'C&C', 152.

unusual obverse legend) were probably produced from dies in London and distributed to seven widely spread mints.<sup>66</sup>

How, when and where the pre-existing system evolved during Stephen's reign is a question this thesis aims to answer. Evidence suggests that different areas of regional focus may well yield different explanations. Yet at the same time, the norms and practices of the pre-war monetary system remained an influential prototype. The pre-war system included consistent weight standards, and an expectation that the authorities maintain stable, well-regulated coinage, with consistent visual elements often based upon previous royally controlled types. Regardless of uncertainties, what is clear is that in the period immediately after Stephen's accession, the monetary system operated much as it had done under Henry. There remained a single type in the King's name, issued at mints across the kingdom but with dies centrally produced in London. This system ensured that profits from new dies reached the King. Stephen's Type 1 maintained the conventions of previous Anglo-Norman monarchs, with a crowned and sceptre wielding obverse bust, with a reverse cross, in this case a cross moline.<sup>67</sup>

Stephen's Type 1 would go on to prove the most popular of his reign, and comprises by far the largest portion of the coinage being studied in this thesis. The standard established by Type 1 will be discussed later, and its overall significance will be revisited throughout the thesis.

When discussing the pre-war system of monetary control, some attention must be paid to the process of recoinage, that is to say the regular change of type at intervals of every few years or so. In England, whether recoinage continued following Henry I's assize remains uncertain. Broad scholarly consensus holds that Henry I's Type 15 marked a break with the longstanding tradition of regular type changes in England. Type 15 lasted until Henry's death, and may well have been introduced as a result of the assize. This chronology would mean Type 15 was issued for some ten to eleven years, well beyond the conventionally accepted average of three years.<sup>68</sup> It appears that Stephen also opted to have his first type issued for longer than average. That is assuming that the Pereric coinages post-date Stephen's Type 1. The Pereric Type is an ambiguous issue which may have been issued by the Empress or her

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<sup>66</sup> Blackburn 'C&C', 173-4.

<sup>67</sup> J. North, *English Hammered Coinage: Vol 1, Early Anglo-Saxon to Henry III c600-1272* (London 1994), 203.

<sup>68</sup> Allen, *M&M*, 280-1; Blackburn, 'Coinage and Currency Under Henry I', 72.

supporters. Pereric's precise nuances will be discussed in the chapter on south-eastern coinage. For now it must suffice to state that it is by no means certain that it was either an issue of Matilda, or minted subsequent to Type 1.<sup>69</sup> Furthermore, as has been discussed, the assumption that recoinages occurred at predictable intervals may be flawed. This uncertainty makes it difficult to tell how Stephen's early coins deviated from practice at the end of Henry's reign. If recoinages did not occur at precise intervals, it is possible that Type 15 is simply a type that lasted unusually long. On the other hand it may have been that Henry ended regular recoinages, and Stephen aimed to do the same, after making sure that the official royal coinage bore his own name. Another compounding factor is that, for much of the twelfth century, there was a Europe-wide shortage of silver, which may have caused the lightening of pennies and an abandonment of recoinage.<sup>70</sup>

The discussion over whether Stephen also opted not to change type, like Henry before him, suffers from a lack of clear evidence for Stephen's first type, when it was introduced, and when it ceased to be issued. The precise details of Type 1 and its dates of issue will be discussed in the chapter on south-eastern coinage. The salient point is that historians must be cautious when discussing how coin use, coin control and change of type differed across Stephen's reign. This is because there is evidence to suggest that these mechanisms were already undergoing a transition before the war began. Henry I's final type suggests the end of regular recoinages, and it is unclear if Stephen's Type 1 was intended to end this or merely to establish it in Stephen's name. What does seem certain is that on Matilda's arrival in 1139, coinage was still treated as a royal prerogative in England. Die production was centralised in London, and coinage remained a royal monopoly. The monarch's name, title and likeness were depicted on the obverse, while the reverse bore the moneyer's and mint's names around a cross. Recoinage was a known practice, with the last change of type having occurred in 1136, and the change before that some eleven years previously.

There is as yet no obvious agreement as to when Stephen's Type 1 ended and his Type 2 began.

Blackburn argued that Type 1 was issued following papal recognition of Stephen as king in 1136,

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<sup>69</sup> H. Fairbairn, 'King Stephen's Reign, a Reassessment of the Numismatic Evidence' *BNJ*, lxxxvii (2017) 43-54; Bolton, *MITMEE* 102,105; Allen, *M&M*, 280-281; Blackburn, 'C&C' 161.

<sup>70</sup> Blackburn, 'Coinage and Currency Under Henry I', 73.

continuing until 1145. But Marion Archibald suggested an earlier end date of 1142. A problem arises in that both dates place the start of Type 2 after Stephen's capture at the Battle of Lincoln in 1141, at which point the situation is immeasurably complicated by the presence of Matilda's own rival coinage. Stephen's capture at Lincoln also seems to have been the cause of the proliferation of local Type 1 coinages such as that issued at Derby. It may also coincide with the emergence of Erased Type 1s, though Archibald suggested these might have been a stopgap when dies for Stephen's Type 2 were desired but unavailable.<sup>71</sup> Regardless, taking an end date of 1142 would give Type 1 a not unreasonable life-span of six years. The later date of 1145 would raise this to nine, closer to that of Henry's Type 15. The facts of the war, Stephen's capture, Matilda's apparent triumph and the subsequent confusion of 1141, mean that there is not a long enough timeframe to make a realistic guess at what Stephen's intention was for his coinage. It cannot be confirmed that Henry's Type 15 was regarded by contemporaries as the end of 'regular' reissues, though it is probable that this was intended after the assize. Nevertheless it is uncertain whether Stephen intended to implement immobilisation after introducing his own type, or hoped to issue subsequent types regardless of his war with Matilda.

### 1.7 Coinage, Disruption and Alternative Models of Control c.1139-1154

Anglo-Norman mints operated as normal under Stephen for at least the first four years of his reign. It is debated whether Stephen's administrative power (and by proxy his influence over the monetary system) ended with his capture at Lincoln c.1141, or the arrest of Roger, Bishop of Salisbury and his supporters in 1139.<sup>72</sup> Matilda arrived in 1139 to pursue her own claim in earnest, which must have brought its own administrative disruption. However it might be argued that Stephen's influence was diminishing as early as 1136, when David I's invasion weakened Stephen's grip on the three northernmost counties. Despite Stephen's capture in 1141 marking a likely decisive end to uniformity even in those areas nominally loyal to him, in some sense the monetary system operated as normal

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<sup>71</sup> M. Archibald, 'Dating Stephen's First Type' *BNJ*, lxi, 9-22; Blackburn 'C&C' 198.

<sup>72</sup> White, 'Continuity' 122.

even beyond this date. Thereafter, even though Stephen was incapacitated there was still a demonstrable respect for coins as a royal prerogative.

Blackburn argued that those magnates who actively rejected Stephen as king began stamping their coins with the names of a former king, such as Henry or William.<sup>73</sup> A necessary counterpoint to this argument is that these were also relatively common names among the aristocracy. Even if coins did not evoke the names of previous monarchs, many new types issued during Stephen's reign copied their designs. There are also surviving examples of coins which were ostensibly issued in Stephen's name and that imitate his types, but were clearly not struck using centrally produced dies, and were made to a lighter weight standard.<sup>74</sup> It is also worth noting that even at the nadir of Stephen's personal rule, those areas that remained under his direct control, namely London, the east and the south-east remained the most comprehensively monetised areas of England. Meanwhile the various 'Angevin' coinages circulated mostly in the south-west, though finds indicate that Stephen's pre-war type remained extremely common there.<sup>75</sup>

Thomas' Bisson's *Conservation of Coinage* described how local figures in mainland Europe guaranteed the quality of coinage and extracted profits through taxation in exchange for not debasing the coinage or changing type.<sup>76</sup> Such a system contrasted with that of England, where silver purity remained relatively constant and change of type was a key feature guaranteeing royal profit.<sup>77</sup> It is worth making clear that in practical terms, both systems operated in a fashion that protected stable standards of coinage. Bisson noted practical differences between England's *renovatio* system, as compared with the practice of France. Meanwhile, the French numismatists Marc Bompaire and Francoise Dumas have commented on the immobilised nature of French coinage. The duo drew attention to the popularity of English sterling throughout France from the eleventh century onwards, attributed to its high silver content of 92.5%. Uniformity, high silver content and royal control of

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<sup>73</sup> Blackburn, 'C&C' 190.

<sup>74</sup> Blackburn, 'C&C', 175-6.

<sup>75</sup> Bolton, *MITMEE*, 102.

<sup>76</sup> Bisson, *Conservation*, 112-113.

<sup>77</sup> Bisson, *Conservation*, 3, 6; Bolton, *MITMEE*, 90-1.

English coinage offers further contrast to the localised, fragmented coinages of France.<sup>78</sup> Yet despite this fragmentation, Bompaire and Dumas also rejected the notion of ‘private’ coinage, interpreting French coinage as an expression of sovereignty, even if coinage was ‘baronial’ (issued in the name of local aristocrats) and localised within the wider kingdom.<sup>79</sup>

Little research has been done on how mainland European traditions may have influenced coinage during Stephen’s reign. Certainly it is a model with which Anglo-Norman magnates would have been familiar, given the tradition of strong cross-Channel ties. Stephen himself was a longstanding French lord, thanks to his county of Mortain, and his wife’s county of Boulogne. David Bates noted that while cross-Channel management was disrupted throughout Stephen’s reign, there is also evidence of routine business continuing which suggests there was no hard border separating cross-Channel estates as such.<sup>80</sup> Given that decentralisation of the Anglo-Norman monetary system was so brief, there is no equivalent to the documentation that Bisson drew on to conduct his own analysis. Therefore it is not possible to confirm continental influence over English coinage under Stephen, though it is still useful to keep mainland traditions in mind when interpreting baronial approaches to the utilisation of money.

### 1.8 Medieval Numismatics and Archaeology: The Modern Foundations.

Contemporary scholarship on Anglo-Norman coinage benefits from substantial work that helps us to interpret and contextualise the coinage of Britain across the eleventh and twelfth centuries. In terms of placing the coin-evidence alongside its place in the wider landscape, Oliver Creighton and Duncan Wright’s work explores coinage under Stephen alongside a landscape history focused assessment of his reign. Creighton and Wright acknowledged that material culture has been badly neglected as sources of evidence for understanding Stephen’s reign, with coins being an exceptionally valuable source of material for study, given that they are simultaneously historical sources and everyday items of material culture.<sup>81</sup> Helpfully, as part of the exploration of coinage, Creighton and Wright produced

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<sup>78</sup> M. Bompaire and F. Dumas, *Numismatique Médiévale* (Turnhout 2000), 16, 296.

<sup>79</sup> Bompaire and Dumas, *Numismatique Médiévale*, 383-4.

<sup>80</sup> D. Bates, *The Normans and Empire*, (Oxford 2013), 149-1.

<sup>81</sup> O.H Creighton & D.W Wright, *The Anarchy: War and Status in 12<sup>th</sup> Century Landscapes of Conflict*, (Liverpool, 2016), 119

a series of high-quality maps, which help to visualise the distribution of hoards, finds and mint networks circa 1135-1154. These will be revisited throughout the thesis, and can be found in the appendices (appendix J).

Richard Kelleher's doctoral thesis used find data from the Portable Antiquities Scheme to map circulation of coinage c. 1066-1544, focusing on single finds. Murray Andrews' 2019 publication on coin hoarding in medieval England and Wales sought to analyse hoards. Although both Andrews and Kelleher survey a much broader chronological range than this thesis, the evidence they worked with (finds of coins and their various contexts) is markedly similar to that deployed here, supplying vital context for Stephen's reign. As such, their use of coinage warrants further discussion.

Kelleher noted that coins themselves have traditionally been found in hoards, with mass data on single finds being a relatively modern phenomenon.<sup>82</sup> Hoards vary in size, ranging from thousands of coins to just two. Indeed of the twenty-seven hoards containing coinage of Stephen's reign, thirteen hold fewer than ten coins (Appendix A1). The nature of hoard deposition and composition can vary immensely depending on the owner's intent. Hoards might be 'savings hoards', that is to say an individual or community's accumulated wealth which has been deliberately stored. Or they may have been deliberately discarded, for example in instances when holding forged or foreign coin might have resulted in punishment. Base coins with no obvious role in English currency might also have been discarded in this way. Another possibility is that coin hoards were purses that were either accidentally lost or deliberately buried, with such coins being more likely to reflect everyday currency. Hoards deemed to be lost purses are typically smaller, but it is worth noting that Barrie Cook has discussed the limitations to this theory, and expressed doubts about using fixed typologies to categorise hoards. Cook observed that surviving hoards which are indisputably from purses are significantly larger than smaller hoards typically designated 'purse' finds. A purse found with a victim of the Black Death held approximately one-hundred-and-eighty coins.<sup>83</sup> Finally it is possible that hoards were not consciously

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<sup>82</sup> R.M Kelleher, 'Coins, Monetisation and re-use in Medieval England and Wales: New interpretations made possible by the Portable Antiquities Scheme', (Durham 2012), 3.

<sup>83</sup> B. Cook, 'England's Silver Age: new and old hoards from England under the three Edwards (c. 1279-1351)', in *Hoarding and the deposition of metalwork from the Bronze Age to the 20<sup>th</sup> century: A British Perspective* eds. J. Naylor & R. Bland (Oxford 2015), 167-79.



'hoarded' at all, but were the result of waste disposal, since medieval waste was often deposited in fields or inside a deep hole.<sup>84</sup> Performed regularly, this behaviour might have led to individual lost coins gradually congregating in the same area, being subsequently found and identified as a hoard by modern observers. However, this theory is controversial and Cook has expressed his deep scepticism.

Andrews discussed how coin hoards as a concept have evaded explicit theorisation. A hoard might be things deliberately brought together, and thus a coin hoard is best understood as coins brought together deliberately. But this supposes that coins might not be placed together unintentionally. Such a definition also presupposes a working standard of what a coin is. While definitions may be contested, this thesis will operate on a definition articulated by Andrews, namely that coins are 'small, flat objects, usually of discoidal shape, and generally made of precious metal of standardised fineness and weight, that have been stamped with images and texts relating to the authorities – civic, religious or royal – responsible for their production, and that are primarily intended for use as a form of money...'. However even the term 'money' here lacks definition, in this instance used not only to denote a medium of exchange, but a store of abstract value, and a standard of deferred payment.<sup>85</sup>

Andrews offered a robust discussion of approaches to coin hoarding, exploring hoards as a source of evidence beyond their role as tools to facilitate the technical study of individual coin types or medieval economics. Instead he sought to understand the psychological aspects of hoarding behaviour, including non-numismatic contents of hoards, their containers, patterns of hoard distribution, and factors contributing to hoard discovery. The intention was to ascertain what these elements (among many others) might tell modern observers about hoarding behaviour.<sup>86</sup> Andrews' exploration of hoards synthesised enormous quantities of data to generate maps and diagrams interrogating multiple aspects of medieval coin hoards. These are too numerous to rehearse here, but Andrews' overall approach helped to lay out visually the preponderance of intact rather than fractional pennies in the Norman period.<sup>87</sup> Further results of Andrews' work are the mapping of hoard find sites,

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<sup>84</sup> R.M Kelleher, 'Coins, Monetisation', 29-41.

<sup>85</sup> Andrews, *Coin Hoarding*, 3.

<sup>86</sup> Andrews, *Coin Hoarding*, 2-9.

<sup>87</sup> Andrews, *Coin Hoarding*, 69-71.

including the mapping of hoard density across time, using population data drawn from Domesday. Andrews noted a strong correlation between a high number of hoards per county and high population density, with the notable exception of Yorkshire.<sup>88</sup>

Kelleher's research utilised hoards to an extent, and he acknowledged that coin hoards were traditionally the main source available to numismatists and archaeologists. In preceding centuries what few single finds there were often came from archaeological excavations, and it is only with recent developments in metal detecting that single finds have emerged in useful quantities.<sup>89</sup>

Kelleher's intent was to explore the changing size of the currency pool and contrast it with hoard evidence in order to explore distribution and monetisation.

Kelleher's thesis explored single finds in tremendous depth. One particularly useful outcome was his identification of long term trends of circulation and distribution both across medieval England and within individual types over a shorter period. Kelleher's work mapping single finds and demonstrated the abundance of coinage in eastern and southern England throughout the Norman period.<sup>90</sup>

Kelleher's focus on single finds also allowed reasonable estimates of how far particular types could have travelled beyond their original mints, including comparative work on the distributions of the baronial and local issues of Stephen's reign. Thanks to Kelleher, monetary zones in which these types circulated can be analysed side by side.<sup>91</sup> In terms of this thesis, Kelleher's study of Stephen's Type 1 noted that coins from western mints appear to have been drawn eastward and southwards, perhaps as a result of the economic pull of southern ports. Despite the variety of other coinages that emerged under Stephen, Type 1 was the most prolific surviving type in Kelleher's dataset.<sup>92</sup> Type 1's dominance and its ability to travel are a prescient reminder that, despite varied new issues emerging under Stephen, Type 1 seems to have been most widely available in terms of circulating money.

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<sup>88</sup> Andrews, *Coin Hoarding*, 41-3.

<sup>89</sup> Kelleher, 'Coins, Monetisation', 3.

<sup>90</sup> Kelleher, 'Coins, Monetisation', 389-94.

<sup>91</sup> Kelleher, 'Coins, Monetisation', 389-97.

<sup>92</sup> Kelleher, 'Coins, Monetisation', 53-4, 293-309.

Kelleher and Andrews supply compelling examples of how to use coinage as evidence in its own right. Both acknowledge the limitations of such evidence, and draw upon traditional sources familiar to the historian while also assessing coinage as a primary source in its own right, beyond the rote summary of types and hoard compositions. It is my hope that this thesis may make a modest contribution to this same field.

### 1.9 Defining the Corpus

This thesis is centrally concerned with the numismatic evidence for Stephen's reign. This theoretically includes all money struck in England, Scotland and Wales from Stephen's first issue c.1135, until his death in 1154 and the introduction of coinage struck in Henry II's name c.1158. Data has been drawn from a variety of sources and assembled into a spreadsheet that will be made available digitally. The three main sources are data from the British Museum Catalogue of Anglo-Norman Coins (BMC) and bulk downloads of relevant coinage data from the Portable Antiquities Scheme (PAS), the Fitzwilliam Museum's combined Corpus of Early Medieval Coin Finds (EMC), and the Sylloge of Coins of the British Isles (SCBI).<sup>93</sup> In addition to these main sources I rely on supplementary data gathered from hoard lists and find reports, typically from the *Numismatic Chronicle* (NC) or *British Numismatic Journal* (BNJ).<sup>94</sup> In 2022, the British Numismatic Society launched its online 'Medieval Coin Hoards of Britain and Ireland' (MCHBI) which will be occasionally referenced for supplementary data. Another important source is Archibald's unpublished notes on the Box and Wicklewood hoards. Some time was spent in the British Museum manually examining and listing what parts of these hoards were not recorded in the PAS, EMC or BMC. In rare instances (for example in the case of the Henry 'Rex Futurus' penny at the Fitzwilliam Museum) individual entries for coins have been modified, based upon personal examination.

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<sup>93</sup> The criteria for the PAS download consists of all entries listed under 'Coin' dating from 1135 to 1158. The EMC/SCBI data was obligingly provided by Dr Martin Allen in 2020, and has been supplemented over the ensuing four years of this project as new entries became publicly available via the EMC website.

<sup>94</sup> The *Numismatic Chronicle* has undergone several name changes since first being issued as 'The Numismatic Journal' in 1836. The 'Coin Hoards' subsection (formerly a separate journal) provides a regular record of finds across the UK.

Collectively, data gathered from all of the aforementioned sources is from here on referred to as ‘the Corpus’ and is available in the appendices (Appendix X). Strenuous effort has been made to ensure that the Corpus contains as many coins from Stephen’s reign as possible, and that data on each individual coin (particularly weights, types, mints, moneyers, and findspots) is comprehensive and easy to access. However, many finds (chiefly those from before 1900) have been poorly recorded, are now in private hands, or have otherwise disappeared from view. Meanwhile detectorists are unearthing new coins more or less every day. Therefore, while the Corpus includes a sizeable proportion of known coins issued in Stephen’s reign, it is not fully comprehensive. Likewise the Corpus’ sheer size has made it impossible independently to examine every single coin. The main databases that make up the bulk of the Corpus also do not always distinguish between coins from hoards and single finds. Nevertheless, the Corpus remains perhaps the most substantial gathering of data currently available for this period. It allows for the organisation and interrogation of coinage *en masse* and with a reasonable degree of precision. The various sources that make up the Corpus have been presented in a uniform format and synergised into one cohesive whole, with obvious errors or duplications rectified wherever apparent.

An attempt has been made to use type names that are well established within the literature. However, what makes a type is not a precise science. Blackburn wrote that there were thirty-five types from this period in Stephen’s name alone. To this figure could be added a further twenty-five types in the names of Matilda and various other regional figures. This total does not include the four ‘substantive’ types of Stephen, which when Blackburn wrote in the late 1990s comprised roughly 90% of surviving coins from Stephen’s reign.<sup>95</sup> Coins within the Corpus are categorised by type, but there have also been clarifications and refinements which render Blackburn’s figures in many cases redundant. For example, certain Type 1 coins have been categorised as ‘with’ or ‘without’ an inner circle (a subtle adjustment that appears on the obverse of certain coins). Archibald theorised that coins without an inner circle were struck later, based on quality of dies.<sup>96</sup> It does not seem reasonable to consider this a

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<sup>95</sup> Blackburn, ‘C&C’, 167.

<sup>96</sup> Archibald, ‘Dating’, 11-2.

change of type, but in the spirit both of clarity and of retaining as much useful data as possible, when the PAS or EMC has made the distinction between these variants, it has been noted within the Corpus. Ambiguity over what ought to be considered a distinct type notwithstanding, c.100 types can now be identified. This figure includes erased coinages and modified local Type 1s, but does not distinguish between Type 1s with or without an inner circle, nor mules, nor types categorised as ‘uncertain’, nor types of ‘uncertain’ ruler but with a design that is not unique.<sup>97</sup>

Not every coin will be cited in the text, though certain individual coins within the Corpus will be identified in the footnotes to facilitate ease of searching. When this is done, reference will be made to the coin’s PAS, BMC or EMC number, or ‘Corpus Number’ should they lack an identifying number from any of the three main sources. Use of numbers derived from original sources is intended to enable efficient searching for relevant coins, as EMC and PAS both have online databases that are open and easy to access, often with photographs that facilitate further study. Images of individual coins will not be the focus in this thesis, excepting those supplied in Appendix I as part of a general visual dictionary of the various types issued during Stephen’s reign.

This thesis aims to offer at least cursory discussion of all hoards deposited during Stephen’s reign, and of those with a substantial portion of English coins struck between 1135-54. However, it is important to remember that dating of hoards is not always a precise art. The latest type within a hoard may suggest a deposit date, but it could well be that a hoard was added to and had coins removed over an extended period of time. Coins of a particular type may have been in circulation for some time after their production ceased, and it does not necessarily follow that a coin was deposited promptly after its production. This problem becomes even more pressing when discussing single finds. Secondly, not all hoards are created equal. Some have attracted more academic attention than others, and many have not attracted comment at all, beyond their initial report. Allen’s *Mints and Money in Medieval England* contains an immensely useful list of known hoards, and is relied on here for hoards discovered up to its date of publication. Since 1997, the PAS has also recorded finds by detectorists in

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<sup>97</sup> For example, Cross Moline coinages with the ruler’s name obscured are not considered unique types.

England and Wales, and will be used to supplement data on more recent hoards. Some hoards were discovered prior to the establishment of modern conventions of data recording, which makes what data is available of questionable value. Regrettably, many hoards have been dispersed, especially those discovered before the late twentieth century. When dispersed within museum collections, the coins often remain available to access, but there has not always been clear record of provenance. Certain hoards are thus effectively unidentifiable within collections. When coins have moved into private hands these issues are compounded even further.

These issues combined render it impossible to give in-depth comments on the coins within every single recorded hoard. Instead, what information is available will be used to paint as detailed a picture as possible, with heavy reliance on reports from the *Numismatic Chronicle* and *Coin Hoards* journals. More recent finds can be analysed in more detail, and in the event that coins from particular hoards can be identified within the Corpus, an effort will be made to do so and to bring these into the discussion.

This project is concerned with coins as a primary source in their own right. But this does not mean that all other forms of evidence are to be ignored. The *Dialogus* has already been noted as a vitally useful source. However, it has little to say on political events. For broader historical context contemporary histories, chronicles and charters remain a vital source of information. In particular the *Gesta Stephani* and William of Malmesbury's *Historia Novella* continue to serve as the main narrative sources for this period. More regionally focused sources such as the *Brut y Tywysogion* will also supplement the main sources, where relevant. Cartulary evidence has not been explored here in any depth. This is partly due to time constraints, but also so that the coinage remains the central focus of discussion. However, in Scotland's case evidence from charters has been used to explore monetisation among the Scots, the better to understand the nature of Scottish royal administration.

### 1.10 The Thesis.

A pivotal moment in the development of this project came upon reading Allen's 2016 article 'The York Coinage of the Reign of Stephen', which explored the various local types issued in York during Stephen's reign.<sup>98</sup> The article combines a study of iconography and legends on York types with documentary evidence. This evidence was laid out alongside relevant historical debates, and ultimately contextualised York types within wider analysis of political interactions between lay and ecclesiastical figures around Yorkshire. Essentially, Allen's work laid out a persuasive argument for understanding the York coinage in its local political context. The goal of this thesis is to take this approach and apply it both to the wider Anglo-Norman kingdom, and to the Anglo-Norman influenced political community across Britain. Blackburn expressed a similar ambition in broad strokes as part of his own work on Stephen's reign.<sup>99</sup> Notwithstanding Blackburn's skill both as numismatist and historian, he did not entirely achieve what he projected. Furthermore, advances in technology, and the passage of time, have meant that available data has increased considerably. In what follows I shall attempt to engage fully with available evidence, and give the matter suitable depth of focus.

The regional approach to understanding coinage involves dividing Britain into four loose zones. Each of these is defined by geographic features, but also by the absence or presence of certain key political figures. The boundaries of each area will be laid out in the chapters on each in turn. But broadly speaking they are the East, West, North and Midlands. More specifically the south-east of England (including East Anglia) is the 'loyalist' zone. Here Stephen's influence was strongest, and systems of monetary control and regulation remained relatively consistent with pre-war norms. By contrast the west (centred on Bristol and the southern marches) was the 'Angevin' zone, where Matilda and her supporters appropriated mechanisms of monetary control and utilised them in clear opposition to Stephen. The loyalist east is best understood as a foundational prototype in terms of monetary control. That is to say the east is the area which most conformed to the pre-war norm from which other areas deviated. Meanwhile the Angevin west represents an alternative system. This system was established indisputably in opposition to that maintained by Stephen, while also developing and maintaining

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<sup>98</sup> M. Allen, 'The York Local Coinage of the Reign of Stephen (1135-54)', *NC*, clxxvi (2016), 283-318.

<sup>99</sup> Blackburn 'C&C', 164-5.

certain elements of coin use that had existed before the war. Given Matilda's pretensions to royal power, the western monetary system serves as an effective contrast and example: an alternative expression of royal authority. The two remaining regions are defined by the absence of any consistent English royal presence, though not necessarily by the total absence of a monarch.

The north, in this thesis, roughly comprises all land in Britain north of the Humber. More specifically the north focuses on Yorkshire (where multiple baronial coinages were issued), Northumberland (a contested frontier zone), and Scotland (where the first Scottish coinages emerged during Stephen's reign). In the far north David, King of Scots (1124-1154) and his son Henry (1152) significantly influenced coinage. Meanwhile in Yorkshire, the central figures were local men such as William of Aumale (1179) Earl of York, who produced several distinct issues. Ranulf de Gernon, Earl of Chester (1153), was also a highly significant figure in the north, though so far as we are aware he issued no coinage of his own. Broadly speaking it is the interplay between these actors, the contested nature of the Anglo-Scottish border, and the fact that neither Stephen nor Matilda was able consistently to make their presence felt in the region, which defines the north. Regional politics produced coinage that showed iconographical innovation, but also the influence and reappropriation of Stephen's Type 1 and even earlier pre-war coinages.

Finally, there is the midlands. Here the frontiers were less precisely defined and more fluid. The simplest definition is that the midlands consisted of those parts of England not within the other zones, namely lands south of the Humber, north of Oxford, west of East-Anglia, and east of Wales. The midlands were effectively a space between spaces, where actors from the surrounding regions exerted varying levels of influence, and engaged in competition with one another in a manner that produced few clear authorities. This is not to say that there were no leading figures in the midlands. Ranulf of Chester and Robert de Beaumont Earl of Leicester (1168) were influential men, but neither issued money in their own names. The coinage of the midlands reflects contested and fractious politics, with types suggesting divided and ambiguous loyalties. Money continued to be issued in the name of Stephen, but became highly localised, sometimes with previously unknown moneyers emerging to issue local designs. Local designs were often direct (occasionally inept) copies of Stephen's Type 1, or



subtle modifications of it. It is in this area both that the lack of clear authority is most clearly represented by the coinage, and that the notion of ‘anarchy’ perhaps has most appropriateness. However, as will be made clear, even here a crude assertion of ‘anarchy’ would be an oversimplification.

Each of these zones will be discussed sequentially, along with a comprehensive summary of the types produced and hoards unearthed within them. Functionally speaking, each region will have two chapters, one concerned with the hard numismatic analysis (designs, weights, distribution, hoard composition etc) and another dedicated to extrapolation from this data. More summarily, the goal is to study the coins, and then explore what they can tell historians about Stephen’s reign.

Taking a regional approach to the numismatic evidence reveals two interconnected themes, both significant with regard to the wider debates concerning Stephen and his reign. Firstly, approaching coinage regionally supplies a valid framework for understanding relations between money, power and authority in the reign. Distinct zones (as defined by geographic features and the main political actors within them) did indeed produce different coinages, and the utilisation of coinage varied according to the demands of those who exercised *de facto* and *de jure* control of mints. This occurred against a backdrop of the continually circulating pre-war coinage. Secondly, while distinct traits emerged in local coinages, many baronial issues (particularly northern and western issues) suggest a deliberate attempt to maintain ‘good money’, albeit minted in the names of powerful regional actors rather than a monarch. Again, the significance of pre-war norms and the precedence of Type 1 are important for understanding monetary standards and expectations. This is in a sense a phenomenon found across the entire area of study, but is more explicit in certain regions than in others.

The question of local control more broadly adds nuance to the binary debate over anarchy versus stability. As I hope has been made clear, from at least the reign of Edgar coinage was fundamentally a regalian right in England.<sup>100</sup> That the royal monopoly over money in England temporarily and (probably) unintentionally ended under Stephen is not in dispute. The material rewards for local

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<sup>100</sup> Bolton, *MITMEE*, 87, 141.

figures in this situation are obvious. Control of mints implied access to profits previously reserved for the monarch, and more practically, access to unrestricted quantities of coin. Elsewhere, such a system of local control developed via specific verbal and written guarantees by local figures, discussed by Bisson in his work on continental coinage.<sup>101</sup> Local actors issued coinage according to local needs, but simultaneously there was a notable trend towards coin remaining at least regulated and stable, with distinct designs clearly identifying them as in some way validated by prominent regional figures, whether that be King Stephen, Empress Matilda, Robert of Gloucester, King David, William of Aumale, or any number of other local power brokers. These individuals exploited coinage for its symbolic and material benefits, while also maintaining and validating a system of monetary control.

Systems of local control were influenced by those that had existed before the war, but were not necessarily outright duplicates thereof. Indeed, besides the consistent standards of various local types, there is little clear evidence as to how they functioned. Yet the money itself indicates that they were maintained at a local level. Bisson's work on mainland Europe again provides a helpful guide to understanding this phenomenon, with even the canons of the First Lateran Council (1123) condemning counterfeiting and poor money as violations of peace and public order.<sup>102</sup> In England, royal prioritisation of good money was demonstrated by the assize of moneyers under Henry I, and by previous attempts to guarantee coinage such as 'snicking' (a small cut made on the side of the coin) Henry's pennies from his 6<sup>th</sup> type onwards.<sup>103</sup> William of Malmesbury noted that Stephen's coronation oath included a pledge to maintain peace and justice in the kingdom.<sup>104</sup> It is plausible that maintenance of coinage was implicit in that oath. Once again, the *Dialogus* suggests that the elite devoted significant thought and effort to the maintenance of good coinage.

Meanwhile, wider conceptions of authority, noblesse oblige, and the broader cultural expectation that local rulers maintain good order in the absence of royal power, could well have extended to coinage. Nobles certainly aspired to enrich themselves, and considered themselves entitled to exercise local

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<sup>101</sup> Bisson, *Conservation*, 189-90.

<sup>102</sup> Bisson, *Conservation*, 168.

<sup>103</sup> Blackburn, 'Coinage and Currency Under Henry I', 64-71, North, *EHC*, 43.

<sup>104</sup> *HN* 36-7 'Pacem me et iustitiam in omnibus fracturum et pro posse meo conseruaturum promitto'.

power. The manner in which Stephen proved a less vigorous royal presence than Henry I could have been a factor in the nobles' initial choice of him as king. Charlotte Newman has even described Stephen as sharing the 'lifestyle and outlook' of a magnate, referring both to his attitude and patterns of curial behaviour and itinerance. In other words, Stephen was fundamentally of the same background as those men who accepted him as king. Those men in turn assumed a higher degree of administrative independence (either unilaterally or at Stephen's deliberate instigation) during his reign.<sup>105</sup>

This historical interpretation of Stephen, as adopting a magnate's, rather than a royal attitude to rulership, presents him as less concerned with developing centralised administration staffed by lesser nobles. Instead, he is supposed to have opted to replace local officials with a smaller number of military followers drawn from the high aristocracy, including several men now newly promoted earls.<sup>106</sup> However, Newman's interpretation need not exclude other explanations for the emergence of local coinage. Local actors may well have worked to maintain a consistent coinage, despite the wishes of prominent aristocrats. With this in mind, the numismatic record implies the appropriation of royal power, and the conservation of a stable coinage at local level. This notion is integral to the overall thrust of this thesis, and to its central point: that there is no contradiction between appropriation of revenues by magnates and maintenance of good monetary standards by these same local figures. In this sense the reign of Stephen did not plunge the currency into anarchy, but produced newly localised systems of monetary control, partly in response to local political factors but also as a result of a wider cultural attitude that (in the absence of clear royal authority) leading figures should take charge of maintaining social (and by proxy economic) stability.

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<sup>105</sup> C.A. Newman, *The Anglo-Norman Nobility in the Reign of Henry I*, (Philadelphia 1987), 164.

<sup>106</sup> Newman, *The Anglo-Norman Nobility*, 165.

## Chapter 2 - The South

### 2.1 Introduction

The coinage of what might be dubbed Stephen's heartland most strictly conformed to the standards of royal coinage and control discussed in the introduction. Despite various outliers, south-eastern coinages were broadly uniform and explicitly regnal. In terms of quality, the coins produced were strong, stable, and well regulated. Regulation was ensured via relatively centralised mechanisms of power which (at least theoretically) ensured that the profits of this enterprise made their way to the King.<sup>107</sup>

For a full discussion of these aspects of this coinage, it is necessary more precisely to define the boundaries of 'loyalist' lands. The region's core contained Westminster, which was a seat of royal government and a site of tremendous symbolic significance, thanks to its role in royal coronation. There was also the administratively vital town of Winchester, which hosted the royal treasury and exchequer until at least 1141. Perhaps most importantly, the south-east included London, the citizens of which helped to secure Stephen the throne in 1135 and played a major role in thwarting Matilda in 1141.<sup>108</sup> Stephen was one of the greater landowners in south-eastern England even before his accession as king, with the importance of this regional lordship to his kingship long ago noted by King. King has argued that this was a major factor in Stephen's ability to assert himself in the south-east. Beyond this region, Stephen's authority was constrained by magnates who kept their distance physically as well as politically.<sup>109</sup>

Such a strong south-eastern base would have given Stephen a serious material advantage against his contemporaries, as these were the wealthiest and most productive parts of the kingdom in terms of trade with mainland Europe. This territory did not incorporate all regions which were producing coinage in Stephen's name, but rather the lands where it appears Stephen (and perhaps at times when

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<sup>107</sup> Bolton, *MITMEE*, 11, 30, 50, 57-8, 102, 106, Brooke, 'Quando Moneta Vertebatur, 105-16, Blackburn. 'Coinage and Currency Under Henry I', 50, 73.

<sup>108</sup> K. Yoshitake, 'The Place of Government In Transition: Winchester' *Rulership and Rebellion in The Anglo Norman World, c.1066-c.1216: Essays in Honour of Professor Edmund King* (Farnham 2015), 61-75.

<sup>109</sup> E. King, *King Stephen*, (Yale 2010), 218, For discussion on the emotional/ideological significance of cross channel ties to the Anglo-Norman elite see Bates, *Normans and Empire*, 128-39.

he was incapacitated, his wife Queen Matilda) was able to exert sufficient authority to direct meaningful control over the monetary system. Such a regional pattern is noticeable through the mapping of mints of Stephen's substantive wartime types (2 and 6), which Blackburn demonstrated typically fall behind a line traced from Lewes to London, up through Northampton and Stamford.<sup>110</sup> The westerly frontier of this area coincides roughly with what sources suggest were the eastern limits of Angevin power, though the border between the two claimants' authority fluctuated over a contested zone along the Thames valley. Oxford was an important centre, being roughly equidistant between both the centres of power of either faction. Initially a loyalist stronghold, the city surrendered to the Empress and subsequently issued her coinage. Following her flight from Westminster in 1141, Matilda withdrew to Oxford, before retreating from the city. Eventually Oxford (with its mint) was back within Stephen's sphere of control, issuing local coins in his name and of his Type 2.<sup>111</sup> It is telling that when the mints of Stephen's types are mapped out, the mints that issued all four types are clustered in the south-east, while in the west many issued only Type 1 or Type 7 (Appendix J1).<sup>112</sup>

London's support for Stephen was longstanding. He had been warmly received there in 1135 and would stay in the city at Whitsuntide in 1140. The citizenry's importance is attested in the *Historia Novella*, where Henry of Blois (1171) is recorded as describing the Londoners as equal to magnates on account of the greatness of their city. Meanwhile the citizens' role in driving the empress Matilda from Westminster is well attested.<sup>113</sup> Stephen's authority in the midlands is harder to map, as indeed it is for all parties from the outbreak of the war. He certainly relied heavily on the Beaumont twins, who through their own holdings and network of clients had established a formidable regional power block early in his reign. However, following the events of 1141, Waleran de Beaumont (1166) would retreat to Normandy, whilst his twin, Robert (1168), Earl of Leicester, would spend much time between 1141 and 1153 securing his own power in the midlands with little reference to Stephen. While Robert

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<sup>110</sup> Blackburn, 'C&C', 162.

<sup>111</sup> Boon, *Coins of*, 25-8; Crouch, *The Reign*, 171, 179, 181, 204, 206; G.Boon, *Welsh Hoards: 1979-1981* (Cardiff 1986), 44.

<sup>112</sup> Creighton & Wright, *The Anarchy*, 140

<sup>113</sup> *GS*, 125-127; *HN*, 56, 94-5.

fought in Stephen's army at Worcester in 1153, he would ultimately align with the Angevin party.<sup>114</sup>

Though many mints in the midlands and further north did mint money in Stephen's name from the outset of the reign and beyond the events of 1141, the coinage and overall political situation in these areas were sufficiently different to set them apart from strictly loyalist areas.

Essex was staunchly loyal. But East Anglia more generally represents an anomaly, given that for a period it was certainly not aligned with Stephen. In 1136, the region was whipped into rebellion by its earl, Hugh Bigod (1177), a powerful figure in both Norfolk and Suffolk, who held Norwich and Framlingham against the King.<sup>115</sup> Hugh was probably motivated less by personal loyalty to the empress Matilda (he had been an initial supporter of Stephen during the succession crisis) and more from personal dissatisfaction at his exclusion from Stephen's inner circle.<sup>116</sup> Certainly there is a case to be made for analysing the area separately, given that a distinct type of erased East Anglian coinage emerged that is typically associated with Hugh's rebellion in one way or another. However, given that Hugh's rebellion occurred very early in the conflict, was speedily suppressed, and saw East Anglia thereafter fully integrated within the loyalist monetary system, it is more appropriate to consider the area in concert with other loyalist territories. Hugh and Stephen's relationship in other areas remained tense, but north Norfolk was consistently loyal and much of Suffolk formed part of Stephen's demesne.<sup>117</sup> East Anglia is best thought of as a region that partly detached itself from Stephen's authority but that was successfully brought back under royal control. In a sense then, East Anglia embodies the way in which Stephen could not only prevent areas where he was already powerful from defecting to his rivals, but also exert himself over territories aligned against him and re-establish mechanisms of authority there.

East Anglia's rebellion and subordination leads neatly on to the way in which the boundaries of this loyalist zone were never rigid. There were certainly fluctuations, particularly in the conflict area in the

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<sup>114</sup> D.Crouch, *The Beaumont Twins: The Roots and Branches of Power in the Twelfth Century*, (Cambridge 1986), 41, 51, 81-6.

<sup>115</sup> HA, 706, M.Chibnall *The Empress Matilda: Queen Consort, Queen Mother and Lady of the English*, (Oxford 1991) 118.

<sup>116</sup> Crouch, *The Reign*, 118-119, 223.

<sup>117</sup> Crouch, *The Reign*, 118, 223-4.

west, where Matilda and her supporters sought to defeat Stephen militarily and secure significant settlements such as Oxford, Westminster and London. It is important to remember that the ‘loyalist zone’ is a loose designation, intended to facilitate analysis of coinage and systems of power that broadly were controlled by Stephen and supported his interests.

Categorising types issued in loyalist areas is comparatively simple, as most were clearly issues in Stephen’s name. These are types 1, 2, 6 and 7, the four ‘substantive’ issues of Stephen. The irregular numbering is due to an initial arrangement of coinages by R.P Mack. Mack regarded types 3-5 as substantive, but these are now believed to be only local issues. Nevertheless Mack’s categorisation remains foundational. All of these coins offer variations on iconographic motifs that dominated the coinage of Norman monarchs; namely an obverse crowned bust with sceptre, and a reverse cross. Obverse and reverse legends are similarly consistent.<sup>118</sup> Allen noted several other types that may have been made from London dies, but were struck beyond the south-east.<sup>119</sup> In these cases, the types themselves will be discussed in the relevant regional chapters. The fact that London produced dies persisting among non-substantive types ought to be understood as a continuation of the pre-war system, as some (though not all) moneyers appear to have been sent metropolitan dies, despite the collapse of a previously national coinage. There is also the matter of erased coins of Type 1 dies issued in East Anglia, and the various Type 1 variants with subtle modifications. Though these differ little in their actual design, subtle distinctions in design and distribution make them worthy of comment quite separate from the conventional Type 1.

## 2.2 Stephen’s Type 1

Stephen’s Type 1 coinage is the most prolific of his reign. It not only forms the largest single portion of the Corpus, but at 1657 of 3337 known coins of Stephen’s reign it very nearly constitutes a majority. Moreover, this figure of 1657 coins does not include myriad local Type 1 variants issued in Stephen’s name during his reign, or types such as Matilda’s Type A, various Scottish types, and

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<sup>118</sup> Mack, ‘Stephen and the Anarchy’, 38-56.

<sup>119</sup> M.Allen, ‘Stephen, The Anarchy and The Accession of Henry II, 1145-58’ *Medieval European Coinage with a Catalogue of the Coins in the Fitzwilliam Museum*, ix (a), (Forthcoming), 1-34.

Pereric that are visually identical to Type 1 save for their legends. If these four types are added, then the figure rises to 1678, or slightly over 50% (Appendix A2).

No comprehensive study of the fineness of Type 1 has been conducted. However, weights range from a high of 1.51g, to a low of 1.00g, mostly congregating around the 1.20 – 1.40g range. It may be that the standard was somewhere between 1.25g and 1.50g, which (accounting for damage and perhaps a certain laxity caused by the war) seem to suggest Stephen was keen to maintain the 1.43g standard introduced by Henry I.<sup>120</sup> The average of these coins within the Corpus sits around 1.10g, though this allows for a high proportion of fractional coinage and possibly lower quality Type 1s issued as the war progressed (Appendix A2).

Aesthetically, Stephen's Type 1 conforms to long established trends in Anglo-Norman coinage (Appendix I). The obverse depicts a bust with fleured crown and wielding a fleured sceptre. Obverse legends may read 'STIEFNE REX', 'STEIFNER' or simply 'STIEFENE'. W.J Andrew suggested the use of a fleured crown was intended deliberately to associate Stephen with Henry I, who had introduced the symbol. Andrew also seems to have been the earliest advocate for the notion that the legend was progressively shortened over the early years of Stephen's reign.<sup>121</sup> However Andrew's reasoning, that Henry I had abandoned the use of 'REX' and Stephen was unlikely to be so modest, remains questionable. Andrew's argument was accepted by later numismatists such as L.A Lawrence and George Boon, with Boon suggesting that the shortening occurred over 3-5 years, ending in 1139.<sup>122</sup> It is worth noting that coins with every legend or variant may appear together in hoards, for example in the Linton or Eynesford hoards. It might theoretically be that Stephen's shorter legend came first (again conforming with a standard set by Henry I), and that 'REX' was later added to reinforce his legitimacy during his struggle with Matilda. There is also the possibility that legends were never uniform, but that die cutters adapted as they wished.

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<sup>120</sup> Blackburn, 'C&C', 169.

<sup>121</sup> W.J Andrew, 'A Numismatic History of the Reign of Stephen: A.D. 1135 to 1154' *BNJ*, x, 43-67.

<sup>122</sup> L.A Lawrence, 'On A Hoard of Coins Chiefly of King Stephen' *NC*, no.5 vol. ii, (1922), 49-83; Boon, *Coins of*, 17.



Type 1's reverse depicts a cross moline with fleurs in the angles. Moneyers' names, and (often abbreviated) mint signatures, were also placed on the reverse. Based on attributions given in the Corpus, there are 52 identifiable mints of Stephen's Type 1 (Appendix X). This makes it the type struck at the greatest number of mints, and the only type to be issued across the entire kingdom until Stephen's type 7. One-hundred-and-nineteen moneyers' names are recorded within the type, a few being holdovers from Henry I's reign, and many reappearing in later types of Stephen's.

Though due significance will be accorded to local types produced during Stephen's reign, it is vital to remember at this early stage that the largest single portion of surviving coinage in the Corpus remains Type 1. While Type 1 may have only been issued (at least in the south-east) from c.1135 to the early to mid 1140s, its influence on subsequent coinages is undeniable. It could even be said that Type 1's influence is more noticeable in areas outside the south-east than within it. While other 'substantive' types were produced in lands Stephen controlled, many areas nominally loyal to Stephen effectively saw coinage become frozen as local figures continued to issue Type 1 or subtle variants of it. Even in those areas where Stephen was not recognised as monarch, Type 1 continued to influence coinage, as local die cutters imitated the style or worked actively to reject it. Many coins combined a Type 1 style bust or reverse cross with an alternative legend or design element. The 1.42g standard was also adhered to, with the notable exception of the Angevin coinages. In all this it should be remembered that Type 1 complied with style with which all pre-war moneyers would have been familiar and from which they had learned their basic principles (both in terms of how it ought to be produced, and the significance of particular design elements). Type 1 essentially represented archetypal 'good coinage' that pre-dated the disruption to the monetary system. It was indisputably the most significant coinage of Stephen's reign in terms of its influence over other types issued.

### 2.3 The 'Pereric' Coinage

By far the most significant and problematic variation in south-eastern coinage is the 'Pereric' coinage. Stylistically, Pereric is identical to Stephen's Type 1, with crowned and sceptre wielding obverse profile bust, and reverse cross moline. The reverse is similarly conventional in design and legend, moneyer's name and mint signature. The key difference is the obverse legends, which rather than

variants of '+STIEFNE REX' read either '+PERERIC' or '+PERERICM'. The type is of a good weight, averaging at 1.25g even when including substantially chipped examples, and with the heaviest example weighing 1.47g. Before these things can be put in their proper context, the thorny question of to whom these coins ought to be attributed must first be aired.

The 'PERERIC' legend is conventionally read as an attempt to inscribe '*Empereis*', the Old English '*Emperic*' or French '*Empereriz*'. The absence of 'Emp-' from the legends was noted by Blackburn as an inconvenient obstacle to this interpretation. Regardless, such a reading has led many to assume that the coin was in some way meant to be affiliated with Matilda. Supporting evidence for this is the letter M at the end of 'PERERICM', though this is also problematic given its omission from other Pereric coins. Matilda's coinage will be discussed more fully in a later chapter. Pereric is being discussed here because, of the few mints recorded, the bulk were clearly positioned in the east and south-east of the Kingdom. Nevertheless, this type does not fit neatly into any region defined in this thesis. The most common finds are of coins minted in Lincoln, and the largest group of Pereric coins recorded stems from the Prestwich Hoard in Lancashire. Indeed the geographic spread of mints has more in common with a national issue than any regional type (Appendix X). The mint distribution is not decisive evidence that the coins themselves were loyalist or Matildine issues. Blackburn noted that while Ipswich, Stamford and Winchester had Pereric mints, this does not mean that these settlements were aligned with Matilda. If the type was intended to be associated with the Empress, it may be that these areas were not especially inclined to support Matilda, but that their moneyers were following established convention with regards to obtaining dies. Pereric moneyers may have had no choice but to use dies they were sent from London during Matilda's period of ascendancy.<sup>123</sup> Perhaps the best we can say is that while Pereric does not fit neatly into any of the areas established for this thesis, it fits the south-east least poorly.

Dating Pereric relies rather heavily on interpreting the obverse legend. Indeed, the precise meaning of this coinage has been discussed for decades, with little meaningful progress. In 1966, Mack

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<sup>123</sup> 'C&C' 174, Regrettably, no Ipswich or Winchester Pereric types are recorded in the Corpus.

speculated that the coins were struck immediately after Henry I's death in 1135, or after Stephen's capture in 1141, in both cases likely declaring for Empress Matilda.<sup>124</sup> Boon rather confidently dated the type to 1137 when Stephen was in Normandy, on the rationale that Bishop Roger of Salisbury favoured Matilda as heir out of loyalty to Henry I.<sup>125</sup> Archibald also endorsed this theory, but then subsequently changed her mind.<sup>126</sup> Attributing Pereric to Matilda creates three fairly narrow windows for its introduction. An earlier date (either 1135 or 1137) would imply a rapid and possibly pre-emptive coinage for Matilda (but confusingly, omitting her name) that managed to make its way to some mints in the most economically prosperous parts of the kingdom, before Stephen was able to replace the type with his own. This is a questionable interpretation, and the alternative persuasively argued by Archibald in her analysis of the Prestwich hoard is that these coins were issued in late spring 1141, when Stephen had been captured and Matilda was seemingly in control of London.<sup>127</sup>

While the latter interpretation seems more likely, there is still the conundrum of why Matilda (or her supporters) would choose to issue a replacement for Stephen's coinage which failed to use her name and offered only a questionable rendition of her imperial title. This besides the fact that Matilda was ostensibly fighting for the title of 'Rex'. In the west, indeed, Matilda specifically used 'Rex' on coins which bore her own name along with a much more convincing contraction of the Latin *Imperatrix* rather than the vernacular. Whether these 'IMREXANG' and 'Matilda Rex' coins were issued after or contemporaneously with the Pereric type is unclear, and they too will be properly discussed in the following chapter. What is relevant here is that it appears Matilda and her supporters were perfectly capable of producing a coin that was unambiguously hers, even when her political situation was comparatively weaker than before her retreat from Westminster. It is possible that Pereric was simply a poor attempt to make a coinage in the name of 'the empress' by an ally of Matilda, perhaps from the Fitz Otto die cutting dynasty.<sup>128</sup> It may be that Matilda's name was omitted in order to avoid confusion with Stephen's wife, Queen Matilda. However there is very little evidence to support this,

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<sup>124</sup> Mack, 'Stephen and The Anarchy' 45-46.

<sup>125</sup> Boon, *Coins of*, 6.

<sup>126</sup> Archibald, 'Penny with the King's name and title replaced by 'PERERIC M' struck at Ipswich by the moneyer Païen' in (?) 1137' in *English Romanesque Art 1066-1200*, 335 Archibald 'Dating', 15.

<sup>127</sup> Archibald, 'Prestwich' *Unpublished Notes*.

<sup>128</sup> Archibald, 'Dating', 16.

besides similarity in die cutting style with Stephen's Type 1, and continued use of the vernacular on the obverse.<sup>129</sup> Yet it is not even clear if Pereric is actually the vernacular. Some names on coins were written in English during Stephen's reign (see Steifne, Davit) but Latin forms (Matildi, Rob[ertus]?, Henricus, Stephanus) were not uncommon. Meanwhile titles are almost exclusively rendered in Latin with the exception of 'Erl' on the Henric Erl pennies in the north. There is also the question of why the Fitz Ottos would opt to create a coinage for the Empress (unilaterally or as a result of her patronage), especially one that bore such an ambiguous and questionably literate legend. There is therefore still a great deal of uncertainty over the attribution of Pereric to Empress Matilda, and other possibilities need to be considered.

If the Pereric coins were not declaring for Matilda, then the natural question is: what other interpretations can they support? There is no other figure with whom they can be clearly associated, and without further evidence, alternative interpretations can only be speculative. It may be that the coins were deliberately ambiguous, and if so they might not be the only wartime issues to resort to indecipherable legends. Coins in the north and the west raise similar issues of identification and will be discussed in due course. It may be that whoever oversaw die production opted for an ambiguous legend to avoid the risks of affiliating with one political faction or another. The ambiguous legend theory may partly explain why Pereric dies were only distributed in selected areas, as a design not formally endorsed by either leading faction would likely not have its distribution enforced by royal authority across the kingdom. There is of course the problematic and equally valid counter argument that an ambiguous legend would offend both major factions. Indeed all that can be said against this is that ambiguous legends were no bar to commerce elsewhere in Europe, whilst moneyers may have felt that neutrality offered more protection than backing a particular side. It may also be simply that the legend's original meaning has been lost. Despite these complications, it does appear that the Pereric coinage was broadly accepted in the areas within which it circulated. This, to judge from its presence in multiple hoards and its recovery as single finds. Pereric's acceptance may well be due to

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<sup>129</sup> Blackburn, 'C&C' 173, Porter, 'A New Coin Type of the Empress Matilda?' 110.

its similarity to Type 1, as many other Type 1 style coins (such as the Scottish types) seem to have been similarly popular.

With all of this now said, it is necessary to reach some kind of conclusion on the dating and patronage of Pereric. I am most comfortable declaring that the type was issued c.1141, or at least around the early to mid-1140s prior to the introduction of Stephen's Type 2. Any earlier dating would raise the question of why a coinage not in Stephen's name would be produced, seemingly from the central apparatus in London. There is no precedent for either an anticipatory coinage in the months before an assumed ruler's coronation, or an interim coinage produced while the monarch was on the continent. Whether or not Pereric can be associated with Matilda is another matter, and it may be that it was indeed facilitated by a supporter of hers or some person whose motive in changing the legends has since been lost.

The uncertainties over Pereric and its patrons begs the question of precisely what it was intended practically to achieve. The *Dialogus* makes clear that a uniform coin (both in terms of type and weight) was necessary for the exchequer to function. The *Dialogus* further clarifies that certain counties were permitted to pay in mismatched coin, which suggest that this was the exception rather than the norm.<sup>130</sup> From this it can be inferred that coin should be of a recognised type to be used for official payments. What was to be gained in issuing a type that was effectively identical to Stephen's? Given that it was distributed centrally over a series of mints, it seems most likely that it constituted a move from the political centre rather than a spontaneous local initiative. Even accounting for the administrative role of coinage, why Pereric was introduced remains unclear.

The distribution of Pereric finds also supplies potential insight to its dating, as it seems too great a coincidence that dies were issued over a wide arc, including areas where Stephen was retained power following the loyalist collapse of 1141 (Appendix B1). While the mints that issued it were concentrated in the south-east they also spread as far west as Bristol and as far north as Lincoln. It is also clear that Pereric circulated in the northwest, with forty-two examples unearthed as part of the

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<sup>130</sup> *DDS*, 14-19.

Prestwich hoard in Lancashire.<sup>131</sup> Unfortunately the other finds recorded in the Corpus have no find spots, making it difficult to map the type's overall distribution. Stephen's later substantive types would be issued across a severely truncated mint network. This possibly supports the notion that Pereric was issued c.1141, via an eastern/south-eastern mint network that was appropriated by Matilda's supporters and which imposed a change of type on as many mints as were inclined to accept it. With Matilda's decline and Stephen's re-assertion of control over coinage, the ambiguity introduced by the Pereric issue and ongoing conflict may have spurred a turn towards more localised coinage.

It is possible, albeit not provable beyond reasonable doubt, that the 'Pereric' inscription was intended to evoke Empress Matilda's title. A notion unexplored in the scholarship is that some nuance of pronunciation may have rendered this an acceptable transliteration of the spoken English vernacular. But even if this might solve the riddle, the nuance in question remains, at least for the present, entirely unidentified. Moreover, coins minted c.1141 need not have been declaring for Matilda for them to have been issued via the royally controlled network of mints. Distribution of anonymous dies via this network is just as plausible. Likewise, it can be safely assumed that Pereric was not issued in the same areas as types which explicitly declared for the Empress, save for the one exception of Bristol. Indeed, Pereric's distribution seems to be unique for Stephen's reign, spreading in substantial numbers across parts of the kingdom in ways that transcend any conventional reading of political boundaries. The closest possible comparison is with the mint distribution of types 2 and 6. However, even this is only a loose analogy, with Pereric sharing just two mints (Canterbury and London) with either of these types (Appendix B1). Meanwhile the weights of available Pereric coins seem to indicate that they were struck to a standard consistent with pre-war coinage and other substantive types (Appendix A3). It could be that the anonymity of the title combined with good weight and a widely accepted design is what facilitated the coins' spread across England. Regardless of who issued them, Pereric dies represent a consistency of weight and design, but a distinct anomaly in terms of mint distribution.

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<sup>131</sup> *Coin Hoards* i, 92.

## 2.4 The Substantive Types (2, 6 & 7)

As previously mentioned, besides Pereric coins, most coins found in the south-east were minted in Stephen's name, including erased/modified issues. Stephen would issue three substantive types subsequent to Type 1, two of which would be concentrated in south-eastern mints, with the other struck across the entire kingdom. These types were issued to consistent designs, and a weight standard in keeping with the pre-war standard. They were also issued across a wide network of mints, rather than simply being locally produced at one or two-mints striking in Stephen's name. It is for this reason (along with convention) that they are considered 'substantive'.

Stephen's Type 2 is relatively common in the Corpus with the obverse showing the King in what appears to be a full or three-quarters-facing profile bust, wielding a fleured sceptre and wearing a fleured crown. The obverse legend reads '+STIEFNE' showing the King's name but omitting his title. Type 2's reverse bears a voided cross, with six-pointed mullets in each angle, and four sets of three pellets (one set at the end of each arm). Any significance to the introduction of mullets is unclear, and it may be that the modification simply served as a way to mark the change in type.

Type 2 reverse inscriptions bear the standard combination of moneyer and mint signature. In terms of dating, as with Pereric we must exercise caution when ascribing fixed dates to specific types.

Conventional dating places Stephen's Type 2 immediately after Type 1, possibly introduced c.1142 following his release from captivity. There is no textual evidence for this, but rather it is supposed that Stephen wished to re-assert his authority in the wake of the loyalist collapse. There is also the possibility that Type 2 was issued as an attempt to remove the various low weight and local imitative Type 1 coins from circulation.<sup>132</sup> Stephen's second coronation at Winchester in 1141 has also been interpreted as a spiritual cleansing, and a conscious attempt to reassert his authority.<sup>133</sup> If Pereric is placed between Types 1 and 2, then it may be that Type 2 was introduced in effect to reset the monetary system, replacing both of the former types and any other local variants that had entered

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<sup>132</sup> Blackburn, 'C&C', 162.

<sup>133</sup> S.D Church, 'Succession and Interregnum in the English Polity: The case of 1141', *Haskins Society Journal*, xxix (2017), 181-200.

circulation. If this was the intention then it appears to have been only partially successful, given that Type 2 was largely – though not exclusively- confined to the south-east. An alternative hypothesis has Type 2 issued c.1145: a date favoured by Blackburn, who regarded the earlier date as inconveniently neat.<sup>134</sup> In truth there is little reason to support either date, and at best the type should be dated approximately to the early-mid 1140s.

At least two Type 2 coins from York are recorded by the BMC, but the remainder are overwhelmingly concentrated in the south and east (Appendix B1).<sup>135</sup> Another explanation for Type 2's introduction is that at some point Stephen urgently needed to raise funds. It could be that the King opted to reintroduce a change of type which had seemingly been absent for at least six years. Insistence on moneyers purchasing new dies, with the official payments to which Stephen had access being made in new coin, would likely have provided a sudden injection of cash.

Type 6 is of similar overall design to both Type 1 and Type 2, with an obverse bust this time in full profile facing leftward. The crown has no fleurs but instead small roundels, while the fleured sceptre remains prominent. The obverse legends are the now easily recognisable '+STIEFNE:.' with a trefoil of pellets at the end. The reverse depicts a long, fleured cross with four 'piles' (or small club like trefoils), one in each corner. In some instances there are examples of a thickening of the centre of the cross, or a very small saltire. The reverse legends consistently conform to the standard mint and moneyer combination observable through all of Stephen's types.

Chronologically it remains generally agreed that Type 6 was introduced c.1150.<sup>136</sup> This date is established firstly on the reasoning that Type 6 must have preceded Type 7. Mack noted the regional nature of its recorded mints concentrated in the south east, indicating a war-time release. Mack also speculated that Type 6 must have been issued following or concurrently with Type 2. He based this on dies that appeared to be centrally produced from London, and their larger style of lettering that bears

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<sup>134</sup> Blackburn 'C&C', 197.

<sup>135</sup> Brooke, *BMC*, 364; G. Wakeford, 'On a Hoard of Early English Coins of Henry I. and Stephen, 1135-40', *NC*, iii (1883), 108-16; *BMC* Nos. 171 & 172. These Coins are of the Linton and Wakeford finds respectively. However the original find report for Linton seems to indicate that this is a Type 1.

<sup>136</sup> North, *EHC*, 203; Allen, *M&M*, 142.



more resemblance to Type 7 than to 2, though he acknowledged that epigraphy can be misleading in such matters.<sup>137</sup> Blackburn's own work synthesising and expanding on various chronologies produced a date of c.1150-4 (Appendix D1).<sup>138</sup>

Bearing in mind the need for healthy caution when it comes to dating types and their changes, this is not an implausible chronology when taking into account that Type 1 (including Pereric) seems to have endured for seven years or so, at least in the south-east. Earlier, Henry I's Type 15 had lasted some ten years. Allen commented that Stephen's reign seems to have brought about the reintroduction of *renovatio monetae*,<sup>139</sup> which seems a reasonable assessment given the shift from Type 2 to 6.

Certainly identifiable mints of Type 6 show considerable overlap with Type 2. Of the twenty mints that struck Type 6, some twelve struck Type 2. Notably there were sixteen mints that might be categorised as south-eastern which struck Type 6, and of these, eleven struck Type 2. Cambridge, Colchester, Eye, Northampton, Stamford and an uncertain 'UA-' issued 6 but not 2. Meanwhile Dover, Pevensey, Hertford and York appear to have issued Type 2 but not 6 (Appendix B1). There is likewise a notable recurrence of moneyers who had struck Type 2 reappearing in Type 6, though Type 6 does seem to have been struck by fewer moneyers overall, with roughly forty-five compared to more than sixty for Type 2.<sup>140</sup>

It is possible that Type 6 was issued for different reasons to Type 2. Type 6 was perhaps issued for the profits that accrued from the sale of dies, at least within those areas in which Stephen and his supporters were able to persuade moneyers to make such a purchase. Type 2, by contrast, may have emerged due to the propagation across the kingdom of similar Type 1 variants (including several in Matilda's name), with local Type 2 variants exceptionally rare.<sup>141</sup> It is certainly plausible that Type 6

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<sup>137</sup> Mack 'Stephen and the Anarchy', 50-3.

<sup>138</sup> Blackburn 'C&C', 194-9.

<sup>139</sup> Allen, *M&M*, 280-1.

<sup>140</sup> Numbers based on Corpus data as per appendix X. It is difficult to generate a precise number of moneyers, as contractions as well as lack of consistent spelling of names mean it is unclear whether a different name necessarily indicates a different individual.

<sup>141</sup> EMC nos. 1200.0176 and 2009.0417 (though the latter is in the name of a 'Roger').

was initiated to obtain a timely injection of wealth. Type 6's own replacement with Type 7 c.1153/4 allows for a respectable if comparatively short duration of 3-4 years.

Stephen's Type 7, significantly resembles Type 2. The obverse bust depicts Stephen in either full face or three-quarters profile, now bearded, with his fleured sceptre in hand. The obverse legend is '+STIEFNE' with no trefoil. The reverse legends are similarly conventionally supplied with mint and moneyer names. The reverse design is a voided cross of two pairs of parallel lines intersecting, similar though not identical to Type 2. Each line on the cross ends with a single pip rather like a cross pomée. Every angle holds a fleur facing towards the centre of the coin, and each fleur is connected by its base to a quatrefoil that surrounds the whole design. This creates an effect not unlike the cross moline reverse of Stephen's Type 1. Type 7 marked the reintroduction of truly national coinage produced kingdom-wide. Ralph of Diss ascribes this restoration of uniform coinage to Stephen and Henry of Anjou's peace agreement negotiated late in 1153. More specifically, Ralph declares that 'The same publicly minted coinage will be a currency celebrated everywhere in the kingdom'.<sup>142</sup> Stephen and Henry's so-called 'Treaty of Westminster/Winchester' was effectively phrased as a willing concession by Stephen in order to maintain his royal dignity.<sup>143</sup> However, surviving copies of the treaty make no reference to coinage.<sup>144</sup> This suggests either that the agreement over coinage was a verbal one, or that the surviving copies of the treaty are incomplete. Perhaps, alternatively, Ralph was mistaken. Regardless of the truth here, convention dictates that Type 7 was introduced between the negotiation of the treaty and the introduction of Henry II's Tealby type in 1158.<sup>145</sup> The placing of Type 7 at the end of Stephen's reign, running on into the initial years of Henry II's, adequately explains Type 7's proliferation within hoards and its broader geographic distribution compared to Types 2 and 6.

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<sup>142</sup> RdD, 297, 'Forma publica percussa eadem in regno celebris erit ubique moneta.' Diceto's grammar is somewhat ambiguous here, but it seems clear that he is describing how public money will be issued across the kingdom, and that this was something to be approved of.

<sup>143</sup> Allen, *M&M*, 247; Blackburn C&C, 194; Boon, *Coins of*, 32.

J.C Holt '1153: The Treaty of Winchester' in *The Anarchy of King Stephen's Reign* ed. Edmund King, (Oxford 2001) 291-316.

<sup>144</sup> *RRAN*, iii, no.272

<sup>145</sup> Blackburn 'C&C', 194; North, *EHC*, 203.

## 2.5 Erased and Modified Southern Type 1 Variants

Types 1, 2, 6 and 7 are the main ‘substantive’ issues of Stephen. That is to say, they were produced in substantial numbers and show patterns of distribution and chronology that suggest they were meant to be distinct ‘national’ coinages across whatever territories Stephen could control. This does not mean that they were the sole coinages produced in Stephen’s name in any area. Furthermore, while these types suggest clear central control and distribution, there are other types which seem to have resulted from local demand for coin. This demand was (for whatever reason) not resolved by using dies of substantive types. Many of these variants are essentially based on Stephen’s Type 1 with subtle modifications to the obverse or reverse.

The first Type 1s variant to be discussed here is the East Anglian ‘Roundels’ type, which has roundels placed upon the arms of the reverse cross. The placement of roundels differs from coin to coin, meaning the reverses are not strictly the same. For example, while some have roundels on the vertical and right arm of the cross, others have them on opposing upper and lower limbs.<sup>146</sup> However, the overall similarity means it is not unreasonable to group all of these coins into the same basic type, at least for purposes of discussion. Of the eleven roundel coins recorded in the Corpus, nine or possibly ten come from the Ipswich mint, while one or possibly two are from Sudbury. The only recorded moneyers are Rogier (who appears to have only struck the type at Ipswich), Edward, who struck at Sudbury, and possibly Edmund who also struck at Ipswich, although this is an uncertain reading. The coins’ weights (excluding a cut halfpenny weighing 0.5g) average at 1.09g, with a high of 1.27g and a low of 0.97g. The roundels’ placement is not consistent across mints or moneyers, with Rogier’s having roundels placed on the upper and rightward limbs, the upper and lower limbs, or at the centre of the cross as well as on the upper and lower limbs. Edward’s roundels are placed upper and rightwards.<sup>147</sup> A single coin of either Edward or Edmund has the roundel placed in upper and lower limbs and centre, much like Rogier’s, which perhaps identifies it as an Ipswich coin.<sup>148</sup>

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<sup>146</sup> EMC1017.0381 & 1017.0380 respectively.

<sup>147</sup> EMC 1017.0830, 2002.0150, (Rogier), 1017.0831 (Edward).

<sup>148</sup> EMC 2015.0185.

The Roundel type's distribution is relatively simple to map, though allows for no certain interpretation given its scarcity. Only four of the ten have confirmable findspots: one in the Prestwich Hoard, one in Ely, one 'near' Shadingfield (near Beccles in Norfolk) and another in Barking. These few findspots make an arc from the northwest coast through East Anglia to just a few miles from London, but without more data it is not possible to be sure of the type's overall circulation (Appendix X).

The general lack of Roundels in the database may indicate that these coins were not issued in substantial numbers, and the irregularity of the roundels' placement does little to clarify whether they are erasure marks, or represent a particular idea or political figure. A conventional interpretation of the roundels is that they represent Queen Matilda's status as Countess of Boulogne, for the arms of Boulogne (albeit only later recorded) were three bezants. These coins may thus have been produced under her authority, conceivably while she was attempting to raise money during Stephen's captivity.<sup>149</sup> While there is no certainty here, according to John of Worcester's chronicle, Queen Matilda did approach the Empress and plead for her husband's release, in company with several other great magnates of the kingdom.<sup>150</sup> This would not be the only example of an influential figure placing a personal symbol on a coin they had commissioned, a practice well attested in both the Angevin and northern spheres of influence.

If the coins are not of queen Matilda, then it may well simply be that the introduction of roundels was intended in some way to distinguish the coins from other Type 1s. That is assuming that this change was conspicuous enough to be noticeable by those who used the coins. The dies appear to have been a combination of modified metropolitan issues and locally cut dies.<sup>151</sup> The inconsistent placement of the roundels makes it unclear that this marked an attempt to erase any particular aspect of the design. Certainly there was no attempt to remove any royal iconography or legends on the obverse.

Turning now to the 'Erased Long Cross' coins, these appear to have been produced exclusively in East Anglian mints (Appendices E2 & X). Norwich is by far the most prominent of these, with at least

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<sup>149</sup> Blackburn, 'C&C' 179; Mack, *Stephen and the Anarchy*, 66-7.

<sup>150</sup> JOW, 296-7.

<sup>151</sup> Blackburn 'C&C', 178-9.

nineteen and perhaps 21 of the 34 Erased Long Cross coins being struck there. Other mints recorded are those at Thetford, providing the next largest sample with four, Eye and Bury St Edmunds with a single coin each, and eight coins of uncertain mint. The weights average around 1.03g, with noticeable variation. Norwich produced the three heaviest coins, one weighing 1.29g and two 1.24g. The lightest specimen (excluding what is most likely a fragment weighing 0.39) is of uncertain mint, weighing 0.83g. Overall the erased coinages average out at a respectable weight. However, fluctuation of almost half a gram does indicate a possible loosening of standards. Erased Long Crosses have been found both in hoards and as single finds, though a substantial portion (perhaps as many as seventeen) have no find spot recorded. Five were found in the 1972 Prestwich hoard, a single coin was found in a Nottingham hoard and seven coins seem to have been single finds in East Anglia. Available evidence suggests distribution from East Anglia westwards, which may indicate how these particular coins fitted within the wider flow of coinage from the south-east into neighbouring areas.

The cross on East Anglian coins obscuring Stephen's portrait has led some to identify these coins with Hugh Bigod and his rebellion of 1136. W.J Andrew was seemingly the first to make this claim arguing that the cross was actually the Bigods' heraldic mark, and was thus almost certainly a political statement by Hugh against Stephen.<sup>152</sup> An alternative view is that disruption to the monetary system (possibly caused by Hugh's rebellion) meant London dies became unavailable. Instead, decommissioned or erased dies were pressed into service. This carries the questionable implication that moneyers had no resources or inclination to produce wholly original dies. Blackburn noted that certain long cross coins also have short crosses stamped into the dies.<sup>153</sup> As with many erased or modified Stephen types, questions here have no clear answers. Nevertheless the coins' weight, design and distribution indicate an exceptional issue that was distributed over multiple mints and spread over a relatively self-contained area. Of 33 Long Cross coins in the Corpus, seventeen have no recorded findspot, but single finds come almost exclusively from East Anglia, with five also unearthed in the Prestwich hoard (Lancs.), one in Nottingham, and two in Kent.

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<sup>152</sup> W.J Andrew, 'A Remarkable Hoard of Silver Pennies and Halfpennies of the Reign of Stephen, Found at Sheldon Derbyshire, in 1867', *BNJ*, vii (1910), 27-89.

<sup>153</sup> Blackburn, 'C&C', 177, for a discussion of this and several other erased/defaced dies.

Analysis of available data therefore suggests that the Erased Long Cross was not simply the result of moneyers producing coins that then flowed according to the pre-war pattern, but that the coins were in fact produced during a time of exceptional adjustment to the monetary flow. Chronologically, the rebellion of Hugh Bigod is a convenient event to tie them to, but not a connection that can be made with absolute certainty. What can reasonably be said is that these coins probably preceded Type 2, for two of the three Erased Long Cross mints (Norwich and Thetford) are known to have issued that second substantive type. Had Type 2 dies arrived prior to erased coinage being issued, then one would imagine that Type 2 dies would be erased rather than Type 1, regardless of why erasure occurred. Eye, the third mint, is not recorded in Type 2 (keeping in mind the possibility of limitations to the Corpus), however it is recorded for both Type 1 and Type 6 (Appendix B1).

This explanation would place the Erased Long Cross coins chronologically somewhere between the mid-1130s and early-to-mid-1140s. Erased dies may have been used because of a lack of new dies from London, and the re-use of old/decommissioned dies would certainly have been more expedient than creating new ones. However the abundance of modified Type 1 coins (and wholly original types) demonstrates how other areas across the realm were able to manufacture their own dies, apparently without much difficulty. That erased dies were used at all, rather than local dies being manufactured, is tentative evidence that the defacement of Stephen's portrait was political in intent. These interpretations are not mutually exclusive, for it could be that there was a standard pattern of die-erasure in East Anglia that involved cutting a cross over the royal portrait, and that when Hugh Bigod launched his rebellion he opted to utilise these dies rather than commission the making of new ones. Blackburn noted various trends in die erasure, with dies in Lincolnshire and Sussex having a bar placed over the royal sceptre, a practice traceable back at least to the reign of Edward the Confessor (r.1042-1066). Archibald has also recently drawn attention to different regional variations of die erasure, noting that conventionally the coins of East Anglia (including examples from Stephen's reign) have short crosses rather than a long cross placed on the obverse.<sup>154</sup> Without a clearer picture of what these traditions of die erasure were, and what happened to the dies after they were erased, no

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<sup>154</sup> Blackburn, 'C&C' 177; Archibald 'Dating' 19.

watertight theory can be made to fit. Indeed, these are problems that affect analysis of all erased and similarly modified Type 1 coinages.

The EMC database lists a Stephen 'Leftward bust' type of which three examples are confirmed in the Corpus. A coin of Hunfrei struck at Bury St Edmunds provides the only identified mint, moneyer or findspot. Even this can only be said to have been found in 'East Anglia' (Appendix X). The coin weighs 1.11g with its two companions marginally heavier at 1.16 and 1.17g. As well as a leftward facing bust, the obverse legend is made distinct by the inclusion of an extra small cross at the end of the legend, thus reading '+STIEFNE+' in an otherwise conventional inscription. Superficially this type appears to be a classic example of a phenomenon found across the realm during the war,; . the production of Type 1 variants with modifications so small as to be hardly noticeable. In these instances it is fair to assume the manufacturer sought to continue the production of Type 1 as accurately as possible, but that the hand-crafted nature of dies meant that certain small differences crept into the design. There is an alternate possibility that these 'irregular or local dies' are no such thing, and that these specific coins are actually mules, of Type 1 and 6. Whether mules or struck from local dies, it is possible that leftward bust coins are once again the product of an emergency need for coin, and that Type 1 remained the most desired and imitated design.

Following on in this vein, there is the Voided Cross Moline coinage struck at Southampton. At first glance little distinguishes these from regular Type 1s. However, the reverse cross has now been voided. The centre of the cross also holds a large annulet, and the voids are now closed off by small annulets at the end of each arm. This type is one of the more substantial Type 1 variants produced in the south-east, with twenty-eight examples recorded in the Corpus. The find spots for the type are scattered in an arc around Southampton itself.<sup>155</sup> Canterbury has been suggested as another reading of the signature, but the distribution of finds renders Southampton far more likely. With Southampton located on the western periphery of the loyalist lands, it is not surprising that a large portion of its coins have been found in Hampshire and Wiltshire. More surprisingly one example was discovered in

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<sup>155</sup> According to Corpus data, finds are recorded in the counties of Buckinghamshire (1), Hampshire (7), Hertfordshire (1), Kent (3), Lincolnshire (1), West Sussex (2) Wiltshire (6) and Winchester (1).

Caistor, Lincolnshire, which is well away from the wider distribution zone and hints at movement over longer distance.

In terms of weight, Voided Molines share a lightness with other Type 1 variants, ranging from 1.06g down to 0.78 among whole coins, with an average weight of 0.81g or 0.93 discounting incomplete coins. The obverse legends read either ‘+STEFNE’ ‘+STEFNER’ or ‘+STEFNE REX’. If the Type 1 variants resulted from wartime disruption to die distribution, then these legends complicate Andrew’s suggestion that legends were progressively shortened.<sup>156</sup> It may be that legends were much less standardised and varied in length. Alternatively if Andrews’ theory is correct, then the Voided Moline type indicates that Type 1 variants were struck far sooner in Stephen’s reign than has previously been supposed. The Voided Moline is also unique with regards to reverse legends, in that despite clearly being a relatively substantial issue, it appears to have been almost exclusively the work of a single mint and moneyer. The legends ‘+SANSVNI[ON]ANT’, ‘+SANSON:I:ON:ANT’ ‘+SANSON:ONAN’ are the most common, occasionally truncated through wear or damage. A coin reading ‘+S[ ]FNX’ is recorded in the database though studying available images of the coin has not confirmed this reading.<sup>157</sup> A broken halfpenny was discovered at Blandford and its reverse transcribed as ‘+W[ ]NO’.<sup>158</sup> This may indicate another moneyer and mint. However, examination of available images suggests the ‘W’ may be a sideways ‘S’. A similar coin is recorded by Mack, though with the standard ‘ANT’ ending. Mack speculated that W in this instance might be Willem, and that ANT could well be Canterbury, as a Willem struck Henry II’s Tealby coinage there.<sup>159</sup> Such hints of the type being issued by moneyers and mints other than Sanson or Southampton frustrates any argument that it was effectively the work of one individual. It may well have been more substantial and widespread than supposed, or perhaps there were different regional variations of the type. For example it appears that Sanson’s voided molines often include annulets, roundels or pellets at the centre of the cross or at the end of limbs, while the ‘W’ halfpenny does not.

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<sup>156</sup> Andrew, ‘A Numismatic History of the Reign of King Stephen’ 57-8.

<sup>157</sup> EMC 1992.0295.

<sup>158</sup> EMC 1993.0261.

<sup>159</sup> Mack, ‘Stephen and The Anarchy’, 75, No. 213a.



Little certain can be said of the '+W[ ]NO' coin other than its find spot so close to Southampton diminishes (though does not exclude) the possibility of it having derived from a mint such as those at Northampton or Norwich. Once again constructing a precise chronology for this type is impossible given available evidence. Tracing the significance of its distribution is also problematic, given the difficulty in dating. If the type was issued early in Stephen's reign then its distribution is fairly conventional, with the bulk of finds fanning out equidistantly from the mint, and a few outliers further east, where finds are more numerous for all types of coin.<sup>160</sup> If the type was issued following war-time disruption of the monetary system, it was possibly part of a local attempt to maintain the status quo. Close similarity to the conventional cross moline design would ensure its acceptance and use over a wide geographical area.

At least three types were issued in Stephen's name with a rosette added to the obverse. The most substantial is the 'Rosette and Mullets' type. This at first glance might be mistaken for a mule of Stephen's Type 1 and Type 2. The Type 1 obverse remains, but with a rosette in front of the bust, slightly above the nose and omitting the sceptre. Meanwhile the reverse shows a cross potent, ending in three pellets. This cross has four mullets, one in each angle, very similar to Type 2 albeit without the voided cross. Nineteen (possibly 20) examples of the 'Rosette and Mullets' type are listed in the Corpus. There is also a single example of a nearly identical type but with a leftward facing bust (Appendix I). The existence of a single such coin suggests that many others were once struck, and given the extreme similarity between these two designs it seems that the 'Leftward Bust Rosette' type was meant to be viewed as functionally identical to the standard Rosette and Mullets issue. This seems especially likely given that to an amateur die cutter (all appear to be locally made) confusion around the mirroring effect of dies and printing might occur, although of course it might also have been the case that the bust's direction was not seen as especially important to the die cutter, given the existence of the previously mentioned Leftward Bust coinage.

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<sup>160</sup> Kelleher, 'Coins, Monetisation', 389-94.

Corpus data on the Rosette and Mullets yields has Oxford as the sole identifiable mint, and there are no identifiable mints for the Leftward Bust Rosette. The only moneyers present at Oxford and on coins with unidentifiable mints are Rogier, and possibly Adam. Weights are conventional for south-eastern Type 1 variants, with a maximum weight of 1.10g and a low of 0.81g. Of this type there is also a cut halfpenny, and a coin that is severely chipped in two areas, a large fragment roughly the size of a halfpenny, and a smaller farthing-sized fragment. With their weights included, the average for Rosette and Mullets comes to 0.86g, though with these incomplete coins omitted the average rises to 0.99g. If the Leftward Bust Rosette (weighing 0.96g) is included, this falls to 0.98. The distribution of the type's findspots shows a concentration around the borderlands between loyalist and Angevin territories, roughly evenly split in a line running north to south from Oxford to Winchester, both strategically important cities during the war, and both held in turn by each of the rival factions.

Notable outliers include a penny discovered in Newark (Nottinghamshire), and possibly a penny in Upton. Unfortunately the EMC did not record which Upton this applies to, as while Upton is ostensibly in Wirral, there is also an Upton in Norfolk, Upton-upon-Severn in Worcestershire and Upton St Leonards south of Gloucester. The latter three fit the overall grouping better, being closer to the bulk of finds. However, given that Newark is also a good distance from the bulk of finds, Wirral is not impossible. Regardless, the distribution of the type suggests a comparatively local coinage, and one that was capable of travelling longer distances but typically did not. Findspots also suggest that the type existed on both sides of the shifting line of control that divided Stephen's heartlands from those of Matilda and her supporters. The third of the rosette issues was struck in Wiltshire, and so will be discussed in the chapter below on western coins.

Finally, there are the 'Bust and Mullet' and the 'Mace' variants. These are recorded as two separate types, but might be grouped as one, or at least subtypes of one another. There are two or perhaps three Mace coins. One recorded by North, one recorded in the BMC, and a more recent example from the EMC.<sup>161</sup> The Bust and Mullet variant is similarly rare, with only two coins in the Corpus.<sup>162</sup> Both

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<sup>161</sup> BMC no.235, EMC 2020.0240.

<sup>162</sup> EMC 1984.0200 & 2020.0359.

types retain the legends and other motifs one would expect from a Type 1 coin, and were recorded by North as types 885 and 885.1 respectively.<sup>163</sup> The only noticeable difference between these types and Type 1 is the addition of a large mullet on the obverse die. On the ‘Mace’ coinage, the mullet is placed atop Stephen’s sceptre. In the Bust and Mullet, the mullet is placed in front of the bust, level with the sceptre’s base.

The Mace pennies recorded within the EMC and BMC weigh 1.33g and 1.30g respectively, and their moneyers are identified as Eadward (EA[DP]A[ ]) and Rodbert (RO-BERT). Both were struck in Canterbury, and while Edward’s coin is recorded in the EMC as having been found in Kent, Rodbert’s has no recorded findspot. Meanwhile, the two Bust and Mullet coins weigh 1.28 and 1.21g, and were discovered in Southern Cambridgeshire and at Boxley in Kent. Both were struck at Pevensey in Sussex. The EMC records the moneyer(s) as Ælfwine (ALF[ ]INE) for the former and Æthelwine (ALPINE) for the latter, though given the shared mint and applicability of these contractions to both names it could be they were struck by the same person.

The Mace variant and the Bust and Mullet variant clearly share several traits. They are heavier than other regional variants, and have markedly similar designs. They also have a relatively tight concentration of findspots, though of course caution must be exercised given the scantiness of actual finds. With the exception of the ‘southern Cambridgeshire’ find (which is some way from its Pevensey mint), none appears to have travelled far from its mint. One coin moved from Pevensey East Sussex into Kent, while the coin of Canterbury did not leave Kent at all. It is interesting to note that, in the case of all of these coins, they have remained within the loose boundaries of the south-eastern zone, even if it is not possible to be sure they travelled beyond it before being deposited.

It is possible that some of the Mace coins are in fact Bust and Mullet variants. The spiked object in North’s original coin (no.885) appears to be part of the original design,<sup>164</sup> but the later find looks to be cruder work. It is possible that, in much the same way that the rosette could be placed in different areas on a coin, the mullet being placed on the upper or lower edge of Stephen’s portrait is not a

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<sup>163</sup> North, *EHC*, 207.

<sup>164</sup> North, *EHC*, pl.xlvii.

substantial enough difference to imply any distinct iconographic meaning. Furthermore, it appears the Mullet was an addition made after the normal die manufacturing process. On the EMC No.2020.02420 mace coin, the mullet noticeably obscures the bust's face, and certain letters in the legend. This suggests that this specific mullet was not part of the original design, and instead is a result of some later addition to the die, as it would be very strange for the original design to have deliberately obscured the royal portrait. This is perhaps indicative of a wider demand for Mace coins, or perhaps that Mace evolved out of coins modified in this manner after they had become an accepted local standard.

With the wide variety of Type 1 variants summarised at last, it seems appropriate to offer a few words on trends seen within the types, before moving on to hoards. Specifically, a distinction must be made between what might be termed genuine types, flawed imitations, and erased dies. It seems that we can dismiss the rosette as an erasure mark, given the precedent set by Henry I's Type 12. The use of a long cross for erasure is perhaps more plausible. The use of mullets is complicated by the presence of maces, which may have been created using similar stamps, and indeed one may be a subtype of the other. Of course it may be that obverse mullets (and indeed others such as the rosette or reverse mullets) had some greater significance. Perhaps they are the marks of a certain political authority or institution, though if this were the case there is no clear indication of who the symbol represents.

## 2.6 Southern Hoards

The south-east is exceptional for the quantity of its hoards, with twelve recorded hoards of Stephen's reign. The south-east boasts the largest number of hoards of all the areas defined for this thesis (Appendix E). That the south-east of England also yields the most single finds from Stephen's reign is unsurprising. This region consistently yields the most finds for all kings of England, medieval or otherwise. Such abundance of coin finds in the south and east was demonstrated by Kelleher's thorough analysis of numismatic data. Kelleher's observations came with caveats, that the record is likely skewed by the fact that detectorists tend to congregate in these regions for reasons of

geography, and that previous success in discovery attracts further attention in the hope of unearthing yet more finds.<sup>165</sup> Stephen's reign does not fundamentally diverge from longer term patterns of coin loss and hoard deposition observable twelfth-century England.

Compared to the reign of Henry I, King Stephen's reign witnessed a spike in the number of hoards deposited. The number of known hoards rises from nineteen for Henry I's reign, to 28 for Stephen's. Henry II's reign sees a similar rise, with available data suggesting a figure between 38 and 41. Some hoards of Henry (such as Wicklewood) also contained a large proportion of Stephen coins, and as such will be discussed in more detail later.<sup>166</sup> Stephen's reign saw an exceptionally large number of hoards deposited compared with the reigns of Henry I and Henry II. Henry I and Henry II each reigned for some thirty-five years, contrasted with Stephen's own nineteen years as king. Roughly 1.47 of the known hoards were deposited each year that Stephen reigned, an increase of almost 180% over the 0.54 per year of Henry I's reign. Assuming the maximal figure of 41 hoards, Henry II's reign can claim 1.17 hoards per year, which Stephen's exceeds by slightly less than 30%. Stephen's reign is consistent with the wider trend across the Anglo-Norman period, with finds being concentrated in the south and east, and an increase in known hoards compared with earlier times. However, the north and west of the realm do provide some of the larger hoards deposited under Stephen, most notably Prestwich (Appendix J2). Stephen's reign also stands as a notable outlier compared to his predecessor's and successor's, due to the disproportionate number of hoards for each year of the reign. Creighton and Wright acknowledged the limitations of hoard evidence, but suggested an overall spike of depositions in the 1140s (exceeded only by depositions following the Norman conquest) and that this increase ought to be taken as an increase in overall public fear.<sup>167</sup> While one might argue that public fear does not necessarily mean public risk (as it is possible to falsely imagine oneself to be in danger), it is difficult to point to any explanation for this increase other than the disruption caused by the wars of Stephen's reign.

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<sup>165</sup> Kelleher, 'Coins, Monetisation', 49-63 for a thorough discussion of this matter.

<sup>166</sup> Allen, *Mints & Money*, 461-9. Hoards not in Allen's list are recorded within the PAS Hoards database.

<sup>167</sup> Creighton & Wright, *The Anarchy*, 146-50

Paucity of information on certain hoards, and the unfortunate effect this has on the historian's ability to trace particular coins, is exemplified by perhaps the oldest find of Stephen coins on record. The hoard in question here is thought to have been unearthed in Norfolk, and C.E Blunt and F. Jones dedicated some effort to gathering information on its contents. It is first mentioned in a letter from Sir Thomas Browne, and will therefore be referred to here as the 'Browne Hoard'. In 1661, Browne described his '60 coynes of King Stephen found in a grave before Christmas'. Writing to Sir Robert Paston the following year, Browne briefly touched on that gentleman's coin collection and a gift of Roman and Saxon coins, but with no further information on Stephen's coins.<sup>168</sup> All that can be established from this is that there were sixty coins of Stephen presumably unearthed in Norfolk *circa* Christmas 1660. Even their source, perhaps a grave, is questionable, since it remains unspecified whether this was a medieval grave or a modern one freshly dug. The sheer number of coins, however, supplies useful data, even if it is not possible to trace specific coins.

The Watford hoard from Hertfordshire was unearthed in 1818. With its £5 of coins, the hoard might be the largest of the reign, though it was actually unearthed as two separate parcels, one large (1127 pennies and cut halfpennies) and the other much smaller (roughly 100 pennies, of which 39 were recovered and only four described). The larger hoard was found in a clay jar, and the smaller discovered with fragments of an earthen vessel near a site of a manor house very close to the first.<sup>169</sup> Given their geographic and chronological proximity to one another, it is wisest to consider them together here. However, that does not necessarily mean that they both had the same owner. A distinction will be made henceforth between the larger 'greater Watford' and the smaller 'lesser Watford' hoard, though at times they will be referred to collectively as 'the Watford hoard' for ease of discussion.

Greater Watford contains types from the reigns of William I (Type 5) Henry I (Types 14 and 15) and Stephen (Type 1 and Pereric) as well as several uncertain baronial issues including one seemingly in

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<sup>168</sup> *BMC Vol I*, xxviii, C.E Blunt, F. Elmore Jones & P.H Robinson, 'On Some Hoards of The Time of Stephen' in *BNJ*, xxxvii (1968) 41.

<sup>169</sup> J. Rashleigh, 'Descriptive List of a Collection of Coins of Henry I. and Stephen, Discovered in Hertfordshire, in 1818' *NC*, xii (1850), 138-65.

the name of Empress Matilda.<sup>170</sup> The smaller held Henry I's Type 14 and 15, along with Stephen's Type 1. The lesser hoard was also said to have contained a local issue in Stephen's name, with a reverse quadrilateral over a short-voided cross.<sup>171</sup> Unfortunately this type does not appear in the Corpus. Despite being widely dispersed and only partly recorded, the Watford hoard is relatively well recorded for its time. Given Watford's sheer size, laying out the entire list of moneyers and mints here would be profligate of space. Thompson provided as thorough a summary as is likely to be had.<sup>172</sup> Broad trends within the hoard will be discussed here, with an eye towards comparison with other such finds.

Greater Watford has a range of mints and moneyers that reaches across almost the entirety of England, with each one of the zones established in this thesis contributing. The 14<sup>th</sup> and 15<sup>th</sup> types of Henry I dominate, with mints running as far north as Durham, as far west as Chester and Bristol, east through Nottingham and Lincoln to Norwich, and southwards to London and Romney. Stephen's Type 1 has similar range, and mints contributing to this type (such as Carlisle, Warwick and Winchester) were not open during Henry's reign. The Pereric coinage (Watford contains four examples) is all of London, though it is possible that two coins of uncertain moneyers may in fact be of another mint. A 'Matildi Coi' coin was mentioned by Rashleigh in his comments on the hoard. This unusual coin does indeed appear in Rashleigh's illustrations, but the drawing supplies the only known instance of such a type.<sup>173</sup>

Just four pennies of Lesser Watford are recorded, two Henry I coins, and two of Stephen. The Henry coinages are a Type 14 by Blacaman of London, and a Type 15 by Alfwine of Gloucester. The Stephen coins are a Type 1 by Godric of Stafford, and the aforementioned penny with a quadrilateral over voided cross. The quadrilateral coin described does not conform to any of the known types in the Corpus. Given that quadrilateral coinages are otherwise known exclusively as struck in the name of magnates other than Stephen, and typically of those aligned against him, it may be that this is a case of misidentification. Certainly there does not appear to be any coin from Oxford in his style, however

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<sup>170</sup> J.D.A Thompson, *An Inventory of British Coin Hoards AD 600-1500*, (1956), 144.

<sup>171</sup> Thompson, *An Inventory of British Coin Hoards*, 145.

<sup>172</sup> Thompson, *An Inventory of British Coin Hoards*, 143-5.

<sup>173</sup> Rashleigh, 'Descriptive List of a Collection of Coins of Henry I. and Stephen, Discovered in Hertfordshire, in 1818' pl. xiv. Please note that this plate appears on the second page of the modern PDF.

given that Oxford was temporarily under Angevin control it is possible that a quadrilateral coin was issued there as part of wider trend towards quadrilateral-style coins in this region. Johnson noted that the coin is held by the British Museum, but it has not proved possible to trace it thus far. Without being able to examine the coin itself, any interpretation remains mere surmise.<sup>174</sup>

Even if Watford represents one of the most substantial finds of pennies, either from Stephen's reign or the early-mid twelfth century more broadly, Watford was clearly added to over an extended period of time, though not necessarily the near century-long Anglo-Norman period over which its types extend. There is only one coin of William I in the greater hoard, and none at all in the lesser. It may be that this stray halfpenny happened to come into hoard owner(s)'s possession only under Henry I or Stephen. Indeed the range of types suggests a hoard assembled over the later decades of Henry's reign, c.1120, through to the middle of Stephen's reign, c.1141 or perhaps as late as 1145.<sup>175</sup> Non-substantive pennies of Stephen within the hoard suggest that while some may have entered during a period of monetary instability, this was not the hoarder's general practice. Indeed, based on surviving record, the 'baronial' money from both of the Watford hoards is effectively of those types that in some way imitate Stephen's Type 1. The quadrilateral retains the obverse bust, and in Pereric's case the coinage is functionally identical.

Despite being rare and comparable in style to Type 1, the non-substantive issues thus hoarded suggest Watford was still being added to after the royal monopoly on coinage had ended. The end of uniformity may even have been the reason for the hoard's final deposition, as the owner opted to store what reliable wealth they had in anticipation of the restoration of clear authority. The hoard's sheer size suggests it belonged to a moderately wealthy individual or community, but there is no real hint as to its purpose. The non-perishable container(s) indicate that the hoard was intended for longer term immobile storage rather than transport, for which something less fragile would presumably have been used. All of the above factors provide theoretical (though by no means decisive) support for the notion

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<sup>174</sup> Thompson, *An Inventory of British Coin Hoards AD 600-1500*, 145.

<sup>175</sup> For a wider discussion on the relation between Henry I's types 14 and 15, see M. Allen, 'Henry I Type 14', *BNJ*, lxxix (2009), 72-171. Also please note that the William coin within the hoard was identified by Rashleigh as that of William II, but Johnson has corrected this to William I's Type V. I have chosen to defer to Johnson in this regard.



that the hoard was sequestered in response to instability of some kind, be it political, economic or some tangible local danger. The absence of distinct local, baronial, or other variant types suggests that they were deliberately excluded. But is unclear whether the owner deliberately opted to do this. It is of course also entirely possible that they had no great concern about what coins they collected, but simply died, or were rendered otherwise unable to retrieve the hoard, before any further variants could be added to it.

While Watford's size makes it an immensely rich source, lack of visual data renders the studies here impossible. Nor does the hoard's composition tell us a great deal about how flows of money changed in reaction to the disruptions of Stephen's reign. If, for example, the hoard had also contained a large number of coins from the period after the end of the royal monopoly (substantive or baronial) then one might be able to see from what sorts of mints these coins travelled. This would help to paint a picture of how monetary flows changed (or not) during the war. As it is, Watford provides a snapshot of flows and types in the south-east before Stephen's reign, and in the initial 5-10 year period before uniformity ended. Perhaps unsurprisingly, south-eastern money was dominated by the great local mints such as those of London, Hastings, Canterbury, Lincoln and various East Anglian towns. London's influence in particular is undeniable. But coins minted in other areas did reach Watford, and even if individual mints are not represented in more than single figures (indeed typically only by one coin each), collectively they make up a high portion of the total. As to whether or not this trend continued into the later years of Stephen's reign, we must depend here on single finds and other hoards.

The next find after Watford was made in the Dartford/Gravesend hoard. Dated to c.1145, this was first reported as two separate hoards, one unearthed in 1817 and another in 1825/6. The former was said to contain 'about seventy' coins, while the latter held 65. Given that the findings here were not formally published until 1851 there appears to have been considerable confusion over the find spot and dating, notably whether the second parcel was recovered in 1825 or 1826. Blunt, Robinson and Jones' BNJ article of 1968 offers the most comprehensive consideration of the matter. They concluded that these two hoards are in fact one, discovered over an extended period. Of the approximately 70 coins, three

are of Henry I's Type 15, four were reported as being of Empress Matilda (though of what type is unclear), and a single coin was of King David of Scots from the Carlisle mint, seemingly of his fourth type. The Stephen coins are said to have been of 'several varieties in character, and every one more or less illegible on both sides.' However the bulk appear to have been Type 1, with various baronial imitations including coins attributed to Ranulf of Chester and William of Gloucester. The mints of Ces (Chester), Cant (Canterbury), Her (Hereford), Lund (London), Ox (Oxford), Stan (Stamford), Sud (Sudbury, or possibly Southwark), Pilt (Wilton) and Pin (Winchester) are listed, while the names of many moneyers are illegible. According to Mack, three coins of the Lincoln 'Cross Patée' type (possibly actually Type 3?) were included within this hoard, though only two are recorded in the Corpus.<sup>176</sup> Brooke did not discuss weights, but Rashleigh's initial account drew attention to the frequent appearance of lighter coinage of cruder craftsmanship.<sup>177</sup> A further four coins were added to the hoard by the BNJ article, notably a William of Gloucester coin, a Stephen Type 5 and a 'curious piece' attributed to Ranulf of Chester, though this last attribution is no longer thought to be correct.<sup>178</sup>

Despite our limited information on the Dartford/Gravesend hoard, inferences can still be made. The dominance of Stephen types is understandable given its location. The Scottish coin hints at the ability of northern coins to travel far, either as the result of longer-distance trade or gradual movement across multiple local transactions. The 'Matilda' coins also imply a certain fluidity between Angevin territories and the loyalist zone. Whether these Matildine coins were produced locally during the brief Angevin ascendancy c. 1141, or only after Matilda's retreat to Oxford, is unclear. Given the known mints and probable dating of Matilda's types (to be discussed in the following chapter), it seems more likely that they made their way from west to east. The reference to Stephen's 'Type 5' (AKA North no.898 – Lozenge and Fleurs) indicates the presence of a type now believed to be a local variant, most probably from the midlands.

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<sup>176</sup> Mack, 'Stephen and The Anarchy', 169, BMC Nos. 247 & 248.

<sup>177</sup> J. Rashleigh, 'An Account of Some Baronial and Other Coins of King Stephen's Reign', *NC*, xiii (1850), 181-91.

<sup>178</sup> Blunt, Jones & Robinson, 'On Some Hoards of The Time of Stephen', 39-40.

The Henley on Thames hoard was discovered in 1881, and can be summarised relatively briefly. Mack's work on coins of the anarchy describes a small hoard of five Stephen Type 1 coins.<sup>179</sup> The smaller size suggests (though does not confirm) coin use by an owner who was not especially wealthy. The fact that only Stephen types are present perhaps suggests that they were concealed prior to the war, and indeed the Fitzwilliam hoards list dates it to c.1140. It is also possible that the hoard was the possession of an individual who was not integrated into any wider trade network, had no great need for coin, or indeed had little money at all. Study of the mints would help to confirm the former theory, but is regrettably impossible due to our inability to identify the individual coins within the Corpus.

The last of the nineteenth-century south-eastern finds was from Linton in Kent. The initial find report of 1883 does not name a specific quantity of coin, but rather the writer, George Wakeford, mentions 'about a hundred' coins coming into his possession. The remaining 'about eighty pieces' were analysed by Wakeford after passing to a gentleman acquaintance. Wakeford's initial list remains the most complete account of this hoard, with 89 coins recorded in his 1883 report, and so this will be used to supplement what is known from the main corpus. A comparatively small part of this hoard is recorded in some detail from other sources. 27 coins are either categorised as part of the Linton 1883 find, the 'Linton Find' or 'ex Linton Find' within the BMC or EMC databases. Of these, the BMC records eighteen, and the remaining nine come from EMC. There is some overlap between all three of these sources, as well as coins that appear in only one source. Nine coins attributed to 'Linton' within the BMC do not appear in Wakeford's initial report, nor do five of the EMC coins.<sup>180</sup> Untangling this web is necessary, if we are to paint as clear a picture as possible, so that Linton data from all three sources is recorded within the Corpus and drawn on here.<sup>181</sup>

Linton coins within the BMC are exclusively Stephen's, and most of the hoard consists of a combination of his types. A large portion (39 in total, though only four identifiable in the Corpus) are

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<sup>179</sup> R.P Mack, 'Stephen and The Anarchy' *BNJ*, xxv (1966), 38-112.

<sup>180</sup> BMC Nos. 145, 148, 149, 157, 158, 163, 164, 170, & 175. EMC Nos. 1005.0426, 1042.1940, 1017.0699, 1042.1957, & 1016.0309.

<sup>181</sup> Wakeford, 'On a Hoard of Early English Coins of Henry I. and Stephen' 108-116, R.J Seaman, 'A Re-Examination of Some Hoards Containing Coins of Stephen', *BNJ*, xlvi (1978), 58-72.

of Stephen's Type 1, from a multitude of mints chiefly concentrated in the south-east:<sup>182</sup> Bristol, Cambridge, Canterbury, Chichester, Exeter, Hastings, Ipswich, Lewes, Lincoln, London, Norwich, Pevensey, Bury St Edmunds, Sandwich, Thetford, Wallingford and Warwick. There is also a single Voided Moline penny, once again produced by Sanson. Of note, non-south-eastern mints appear only in the hoard's Type 1 coinage. The largest single portion of the hoard is comprised of Stephen's Type 2, numbering 48 coins including ten halfpennies and five farthings. A substantial portion of Linton is fractional coinage, including as many as 20 halfpennies and seven farthings. The Type 2 Mints recorded within Linton are Bristol, Bury St Edmunds, Canterbury, Castle Rising, Chichester, Colchester, Durham, Exeter, Hastings, Hereford, Hythe, Ipswich, Leicester, Lincoln, London, Northampton, Norwich, Nottingham, Pevensey, Sandwich, Shaftesbury, Shrewsbury, Southwark, Sudbury, Thetford, Warwick, Winchester and York.<sup>183</sup> Other types recorded include two Pereric pennies (one from the Canterbury moneyer Willelm and the other from Godric of London), and a Stephen Type 7 from '-VLF' of Rye. Linton also contains nine (seven in Wakeford's initial report, a further two recorded by EMC) Henry I Type 15s, including a halfpenny. The weights of the coins (excluding the halfpennies and farthings) are comparatively heavy, though a Type 2 penny of Thetford is the lightest (and unusually so) recorded at 0.81g. Pereric provides a low of 1.00g, while a London Type 2 of Bricmar is heaviest at 1.45g.<sup>184</sup>

Linton contains a variety of types, even if regional subtypes are lacking, and this variety suggests a deposit date around the early-to-mid-1140s. Perhaps the most striking feature of the Linton hoard is its high proportion halfpennies and farthings, particularly among the Type 2 coinage. Conventional Type 1s also have a high percentage of lower denominations, with fifteen of the 44 Type 1s being halfpennies or farthings. Overall a little over 30% of Type 1s are fractional, compared with just under 20% among Type 2s. These figures suggest a substantial demand for coin worth less than a penny, not only for the pre-war Type 1 but also the wartime Type 2. Of course it may be that these high fractional

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<sup>182</sup> This figure was reached after removing likely duplicates. Including those raises the number to 43.

<sup>183</sup> The attribution of York is unusual for Type 2. Though it is categorised as such within the BMC (No. 171) the original report by Wakeford categorises the coin as a Type 1., *BMC ii*, 364, Wakeford 'On a Hoard of Early English Coins of Henry I and Stephen' 114.

<sup>184</sup> Wakeford, 'On a Hoard of Early English Coins of Henry I and Stephen' 113-6.

percentages are due merely to the specific preferences of whoever deposited the hoard. Given its size, it could be that it represents the savings of an individual accustomed to dealing with coin for both small and large transactions. An alternative reading is that Linton represents a larger group's savings, perhaps of people who had little coin themselves but who pooled whatever they had into a collective store. The near total absence of erased or regional Type 1 variants perhaps suggests an owner closely integrated within the loyalist controlled monetary system, and the variety of mints paints a complementary picture of a trade network that continued to operate over large areas for an extended period. This is not to say that their trade was long distance as such, but that coins could move over a wide area, even if individuals did not. Wakeford's initial report yields almost no information about the hoard's archaeological context, so for now these interpretations can only be speculative. Nevertheless, as one of the larger south-eastern hoards Linton is worth deeper consideration. To what extent it is representative of wider trends in south-eastern money will be made clearer when the remaining hoards have been discussed.

In stark contrast to Linton, the 1909-1910 hoard unearthed at Rayleigh in Essex contained just seven coins. Information on Rayleigh is scarce, again rendering it necessary to rely on a report written well after the initial discovery. R.J Seaman's 1969 report built on the Essex Archaeological Society's initial account, which described a hoard of seven coins. Seaman added two more from subsequent finds. His report supplies transcriptions, weights and types for the coins which emerged during excavations at Rayleigh mount in 1909-10, and from further excavations in 1961.<sup>185</sup> London, York and Canterbury or Colchester are identified as the originating mints, with the moneyers Dereman (London), Laising (York) and Edward (Canterbury/Colchester) suggested as names by Seaman. Seaman draws attention to the seventh coin in his list, struck by an uncertain mint or moneyer from local dies, and weighing 0.97g,. More importantly, the coin appears alongside nothing else but conventional Stephen Type 1s. Seaman also provided archaeological context for the find, with Rayleigh mount being the site of a castle since 1086, and part of the baronial manor of Rayleigh. In 1163, it was forfeited by Henry of Essex to Henry II. Seaman's only comment here is that Henry of Essex was 'generally loyal' to

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<sup>185</sup> R.Seaman, 'A Find of Stephen Coins at Rayleigh Mount' in *BNJ*, xxxviii (1969), 186-8.

Stephen. Certainly the coinage supports such an assessment.<sup>186</sup> The Checklist of Coin Hoards from the British Isles provides a deposit date of c.1140<sup>187</sup>, but the small hoard could easily have been deposited at any time when Type 1 was in circulation. If local dies are present, then this might suggest a slightly later date, although all three of the recorded moneyers were already at work at their respective mints in the time of Henry I, which perhaps supports the earlier dating.

Following Rayleigh, no notable hoards containing Stephen coins emerged in the region until the late twentieth century. In 1986, a hoard was discovered in Kent, which consisted of fourteen coins of which two were pennies, two were halfpennies and a remarkable ten were cut farthings. These were of Stephen's 'Type 1 to 7', though whether the hoard included local types is unclear. Eleven Type 7 coins were recorded, of which one was a penny, two were halfpennies and eight were farthings.<sup>188</sup> Here we have another south-eastern hoard with an unusually high quantity of fractional coinage for this period. It may be that the hoard was the possession of a money changer or cutter of pennies, perhaps later in Stephen's reign when uniformity was restored and pre-war standards of coin use returned.

The Kentish hoard notwithstanding, in general by the late twentieth century we find improvement, from poorly documented hoards, to reports of a much higher standard. Such is the case with the Wicklewood hoard. Unearthed in 1989, during excavations at a Norfolk school, Wicklewood is by the far the most substantial hoard with Stephen's coinage to emerge from the south-eastern region. It also appears to be the chronologically latest of our hoards to be deposited, having not only a wide range of types from Stephen's reign but also a substantial number of Henry II's Tealby type pennies, which suggests a final deposit date c.1168. The initial report for Wicklewood listed 482 pennies.<sup>189</sup> Coins with certain combinations of mint and moneyer remain untraced, despite Archibald's preliminary list of contents, and although Archibald created a thorough record and 141 coins were acquired by the British Museum, other parts of the hoard were distributed to other parties. Four made their way to the Fitzwilliam Museum, seven are currently held in the National Museum of Wales, four in the

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<sup>186</sup> R.Seaman, 'A Find of Stephen Coins at Rayleigh Mount' 187.

<sup>187</sup> Fitzwilliam Museum, *Checklist of Coin Hoards From the British Isles*, no.414, *MCHBI*, ENG0694.

<sup>188</sup> Allen, *M&M*, 466, Allen, 'The English Coinage of 1153/4-1158' *BNJ*, lxxvi (2006) 204-26.

<sup>189</sup> Archibald, 'Wiklewood (Norfolk) Treasure Trove' Unpublished Notes.

Hunterian, and two in the Ulster Museum. This left 324 coins returned to the owners, who may have subsequently retained some and distributed others on the open market.

Types present within Wicklewood range from Henry I's Type 9/10 (plus his Types 14 and 15) to Henry II's first (Tealby).<sup>190</sup> This means that the hoard cannot have been completed while Stephen ruled, but the overwhelming majority of coins do date to his reign. Even accounting for the length of time during which this particular hoard was added to, there is an impressive range of types from multiple issuing authorities. Types of Stephen include Type 1 (including the SANSON, Rosette, and Pelleted Crown variants, the Erased Long Cross, and two more coins marked as being from 'Erased dies'), and Types 2, 3, 6, and 7. While the largest deposit of a single type is of Henry II's Tealby at 29%, Stephen's combined substantive coinage forms by far the largest portion of the hoard with types 1, 2, 6 and 7 comprising 64%.

Interestingly, there is a single penny of Empress Matilda's Type A (struck at Bristol by Turchil) and a cut farthing of David King of Scots Cross Moline (of uncertain mint and moneyer). While the presence of money from these figures, so far from their zones' of control, is intriguing, it is important to remember that, at a glance, both types are difficult to distinguish from Stephen's Type 1, especially if the user were unable to read their inscriptions. The owner might not have consciously chosen to include these types, especially given that there is only one example of each within the hoard and David's is a cut farthing.

The mints recorded at Wicklewood were situated overwhelmingly though not exclusively in the south-east. For Henry I's coins, a sole Type 9 is recorded from Oxford, and a Type 10 from Shaftesbury. A Type 14 coin is also recorded from Oxford, while Type 15s are recorded from Exeter, London, Thetford, Ipswich, Norwich and Winchester.<sup>191</sup> With regards to the mints of Stephen's coins, the Type 1s travelled from Bristol, Canterbury, Chester, Exeter, Hastings, Ipswich, London, Norwich, Maldon, Southwark, Warwick, Winchester, and York.<sup>192</sup> Wicklewood's Type 2s were possibly struck at

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<sup>190</sup> Henry I's Type 9 is recorded in Archibald's provisional list, but is not among the coins or tickets. Meanwhile Henry's Type 14 does not appear on the provisional list.

<sup>191</sup> Exeter does not appear among the Type 15s on the provisional list.

<sup>192</sup> Maldon appears in the initial list, but of the moneyer Waltier rather than Heremer as it appears to be.

Bedford, and certainly Bury St Edmunds, Canterbury, 'RIS' (commonly interpreted as Castle Rising though this attribution is disputed), Hastings, 'D—' which is possibly Dunwich, Ipswich, London Norwich, Rye and Thetford, as well as an uncertain 'CO' mint. The two Type 3 coins were struck at Huntingdon (by Palter/Walter) and Northampton (by Paen), two of the three known mints of Type 3 (the other being Stamford). Both these mints are relatively close to one another, supporting the notion that Type 3 was not struck widely or in great numbers. Type 6 is represented by Bury St Edmund, Canterbury, Castle Rising (though according to Archibald this attribution is disputed), Colchester, Dunwich, possibly Hastings, Ipswich, Lewes, London, Northampton, Norwich, probably Rye, possibly Stamford, Thetford, and an uncertain mint of 'VA-'. Wicklewood's Type 7s were issued at Bedford, Bury St Edmunds, Dunwich, Ipswich, Lincoln, London, Norwich, and Oxford. All types also come from mints that are not possible to identify. Finally, Henry II's Tealby type is recorded from Gloucester (only a single coin from this distant mint), Norwich, probably Thetford, possibly Wallingford, Wilton, and York. Of note, London and Norwich are the most prolific mints across all types.

There are 482 Wicklewood coins with weights specified in the Corpus. Of these, thirteen are recorded as halfpennies and seven as farthings (Appendix X). Archibald's notes expand these figures, with 355 intact pennies, 104 cut-halfpennies and 23 cut-farthings<sup>193</sup> With fractional coins removed, the average weight is 1.17g. However, there are also coins recorded within Archibald's notes that clearly cannot be whole, such as no.239, a coin of Thetford weighing just 0.27g. If any coin of less than 0.7g (roughly half the 22grain/1.42g standard) is assumed to be at least partly fragmentary, then removing them generates an average of 1.30g. Within this there is considerable variation, with the heavier coins weighing 1.55g (both Stephen Type 2s speculated as being Staneril/Stanchil of Norwich). Weights within Wicklewood show similar trends to those observable in previous hoards, with a strong preference for intact coinage of good weight, though with a notable portion of fractional and lighter coins that hints at a need for smaller change.

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<sup>193</sup> Archibald, 'Wiklewood (Norfolk) Treasure Trove' Unpublished Notes.



The Eynsford hoard from Kent was discovered in 1993 and contains eleven Type 1 Stephen coins. This is another hoard that has as yet not been formally published. However, it was recorded in some detail by Archibald, whose notes I will be relying on for this section.<sup>194</sup> There is no record of the Eynsford hoard within the three main databases from which the Corpus is drawn, and so it is not possible to identify which Stephen coins (if any) from the hoard are present there. The only coin recorded as from Eynsford within the Corpus is a Henry I Type 11 struck by the Southwark moneyer Lifwine.<sup>195</sup>

Eynsford lies comfortably within the loyalist zone, and the hoard consists of eleven Stephen Type 1 coins. Two of these are fragments, one roughly the size of a farthing and the other a halfpenny. Five mints are identifiable: Lincoln, London, Norwich, Oxford and Wilton. Of these, Norwich and two of the London coins are known, with the remaining mints only recorded singly. Six moneyers (all previously known) are identifiable as Britmar and Godric of London, Edstan and Oter of Norwich, Osbern of Oxford and Falche of Wilton, as well as an ‘-ard’ of an uncertain mint. Weights tend towards the heavier standard expected of non-local Type 1s, with the lightest whole coin recorded at 1.16g, the heaviest 1.4g, and an average of 1.28g. Eynsford contains relatively few coins, and Archibald also noted the absence of Kentish mints (notably Canterbury), suggesting it was an assemblage brought from outside the area rather than local currency. This is a reasonable inference. However, not all the contributing mints are identifiable. Furthermore, mint distribution is reflective of a general mix of coins from across England. It would not be surprising if the unidentified coins were indeed of local mints, and Eynsford merely represents a store accrued prior to the collapse of national control. The dominance of one type could indicate the hoard was deposited fairly early in Stephen’s reign, or that the owner did not participate in longer distance trade following the outbreak of war. Given the popularity of Type 1 in general in this period, there is also the possibility that the owner did not regard other types as worth hoarding.

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<sup>194</sup> Archibald, ‘Eynesford (Kent)’, Unpublished Notes.

<sup>195</sup> EMC 1989.0099.

Despite their potential value, Eynsford coins are few enough in number that they might have been accidentally lost or deliberately concealed. The finders' report notes that the coins were discovered over an extended period of time, across a small patch of land in a field that also yielded groats of Henry III and other pieces of metalwork. It seems plausible that the Stephen coins were all deposited at the same time, though without a container this cannot be certain. In terms of dating, Archibald took the absence of local Type 1 variants to imply 'the first half of 1141'. However, the fact that the hoard is exclusively of Type 1 makes dating tricky, for the type could have been produced well into the mid-1140s. If Eynsford does not include any local Type 1s (and there is no way of confirming one way or another from the available fragments) it would appear to follow a trend of smaller south-eastern hoards consisting entirely of Stephen's first substantive type.<sup>196</sup>

In 1995, the Portsdown Hill hoard was unearthed in Hampshire. Data is relatively scarce, though information from Allen indicates that there were 25 coins, all of Stephen's Type 7. This would indicate a later hoard, deposited towards the end of Stephen's reign or perhaps in the initial years of Henry II's. Its size places it in the mid-range of south-eastern hoards. The lack of data demands that sensible caution be applied in interpretation. If the coins are all of the same mint, it may be that this was a parcel of coins created all at once for a particular purpose, perhaps early in the Type's existence. If the coins are from a wider variety of mints, then that would suggest the product of longer term exchange. Given its size the hoard might have been either the property of a merchant on the move, or a stationary savings hoard.<sup>197</sup>

Discovered in 1998, the Bledlow with Saunderton hoard preserved just two coins, both Stephen's Type 1. One was struck at London by a Rodbert and the other at Carlisle by an uncertain moneyer.<sup>198</sup> The pair barely qualify as a hoard under the 1996 Treasure Act, and are a useful reminder of how small hoards can be. The hoard also demonstrates how even a small quantity of coin might be kept together during this period. Likewise coin users were not just those with an ample quantity to store or

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<sup>196</sup> Archibald. 'Eynesford (Kent)', Unpublished Notes.

<sup>197</sup> Allen, *M&M*, 465, Fitzwilliam Museum, *Checklist of Coin Hoards From The British Isles*, No.426a, *MCHBI* ENG0697.

<sup>198</sup> Allen, *M&M*, 463 'Coin Hoards 1999' *NC clix* (1999) 349.

carry around. The considerable distance between mints is an effective reminder of the manner in which those who were not necessarily cash rich might have been impacted by longer distance trade or by repeated local exchange moving coins and goods across the country.

The 2007 Dunton hoard from Norfolk is the most recent to be unearthed in the south-east. It is also very small, with just three coins all found in close proximity to one another. Two are of Stephen's Type 1, weighing 1.21g and 1.11g. The heavier coin is illegible, but the moneyer Godric is identified on the lighter. Adrian Marsden considered it likely that the third coin was a baronial issue, possibly of North's no.950. This is a penny with a facing bust and sceptre obverse, and a reverse cross with annulets and pellets in each angle.<sup>199</sup> Regrettably, no image of Dunton is available, and the PAS entry is still awaiting validation.<sup>200</sup> However the reverse as described bears some resemblance to various Annulets coinages as well as to Henry I's Type 12 (Appendix I). The obverse inscription, 'DTLVACX', is less easy to explain. Certainly this is not a name with any obvious identification, and the transcriber may have been incompetent. Arguments for illiteracy or deliberate obscurantism on the part of the die cutter seem most plausible, but as always it may simply be that the original meaning has been lost. It is worth noting that this 'baronial' issue is the heaviest of the three coins. The initial report dates this hoard c.1140-1160 which is quite a considerable range, presumably the result of uncertainty as to the hoards' types.

## 2.7 Continuities, Resistance and Re-assertion: Understanding South-eastern Coinage

With all the south-eastern finds now introduced, it is possible to explore the overall picture of coin use and deposit in the area. In terms of the wider national picture, the data from the south-east does not fundamentally deviate from broad trends recorded by numismatists such as Kelleher. This is to say that it remains an area where more coins are recovered, certainly in the case of single finds.<sup>201</sup> There must of course be a caveat, that, particularly among detectorists, success attracts success and it may be that this is why the south-east yields more finds than other areas. Likewise, deficiencies in the record

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<sup>199</sup> North, *EHC*, 215, pl.xviii.

<sup>200</sup> 'Medieval and Modern hoards' *NC*, clix (2009), 353.

<sup>201</sup> Kelleher, 'Coins, Monetisation', 52.

keeping have meant that it is not always possible to be sure where particular coins were found. With this acknowledged, within the Corpus there are 1360 entries traceable to the south-east, with a further 158 from peripheral areas.<sup>202</sup> There are twelve recorded hoards in the region with coins of Stephen, and the south-east provides slightly less than a third of total coin finds from Stephen's reign. The total coins of each ruler within these hoards, as well as the totals when combined with single finds from 1135-1154, are visible in the appendices (A1, 2 & 4).

Conventional thought would hold that Types 2 and 6 were confined to the south-east: an area in which Stephen maintained effective control, even whilst other regions exhibited a degree of administrative independence.<sup>203</sup> As always, allowances must be made for a degree of murkiness in the definition of frontiers. Counties such as Oxfordshire and Cambridgeshire could plausibly be counted as south-eastern, but also Angevin or midlands territories respectively. These counties might be considered peripheral or marginal, as might Lincolnshire. Regardless, the conventional reading has been that the 'east' was the zone in which Stephen's authority was strongest, with the King's administrative apparatus partly extending into the midlands.<sup>204</sup> Coin-based evidence indicates that this reading is broadly correct.

Most coinage unearthed in the south-east is of Stephen's 'substantive' types, and these types (with the exceptions of 1 and 7 which were kingdom-wide issues) circulated chiefly in the south-east. Other types did circulate in the region, but evidence from hoards and single finds suggests that Stephen and his supporters operated a system from which rival coinage was excluded. It is unclear that exclusion was consciously enforced by local administrators, and our impression might simply result from rival coinage typically not travelling great distances. A clear understanding here requires an effective definition of what does and does not constitute a 'Stephen' coin, and while the presence of Stephen's name is compelling evidence, it is not decisive, especially when considering erased coins. Indeed,

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<sup>202</sup> Peripheral areas in this instance refers to coins from counties on the edge of the zone such as Oxfordshire and Bedfordshire. This figure also includes coins with ambiguous findspots. This figure does not include coins for which there is no entry within the Corpus or for which detailed record does not survive. For example approximately 140 Eynsford hoard coins are not recorded.

<sup>203</sup> Archibald, 'Dating', 9; White 'Continuity', 132-233; Blackburn, 'C&C', 165.

<sup>204</sup> White, 'Continuity', 131.

what constitutes erasure marks is also a thorny issue, as while East-Anglian Long Cross coins are categorised as ‘erased’, what this erasure meant remains unclear. Then there are coins such as the Rosette or Mullet types, where the modifications to the coins are clearly not part of the original design, but whether as ‘erasure’ marks or simply to symbolise a third party remains unclear.

In terms of erased/modified coinage, any association with Hugh Bigod rests entirely on his proximity to Norwich, and the political implications of the ruler portrait’s erasure. This assumes that the cross is an attempt specifically to obscure Stephen’s portrait, rather than simply an innovative form of erasure. It is ultimately for the individual historian to decide whether acceptable standards of proof have been achieved here. Types such as the Rosette and Mullet are no easier to interpret, as while most do not deface Stephen’s portrait they do nonetheless mark the die, and in the case of the Mace type remove the sceptre. Whether these small changes would have been noticed by a casual observer is unclear. The mints and overall distribution of Anglian Long Cross coins all suggest a local issue, perhaps a substantial one, that could nevertheless spread some way beyond its places of origin (Appendix X). It is possible to infer from mint numbers and find distributions that these pennies were intended to replace or supplement coinage in circulation for casual use. It could be that the issuing authority hoped to exclude other coins. However, East Anglia and Norfolk in particular offer some of the most significant single finds from Stephen’s reign when judged simply by number.<sup>205</sup> The appearance of Long Cross coins in the Prestwich hoard (to be discussed in more detail below) indicates that such coins were not wholly rejected even beyond East Anglia. However no hoard of exclusively Long Cross coinage exists, or indeed of any ‘erased/modified’ coinage, and therefore there is no indication of any attempt to promote this type as the only lawfully acceptable coin, even for official payments. The Rosette, Mullets and Annulet modified coinages present similar problems to the Long Cross, and survive in even smaller numbers.

Local types in Stephen’s name from beyond the south-east did make their way into the zone. A Durham Annulets coin has been unearthed in Norfolk, as well as three Flag type coins from York,

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<sup>205</sup> Kelleher, ‘Coins, Monetisation’, 392.

with a further one each unearthed in Norfolk, Surrey and Essex. A 'Wisdegnota' York coin was likewise unearthed near Diss, and a single 'Two Figures' type, presumably from York, was found in Essex. While these types will be discussed in the relevant chapters, their presence in the south helpfully confirms that regional frontiers were never 'hard'. In much the same way that East Anglian Long Cross coins could travel west to Lancashire, coins of various types could circulate beyond their original place or authority of manufacture. While there is no evidence of this occurring in large numbers, it is particularly noticeable when comparing say, Norfolk, with Kent. These counties record the highest number both of single finds and of hoards, but while the Kent finds consist almost exclusively of Stephen's substantive types with very few local variants, Norfolk exhibits a variety of modified/erased coins both from the south-east and from neighbouring regions.

There is perhaps an argument for presenting East Anglia as an area where there was particularly high demand for coin, with the minting of such coins here not as tightly regulated as elsewhere. If so, erasure marks might not have been a deliberate attempt to obscure the ruler portrait but instead simply the result of local dies being pressed into service. It is certainly intriguing that when Norfolk and Suffolk are compared with Cambridgeshire, the latter yields almost nothing but finds of Stephen's Type 1, with a smattering of Type 7s. Hampshire and Oxfordshire also show a high degree of uniformity in the types unearthed. Stephen's Type 1 dominates both, with Hampshire also yielding a few Type 7s. Both counties also have local types (The Rosette and Mullet of Oxford and the Voided Moline of Southampton). These did not travel beyond their home counties, save for a Rosette and Mullet coin that moved north into Buckinghamshire, not necessarily far from Oxford. Admittedly neither Oxfordshire or Hampshire has yielded a volume of finds even close to that of Norfolk, but there is still a noticeable pattern of local issues from these border areas rarely travelling outside their locality (Appendix X).

Matilda's Type A (to be discussed in the following chapter) was struck at Oxford, but with only one single find reported in Oxfordshire. This says little about exclusion, given that Oxford was at one

point an important centre of the Empress's authority, especially following her retreat from London.<sup>206</sup>

The Type A deposited within Wicklewood has been discussed, but four more coins emerge as south-eastern single finds, with two from Cambridgeshire, one from Essex and one from Kent. Here it is necessary to reiterate that this type bears such a resemblance to Stephen's Type 1 that it could be simply mistaken for that issue by its users.

Finally, a brief comment on the legends of the modified/defaced coins. While the royal portrait is sometimes (though not always) defaced, in all of these coins there appears to have been no effort to obscure the royal title. Regalian symbols such as the crown and sceptre are also typically intact. These coins therefore might not represent a deliberate challenge to Stephen's authority. There is also the fact that moneyers do not seem to have made any effort to obscure their own involvement in the creation of these coins. Names and mint signatures remain, even on local variants. If there were something unofficial or dubious about these coins in the minds of those who created them, then they would presumably have attempted to obscure their involvement. There is no evidence of any such attempt, which suggests that moneyers operated with no expectation of punishment and perhaps with the support of local authorities. Modified/defaced coins also maintained consistent weights, which suggests a level of regulation, perhaps by established local authorities. The notion that alterations were essentially administrative rather than ideological in intent becomes more plausible with this evidence in mind.

Distribution patterns supply no answers as to who issued modified Stephen coins, or when they did so. But they do suggest at least occasional use alongside substantive Stephen (and in Oxfordshire Matildine) issues. South-eastern variant coins may or may not have travelled, but there does appear to have been a general exclusion of coins not in Stephen's name and local issues do not appear to have travelled far. Those areas that produced local issues in greatest number seem to have lain on the periphery of the zone. These display trends that will be explored further, when we come to the midlands coinage. Substantive types circulated in these areas, but not to the active exclusion of others.

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<sup>206</sup> Crouch, *The Reign*, 181.

This stands in contrast to core zones such as Kent where coins of local issue are extremely rare. It may be useful in this sense to think of multiple cores and multiple peripheries, with authority over mechanisms of minting and monetary supply radiating out from London or Kent, weakening on the zone's edges before evaporating entirely when brought into contact with Angevin centres of authority. East Anglia in particular seems to have operated as a zone within a zone, in which official types circulated alongside various local issues, including issues from further north. This could be attributed to the disruption of the mechanisms of monetary control brought about by Hugh Bigod's rebellion, or to an uneven weighting of the record thanks to the selective work of detectorists, the particularly close relations in this region established between detectorists and curators, or the region's apparent economic significance derived from east coast trade. A combination of all these factors may well skew our overall perspective.

South-eastern hoards are dominated by types produced in the south-eastern zone or close peripheral areas. However a focus on the single finds highlights an as yet unmentioned anomaly, raising intriguing questions about coin control and travel well into the period of 'anarchy'. Specifically, five coins of Henry Earl of Northumberland (1152) have been unearthed in the south-east between 1987 and 2016. One is a halfpenny of Henry's 'Cross-and-Crosslets' type. The remainder are of his Moline type which, barring a modification to the legend, are identical to Stephen's Type 1. Henry's coins will be properly discussed in the chapter on the north. What is significant here is that they made their way to the south-east in the first place. Two were unearthed in Kent, one in Cambridgeshire, and two in Suffolk. The coins themselves were all struck at Corbridge, with the Cross-and-Crosslets struck by a Willem and two of the Molines struck by Herebald. These coins made their way far south in spite of the war, and are not the only regional variants to do so. For example, we might cite the aforementioned York Flag types, or Annulets and Type 2 coins from Durham that also travelled south.

Assuming that coin users cared to distinguish between coins of Stephen and those of his rivals, it is possible to explain the presence of Henry's Cross Moline in a similar manner to Matilda's Type A, as simply mistaken for Stephen's Type 1. This would preserve the notion that money in the extreme south-east was largely purged of local or non-loyalist variants. However, the Crosslets halfpenny is



less easy to justify in this manner. Furthermore, the mere fact that coins from as far north as Corbridge were carried down to Kent has fascinating implications for the persistence of trade networks. Though contemporary references are thin, Henry is believed to have been promoted earl *c.* 1139. Henry's political rise occurred following King David's northern conquests, relatively early in Stephen and Matilda's conflict.<sup>207</sup> Henry rendered homage to Stephen for his 'English' lands, and so Stephen may have consented to, or at least tolerated, money not in his name being struck even prior to his capture in 1141. Alternatively, Henry's coinage was produced after the loyalist 'collapse' of the early 1140s, and the kingdom did not thereafter simply fragment into more localised economic zones but continued to function (to some extent) as an integrated monetary union, despite the decline of the exchequer and the other mechanisms of royal authority. As always, we must exercise a sensible degree of caution before reaching for any interpretation, but multiple single finds scattered across the south-east (and indeed into the midlands) suggest that this was no fluke journey by a lone coin-user.

The Corpus reveals little entirely new about regular Type 1 coins. These remained the defining coin of Stephen's reign, with the widest variety of moneyers, mints, find spots and known examples. This explains the number of derivative coins, and why certain markedly similar coins (such as those of Matilda, Henry of Northumberland and Pereric) were able to circulate in the south-east despite not being minted in Stephen's name.

As discussed previously, conventional interpretations of the numismatic evidence have dated the 'end' of Stephen's Type 1 either to his capture at Lincoln and Matilda's subsequent triumph, or following his release *c.* 1142. Other theories place Type 1's end in the mid-1140s or even as late as 1149, though Archibald laid out persuasive arguments against this.<sup>208</sup> Type 1 was likely issued beyond this date in regions beyond Stephen's control. But the general interpretations remain reasonable, and are not contradicted by hoard composition. The distribution of Type 2 certainly suggests a substantial issue that appeared following a breakdown in the kingdom-wide network of monetary control. Compared to the effectively omnipresent Type 1, Type 2 is recorded within just fourteen counties (and London):

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<sup>207</sup> Fairbairn 'King Stephen's Reign', 49.

<sup>208</sup> Mack, 'Stephen and The Anarchy', 39; Blackburn, 'C&C', 194; Archibald 'Dating', 21.

Cambridgeshire, Sussex, Essex, Kent, Lincolnshire, Norfolk, Nottinghamshire, Oxfordshire, Swansea, Suffolk, Surrey, Wiltshire and Yorkshire. It cannot be a coincidence that coins are overwhelmingly found in counties of our south-eastern zone. Appendix B2 below explores the numbers in more detail, but note that Kent has by far the highest number of such coin finds, with 155. This figure is heavily skewed by Wicklewood, and the next highest competitors are (as might be expected) Norfolk and Suffolk with 32 and eighteen coins respectively. Wiltshire is an intriguing outlier, yielding 15 Type 2s. Given that the region boasts four of the five western hoards, this could be the result of Bristol's economic predominance. Type 2 is generally poorly recorded in hoards, which meshes with the notion that it did not travel far. There are 47 mints for Type 1, compared with no more than sixteen for Type 2. These latter mints are once again concentrated in the south and east (Bedford being the only possible outlier), while coins of London and Norfolk by far exceed all other mints in the record (Appendix B1).

It is worthwhile to compare this distribution of Type 2 with Type 6, the other wartime substantive issue (Appendix B3). As with Type 2, Type 6 has been unearthed almost exclusively in the south and east. Its mint distribution also shows similar trends, with London most prolific, followed by East Anglian mints such as Norwich, Dunwich and (the disputed) Castle Rising. Once again data is skewed by hoards, though these show no spectacular deviation from the trend established from single finds. All meshes neatly with the notion that Type 6 was issued in lands where Stephen had substantial authority and was likely intended to replace an earlier type, according to conventional practise. Supporting written evidence is lacking, but it would be highly unusual for two such substantial issues to circulate from the same mints simultaneously, or to do so without some form of coordination from a political centre. Available evidence thus points towards a deliberate decision to continue the long-established (presumably profitable) mechanism of recoinage.

With the peace of 1153 there was a fairly swift return to a single nationwide coinage.<sup>209</sup> Reference to this decision is rare in surviving texts, but Type 7's distribution, variety of mints, and propensity to

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<sup>209</sup> Blackburn, 'C&C', 166; Archibald, 'Dating', 9-21.

appear in hoards of Henry II's reign strongly suggest that this was Stephen's final type. Type 7 thus marked a return to normality, righting the disruptions of war-time. The brief window for Type 7 to have circulated while Stephen lived, combined with the abundance of mints and findspots suggests several possible readings. On the one hand It could indicate the rapid return to power of the royal administrative apparatus, as less than a year after the treaty which supposedly established this coinage, Stephen was dead. Of course it may also be that Type 7 continued to be struck well into Henry II's reign, with many mints not bothering to acquire Type 7 dies until after 1154.<sup>210</sup>

Upon Stephen's death, Henry showed no great haste to return to England, secure as he was in a position with no rival claimants and an aristocracy that had demonstrated its weariness of war.<sup>211</sup>

Henry oversaw a reconstruction of royal mechanisms of control and revenue collection, a process that had begun under Stephen. The restoration of institutions such as the exchequer presumably coincided with the imposition of new taxes, the reestablishment of old revenue streams, and the exploitation of new ones. Such a process likely coincided with the restoration of the royal monopoly over coinage.<sup>212</sup>

When Henry's first royal type was issued is uncertain, but it is generally agreed that Stephen's Type 7 continued to be minted for several years before Tealby's introduction, giving it time to spread across the realm.<sup>213</sup> A different, more 'bottom up' interpretation would be that Type 7's seemingly rapid replacement of Type 6 was the result of a general desire for a stable official coinage after the rash of variant issues across the kingdom. Coin users may well have desired a return to a single trustworthy type. It may be that the evidence for the exclusion of distinct regional variants from hoards in particular areas supports this notion. A notable exception to this trend is Type 1 imitations, that a casual observer might well have been unable to distinguish from Stephen's official coinage as issued before the war.

## 2.8 Conclusion

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<sup>210</sup> North, *EHC*, 203.

<sup>211</sup> Crouch, *The Reign*, 233, Amt, *The Accession*, 131, 169-80.

<sup>212</sup> Amt, *The Accession*, 13-14, 21.

<sup>213</sup> Mack, 'Stephen and the Anarchy' 39, 53, Allen, 'The English Coinage of 1153/4-1158, 242-302.

The coinage of the south-east might be divided into three phases: 'pre-breakdown', 'breakdown' and 'post-breakdown'. The term 'war-time' is avoided, because Type 1 continued to be issued and Stephen's control was maintained over much of England throughout the violent conflicts that scarred the initial years of his reign. The defining event marking the creation of a distinct south-eastern zone appears to have been Stephen's capture at Lincoln, and Empress Matilda's subsequent triumph. Stephen's capture provoked a crisis in governance, and thus in coinage, effectively ending Type 1's status as the sole 'official' royal coinage. Stephen's loss of support, his subsequent inability to impose his authority in many parts of the realm, and the eventual entrenchment of stalemate, solidified the south-east's status as the area upon which Stephen relied most heavily both materially and politically. The south-east remained the only area in which Stephen was able to exploit the mechanisms of monetary control fully.

In terms of the longstanding debates, conventional readings of the chronology and political context of types that emerged from the south-east are broadly correct, or at least are not fundamentally challenged here. The south-east is still best understood as an area in which Stephen's authority was strongest, and his supporters (such as Queen Matilda) actively worked to fulfil his political goals, rather than as elsewhere relaxing into nominal loyalty and practical neutrality. The variety of types within the area indicate a preference for Type 1 coins and derivatives that are hard to distinguish from one another at first glance. Hoard composition indicates that coin users typically stored 'official' Type 1s, particularly in the most south-easterly regions, though local variants were not unheard of. Whether this was the result of the perceived desirability or trustworthiness of particular coins on the part of the hoarder, or simply due to the availability of certain types remains unclear.

More local factors likely influenced coin use, with erased Long Cross pennies circulating in parts of East Anglia, and other local Type 1 variants circulating in other peripheral regions. The introduction of Stephen's Types 2 and 6 may well have been motivated by a desire to profit from type changes, and it appears that in general these types were widely adopted in the south-east but generally did not spread far beyond. It is unclear if Stephen's 'substantive' issues were confined to the areas where his authority was sufficient to impose the change on moneyers. But given that the coins do not appear

to have been struck or to survive far beyond the south-east, this is the most reasonable explanation. The lack of circulation might also be taken as tentative proof that these coins indeed date to a later period, when the war had reached comparative stalemate, meaning that soldiers did not carry them 'abroad' or that merchants opted not to use them for foreign exchange. In general it seems fair to conclude that, while the south east was the area in which royal authority was strongest and control over the monetary supply was most consistent with conventional Anglo-Norman practice, this does not mean that it escaped its own distinct economic and political fluctuations as a result of the war, which, as elsewhere, affected all aspects of coin manufacture, design and use.

## Chapter 3 - The West

### 3.1 Introduction

While Empress Matilda failed in her goal to become ruler of England, her efforts ultimately created a political environment that enabled her son Henry to succeed where she had not. Styling herself *domina Anglorum* (and possibly even *Rex*), Matilda effectively bequeathed her son her claim to the throne. Henry was then able to leverage the political divisions created by Matilda's war in his own successful attempt to secure the kingdom, not by deposing Stephen but by securing recognition as his heir.<sup>214</sup> From Matilda's arrival in England in 1139, her struggles became a defining feature of Anglo-Norman politics. Matilda's mere presence as a rival source of authority meant that what might previously have been regional revolts (a longstanding tradition in the kingdom) became existential challenges to Stephen's right to rule.<sup>215</sup> The territories under Matilda's control, or nominally aligned with her, fluctuated over time, but were broadly concentrated in the West Country, south-western England and the Welsh marches. These lands will be collectively referred to as 'The West' or 'Angevin' lands. Before discussing the coinage of the west, it is necessary to lay out its broad geographic limits, and to place various of the key Angevin power-brokers within an appropriate context.

By far Matilda's greatest supporter was her half-brother, Robert of Gloucester, who lent his considerable resources to her cause. Immensely powerful in the West Country, Robert's authority was centred on his marcher lordships of Gloucester and Glamorgan, and particularly upon the regional capitals at Bristol and Cardiff.<sup>216</sup> Bristol's strategic significance had been recognised since at least 1088 when a castle was first built there. Its economic power is alluded to in the *Gesta*, and Archibald has described it as perhaps the third city in England, after York and London.<sup>217</sup> Bradley noted that the settlement had prospered from trade with Ireland and, following the conquest of 1066 increasingly with France. The town had possessed a mint since c.1020, which had struck for Henry I and Stephen.

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<sup>214</sup> Church, 'Succession and Interregnum in the English Polity', 200.

<sup>215</sup> Crouch, *The Reign*, 136-7.

<sup>216</sup> King, *King Stephen*, 210.

<sup>217</sup> GS, 56 'Est autem Bristoa ciuitas omnium fere regionis ciuitatum opulentissima'.

After the arrival of Matilda it produced her Type A and Henry of Anjou's Facing Bust, and Robert of Gloucester's Lion type.<sup>218</sup>

It was under Robert that Bristol emerged as a true centre of power, sitting as it did at the intersection between his Gloucester estates and those at Glamorgan, with his chief Welsh castles at Cardiff and Newport.<sup>219</sup> Bristol also served as an administrative base for Matilda. Kenji Yoshitake suggested that an exchequer continued to collect taxes in areas where Matilda's authority was strongest, but now established in Bristol rather than Winchester or Westminster.<sup>220</sup> Certainly exchequer accounts from the later twelfth century indicate the region's wealth, with the honour of Gloucester producing the second highest income of any lay barony on record between 1160 and 1220. Between 19 and 26% of this wealth was generated by Bristol, where comital revenues could be drawn from rents, tolls, stall fees, and proceeds from the comital brewery, bakery and mills.<sup>221</sup> Bristol was also deemed sufficiently secure and loyal to become Stephen's prison. When an elaborate exchange of hostages was arranged for Stephen's release, Queen Matilda was temporarily held in Bristol.<sup>222</sup> If Matilda's authority in England had a political and economic 'core', this was Bristol and Robert of Gloucester's wider earldom. Understanding Robert's authority in relation to Matilda's is complicated. As Matilda's fortunes declined it appears that Robert may have taken on a quasi-regnal status of his own, issuing money and appropriating rights that had previously been claimed for the crown. King went so far as to describe Robert as 'king' of the West Country, though nuances of his precise status will be explored more fully when the time comes to describe his coinage.<sup>223</sup>

From the core of Robert's earldom radiated the lands of individuals that were also aligned with Matilda following her arrival in England. Robert was joined by Brian fitz Count, and by Miles sheriff

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<sup>218</sup> M.Archibald, 'The Lion Coinage of Robert Earl of Gloucester and William Earl of Gloucester' *BNJ*, lxxi (2001), 71-86.

<sup>219</sup> J.Bradley 'A Tale of Three Cities: Bristol, Chester, Dublin and The Coming of The Normans', *Ireland, England and the Continent, in the Middle Ages and Beyond, essays in memory of a Turbulent Friar, F.X Martin, O.S.A.*, eds. H.B Clarke and J.R.S Phillips, (Dublin 2006), 51-66; R.B Patterson, 'Bristol: An Angevin Baronial Capital Under Royal Siege', *Haskins Society Journal*, iii (1991), 171-81.

<sup>220</sup> White, 'Continuity', 122; Yoshitake, 'The Exchequer', 956.

<sup>221</sup> Patterson, 'Bristol: An Angevin Baronial Capital under Royal Siege' 173-4.

<sup>222</sup> *HN*, 106-7.

<sup>223</sup> King, *King Stephen*, 210.

of Gloucester (later Earl of Hereford, died 1143) who were major figures in the southern march. Brian had been a supporter of Matilda at Henry I's court<sup>224</sup>, making it unsurprising that the *Gesta* describes Brian as being delighted by her arrival in 1139, and possessing a large body of soldiers and an impregnable castle at Wallingford that he held against Stephen. Meanwhile Miles is recorded as a supremely energetic figure, with superb soldiers. Miles is also noteworthy for his raids across Stephen's lands, during which the *Gesta* describes immense quantities of loot being seized alongside great numbers of men for ransom.<sup>225</sup> The network of relationships between Robert and his fellow marcher lords, as well as the strength of those relationships, were crucial to the survival of Matilda's cause. Crouch went so far as to describe Robert, Miles and Brian as Matilda's 'triumvirate'.<sup>226</sup>

However, not all marcher lords were necessarily aligned with Matilda. Ranulf Earl of Chester offers a particularly useful example of the way in which an individual could operate within both royalist and Angevin camps, as well as independently. Ranulf's influence in the north, and his complicated relationship with Stephen until his arrest in 1146, have been discussed by Crouch.<sup>227</sup> Both the *Liber Eliensis* and William of Malmesbury record Ranulf's marriage to Robert of Gloucester's daughter, indicating some form of alliance or at least respectful coexistence. However, the *Gesta* describes how Ranulf had 'seized almost a third part of the kingdom' while simultaneously pledging loyalty to Stephen, asking him for aid and even promising to pay cash in exchange for Stephen's support in Wales.<sup>228</sup> Ranulf's swift ascent and dramatic fall, together with his regular shifts of loyalty, will be properly explored when discussing the north. Most relevant here is Ranulf's demonstration that marcher lords were not unanimously aligned with Robert or Matilda. Instead, they displayed varied

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<sup>224</sup> Hollister, 'The Aristocracy', 58.

<sup>225</sup> *GS*, 90, 92-4. 'Fuit ea tempestate Brienus filius Comitis uir genere clarus et dignitate magnificus, qui de illorum aduentu eximie lætificatus, firmato inexpugnabili, quod penes Walengefordiam habuerat, castello, cum militum ingentissima copia aduersus regem uiue et constantissime rebellauit.', 'Milo, uir acerrimi animi, et ad magna inuadenda impiger et perpromptus, cum eximio militantium robore.'... 'Vt enim maximas illas et innumeras, quas undecumque contrahebat, prædas, ut horrendas uillarum et urbium, quas in solitudinem redigebat, cremationes, ut multimodos uiros loco et officio diuersos, istos gladio addictos, illos ad redimendos loris innexos, reticemus, pro quibus omnibus dolendum...'; King, *King Stephen*, 223-8.

<sup>226</sup> Crouch, *The Reign*, 111, 121.

<sup>227</sup> Crouch, *The Reign*, 225-8.

<sup>228</sup> *LE*, 395, *HN*, 80, 'Is comes filiam comitis Glocestriae iamdudum a tempore regis Henrici duxerat.' *GS* 184, 192-194, 'Comes siquidem Cestræ, qui tertiam fere regni partem armis præualentibus occuparat', 'Cum igitur, paucis se comitantibus, curiam aduenisset, quatinus totius per hoc suspicionis nota de medio tolleretur, conquestus est se ab hostibus, et maxime e barbara Walensium multitudine,'.



allegiances and motivations, capable of acting pragmatically in their own interests even when giving at least nominal support to Matilda's cause.

Beyond the marcher lords, to the west were the Welsh princes. Crouch has supplied insightful analysis of the changing dynamics between the Welsh and the English throne following Henry I's death.

Essentially the relationship shifted from one of internal Welsh division, in which the princes had generally deferred to the English king, towards greater unity and assertiveness amongst the Welsh.

The *Brut* records Morgan ap Owain's (1158) revolt and slaying of Richard fitz Gilbert in 1136, just a year after King Henry's death. Meanwhile, the brothers Owain (1137-1170) and Cadwaladr ap Gruffud (1172) gathered allies and an army at Ceredigion, then subsequently besieged and burned Aberystwyth. The deaths of Richard fitz Martin, Stephen constable of Cardigan, and most importantly Richard fitz Gilbert, both in rapid succession, are also recorded in the *Brut*.<sup>229</sup> Combined, these deaths represented major setbacks for the Anglo-Norman marcher elite in Wales. The death of Richard fitz Gilbert (a royal *curialis* since Henry's days) receives substantial notice in the *Gesta*, which though admittedly written a decade later, comments on how peace and good order had abounded prior to Richard's death. The *Gesta*'s discussion of Richard supported by 'very wealthy relations and vassals', and the importance of these connections for the maintenance of peace in Wales, hints at the influence that individual magnates exercised in the region, and hence the importance of personal networks.<sup>230</sup>

Robert of Gloucester was able to enlist the support of Morgan ab Owain of Gwent, and through him possibly of other Welsh allies.<sup>231</sup> This relationship was not simply one of mutual non-aggression, as the *Liber Eliensis* reports 'King Morgar of Wales' (possibly Madog ap Mareddud, king of Powys) is mentioned as being in the Angevin army at Lincoln.<sup>232</sup> Figures such as this 'Morgar' need not have been ardent supporters of Matilda. While the princes sought good relations with the influential Earl Robert, cash payments may have been a motivating factor when it came to the provision of troops.

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<sup>229</sup> *BYT*, 51.

<sup>230</sup> *GS* 16, 'Fuit eodem in tempore Ricardus filius Gisleberti in Walonia, uir sincera generositate insignis, cognatis et hominibus fultus ditissimis, terris et castellis heredatus innumeris, qui omnes affines suos fide habens confœderatos, obsidibus uero obstrictos, pacis eam multimodæque fecunditatis adeo reddidit affluentem, ut secunda esse Anglia perfacile crederetur.'

<sup>231</sup> Crouch, *The Reign*, 111.

<sup>232</sup> *LE*, 395; Crouch 'The March and The Welsh Kings' 277.

Robert's issue of coinage in his own name raises this idea from a supposition to a strong possibility. If Robert's coinage was issued in relatively modest quantities, then that might imply a rare or emergency payment, while a larger issue over a longer period of time would suggest a need for continual or regularised payments. There is also the question of to what extent Robert's coinage was motivated by economic necessity, or a desire to control coin production and official payments within the region. Robert might also have been motivated by a desire to continue receiving his dues in cash, or a need to project quasi-regal authority. The relationship between Welsh princes and the Angevin magnates such as Robert was nuanced, and the princes ought not to be characterised as strict partisans of Matilda's cause. They seem to have operated as pliant but potentially hostile actors within the region, both economically and politically, of particularly keen concern to their Anglo-Norman neighbours.

Southern Wales was therefore another region in which Matilda could broadly rely on support. Matilda made use of the Cardiff mint which appears to have been established under Stephen, striking his Type 1 in 1136. Cardiff then became a fairly productive mint, being recorded in all of the types issued in Matilda's name.<sup>233</sup> It seems reasonable that minting remained a lucrative source of income for Matilda, much as it had been for earlier English kings. There is also the question of local demand for coin. This demand need not have been wholly commercial, as the use of coin may have been part of a conscious effort to introducing monetisation to Wales in order to integrate Wales into the wider Anglo-Norman monetary sphere. The colonisation of Wales through the introduction of non-Welsh settlers had been an ongoing process since at least Henry I's reign, with the arrival of Northumbrian Flemings.<sup>234</sup> Coin would have been necessary to introduce Anglo-Norman forms of taxation. In Matilda's case it would also have been expected that she issue money in her own name, and aim to reject her rival's money. The Welsh also had obvious interests in the region beyond their role as allies or subjects. Chibnall noted that the princes were (alongside the King of Scots) the greatest threat to Stephen's rule in the early years of his reign.<sup>235</sup>

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<sup>233</sup>Chibnall, *The Empress*, 121; Boon, *Coins of*, 20.

<sup>234</sup> *JOW*, 124-6, 'Rex Anglorum Heinricus Flandresnes qui Norðymbriam incolebant, cum total suppellictili sua in Waloniam transtulit'.

<sup>235</sup> Chibnall, *The Empress*, 77.

While the greater part of Wales is yet to yield substantial single coin finds, there must have been some demand for coin on the part of the Welsh princes. There is certainly reference to coinage in the tenth-century law code of king Hywel (950), and Welsh imitations of English Short-Cross coinages begin appearing from Rhuddlan by the 1190s.<sup>236</sup> This is persuasive evidence of demand for coin in Wales, even if single find evidence suggests the area was not highly monetised. Bates' commentary on the *Brut* drew attention to how Welsh princes used their affiliation with Henry I to increase their own prestige.<sup>237</sup> It is not inconceivable that there was a similar desire by Welsh Princes to attach themselves to prominent Angevin magnates. Long-established connections between coinage and monarchical authority thus could have been a factor in creating demand for coin in Wales, in turn encouraging an increased production in the west. The combination of Matilda's need to assert her authority, the at times antagonistic and at times cooperative relationship between marcher lords and princes, and the unique 'colonial' dynamic between Anglo-Norman settlers and the Welsh, would have placed a distinct pressure on the Angevin camp in a way that brought a unique regional influence to bear upon coin use in Wales.

Beyond Gloucester and the southern marches, Matilda's ability to assert her authority would fluctuate with her fortunes on the battlefield, as well as wider political changes that were not always under her control. Devon lay within the wider Angevin sphere, but remained a county contested between partisans of both factions.<sup>238</sup> The fact that there was continued struggle over Devon may partly explain why Matilda's major supporter there, Baldwin de Redvers (1155), never issued his own coinage. In Cornwall, Matilda's half-brother, Reginald of Dunstanville (1175), was able to secure a foothold in 1141, which seems to have led to him being granted the earldom of Cornwall. Curiously William of Malmesbury states that it was Robert rather than Matilda who created Reginald earl, which if true supplies an intriguing insight into Robert's own authority.<sup>239</sup>

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<sup>236</sup> Boon, 'Welsh Hoards' 61; Allen, *M&M*, 349.

<sup>237</sup> Bates, *The Normans*, 21.

<sup>238</sup> Archibald, 'The Lion Coinage', 79; Chibnall, *The Empress*, 101, 122-33.

<sup>239</sup> Chibnall, *The Empress*, 89, *HN*, 72-4 'strenue debellabat; fratrem etiam suum Rainaldum in tanta difficultate', 'temporis comitem Cornubiae creauit.'

Stephen Church has commented on the status of Cornwall within the wider realm of England, describing it as having ‘something of the flavour of a royal apanage’ with comital title eventually being granted to William I’s half-brother, count Robert of Mortain (1095). Earl Reginald continued to enjoy local privilege during Henry II’s reign, receiving two-thirds of the profits of justice normally appointed to the King rather than the customary third. Under Henry II, the earl was entitled to appoint his own sheriff, and may even have had his own exchequer.<sup>240</sup> There is little clear evidence of Cornwall’s status during Stephen’s reign, besides the fact that the earl, the chief landholder there, was a son of king Henry. Angevin coinage does not appear to have been produced or unearthed in the county.<sup>241</sup> Finds of Stephen are also rare, with what may be Stephen coins from local dies recorded in the Corpus. The lack of finds might be a sign that these regions were not fully integrated within the wider Angevin economic sphere. However, Devon and Cornwall are areas that have yielded little coinage of any sort, with the south-west in general the poorest region for finds, effectively throughout the medieval period.<sup>242</sup>

Other parts of England, including those typically associated with Stephen, moved back and forth between Stephen and Matilda’s control. Frontiers shifted over time, and Oxford, Winchester and London all changed hands, in some cases repeatedly. The geographical extent of Matilda’s support reached its peak in 1141, when Stephen was publicly humiliated and support for him in areas such as Cornwall rapidly collapsed.<sup>243</sup> It appears that many observers assumed that Matilda’s triumph was inevitable, even if her title and Stephen’s legal status as king remained disputed. Following Stephen’s capture at Lincoln, his own brother, Henry of Blois, escorted Matilda on her entry into Winchester: a highly significant event recorded in the *Gesta*, the *Historia Novella* and John of Worcester’s chronicle.<sup>244</sup> Oxford was another major royalist stronghold that in 1141 Matilda obtained without a fight, and she would retreat there with her court following her flight from London that year.<sup>245</sup> If a line

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<sup>240</sup> S.D Church, ‘Political Discourse at the Court of Henry II and The Making of The New Kingdom of Ireland: The Evidence of John’s Title *Dominus Hibernie*’ *History*, cccliii (2017), 808-823.

<sup>241</sup> Blackburn, ‘C&C’ 166.

<sup>242</sup> Kelleher, ‘Coins, Monetisation’, 129-30, 288.

<sup>243</sup> Crouch, *The Reign*, 168.

<sup>244</sup> *HN*, 88-9 *JOW*, 294-5, *GS* 118-9 Church, ‘Succession and Interregnum’ 191-5.

<sup>245</sup> *JOW*, 294-5, Crouch, *The Reign*, 181.

were to be drawn between Oxford and Winchester, it would in many ways effectively mark the eastward limits of the 'Angevin' zone for the duration of Matilda's time in England, barring the brief interlude in 1141 when Westminster was in her hands.

Oxford and Winchester may have not been held for very long, but their strategic importance was undeniable. Coins of Matilda were issued at Oxford. Her court was based there for a time, and Crouch described the city as key to her ambitions.<sup>246</sup> The bulk of the territory westwards was consistently aligned with Matilda and later Henry of Anjou, or at least resistant to Stephen's authority. While the Empress would attempt to assert herself in the east, her authority there was ephemeral. The locations of the mints that issued coin in Matilda's name also fall often (though not exclusively) west of a Winchester-Oxford arc. The same is true for coins of the majority of Matilda's supporters, and of the coins attributed to Henry of Anjou prior to his becoming king. The only other magnate of note who declared for Matilda and perhaps issued coinage was Hugh Bigod, who was confined to East Anglia.

Matilda's personal authority also fluctuated over time. 1139-41 might be considered the initial high water-mark of her efforts to become queen. But by 1144, when a teenage Henry of Anjou began adventuring in England, Matilda was incapable of offering any assistance or inducing her followers to do likewise.<sup>247</sup> No more than four months after Robert of Gloucester's death in 1147, Matilda retreated to Normandy, with her personal bid for power effectively now ended. Crouch even went so far as to suggest that Robert of Gloucester's death marked the end of the civil war. It was not until 1149 that Henry began seriously to press his own claim to rule, and not until 1153 was he able to exert full authority over Matilda's faction.<sup>248</sup> Coins attributed to Patrick of Salisbury and William of Gloucester are tentatively dated to this time, when the Angevin cause had no clear leader.<sup>249</sup> Henry's supporters seem to have overlapped with those who generally supported Matilda, though many of her key allies were by the later 1140s long dead. Coins in Henry's name share various traits with those of

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<sup>246</sup> Crouch, *The Reign*, 181.

<sup>247</sup> Crouch, *The Reign*, 219-20.

<sup>248</sup> Crouch, *The Reign*, 221, 239.

<sup>249</sup> Fairbairn, 'King Stephen's Reign', 47.

his mother, but in other ways bear closer resemblance to the baronial issues of pro-Angevin lords. However coins confidently or even semi-confidently attributable to Henry are comparatively rare in the Corpus, and thus yield little insight into Henry's relationship with the other magnates.

### 3.2 Hoards and Types

Matilda appears to have issued two main types. Matilda's Type A is visually identical to Stephen's Type 1, but with modified legends declaring Matilda either 'IMP' or 'IMREXANG'. Type B, combines Type A style obverses with a reverse fleury saltire over a cross. Various baronial types were also issued, chiefly known from hoards, and will be more fully discussed as they appear. A recurring feature of many western baronial issues is the presence of quadrilateral reverse cross, as per Henry I's Type 15 (Appendix I), which will also be more thoroughly discussed below. The iconography of earlier regnal coinage is also often re-deployed, such as a facing bust and stars, as per William I's Type 3 on coins of the earls of Gloucester, and of Henry of Anjou.

Actual coins from the west are relatively few when compared to those originating from other regions. The west is also distinct in that effectively all known hoards come from a single county, Wiltshire. The earliest unearthed in the west was that found at Winterslow, c.1804. This contained nineteen coins of several magnates. Brooke's catalogue identifies fourteen whole pennies and three cut halves. Of these, eight (including two halves) were minted in the name of Stephen, six (including one half) in the name of Henry, one in the name of William, and two are 'uncertain baronial' coins.<sup>250</sup> According to Mack we find here King Stephen, Henry of Anjou, William of Gloucester, an uncertain bishop and a magnate who is most likely Patrick Earl of Salisbury. Mack's account is helpful in that it includes all nineteen coins. These are described as nine pennies of Stephen (of which three are cut halfpennies), six pennies of Henry of Anjou (of which one is a cut halfpenny), two pennies of William of Gloucester, one of Earl Patrick and one of an uncertain bishop. This supplies a total of fifteen intact pennies and four cut halfpennies.<sup>251</sup> Unfortunately, Brooke's incomplete list is the only one that provides comprehensive inscription details and weights, meaning only seventeen Winterslow hoard

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<sup>250</sup> *BMC*, xxxi.

<sup>251</sup> Mack, 'Stephen and The Anarchy', 102.

coins are identifiable in the Corpus. One Stephen halfpenny listed by Mack is not present, as well as one coin of William. William's coins must date from after 1147 when he became earl. Stephen's Type 2 is also comparatively late, datable only roughly between 1145 and 1150.<sup>252</sup> This would indicate a later deposit date for the hoard, possibly not until Henry of Anjou himself had arrived, though probably not before the war had fully ended.

Winterslow displays a substantial range of types. Mack identified some thirteen, with Stephen responsible for five (Types 1, 2, and 3, the 'Flag' variant and an irregular issue with reverse fleury-cross), Henry four (Voided Moline, Cross Fleury, Quadrilateral, Facing Bust and Stars), William two (emulating Henry of Anjou's Moline and Matilda's Type B), and one each for Patrick (Helmet and Sword) and the bishop (Bust & Pattée).<sup>253</sup> However, within the dataset there is no record of Stephen's Type 3 from Winterslow. Henry's types are the Cross Fleury and/or Quadrilaterals. There is also a further discrepancy in the record, as Henry's Cross Moline is recorded as appearing at Winterslow but goes unmentioned by Mack. Regardless, obverse inscriptions of available coins are largely of high quality. All Stephen coins bear conventional legends. 'STIEFNER' appears on Type 1 and its variants, while Type 2 bears only 'STIEFNE'.

Winterslow contained a multitude of baronial coinage. Moline coins in the name of 'Henry' are recorded as reading 'hENRIC:' 'hENRICV' or 'hENRICVSREX'. While the sole fully legible Voided Moline reads 'hENRICVS:RE:'. The 'Helmet and Sword' coin attributed to Patrick of Salisbury is unfortunately only legible as 'COM'. Given the finding of another coin of the same type reading 'PATAR[ ]C[V]S+COM+S' Mack's identification is not unreasonable.<sup>254</sup> An obverse inscription was transcribed by Brooke as 'JNEPL:+'. The letters EP may be an extreme contraction of 'EP[iscopus]', but it is hard to know what to make of the other letters surrounding it. The coin's design, with a rightward bust holding a sceptre and obverse cross, also does nothing to indicate an episcopal issue. This stands in contrast to the 'Bishop Henry' coins produced in York, which include a standard

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<sup>252</sup> Blackburn, 'C&C', 198.

<sup>253</sup> Mack, 'Stephen and The Anarchy', 102.

<sup>254</sup> EMC 2020.0110.

contraction of 'EPC' and replace the sceptre with a crosier.<sup>255</sup> The William of Gloucester coins read 'WILLELM' or 'WILLELMUS', and include two types not identifiable in the Corpus, namely a facing bust type with reverse cross bottonnée over quadrilateral, and a coin with Type 15 style reverse and a rightward, sceptre wielding bust with square crown.<sup>256</sup>

Mints and moneyers of the Winterslow hoard extend well beyond the boundaries of Angevin territory. Stephen's types are understandably the most geographically diverse, with most coins having their own unique mint and moneyer. The Type 1 was struck at Exeter by a moneyer whose name was perhaps Brihtwi or Bricdwi, the latter of whom appears in Exeter minting Henry I's Type 15. The Flag type has an illiterate or deliberately obscured reverse legend comprised of stamps and the occasional letter, reading '##PT#I#ERS.#-N#P'. Despite the lack of a mint signature, the Flag type has been attributed to York by Brooke and his successors.<sup>257</sup> The wider significance of the Flag type will be discussed in the chapter on northern coinage. The Type 2s were struck by an Edmund at Ipswich, Willem and Stanchil at Norwich, and a moneyer at York whose name is sadly illegible. Type's 2's presence, mixed with a coin of York, might suggest that trade continued across the country, perhaps even across the armed frontier. They also have points of origin that are relatively easy to trace.

The Henry coins (either of Henry of Anjou or posthumous issues naming his grandfather) are more difficult to catalogue. At least one Henry Moline was struck by a 'RADEWLF:ON:GLO', Radulf perhaps in Gloucester, and a second '+ON:CAO' (or +ON:GAO) may also be his.<sup>258</sup> The 'ON:CAO' coin appears to be identifiable in the Corpus, though the first coin is not.<sup>259</sup> Henry's Quadrilateral (combining a Type 1 style bust with a Type 15 style reverse) reads '-ELFRE[ ]A:', suggesting a name such as Alfred, though providing no hints as to the mint's location. Of Henry's Voided Moline there is a coin with the mint signature 'SI[ ]VRNI' (Sherborne), but with no discernible moneyer. There is also a coin with no discernible mint but a moneyer named 'ELF[ ]', possibly Elfwine or Alfred.

Meanwhile on the single coin of Patrick, only the moneyer's first initial is legible, but we can be fairly

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<sup>255</sup> Blackburn, 'C&C' 182.

<sup>256</sup> Mack 'Stephen and The Anarchy', 94.

<sup>257</sup> *BMC*, 254, In this instance a '#' sign indicates one of several different stamps.

<sup>258</sup> Mack, 'Stephen and The Anarchy', 72.

<sup>259</sup> *BMC*, 277.



confident that the 'SA' mint signature refers to Salisbury. Lastly there is the 'NEPL' coin, where the reverse legend reads 'WILLEMON:[ (Willem), with an indiscernible mint name. What few Henry coins have an identifiable mint indicate production in the south-west (Appendix X). An affiliation with the Angevin faction (and by proxy Henry of Anjou) seems therefore entirely plausible.

The weights of the Winterslow coins reveal a distinction between Angevin money and that of Stephen. Stephen coins are notably heavier, with Type 1 weighing 1.28 grams and the Flag issue 1.23g. Type 2 ranges from 1.28 to 1.35g, excluding a 0.66g that is almost certainly halved or chipped. The Stephen coin with a Cross & Fleurs is a little lighter at 1.19g, but still on the heavier side compared with the rest of the hoard. When the coins of Angevin magnates are compared with those in Stephen's name there is a noticeable decline in weight, tending closer to 1g. The heaviest Henry coin is his 'Square Crown' (visually identical to the William coin Mack identified), weighing 1.06g. The supposed coin of Patrick weighs 1.02g, and the 'NEPL' coin 1.04g.<sup>260</sup> Although the sample size from Winterslow is fairly small, it does support the notion that western Angevin coinages were deliberately lightened and that local authorities collectively enforced a consistent standard distinct from Stephen's.

Between c.1860 and 1882, Latton in Wiltshire yielded a hoard of between 50 and 60 pennies.<sup>261</sup>

Despite being a sizable find, only three of its coins are now traceable.<sup>262</sup> All three are of Stephen's Type 1. No transcriptions of their legends survive, but weights, mints and moneyers fortunately do. One coin is of Sibern from Hereford, one from Sagrim of Shaftesbury and the last is of Goiher in Sudbury. The coin of Sibern weighs 1.37g, the coin of Sagrim 1.22g, and the coin of Goiher 1.4g. A Henry I Type 15 found in Latton churchyard, might also tentatively be attributed to the hoard. This was struck at Bristol by Turchil and weighs 1.39g. Regardless, Latton represents a substantial western find, and the lack of any precise data besides its preservation of a large quantity of pennies from Stephen's reign is regrettable.

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<sup>260</sup> Mack, 'Stephen and The Anarchy', 96.

<sup>261</sup> W.J Andrew, 'A Numismatic History of the reign of Stephen A.D 1135-1154' *BNJ*, vi (1909), 177-90.

<sup>262</sup> Mack, *Stephen and The Anarchy*, 102-5.

The largest western find with reliable data is the Coed-y-Wenallt hoard, discovered in 1980 on a spur of the Caerphilly Mountains. No container survived, but 102 coins were found, mostly of Cardiff and minted in Empress Matilda's name. This not only tripled the number of Matilda coins known at the time but also significantly increased available baronial coinage. The hoard has since been dispersed with 34 coins (and two fragments) bought by the National Museum of Wales, fourteen acquired by the British Museum, one by the Fitzwilliam Museum Cambridge, and one by the Hunterian. Forty-two were subsequently sold, eight staying with the finders and one possibly being given away.<sup>263</sup> Before the hoard was dispersed, Boon wrote an extensive analysis that will be relied on here.

Most coins in the Wenallt hoard are of Matilda's Type A and Type B, with 39 and 31 examples respectively. There are also 25 Stephen Type 1s, three of which are questionably literate. There are also five Type B style coins in the name of '+HENRICI DE NOVOB' (Henry du Neubourg) which were issued at Swansea, in the style of Matilda Type B. Lastly there is a coin of 'John', also in the style of Type B, struck at Cardiff (or possibly Caerphilly) along with a similar fragment missing its obverse inscription. Boon associated the coins with the St John' family of Saint-Jean-le-Thomas near Avranches, noting that a 'Jean' seems to have been resident there until 1130. This is not the sole 'John' coinage known, as 'IO+NNI' also appears on the obverse of a single coin in the style of Stephen's Type 1, from Hereford.<sup>264</sup> Boon was keen to emphasise the connections between the St John family and the Fitz Haimos, with their lordship of Glamorgan and Gloucester holdings ultimately falling into the hands of Earl Robert of Gloucester by marriage.<sup>265</sup> Herefordshire lay well within Angevin territory, and if there were still ties between the St Johns and Earl Robert during Matilda's time in England, then it is not impossible that there was some connection between the Cardiff coin and that found at Hereford, though there is no further evidence to support this suggestion.

Only three mints are identified in Wenallt: Bristol, Cardiff and Swansea, with Cardiff providing the largest volume of coin. Furthermore 33 Cardiff coins are die duplicates, almost a third of the hoard. Boon noted that prior to Wenallt's discovery, there was no known coin of Swansea and the only

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<sup>263</sup> Boon, *Welsh Hoards*, 37.

<sup>264</sup> EMC 2017.0333.

<sup>265</sup> Boon, *Welsh Hoards*, 40-1, 52.

evidence of a mint in the area derived from a charter granted by William, Earl of Warwick, sometime between 1153 and 1184.<sup>266</sup> The emergence of Swansea as a mint under an Angevin baron is indicative of a broader stimulation to minting by Matilda or local actors, possibly in response to the collapse of wider mechanisms of coin production.

The moneyers of Wenallt show little overlap with the moneyers of the other hoards. A moneyer named Gurdan appears at Bristol (possibly reappearing in the Box hoard as 'Iordan') on Stephen's and later Matilda's coinage. This Gurdan is joined by Fardein, a new moneyer at Bristol under Stephen. A small fragment reads 'Turchil', a moneyer who not only struck Matilda's Type A and Stephen's Type 1 but also Henry I's Type 15. The coins of the moneyers mentioned above were struck from locally cut dies. The moneyers Turchil and Iordan also appear in the Pereric coin at Wenallt, though Farthegn does not, and two new moneyers Arfeni and Rodberd also appear. Willelm struck for Stephen at Cardiff using metropolitan dies, and then Matilda Type A, seemingly from local dies. Willelm also appears in the Cardiff class B coinage as does a 'Bricmer' (Beortmaer), who Boon speculated was brought in c.1140. This suggests that the Matilda types A and B did in fact occur sequentially, and Bricmer does not appear in Matilda's Type B, despite an obverse of his appearing on this mule.<sup>267</sup>

Type B in Wenallt is dominated by two moneyers using distinctive engraved dies. These men are 'Elwine'/'Helwin' (possibly Ælwine, a name that also appears in Matilda's type A from Malmesbury and Cardiff within the Box hoard, noted below), and 'Ioli' (Joli). Elwine is known from two pairs of dies, while Ioli appears on one. In a hoard dominated by Anglo-Scandinavian names, Ioli is a figure we can more confidently describe as Norman. Boon, reading the reverse of Ioli's dies as 'IOLI:DE:BRIT:CAIER', sought to interpret 'BRIT' as 'Brit[olio]' or Breteuil, a town near Évreux in Normandy, with Boon suggesting that Ioli's presence at Cardiff demonstrated the rise of 'French' merchants and privileged burgesses in Cardiff.<sup>268</sup> We may wonder if this is not also evidence of experts moving across the Channel to support Matilda's cause. Then again, there is a marked increase in the number of French moneyer names on English coinage from the reign of Henry I, so it may

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<sup>266</sup> Boon, *Welsh Hoards*, 49, 73-7.

<sup>267</sup> Boon, *Welsh Hoards*, 45-8.

<sup>268</sup> Boon, *Welsh Hoards*, 49.

instead be that processes begun under her father were continued under Matilda's authority. Either way, the presence of this new, possibly Norman, moneyer in the western coinage demonstrates the complicated interplay between the continuing colonisation by the Anglo-Norman elite, even whilst coin was likely being used by Angevin magnates to secure the loyalty of Welsh rulers in the war against Stephen.

Western coins found in Wenallt trend below the pre-war weight standard of Stephen's Type 1. By contrast, the coins here issued in Stephen's name are of notably higher weights. Even western Stephen coins tend to be heavier, with Cardiff coins in Stephen's name averaging 1.42g. Boon speculated that these coins were an emergency issue produced in 1139, with the subsequent Matilda class A showing a lower average than Type 1 and a broader range of weights. Meanwhile the Matilda class B coins within Wenallt average at 0.97g and show a considerably narrower range of weights. Boon took this as evidence of an attempt to assert quality control at Cardiff's mint, but also noted that the coins of Henry du Neubourg struck at Swansea showed no similar narrowing of the weight range. Du Neubourg coins varied by as much as 0.39g, set against 0.17g for Matilda's Type B. It might be that Cardiff's weight reform was a local affair, if indeed it occurred as Boon suggests. The lowering of the weight standards is appreciable, especially if the main supply of silver for Matilda and her supporters was royalist coinage, in effect allowing her to increase the number of pennies minted from the same basic quantity of silver. Boon himself suggested that full weight issues may have been melted down locally, or exported to loyalist areas and melted there.<sup>269</sup> Metallurgical analysis of the Wenallt coins revealed a distinct difference between types A and B. Once again Type A shows greater variance, with a broader range of fineness and a lower average silver content than Type B, which exhibits a smaller range of fineness with a near 2% higher silver content compared with Type A. Analysis of 20 Wenallt coins showed a range of 89-97% silver, this compares favourably with Stephen's pre-war average of 90%, though Matilda's Wareham and Oxford coins fall just shy of that figure.<sup>270</sup>

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<sup>269</sup> Boon, *Welsh Hoards*, 58-9.

<sup>270</sup> Blackburn 'C&C', 173; Boon, *Welsh Hoards*, 60; Fairbairn, 'King Stephen's Reign', 50

The Box hoard was unearthed in 1993 in Box, Wiltshire, consisting of 104 coins or fragments, 83 of which are now in the British Museum.<sup>271</sup> Personal study of the Box hoard in some detail confirms it to contain coins of Matilda, Stephen, Henry du Neubourg, and Robert and William of Gloucester. There are also illiterate coins, and coins of an indistinct issuing authority. Of the coins recorded in the Box hoard, 83 are owned by the British Museum though six are currently unavailable for study. Four are held in the Wiltshire Museum in Devizes. For the coins that were unavailable, the notes of Archibald have been relied on for quantities, legends and other comments.<sup>272</sup> Coins available for examination are recorded in appendix X<sup>273</sup> and are further explored in appendix G.

Of the Box coins, 24 or 25 are currently attributed to Robert, ten to Stephen, 22 to Matilda, and eight or nine to William of Gloucester. A single coin is attributed to Henry du Neubourg, though this has been removed from the collection and so the attribution is currently unconfirmed. If all of these coins are correctly identified, that leaves several remaining coins of unconfirmed issuers. For eight this results from wear or poor striking that has obscured the inscriptions and other aspects of the designs, and for nine others the legends are legible but illiterate.

Coins of Robert and William of Gloucester have a distinctive Lion-Passant or Lion-Guardant obverse, with a cross-fleury on saltire reverse. The lion coinage is not a new type as such (a cut halfpenny of Robert's was already known to have existed), but the appearance of multiple intact coins established their inscription as '+ROB●COM●GLO' (or +RODB●COM●GLO): an indisputable connection to Robert of Gloucester. Those of his son William may read simply '+WILLEMVS' or '+WIL[●CO]M[GL]O'. Coins of Stephen are all Type 1 with no noticeable deviance from prototypes in design or inscription, albeit that at least one has been struck using an obverse die defaced with two pommée crosses, most likely as an attempt at erasure. The inscriptions for the most part read '+STIEFNE' though there is at least one, perhaps two or three among them that read '+STIEFNEREX'. All coins of Matilda are her 'Type A', sharing Stephen's Type 1 bust obverse and cross moline reverse. However two appear to be of the *Matilda Rex* Type A subtype identified by

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<sup>271</sup> Archibald, 'The Lion Coinage', 71.

<sup>272</sup> Archibald, 'Box' (Unpublished Notes).

<sup>273</sup> Corpus nos. 4604-4686.

Porter, with inscriptions reading 'IMREXAN', both die duplicates struck by Seawine at Malmesbury.<sup>274</sup> Two coins attributed to Matilda and Bristol read '+TVN[ ]' or '[ ]ITV[N]', an unusual legend that might be the result of illiteracy, or a previously unknown moneyer striking Type A coins.<sup>275</sup> Matilda's remaining coins appear to be of her Type A with the standard 'MATILDI.IMPER' legend. Nevertheless, ten of these remaining coins are illegible on the obverse, and it is necessary to rely on the tracking of die duplicates to infer their legends. Regardless, there is a total of 65 coins within Box that can be attributed to one or other western magnate with an acceptable degree of certainty. Roughly a third of the hoard is baronial coinage, making it unique among hoards of Stephen's reign.

In terms of the fractional coinage within Box, there are three cut halfpennies of Robert and one fragment that has lines clean enough to suggest it is a cut farthing. Another Robert coin has two interlocking pieces remaining but is missing a central fragment. One William coin survives as a fragment, one is an intact halfpenny and another is a broken (rather than cut) halfpenny. There is one Stephen halfpenny, while Matilda's coins include eight halfpennies (including two opposing halves of the same coin, included in the Corpus as a single entry).<sup>276</sup> Two of Stephen's coins are die duplicates, as are three of Matilda's.

Lastly there are the seventeen coins from Box which cannot be reliably attributed to any authority. At least one of these bears an illiterate legend on the obverse, with others suggesting the cutter had limited understanding of the written word. Some letters are described as 'letter-like' rather than actual letters, and the poor quality of the dies might be the result of counterfeiters. Examples include a mark rather like a conjoined LT that appears on one coin, or very misshapen letters that appear on the obverse of a lion coin. One coin that Archibald ascribed to Matilda also falls into this category.<sup>277</sup>

Other coins are unattributable simply because of damage to their designs and inscriptions. Of all these

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<sup>274</sup> Porter, 'A New Coin Type of The Empress Matilda?' 110-112.

<sup>275</sup> Corpus nos. 4674, 4675.

<sup>276</sup> Archibald, 'Box' (Unpublished Notes).

<sup>277</sup> This is counted among Matilda's coins, rather than the seventeen deemed unattributable.

unattributable coins, three have been broken into fragments and one is a cut halfpenny. Of these coins, two appear to be the remains of lion pennies.

In total there are five die duplicates in the hoard, six fragmentary pennies, possibly two farthings and sixteen cut halfpennies if one counts the broken coin as two halves rather than a whole. The fact that the two halves have remained together is itself intriguing, suggesting they were pre-emptively cut, before the hoard was deposited. The die is regrettably not legible enough to interpret the mint, though the final letters appear to be ‘-AM’.

The mints represented in the Box hoard are concentrated in the west, chiefly in areas within Robert’s marcher lordship (Appendix G2). The majority of Matilda coins with identifiable mints comes from this region, Bristol (9) Cardiff (3) and Malmesbury (4) providing largest contributions. Malmesbury is also the only mint known to have issued the ‘Matilda Rex’ coins. There is also an illiterate coin ascribed to Matilda by Archibald and identified as coming from Marlborough. Marlborough does not appear in the Corpus save from Box, and given the indecipherable legend it is unclear why Archibald drew this connection. Meanwhile a Robert coin with a reverse reading ‘+[]ONO[]ECBA’ was also attributed to Marlborough. Another illiterate coin was loosely defined as coming from ‘Northern Wales’, though this is an unhelpful identification, and the coin itself may not necessarily be connected with Matilda.<sup>278</sup> Matilda’s identifiable moneyers include ‘Iordan’ of Bristol, ‘Seward’ and ‘-god’ at Malmesbury accompanied by an ‘Elwine’ or perhaps ‘Helwine’, who also possibly worked at Cardiff.

The Robert coins from the Box hoard were struck at Bristol (14) Salisbury (4) Marlborough (1), Trowbridge (1) and a mint that Archibald identified as Rye (4). Note that Bristol provided the overwhelming proportion of Robert’s coinage. Malmesbury and Cardiff are not present at all (or the former is scarcely present, if ‘MAL’ is in fact Malmesbury), and Salisbury instead emerges here as a major mint. The attribution of coins to Rye is somewhat mysterious, as it is unclear when Robert would have had control over a mint in East Sussex, and we should perhaps put that interpretation aside until more evidence emerges. Robert may have held lands there, but the *Historia Novella*

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<sup>278</sup> Archibald, ‘Box’ (Unpublished Notes).

describes Stephen confiscating Robert's lands shortly after his renunciation of his oath, with only Bristol and his Welsh estates left to him.<sup>279</sup> Robert's coinage is one of the larger issues within the Corpus, though Box is the only major find. Robert's moneyers include the 'Iordan' who oversaw minting for Matilda at Bristol, now joined by a 'Farthein' and a 'Rodbert', though Iordan remains the most prolific. At Salisbury a 'Willem' seems to have been the only moneyer, while one 'Salide' operated from Trowbridge. Lastly there is a 'Durling' whose mint signature sadly does not survive. In total Robert's Lion coinage is known from perhaps five mints, with five different obverse styles and six reverses each made subtly distinct with apparent care.<sup>280</sup> This would appear to suggest a planned and reasonably prolific issue. The poor quality of William's Lion coinage within the Box hoard makes the identification of mints difficult. The aforementioned 'Willem' who struck for Robert seemingly also did so for William. If this is the same Willem, then Salisbury was perhaps one of Earl William's mints. '+HI[ ]RT•ON' might be 'Hubert', though the mint is unclear. That Lion coinage continued under William indicates that the coinage continued to be struck over a period of several years.

The mints from which came Box's Stephen coins include Wilton, Hastings, Norwich and Stamford from which one coin each appear. Given Wilton's proximity to Bristol, it is unsurprising that coins from that mint should have entered the hoard. Identifiable moneyers include William of Norwich, Sivard of Stamford, and Tomas of Wilton. Alle and an 'Eng' appear at unidentifiable mints. There is no recognisable overlap between Stephen mints and other types within Box. The proportion of the Stephen coinage and the absence of other local mints may suggest that production of Stephen's coinage was speedily halted in the areas loyal to Matilda and replaced with coins of new types. The Stephen elements of Box could therefore be the result of longer distance trade and smaller scale payments, by contrast to the Angevin issues which seem to have been locally and deliberately sourced.

Weights within Box are typically below the Type 1 standard. Robert's coins (excluding fractional coinage) range from 0.73g to 1.08g, averaging out at 0.94g. Matilda's coins follow a similar pattern,

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<sup>279</sup> *HN*, 42 'Solum Bristou remansit'.

<sup>280</sup> Archibald 'The Lion Coinage', 72.



averaging 0.95g. The William coins achieve an average of 1.00g, though we should note that the sample size is very small, with just three intact coins, the remaining four being cut halfpennies or fragmentary. It is important not to over-extrapolate from this small body of evidence, though it would at least appear that William continued to issue at the same standard as his father and his aunt before him.

In terms of weights, the Stephen Type 1s are largely intact, with only two halfpennies identified, and weights ranging from 1.07g to 0.86g, averaging at 0.92 with most coins sitting comfortably within 0.1 of a gram. These weights appear to conform to the lighter weight standard that operated within Angevin territories, but not to the wider norms for Stephen Type 1. As mentioned previously, Stephen's coinage was generally struck at a higher standard across the kingdom, and Boon discussed how Stephen's heavier coinage (as well as that of Henry I) almost certainly left circulation quickly after lighter Angevin coinages were introduced.<sup>281</sup> Given that the mints for the Stephen's coins within Box (with the arguable exception of Wilton) lay beyond the reach of Matilda and her supporters, it is unlikely that they were intentionally produced in conformity with 'rival' weight standards.

It would appear that these Type 1s remained in circulation once they reached the south-west, rather than being melted down, which may be a coincidence or imply that some coinage was being weighed and (in some areas at least) no longer being accepted at face value. The latter interpretation is plausible given the chaos of the war and proliferation of different types by the time the Box hoard was concealed. It is not unheard of for some Stephen Type 1s to weigh less than the standard, either through wear or laxness on the part of the moneyer, but it is unwise to rule out the possibility that this decision was deliberate. Perhaps (as per Gresham's law) heavier coins of Stephen were melted down, while lighter ones were kept in circulation or stowed away? There is also the possibility that Box's owner carefully selected and weighed the coins they intended to conceal, which again indicates a general lack of confidence in the currency circulating at the time. The greater variation in weight for

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<sup>281</sup> Boon, *Welsh Hoards*, 60.

Matilda's Type A hints at a possible cause for the withdrawal of more consistent pre-war Stephen coins, but it is not decisive evidence (Appendix G3).

The 'illiterate' coins of Box all appear to be of the Lion type.<sup>282</sup> The two heaviest sit at 1.13g, while the lightest (partially broken) weighs 0.78g, with an overall average of 1.03g. Curiously, the Angevin weight standard appears to have been maintained despite the legends becoming incoherent. In fact the illiterate coins provide the two heaviest examples from Box, and the overall heaviest average within the hoard, though with a sample size of six there must be appropriate caution. Nevertheless, it may be that the moneyers of illiterate coinage were not attempting to defraud anyone, but rather seeking to issue a coinage that conformed to what was an acceptable standard locally. It may be the moneyer/die cutter was illiterate, or a literate legend was simply not required by whomever commissioned the coins. Regardless, the weight analysis from Box further supports earlier work that indicated Angevin coinage was intentionally struck to a lighter standard. It also suggests that this standard continued in coinages that were not explicitly those of Matilda or Robert, with some fluctuation within types. Overall evidence from Box indicates the existence of some kind of standard being maintained by a central institution, by local authorities working in collaboration, or a more ad hoc improvisation perhaps exercised by moneyers within the Angevin west.

Finally, the most recent hoard to be unearthed in the west was uncovered in Swindon in 2012. Consisting of only two Stephen Type 1 coins, struck by Wulfold of Southwark and an Erebald of Carlisle, Swindon is one of the smallest hoards of Stephen's reign. If anything distinguishes the coins it is their weights, of 1.31g and 1.22g respectively.<sup>283</sup> The type itself suggests an early deposit date, but little else can be learned here.

Western single finds are comparatively scarce when compared to those from the more easterly parts of England. The vicinity of Bristol and other major urban areas supply a higher density of finds within areas controlled by Matilda's forces. This meshes with studies of single find coinage across England and Wales over a longer period, in which finds tend to cluster in the east and south where trade was

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<sup>282</sup> Corpus Nos. 4633-4641.

<sup>283</sup> PAS WILT-FA0974 for the full hoard.

more common. Aside from the Box Hoard, the Lion type is only known from single finds, such as a William of Gloucester Lion coin discovered in 2000.<sup>284</sup> More importantly, barring a Type A find from Kent and another from Cambridgeshire, coins of Matilda and her supporters are overwhelmingly concentrated in the west. This evidence supports an interpretation of Angevin controlled territories operating as a self-contained monetary zone beyond which locally produced coin did not circulate in any great volume. There is also a complimentary theory, that Matilda and her supporters maintained a system rather like that which had existed across the kingdom throughout the war, in which ‘enemy’ coins were withdrawn from circulation and in some way excluded, at least from official payments.<sup>285</sup>

If correct, this suggestion would imply that administrative structures within the Angevin west retained sufficient strength to enforce such a policy, though whether the practicalities of removing such coinage were the responsibility of local magnates or ‘royally’ appointed sheriffs remains unclear. The high proportion of later Stephen coins within the Winterslow hoard does not necessarily disprove this theory, as Winterslow lay on the edge of what constituted Angevin territory, and some degree of laxity is to be expected there. Latton also lies on the north-eastern edge of Matilda's lands, but is more problematic if the hoard does indeed contain a large proportion of Stephen coins. The fact that heavier Stephen coins would likely have been melted down for their higher silver content supplies one possible explanation for their being hoarded, since individuals concealing hoards would likely wish to secure coins of as high a value as possible. This also compliments the notion of some kind of administration overseeing coinage in the area, rather than a complete free for all. Furthermore the absence of continental French coins here, despite Matilda and Robert of Gloucester's ties to Normandy and Anjou, and despite Bristol's role as a major western port, all seem to indicate a deliberate policy of regulation and exclusion.

### 3.3 Contested Royal Power and ‘Baronial’ Money: Understanding Western Coinage.

The nature of Matilda's and subsequently Henry's authority across the Angevin zone of influence was a fluctuating and changeable thing. Boon divided the war into four phases, each neatly rounded by a

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<sup>284</sup> Fairbairn, ‘King Stephen's Reign’ 47.

<sup>285</sup> Fairbairn ‘King Stephen's Reign’ 49-50.

historic event. First, from Matilda's arrival in 1139 until Stephen's capture in 1141. Second, from 'Matilda's triumph', including her reception by Bishop Henry and her recognition as *Domina Anglorum*, through to her flight from London and Robert of Gloucester's capture in the autumn of 1141. Phase three runs from Robert and Stephen's release, until Matilda's withdrawal to Rouen following Robert's death in 1147. Crouch argued that this last event effectively marked the end of Matilda's personal bid to become ruler of England, though the nadir of her influence would come with the deaths of Miles of Hereford and especially that of Robert of Gloucester.<sup>286</sup> The subsequent final period was focused not on Matilda but on Henry of Anjou's bid for kingship, starting in 1149 when he was just sixteen years old and ending with the peace settlement of 1153.<sup>287</sup>

While such frameworks may be useful for broad-stroke understanding of coinage's place within the wider civil war, we must exercise sensible caution in dealing with interpretations in which particular coin types are linked to known events. At a fundamental level, coins that are not easily attributable to a certain figure, such as the Pereric coins, or the illiterate issues, cannot be categorised in this way. It is possible to infer that certain types were issued subsequent to Stephen's Type 1, based on similarity of design. Regardless of how long it remained in circulation, Type 1 was the last confirmable royal issue prior to the breakdown of Stephen's authority. Given this fact, it is not implausible that Type 1 was simply a standard that many thought was acceptable and therefore well worth imitating, even when Stephen himself had transitioned to Type 2.

There is also the problem that it remains unclear when Stephen's writ ceased to run over minting in the west, and whether or not that immediately coincided with the introduction of coinage minted in Matilda's name. Crouch was of the opinion that Matilda and Robert were able to secure the southern march and Severn valley within a month of their arrival at Arundel. But this does not mean they immediately began issuing coins in Matilda's, let alone in Robert's name.<sup>288</sup> Furthermore royal control over Wales and the march was already somewhat diminished prior to Matilda's arrival. Indeed, the marcher community was in many ways a self-reliant entity, often hostile to royal power. Stephen's

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<sup>286</sup> Crouch, *The Reign*, 204, 213, 221.

<sup>287</sup> Boon, *Welsh Hoards*, 39.

<sup>288</sup> Crouch, *The Reign*, 112.

failure to protect their interests appears to have been at least one of the reasons why Robert and the marcher Lords opted to support Matilda's claim to the throne.<sup>289</sup> As in Matilda's own case, it is necessary to recognise the changeable nature of Stephen's authority as well as the unique fog that lies over events in the west, obscuring the dating of many things.

An appreciation of the political situation in Wales and the marches prior to the outbreak of Stephen and Matilda's war is crucial to our understanding the nature of coin use and production.

Understanding the coinage then supplies a better picture of the situation in which Matilda found herself, and from which other Angevin coinages emerged. For example, the moneyers of Swansea and Cardiff may have issued local coinage as early as the Welsh assault on Gower in 1136. John of Worcester's chronicle describes the great devastation and depopulation that occurred, and the subsequent Welsh victories at Gower and Cardigan.<sup>290</sup> Boon speculated that the locally minted Cardiff Stephen coins were the result of the city's isolation during this conflict. The Swansea pennies in Stephen's name have likewise been attributed to Henry du Neubourg before his realignment in favour of Matilda, with his coins perhaps used for the payment of troops during the ensuing conflict.<sup>291</sup> Boon's explanation for the local coins is plausible. An exceptional 'emergency issue' would explain why coins from local Cardiff dies do not seem to have made their way far beyond the city. However, it is uncertain that the local Cardiff coins date from the Welsh rebellion. Southern Wales had no pre-existing tradition of Anglo-Norman magnates issuing coin in response to a crisis. It is not even certain that these coins pre-date Matilda's arrival, as English monarchs (and indeed Henry II) often allowed the coinage of their predecessor to circulate for years before replacing it with their own.

Although, without further evidence, it is impossible to achieve certainty on why local coins were issued, there are still inferences that can be drawn from their existence. In the absence of any strong exercise of royal authority by Stephen, and cut off from London dies, the authorities in South Wales still opted to maintain the status quo as well as they could. Stephen's name and likeness continued to

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<sup>289</sup> Crouch, *The Reign*, 55-9.

<sup>290</sup> *JOW*, 216-21 'Dum autem ob regium terrorem, regitui leonis comparandum, omnia deberent paci cedere, iam in pluribus locis et maxime in Walia, depopulation et depredation minime cessat.'

<sup>291</sup> Boon, *Coins of*, 20-1.

appear on coins, though Boon identified a shift to the vernacular 'S[TI]EFNE REIS' on the Swansea coins of the Wenallt hoard.<sup>292</sup> This reading (if accurate) suggests that strict conformity to the legends on London dies was not a priority. Whoever regulated coinage in the region showed a desire to maintain the monetary system and continued to respect the royal prerogative, but coin in Wales was at some point detached from the wider system of coin production (at least with regards to dies), perhaps not long before Matilda's arrival and the outbreak of the wider war.

Crouch advanced the theory that the nobles of Matilda's faction were not primarily supporters of the Empress, but first and foremost personally opposed to Stephen. The ambivalent efforts of the supposed idealist Brian fitz Count from 1138 until 1139, the score settling of Robert of Gloucester, and Miles of Gloucester's prioritisation of regional hegemony over Matilda's cause supply evidence of all three of these men acting consistently in their own self-interest rather than out of any chivalric sense of duty, and this despite all three acting as the indispensable, collective 'triumvirate' of Matilda's cause. Crouch likewise highlights the fact that the West Country rebels Baldwin de Redvers and Robert of Bampton did not fight for Matilda in 1136, but for the shrievalty of Devon and the manor of Uffculme.<sup>293</sup> Furthermore, all preceding Norman monarchs had faced rebellions and struggles for the throne immediately following their successions. Stephen was in this sense no different, and for the three years prior to Matilda's arrival he enjoyed success in subduing revolts such as that of Baldwin de Redvers in Devon, or King David of Scotland who was repulsed at York by Stephen's proxy, William of Aumule. The initial Welsh uprising can be understood as part of this wider pattern, though Stephen's attempt to control the situation through his proxy Pain fitz John, yielded poor results for the King, and extremely poor results for Pain who was struck through the head with a javelin.<sup>294</sup>

Stephen's limited success in Wales as well as his side-lining of many of Henry I's new men in the region from 1136 onwards, meant that he lost the confidence of those magnates who had a pre-

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<sup>292</sup> Boon, *Coins of*, 50.

<sup>293</sup> Crouch, *The Reign*, 121-3.

<sup>294</sup> *JOW*, 218.

eminent place in the Anglo-Norman apparatus in the west.<sup>295</sup> Crouch argued that what made Stephen's reign unique was that there was no longer universal agreement on who ought to be responsible for public order, so responsibility for the maintenance of this shifted to the magnates. Such a shift is certainly observable across England at large, especially the north and the midlands. But what makes the case of Matilda unusual is that it appears she, at least initially, was able to present herself as a genuinely alternative regal figure, uniting multiple local acts of rebellion into a concerted effort to make herself queen.<sup>296</sup> There followed the brief absence of any such 'pretender' to the throne, as a result of Robert's death and Matilda's departure. But the role was almost immediately then filled by Henry of Anjou. Not only this, but Wales, the marches, and the south-west more generally, as territories remote from Stephen's personal authority, had already displayed a degree of independence from royal mechanisms of power. In the case of the indigenous princes these were men who sought full independence from royal authority despite previous attempts to integrate them within an aggressively expansionist English kingdom. As political actors, they remained entirely detached from the Anglo-Norman elite. Meanwhile the marcher lords who formed the core of Matilda's support were not seeking to distance themselves from Anglo-Norman kingship but to guarantee their own privileges as subjects of the crown.

With all this in mind, the exceptional nature of the Angevin territories can be articulated. Even before the war the 'normal' functioning of coin production in the west and south-west had been disrupted by the Welsh uprising. This disruption meant that local authorities intervened to ensure normal practice continued in spite of the region's isolation. These people also facilitated the production of emergency coin to serve immediate local needs. Upon her arrival, Matilda worked to present herself as a legitimate alternative to Stephen, so that the desired norm became the issue of coins in her own name. Whether Matilda began to issue coins swiftly after arrival in 1139, in the early 1140s, or after Stephen's capture at Lincoln in 1141, remains unclear.<sup>297</sup> Matilda and her supporters certainly

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<sup>295</sup> Crouch, *The Reign*, 112-3.

<sup>296</sup> Crouch, *The Reign*, 146-7.

<sup>297</sup> Blackburn 'C&C', 187; King, 'Introduction', 25; Porter, 'A New Coin Type of the Empress Matilda?', 109; Fairbairn, 'King Stephen's Reign', 46; White, 'Continuity', 122.

controlled towns where coins could be produced, and it is almost inconceivable that they would have allowed the profits of these mints to pass into loyalist hands. In some cases it appears that new mints were opened to meet demand, as seems to have been the case at Swansea. Meanwhile Yoshitake's work on the continued (though diminished) functioning of the exchequer supports the notion that institutions designed to ensure the ruler's profit from the minting system continued to operate, albeit now perhaps transferred to Matilda's proto-exchequer in Bristol.<sup>298</sup> What makes the west distinct is that, while a regal figure, Matilda does not appear to have enjoyed the same control over the system as did Stephen in the east. In some ways it appears that Matilda's authority was more like that of Stephen's in the north, with nominal control acknowledged by the issue of money confirming to her standards, some in her own name, and some in the names of her baronial supporters.

Given the presence of coinages not in Matilda's name, there is the strong possibility that at some point local magnates also began to appropriate profits from the mints, possibly because they were effectively responsible for local governance in these particular places. Such responsibility may have been deputed to them by Matilda, or adopted unilaterally. If London dies were not able to make their way westwards to Cardiff during the initial period of conflict, then it seems highly unlikely that payments to the exchequer made their way eastwards. It would also be strange if illiterate coins or local issues in Stephen's name were struck when Matilda's authority was at its height. It may be that these were produced by local figures looking either to maintain local stability in the absence of clear authority, or simply to enrich themselves, possibly with a degree of official tolerance in recognition of the urgency of the situation. However it is extremely difficult to place these coins in any wider context without more finds and supportive textual evidence, both of which are scarce for the region.

Despite historical context and the hints supplied from the numismatic record, there is still a regrettable murkiness to how swiftly Matilda integrated herself into mechanisms of monetary control, let alone to her authority over such processes in practice. Clearly Matilda's relations with the marcher lords and other individuals in the region were important to sustaining her authority, especially given that there is

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<sup>298</sup> Yoshitake, 'The Exchequer', 952-6, 958.



little evidence she had any actual patronage with which to reward followers at the start of her venture.<sup>299</sup> Graeme White suggested that it was not until after the battle of Lincoln that Matilda even issued charters.<sup>300</sup> Matilda's personal authority was not an unchanging constant throughout the war, though it was undeniably a factor in those regions she controlled. Its fluctuation has been read into the numismatic record, where early coins attributable to Matilda are concentrated in the west, while Pereric coins (if truly attributable to her) were issued from London dies in as many areas across England as possible.<sup>301</sup> The emergence of baronial types, such as Robert of Gloucester's, theoretically coincided with the collapse of Matilda's fortunes and the domestic exile of many of her supporters following their flight from London. There is a lack of decisive evidence from which to place the coinage within this neat chronological framework, but considering the coins in their context can yield other insights.

The dating of Robert's coinage relies on its absence from the Wenallt hoard, placing it roughly c.1142 presumably after Robert's release. Archibald argued that Robert's coinage replaced Matilda's in Angevin territory after this point, being struck for around four years, presumably until his death, after which it was replaced by William's for another two years.<sup>302</sup> The problem with this interpretation is that it relies on the absence of the coinage from any hoard distant from Box, and the assumption that Matilda would completely surrender to Robert her royal monopoly over the minting of coin.

Archibald believed that Robert was exercising Matilda's rights rather than usurping them, just as he commanded armies in her name. It may be hasty to suppose that the minting of coinage in Matilda's name ended where Robert's began, and the Box hoard lends credibility to the notion that the two coinages circulated alongside one another. Meanwhile, the sheer variety of dies within the Lion coinage indicates that Robert's coinage was a substantial issue. The Lion type's continuation after Robert's death, with his son William now issuing coins as 'COM[ES]' at least indicates that these coins served their purpose well enough to warrant continuation. It is uncertain what that purpose was,

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<sup>299</sup> Chibnall, *Empress Matilda*, 70.

<sup>300</sup> White, 'Continuity', 124.

<sup>301</sup> Blackburn, 'C&C', 175.

<sup>302</sup> Archibald, 'The Lion Coinage', 84.

but it is perhaps safest to assume some combination of profit for William and local actors, stability, and the aggrandisement of the new earl. With all of this said, it is vital to remember that hoard evidence can massively alter our understanding of the situation in terms of a type's size and circulation. Robert's money was virtually unknown until the discovery made at Box, but is now easily the most substantial body of baronial coinage in the west.

It is impossible to assign precise dates to every baronial type. What can be asserted is that these coins were issued and circulated alongside one another at various points. Hoards indicate that multiple types were issued in the names of Stephen, Matilda, Robert and Henry, William (of Gloucester) and Patrick (of Salisbury/Wiltshire). In most cases it is clear who these people were. In others it is not. In the case of 'Henry', in particular, there is the complicating factor that this was a name already associated with a previous monarch, making it not inconceivable that various 'Henry' coins were an attempt to evoke the good order and stability of a previous reign. Coins in Henry's name that combine elements of Stephen's Type 1 and Henry I's Type 15 are therefore difficult to categorise. Compounding this issue is the survival of Henry du Neubourg's Swansea coinage, suggesting there were at least two living Henrys issuing coins of similar types in the west at some point over a period of ten to fifteen years. This without considering Henry of Northumberland, who issued his own coins in the north. It is perhaps wisest to step back from the assumption that all 'Henry' coins from Stephen's reign struck or found in the west must be coins of Henry of Anjou, and seek what can be gathered from them without the burden of this assumption.

The Winterslow hoard helpfully demonstrates how Henry coins were influenced by types already in circulation. One type has the minimal obverse kegebd '+hENRIC:•' and emulates Stephen's Type 1, albeit with a voided cross moline, and small annulets at the end of each limb. The example of this found in Winterslow was struck by a Radulf, while a single find near Gloucester, of the Gloucester mint, was struck by a Godefrei. A second type is in the name of '+hENRICVS:RE': or '+HENRICVSREX' and combines the obverse of Stephen's Type 1 with the quadrilateral reverse of Henry I's Type 15. As previously stated, this is an obverse type that would appear in several other Angevin coinages, including those of Patrick Earl of Salisbury, William of Gloucester, and Brian fitz

Count. A very similar Henry type is the 'Bonnet' or 'Round Cap' issue, which is not found in the hoards but is known from eight single finds. These are the coins which seemingly proclaim 'hENRICVS REX FVTVRVVS' and are undeniably connected with Henry of Anjou. There is also a single 'Square Cap' coin discovered in 2010 which is seemingly identical but for the shape of the headgear. Finally there is the 'Facing Bust and Stars' type which retains the quadrilateral reverse to a design shared between Henry and William of Gloucester. All of these Henry types broadly conform to the Angevin weight standard, and their known mints are all concentrated in the west, at Bristol, Gloucester, Hereford, Salisbury and Wallingford (Appendix X).

The REX FVTVRVVS coins are compelling evidence that at least some coins were struck in the name of Henry of Anjou. Those in the name of Henry found at Winterslow would suggest later issues, potentially coinciding with Henry of Anjou's later descent on England. At least two such coins exist in the Corpus, both believed to be from the mint of Wallingford. The small number here tells us very little about the mechanics of their issue, but the titles and the absence of a fleured crown on Henry's bust supply hints as to how he was (or wished to be) perceived at a particular time. We can also infer that some kind of fiscal structure requiring the circulation of coin existed in the areas aligned with Henry in England, and that there was a desire that Henry be perceived as distinct from Stephen at the time that these coins were issued. Of course 'distinct from' need not necessarily mean 'opposed to', as we need only look to Matilda and Robert of Gloucester for an instance of political leaders firmly allied to one another yet issuing separate types in their own names.

This diversity of types in Henry's name raises further questions. It is conceivable that all these types were declaring for Henry of Anjou, but this remains uncertain. If these types were all to be attributed to Henry of Anjou, then either it would mean that at least four and perhaps as many as six types were issued over a period of just six years (here assuming that people began to declare for Henry only following Matilda's departure in 1147), or even across a single year (if production began only when Henry began his final bid for the throne in 1153). The use of the term REX arguably rules out Henry du Neubourg, though not all Henry coins use that title. An alternative is Henry I, whose reverse designs were consciously imitated. Perhaps whoever issued these coins intended to evoke the good

order of Henry I's coinage, whether by using the King's name or simply by appropriating a recognisable motif. The fact that Patrick of Salisbury's and William of Gloucester's coins also displayed the quadrilateral cross of Henry I is possible supporting evidence for this. Patrick's go even further by employing a reverse adapted from Henry I's Type 13. There is also a very recent discovery of a single Robert of Gloucester coin in Warwickshire that employs the same combination of Stephen Type 1 Obverse and Henry I Type 15 Reverse.<sup>303</sup>

The combination of Henry I's type 15 reverse with Stephen's Type 1 obverse on Angevin coins is very intriguing. What might be dubbed the 'Angevin Quadrilateral' appears on the Patrick of Salisbury coins, on four of the 'Henry' types including the REX FVTVRVS, on the single recently found Robert of Gloucester coin and in two distinct William of Gloucester types (Appendix I). Though this does not represent all known Angevin coin types, such consistency is extremely unlikely to be the result of coincidence. The Patrick, Henry, Robert and first William types are nearly identical, barring minor adjustments to the bust and changing obverse legends. It is possible that the quadrilateral cross was at some point an indicator broadly universal for money acceptable within the loosely defined Angevin monetary zone. This may have come about as a result of the breakdown in the west of royal control mechanisms (as exercised by Stephen or Matilda). The presence of the quadrilateral on later types such as those of William and Henry arguably supports this notion. An alternative interpretation is that it was a deliberate attempt at reform: one that permitted magnates to issue money and perhaps retain the profits of minting, in exchange for using broadly similar designs. The use of a design associated with Henry I as opposed to Stephen may also have served a propagandistic role, given that those who utilised the design were exclusively aligned with Henry's daughter or grandson.

While Matilda (and later Henry) maintained no monopoly over coin production as their predecessors had done, it seems that local types adhered to a broadly consistent regional weight standard. Designs often (though not exclusively) respected the royal prerogative by omitting royal titles, and in Patrick and Robert's cases went further by trimming away royal imagery such as fleured crowns or sceptres.

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<sup>303</sup> EMC 2019.0085.

Not all baronial coins showed such restraint, instances here including Henry du Neubourg's coins, or 'John's coin at Cardiff, which both retained Matilda's type B design unmodified. There is a temptation to suggest that baronial coins were initially minted in close imitation of Matilda's designs while modifying her legends, followed by a breakdown into a wide variety of different styles. There is some evidence for this in the hoards, as the types with unique imagery tend to be found alongside issues of confirmably later date, such as the Round Cap and Stephen's Type 2 at Winterslow. But this is not a decisive argument.

Overall, there is persuasive evidence that attempts were made to issue coinages in the west that were to some extent standardized. It may have been that there were multiple attempts, each with a differing approach. In one phase, Matilda's Types A and B were prominent, the latter perhaps imitated by local figures such as 'John'. Another phase saw the emergence of a different, looser standard where the use of the quadrilateral cross became a symbol of good coin. Throughout this, the lighter weight standard was adhered to, and there appears to have been no sign of drastic debasement or fluctuations in the silver content of single finds or hoards. How these two phases relate to one other chronologically is unclear, and it may be that there was considerable overlap. Regardless, it seems reasonable to suggest that the west saw at least some attempt at standardisation. Whether this standard was centrally imposed, the product of mutual agreement between magnates, or the result of mercantile demand, is regrettably a question to which there is no clear answer.

There is a consistent coinage of Matilda known exclusively from western mints that was struck to a lighter standard than Stephen's Type 1. Other coinages that appear to have circulated in this area from the start of Matilda's type until the Box hoard was deposited (almost certainly in the final years of conflict) conform to this standard, albeit loosely and with distinct variation in design and inscriptions. It would appear that once Matilda had established herself locally, she attempted to exert regal power, equivalent to that of a king. This may have extended to her declaring herself REX on her coins. The dies in this case are relatively crude, and given that Matilda never underwent coronation, it is possible that the inscription was simply a mistake on the part of the die cutter, though this would be a fairly substantial mistake for a skilled craftsperson to make.

In other areas, Matilda appears to have favoured the title Imperatrix, with variations of *Matildis Imperatrix H[enrici] Regis filia* appearing in her charters. The terms '*et Anglorum Domina*' or even '*Anglorum Regina*' also appear following this, though Mack speculated that the use of 'Regina' was a contractional mistake.<sup>304</sup> Nicholas Vincent also discussed the changing forms of the Empress's title during Stephen's reign.<sup>305</sup> Wariness around Matilda's use of the title 'Rex' or 'Regina' in any official capacity, appears to run contrary to the numismatic evidence suggesting that she did just that. As in the case of her coinage and charters, chronicles of the time vary when it comes to Matilda's titles. The *Gesta* describes how Miles of Hereford made 'the countess of Anjou' the 'Queen of all England', and that in 1141 she gloried in being called 'Queen'.<sup>306</sup> John of Worcester refers to Matilda as 'Domina', 'the lady empress, King Henry's daughter' in 1141, and as 'ex-empress' when Matilda arrived at Arundel, suggesting that there was considerable confusion over how Matilda ought to be addressed.<sup>307</sup> Nevertheless it does seem that Matilda was recognised as having pretensions to king-like authority, even if her supporters were sometimes wary of using any regal title outright.

With this in mind, coinage was unambiguously a royal right in England, but a right that imposed certain obligations on the monarch. The coinage had to be reliable. Otherwise it would both be rejected by the populace at large for their private transactions and undermine the monarch's ability to collect official payments. The numismatic evidence suggests that Matilda endeavoured to discharge her obligations here, presumably both to ensure the efficacy of tax collection and to live up to the behaviour expected of a good king, much as her father had done. The exclusion of French and perhaps non-Angevin coinages from the south-west also indicates a degree of continuity of pre-war practice. What makes Angevin coinage unique is that Matilda's position was never as secure as her father's had been. While Matilda did issue charters, their comparative sparseness suggests a lack of resources with

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<sup>304</sup> Mack, *Stephen and The Anarchy*, 86, Porter, 'A New Coin Type of the Empress Matilda?', 112.

<sup>305</sup> N. Vincent, 'New Charters of the Empress Matilda, with Particular Reference to Her Reception at Gloucester in 1139', *Lives, Identities and Histories in the Central Middle Ages*, ed. J. Barrau and D. Bates (Cambridge 2021), 107-41.

<sup>306</sup> *GS*, 96 'sed et ipsam Andegaviæ comitissam cum suis suscipiens, uicem ei patris actu et consilio semper exhibuit, quousque tandem capto et incarcerato rege, sicut in sequentibus plenius enodabimus, totius eam Angliæ reginam effecit.', 118 'adeo ut in ipso mox domini sui capite reginam se totius Angliæ fecerit, et gloriata fuerit appellari.' In editorial comments Potter and Davis argued that the use of 'dominii sui capite' was actually a pun intended to emphasise that Matilda was not truly queen.

<sup>307</sup> *JOW*, 268-70 'Illa domina', 'eximperatricam'.

which to reward followers. Such indications of Matilda's material weakness are supported by the bestowal of comital titles such as that bestowed on her half-brother, Reginald of Cornwall, in areas that were heavily contested by loyalists.<sup>308</sup> It seems that coinage was one of the few prerogatives that Matilda could control with comparatively little effort, as all that was required was the cooperation of moneyers and a steady silver supply. Despite this, the abundance of baronial coinages struck so close to her power-base illustrates her reliance on others, and her failures (or disinterest) in maintaining the royal monopoly over coinage. The similarities between designs (even when they were not identical), and the consistency of weights, suggest there were still broadly enforced standards.

Literary sources offer tantalising hints as to how control over coin may have been delegated. Accounts of Henry I's assize of moneyers demonstrate that Henry I did not need to take a hands-on approach in dealing with justice or small details when reforming his coinage. He merely made his will known, and then delegated the affair to a trusted authority, in this case to Roger Bishop of Salisbury. Matilda's brief dealings with another high ecclesiastic, Bishop Henry of Winchester, hint at a similar approach. The *Gesta* records that Matilda received the crown 'and also the treasure the King had left behind, though there was little of it'. Given that the administrative apparatus of Stephen's exchequer was housed at Winchester, it is not unreasonable to think this came under Matilda's authority as well, at least in theory.<sup>309</sup> William of Malmesbury also describes how Matilda granted Henry of Blois command over all the 'great affairs' of England.<sup>310</sup> When the *Gesta* makes reference to Matilda's supposed haughtiness and her indifference to the advice of her major supporters, Bishop Henry is singled out as an individual who was particularly frustrated that his advice went unheeded, and that decisions were made without his being consulted.<sup>311</sup> Interpreted broadly, these statements may

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<sup>308</sup> Chibnall, *Empress Matilda*, 70.

<sup>309</sup> *GS* 118-9 'thesaurisque, quos licet perpauco rex ibi reliquerat'.

<sup>310</sup> *HN*, 88-9 'Iuravit et affidavit imperatrix episcopo, quod omnia maiora negotia in Anglia, precipueque donationes episcopatum et abbatiarum, eius nutum spectarent,'.

<sup>311</sup> *GS* 120-1 'quodque plurimi fuerat supercilii et arrogantiae indicium, cum rex Scotiae et episcopus Wintoniae et frater illius comes Glaorniae, quos totius regni primos continuos tunc comites secum ductabat, pro quolibet supplicaturi, poplitibus ante ipsam flexis accesserant, non ipsis ante se inclinantibus reuerenter ut decuit assurgere, nec in postulatis assentiri, sed in exauditis quamsaepe, tumidaque responsione obbuccatos a se inhonore dimittere; iamque non illorum consiliis, ut decebat et ut eis promiserat, inniti, sed suo quaeque prouisu, suae et dispositionis praesumptu, cuncta ordinare. Haec uero cum episcopus Wintoniensis sine suo assensu, sed et alia nonnulla sine suo consilio agi conspiceret, indigne satis et aegre tulit.'

indicate delegation of authority on a scale comparable to that of Henry I with Roger of Salisbury, albeit interpreted very differently by all parties concerned.

Despite her victory at Lincoln, Empress Matilda still faced opposition from Queen Matilda, the chief organiser of resistance against her. Bishop Henry's support would have been essential to facilitate the Empress' accession to the throne and machinery of government. It is impossible to know what role Henry played at the exchequer, if any. But the *Dialogus* lays out the exchequer's role in overseeing the quality of coinage and the rationale for its doing so. There is no reason to doubt that this would have been important to Henry and Matilda in 1141.<sup>312</sup> Malmesbury appears to be more concerned with the power Matilda delegated over ecclesiastical affairs, but this is the only written evidence for Matilda delegating her authority in kingdom-wide matters to anyone else. Even then, whatever rights Matilda bestowed are recorded only vaguely, and Bishop Henry was only very briefly 'Matilda's man'. Roger of Salisbury's involvement in Henry I's assize suggests that delegation of matters pertaining to money was not unheard of. It is thus possible that whatever modifications were made to Angevin coinage occurred with some form of assent from the political centre, even while the practicalities remained in the hands of magnates who gave Matilda nominal allegiance.

One magnate whose allegiance to Matilda was a constant from 1139 was Earl Robert, and given that his coinage was perhaps the most important baronial issue in the west, inferences made from it might be tentatively applied to others. A search for a decisive conclusion on whether or not Robert's Lion coinage officially replaced, 'usurped', or merely supplemented coins of Matilda is unlikely to yield any definitive answer. The emergence of the Robert 'Quadrilateral' coinage, more in keeping with other western baronial issues, further complicates matters. Once again information on the relationships behind these types is limited. It can be confidently stated only that Robert's types existed, that the lion type was issued in areas where Robert is known to have held land, and that these coins were produced to a standard in keeping with Matildine royal issues. Robert's employment of Welsh troops has also been touched upon, and the infamous Flemish mercenary Robert fitz Hubert is

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<sup>312</sup>DDS, 12-18, 58-66 For a thorough explanation of this process.



also mentioned in the *Gesta*. Robert's own struggles with money are detailed in the *Historia Novella*, which describes a rise in the cost of living owing to bad money, so that 'scarcely twelve pennies could be accepted out of ten shillings or more': a drastic claim that is not reflected in the analysis of surviving coinage, which all appears to be of a reasonable standard.<sup>313</sup> It may have been such a situation that motivated Robert to issue his own coinage. This theory would have him partly motivated from military necessity, partly out of a desire to restore economic stability to the areas he controlled, but also because as a de-facto co-leader of the Angevin party the 'consul' had to act in a manner befitting a ruler of his stature. In the face of economic uncertainty, Robert needed to be seen as a guardian of peace and stability rather than as a harbinger of chaos. It may well be that other magnates took similar initiatives, even if their coins do not survive in as substantial numbers. It is worth re-iterating that until relatively recently, Robert's lion coinage was no more common than these types, and it is only thanks to the Box hoard that it can be identified as a substantial issue,

The quantity of the lion coinage that can be inferred from the die study suggests that it was a prolific issue. This does not mean that Robert was asserting himself as king. Instead he was perhaps filling the void left by an ambiguous situation, while still explicitly avoiding any pretence to royal status, by omitting the crown and sceptre from his coins. Similar restraint characterizes other baronial coins, such as Earl Patrick's. Robert's Quadrilateral Type complicates this picture. The lion was also Robert's personal symbol, by now also employed on his seal.<sup>314</sup> However Crouch suggests that the lion was by then already a symbol of the Angevins, confusing the matter somewhat.<sup>315</sup> Neither interpretation affords notice to the lion coinage of Eustace fitz John, produced in York. Meanwhile the quadrilateral coinage was a combination of designs that occurs repeatedly in Angevin baronial issues, but its rarity means we cannot know how substantial it was. It is likely that Robert's quadrilateral pre-

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<sup>313</sup> *GS*, 105-9; *HN*, 74-5, 'Sed frustrabatur successibus uergebantque in peius omnia, pro iustitiae penuria. Iamque caritas annonae paulatim crescebat, et pro falsitate difficultas monetae tanta erat, ut interdum ex decem et eo amplius solidis uix duodecim denarii reciperentur.'

<sup>314</sup> King, *King Stephen*, 212; N. Vincent, 'The Seals of King Henry II and His Court', *Seals and their Context in the Middle Ages*, ed. P. Schofield (Oxford 2015), 7-34.

<sup>315</sup> Crouch, *The Reign*, 156.

dated his lion, as the Lion was also issued by William who presumably continued his father's most recent type.

Whatever the reason for Robert's coinage being introduced, or for the particular symbols it carried, he undoubtedly cultivated a reputation for wealth and power. The *Gesta* (which is not always flattering in its portrayal of Robert) accuses him of greedily brooding over his money-bags when Henry of Anjou asked him for aid, late in the war. The *Gesta* also claims that by now he was chiefly interested in his own affairs, which at least suggests that Robert sought the maintenance of order in the lands he controlled.<sup>316</sup> That the war had sunk into effective stalemate by this point may also have motivated Matilda's supporters to focus on more inward-looking, local affairs. Hence Crouch's wise comment that the war had been going on for nearly a decade by 1147: long enough for even the most zealous of partisans to grow tired of war.<sup>317</sup>

Evidence from Box, Winterslow and from single finds suggests that various types continued to circulate in the west. If Box is to be taken as indicative of the types that were in general circulation simultaneously then it suggests that the design of a coin was not as important as its weight, at least in those areas that Robert controlled. This would indicate some local form of regulation and deliberate exclusion of other coinages in a manner reminiscent but not necessarily identical to pre-war practice. The coins in Box and those found in Gloucestershire were certainly not all of Robert and were not even all Angevin. As far as the other baronial coinages are concerned, the small quantity of known examples makes it difficult to draw substantive conclusions. The continuation of the Lion coinage after Robert's death by William, as well as the *Gesta's* reference to William's being indolent and uninterested in war suggests he too was focused on seeing to the prosperity of his own lands, rather than committing to a war with no clear end in sight.<sup>318</sup> The illiterate coinage from Box that includes blundered legends, but nevertheless keeps close to the standard of other coins in the region, likewise suggests at least a semblance of monetary control.

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<sup>316</sup> *GS*, 206 'Consuluit et auunculum Glaorniae comitem, sed ipse, suis sacculis auide incumbens, rebus tantum sibi necessariis occurrere maluit,'

<sup>317</sup> Crouch, *The Reign*, 233.

<sup>318</sup> *GS*, 210.

The single coin with the legend ‘+B•R•C•IT•’ tentatively attributed to Brian fitz Count may have been part of a larger issue in his name, or it may not be a reference to Brian at all. An alternative might be some variant of BR[ISTOLIUM]C[IV]IT[AS], though if the coin was of Bristol its absence from local hoards is curious. Brian fitz Count was certainly a major figure, described by the *Gesta* as of distinguished birth and splendid position: the kind of man who might have had his own coinage. However, it may be that this particular coin was produced on some other local initiative to meet local demand or for some otherwise unrecorded emergency payment. This seems particularly likely if it formed part of only a small, short term issue, which could well be the case, given the number of coins within the Corpus. Yet again caution is required, for data on the coin is lacking, and not even a weight is available at present. There is also of course the possibility that the inscription is meaningless, either intentionally so or as a result of an illiterate die cutter.

Patrick of Salisbury’s coins are also rare, with only seven of his Helmet and Sword type known. All were found near Salisbury, which is also their only confirmable mint, though Winchester is also a possibility. The inclusion of Patrick’s title is notable considering that it was granted to him by Matilda, and that its presence on his coins must have at least implied a recognition that her authority to do so was legitimate. This also provides a rough guide for dating, as Patrick’s promotion as earl occurred at some point between 1141 and 1147.<sup>319</sup> Patrick’s coins do not appear to have circulated far beyond Salisbury, and only one is found in the comparatively late hoard at Winterslow. This lends credence to the notion that Patrick’s coinage (and perhaps other quadrilateral baronial coins) emerged in the later phases of the war. Fairbairn noted that the sword in Patrick’s hand had been a symbol of counts and dukes in France since the tenth century.<sup>320</sup> The non-regal designs of the coins could thus serve to enhance the prestige of the magnate whilst respecting the privileges of the monarch. Patrick may have served as a sheriff at Matilda’s exchequer, and crucially is listed as being accountable for the revenues of Wiltshire while Matilda was in England. He is the only baron to have been recorded carrying out such a role.<sup>321</sup> The fact of Patrick’s confirmable connection to Matilda’s financial system, taken

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<sup>319</sup> Blackburn, ‘C&C’, 190.

<sup>320</sup> Fairbairn, ‘King Stephen’s Reign’, 47.

<sup>321</sup> Emilie Amt, ‘Salisbury, Patrick of, First Earl of Salisbury [Earl of Wiltshire]’, *ODNB*, (2004).

together with his coinage, allows for several possible interpretations. It may be that Matilda recognised at least some baronial coinage. Alternatively, it would seem that Angevin magnates could participate in and have familiarity with fiscal systems. Patrick's coinage, though small, supplies insight into how and when money may have been utilised by western magnates.

Henry of Anjou's coins form a substantial part of Winterslow, but are comparatively scarce beyond this. There is also the previously discussed conundrum of whether or not coins in the name of 'Henry' were issued by Henry of Anjou, or were in fact meant to evoke the name of Henry I. Coins in the name of 'Henry' certainly appear in the Corpus, and Roger of Howden mentions that Henry issued 'ducal money' following his arrival in England in 1149.<sup>322</sup> Boon commented that the phrase 'monetam ducis' is probably an error on Roger's part, as Henry would not become duke until his return from England to Normandy in 1150. But it may simply be that Roger made a mistake, or employed the title 'duke' retrospectively. Coins declaring Henry to be 'REX FVTVRVS' can be confidently associated with Henry of Anjou, though they may have been issued by his supporters rather than by Henry himself.<sup>323</sup> It would be understandable if Henry did issue coins, not least as a means of establishing his claim to the throne, as he would thus be seen exercising a right and demonstrating a behaviour expected of one who was already king. Whether or not William of Gloucester's coinage continued to be issued into Henry's reign is unclear. But given that Henry sought to resume the same control over coinage that had been exercised at the start of Stephen's reign and (perhaps more importantly) in the days of his grandfather Henry I, suggests that he would not have tolerated the practice for long. It is telling that the return to a single national coinage occurred swiftly after the peace between Stephen and Henry. The rapid disappearance of baronial coinage from the record following this peace demonstrates a level of local cooperation with the process that would appear to indicate that even the greatest magnates (with the possible exception of William of Gloucester) were keen to return to the stability and consistency of past times.

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<sup>322</sup> *Chronica*, 211 'et fecit monetam novam, quam vocabant monetam ducis.'

<sup>323</sup> Boon, *Welsh Hoards*, 45.

In many ways the proliferation of western types has more in common with the practices of mainland Europe, notably under the counts of Anjou. A sole Angevin mint struck coin at Angers, while the count's vassals at Vendôme were permitted to strike their own coinage. However not all of the count's vassals were granted this privilege. Once Geoffrey IV (1151), Matilda's husband, had conquered Normandy, the mints at Rouen and Bayeux ceased to strike a long established immobilised coinage, the *denier roumois*, issued in the name of Duke Richard (996), though it did continue as a money of account. Perhaps more significantly, the *deniers* of the mints of Angers and Vendôme shared weights and notional values, while continental French coinage from outside the Angevin zone appears to have been less frequently hoarded.<sup>324</sup> Although offering by no means a perfect comparison, this system of internal devolution, while maintaining a distinct currency zone, is perhaps helpful in understanding the western English approach to money under Matilda and her son, Henry.

### 3.4 Conclusion

The picture drawn here suggests that by the end of the civil war in the west, multiple coinages of a consistent weight were in circulation. Type had some local significance but was seemingly not an essential factor in the use of such coins. This is a deviation from pre-war norms, when consistency of type and inscription was a far greater priority than it seems to have been in south-western lands thereafter.

Whether the proliferation of different types was a deliberate policy remains an unanswerable question, though given that such proliferation occurred in non-Angevin territories as well as in the west, there is no reason to suppose it was due to factors unique to the Angevin zone. In the west, as elsewhere, there was serious disruption which brought about mutations in the weight and outward appearance of coins. There is evidence of repeated attempts to remedy this, both so that the waging of war might continue and because authority figures were seen as bearing responsibility for the maintenance of sound coinage. There is evidence of attempts at standardisation. This evidence, however, is ambiguous, and

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<sup>324</sup> B.J Cook, 'En monnaie aiant cours: The Monetary System of the Angevin Empire', *Coinage and History in the North Sea World c.500-1250: Essays in Honour of Marion Archibald, The Northern World*, ed. B.Cook and G.Williams, (Leiden/Boston 2006), 617-86.

suggests standardisation was inconsistently achieved. This is understandable given the conflicts between Angevin and loyalist forces, and indeed amongst magnates nominally on the same side.

While the emergence of baronial coinage was not unique to south-west England, there were nonetheless local factors unique to Angevin territory. The relationship between the Welsh princes and the marcher elite is one such factor that affected the coinage both before and after Matilda's arrival in England. In the absence of an effective response from Stephen, the marcher lords had a vested interest in maintaining the authority of a figure that could ensure their political survival, and guarantee stability in a region that had seen the rolling back of the gains of previous Norman monarchs prior to Matilda's arrival. Whether that figure was to be Matilda, her son, Henry of Anjou, or possibly a quasi-monarchical *primus inter pares* such as Robert of Gloucester, remained unclear. The lowering of coinage weights suggests a deliberate effort to maintain stability and an agreed standard, one that reinforced Matilda's authority both by the designs of her types, and by effective devaluation that enabled her to mint more coins from less silver. Meanwhile there was also a practical need to make payments to troops, many of them provided by Welsh princes. The presence of Robert fitz Haimo the Fleming also leads one to wonder if Flemish settlers were part of this mercenary element to Angevin armies.<sup>325</sup> The emergence of the Angevin Quadrilateral suggests the gradual establishment of an alternative model of coin control, relying on local figures employing certain shared design elements on what was still not explicitly royal money.

There is also the possibility that Matilda's leadership remained comparatively weak, despite her being the monarchical figure of choice for most in the west. This stands out most clearly when compared to Stephen in the east. Stephen was able to retain a more or less effective monopoly over coin production, even going so far as to issue several further types in his own name. In the west, by contrast, the variety of baronial coinages and coinages of uncertain origin (including *Pereric*) perhaps indicates that Matilda was not so 'strong' a leader as Stephen. Matilda was ultimately unable to command authority or maintain systems from which Stephen and her father derived both profit and

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<sup>325</sup> *JOW*, 124-6.

prestige. This is not to be attributed to some personality defect on her part, and there were times when her authority over coinage seems to have been comparable to that of her father and royal cousin. Yoshitake's work, and the role played by Earl Patrick as sheriff, are helpful reminders of these efforts. More broadly, the picture that emerges is that of a 'weak' monarch, still providing a degree of unity and maintaining standards even if the system itself was now operated by influential magnates rather than by Matilda herself. The form of the coinage used, and the balance of political power in the west differed from that of other regions. A defining feature of the west was therefore Matilda's presence as a claimant to the English throne. Even if circumstances meant that she was not able to exercise all the powers and privileges typical of an English monarch, there is evidence that she attempted to do so when circumstances allowed. When unable to do so, her cause nonetheless acted as a unifying force, with western moneyers continuing to apply standards to the production of coin that, although not Stephen's, were nonetheless sufficient to support commerce and the conservation of currency.

## Chapter 4 - The North

### 4.1 Introduction

Coinage in the south-east was marked by Stephen's strong personal presence, to the point that by the mid-1140s coins produced in the region had markedly distinct traits compared with those of the rest of the kingdom. Likewise, the coinage of the south-west had its own monarchical figure in Matilda.

Despite occupying a less commanding position than her rival (at least following the events of 1141), Matilda was able to exert her will over the monetary system sufficiently to issue her own coins.

Matilda's coinage appears to have gone through various phases, and was either issued alongside or replaced by specific baronial coinages in the name of magnates who supported her. Following Matilda's retreat to Normandy in 1148, there seems to have been a lull in regalian Angevin minting, until Henry of Anjou arrived to press his own claims. Henry's coins expressed royal pretensions both in the years leading up to and immediately following his final peace with Stephen.

Money in the south is thus defined by the presence of the main rival claimants for the throne, and their relations with their supporters. By contrast, in the north of England no claimant enjoyed so strong a presence. While the Norman kings had travelled north of the Humber, these were comparatively relatively rare visits. William I and II made four recorded visits to York, while Henry I made just one or two. Stephen rarely travelled west of a line running from York via Coventry down to Wareham, and never ventured further north than York, between 1141 and 1153.<sup>326</sup> There is no evidence of empress Matilda having ever travelled north during her struggle for the throne. Certain figures in the north did declare for Matilda, fighting in her name and even travelling to her court on rare occasions. Most notably, David of Scots, Matilda's uncle, campaigned against Stephen.<sup>327</sup> Before entering Scottish royal control in 1136, Northumberland had a lengthy tradition of quasi-independence. Here royal authority often rested on the support of powerful regional magnates. At the start of Stephen's reign this regional elite was dominated by a class of 'new men' who had been introduced by Henry I and

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<sup>326</sup> White, 'Continuity', 130.

<sup>327</sup> G.W.S Barrow, 'The Scots and The North of England', *The Anarchy of King Stephen's Reign*, ed. E. King, (Oxford 2001) 231-53.



controlled local government and royal castles.<sup>328</sup> Under Stephen, the role of these magnates would expand, bringing with it a unique influence over the area's coinage.

Like all other regions analysed here, the boundaries of 'The North' were never fixed. There was flexibility at the southern edge where the interests of magnates such as Ranulf, Earl of Chester, extended into the midlands and Welsh marches. The same was true on the northern frontier where both Henry I of England and David I of Scotland had worked to transplant Anglo-Norman settlers and weave tenurial ties between England and Scotland. The deliberate policy of settlement, combined with a tendency for important Northumbrian nobles to seek education and career opportunities at David's court, demonstrates the permeability of the northern border.<sup>329</sup> In this regard, 'the north' refers to a territory with a southern limit drawn roughly from Chester and the northern Welsh march to the Humber and thence to the sea. It would be natural to assume that the northern limit here was the Scottish border, broadly speaking the limit of the zone to which this chapter is dedicated. However, the Scottish border was never static during Stephen's reign. Cumberland had been regarded by the Scottish kings as their rightful patrimony since the tenth century, and David firmly advanced his own claim to north Northumberland.<sup>330</sup> Ultimately, the towns of Carlisle, Bamburgh, Newcastle, and the counties of Cumberland and Northumberland more broadly would all be secured by David, and passed on to his successor, King Malcom (1153-1165). These newly Scottish lands would only be regained by the English monarchy when Henry II ventured north in 1157.<sup>331</sup> What constituted northern England as opposed to southern Scotland in this period is thus not clear, and certainly differed in the eyes of English and Scottish monarchs. Furthermore, as this period saw the introduction of the first national Scottish coinage (that is to say coinage produced in the name of a Scottish monarch) it will be necessary to venture further north into Scotland 'proper', north of the Clyde, to see what coinage was produced there, and to what extent it impacted on the moneys in circulation in the contested border regions.

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<sup>328</sup> P. Dalton, *Conquest, Anarchy and Lordship: Yorkshire, 1066-1154*, (Cambridge 1994), 10, 80.

<sup>329</sup> Dalton, *Conquest, Anarchy and Lordship*, 199-201.

<sup>330</sup> Barrow, 'The Scots and the North of England', 245-6.

<sup>331</sup> Amt, *The Accession*, 24-7.

The north was an area that was in many ways not as tightly integrated into Anglo-Norman royal administration as those further south. This had been evident as early as 1086 and the Domesday survey, which famously excluded most land beyond the Tees, with Durham apparently not considered an integral part of the realm, and Cumberland held by the King of Scots.<sup>332</sup> It appears that customary and even language barriers created difficulty for Anglo-Norman administrators in the region, with evidence for distinct local legal customs. Henry I worked to integrate Yorkshire more closely into the royal apparatus of justice, by appointing new men from outside the traditional northern aristocracy, enriched with confiscated lands reaching as far as the northern frontier, appointed to impose royal justice and defend northern England from the Scots. But by Henry's death in 1135 the process of integration was far from complete, and would not be renewed until after Stephen's death in 1154.<sup>333</sup>

Henry I's policy saw the rise of new men, educated at his court and appointed to the region to further his own interests. The most prominent of these, from c.1120 until their deaths, were Walter Espec (1153), Eustace fitz John (1157) and William of Aumale (1179). Despite being royal agents, these men would work to enrich themselves and rose to prominence amongst the greater landholders and political figures of the north. These men were granted estates with military and administrative responsibilities, with the expectation that they would work to impose the King's authority.<sup>334</sup> Eustace appears to have been appointed by Stephen, enjoying close ties to the royal court (attending often) but relatively few connections to the local aristocracy. However, Eustace's allegiance was by no means unwavering, and he was set against Stephen from 1138 until 1146. Eustace developed an independent power base in Yorkshire and Northumberland, being characterised by Geoffrey Barrow as the archetypal opportunistic knight who exploited the 'anarchy' to accumulate power in the north.<sup>335</sup> Meanwhile, William was given charge of the city of York itself and (alongside Archbishop Thurstan) successfully organised the region's barons in defence against Scottish invasion, culminating in the Battle of the Standard in 1138. As reward for this service, William was promoted to the earldom of

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<sup>332</sup> D. Roffe, *Domesday: The Inquest and The Book*, (Oxford 2000), 220.

<sup>333</sup> Dalton, *Conquest, Anarchy and Lordship: Yorkshire*, 100, 108-9.

<sup>334</sup> Ibid, 104-9.

<sup>335</sup> Barrow, 'The Scots and the North of England', 249.

York, and by 1142 was both *de jure* and *de facto* the leading man in Yorkshire.<sup>336</sup> It appears that he made creative political use of his influence over the city of York itself, and especially its mint, which produced a variety of distinct coinages. Blackburn speculated that, while the names of many regional figures (including Archbishop Henry and Eustace fitz John) appear on the York coinage, it was ultimately William of Aumale who oversaw control of the mint and commissioned various types in response to his own immediate political needs. Both Blackburn and Allen have drawn attention to William's opportunism, despite his nominal loyalty, with Allen noting William's opposition to Stephen following the King's grant of the earldom of Lincoln to Gilbert de Gant in 1149: opposition which may have continued until Stephen's death.<sup>337</sup>

Ironically, it was under Henry I (and after being educated at his court) that David of Scots had been established as a prominent *novus homo* in northern England c.1110 X 1120, with extensive estates in Huntingdonshire, Northamptonshire and especially Yorkshire.<sup>338</sup> David would also be acknowledged as king of Scots in his own right from 1124, and was well established as an independent ruler when, in 1136, he first made war on Stephen. In 1141, David was in attendance during Matilda's fateful flight from Westminster.<sup>339</sup> During the later phase of the war, he would lend support to Henry of Anjou during the young Duke's final successful adventures in England, knighting Henry at Carlisle in 1149.<sup>340</sup>

David's invasion was said by contemporaries to have been justified by his oath of loyalty to his niece the Empress, sworn in 1127.<sup>341</sup> However it cannot be a coincidence that this act fitted neatly into a longer-term trend of Scottish kings attempting to push south. At the start of William I's reign, David's father, Malcom III (1058-1093) ruled west of the Pennines as far south as Stainmore in modern Cumberland.<sup>342</sup> Malcom led multiple expeditions to conquer Bernicia, and would die leading his fifth

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<sup>336</sup> King, *King Stephen*, 214-5; Crouch, *The Reign*, 82.

<sup>337</sup> Blackburn, 'C&C', 184-5; Allen, 'The York Local Coinage of the Reign of Stephen' 297.

<sup>338</sup> Dalton, *Conquest, Anarchy and Lordship: Yorkshire, 1066-1154*, 96.

<sup>339</sup> *HN*, 56; *GS*, 52-4.

<sup>340</sup> *HOEA*, 122-3.

<sup>341</sup> *GS* 52-4.

<sup>342</sup> Dalton, *Conquest, Anarchy and Lordship*, 12.

attempt.<sup>343</sup> David would repeatedly make war and peace with Stephen, throughout their respective reigns. By an initial peace agreement in 1136 he secured Cumberland for himself, and the honour of Huntingdon for his son, Henry.<sup>344</sup> The honour was nominally held under Stephen, and was obtained with a promise that, should the old earldom of Northumberland be revived, Henry would be the first candidate that Stephen would consider for promotion.<sup>345</sup> Putting David's actions in their wider context helps to illustrate the contested nature of the mid-twelfth-century frontier. It is perfectly plausible that David saw his actions in Cumberland and northern Northumberland not as an invasion or extension of influence into England, but as the reclamation of southern Scotland.<sup>346</sup> This uncertainty raises questions about David's intentions for his coinage. It may be that his issues were part of efforts to establish an English-style monetary system within his own kingdom, or that the coins were intended to fill a pre-existing administrative and economic need in these newly acquired northern lands. This question is equally relevant in respect to earl Henry's coinage.

David and William of Aumale would find themselves two of the three leading figures with a major influence over the north and its coinage under Stephen. A third dominant figure was Ranulf de Gernons, Earl of Chester. The earldom of Chester was the most northerly of the marcher earldoms established by the Conqueror to facilitate the pacification of Wales in the later eleventh century. Unlike the earldoms of Hereford and Shrewsbury, which were brought more tightly under royal control after rebellions in 1075 and 1102, Chester maintained its existence throughout the Norman period, surviving as late as the 1230s.<sup>347</sup> As well as the honour of Chester, Ranulf's own holdings reached across to Yorkshire and down into Lincolnshire, where he had a substantial landed inheritance from his mother, Lucy of Bolingbroke (1136).<sup>348</sup> Meanwhile Stephen would further enrich Ranulf

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<sup>343</sup> Barrow 'The Scots and The North of England' 238.

<sup>344</sup> I. Blanchard, 'Lothian and Beyond: The Economy of The 'English Empire' of David I', *Progress and Problems in Medieval England: Essays in Honour of Edward Miller*, ed. Richard Britnell and John Hutter, (Cambridge 1996), 23-45. The estimates of silver production from the Cumbrian mines are to be treated with caution.

<sup>345</sup> *DGRS*, 146, The precise detail about Stephen's pledge of the earldom seems to only appear in this source, though the author Richard of Hexham is by far the writer most closely placed to Scotland in this period. It is therefore plausible that he had access to more specific details, either as a witness or as rumour.

<sup>346</sup> Barrow, 'The Scots and the North of England' 245-6.

<sup>347</sup> G. White, 'The Legacy of Ranulf de Gernons', *Rulership and Rebellion in the Anglo-Norman World, c.1066-1216: Essays in Honour of Professor Edmund King*, eds. P. Dalton and D. Luscombe, (Farnham 2015), 111-24.

<sup>348</sup> White, 'The Legacy of Ranulf de Gernons', 113.

with the honour of Lancaster, which allowed him to extend his authority further north and dominate a stretch of territory along the road towards Carlisle.<sup>349</sup> Chester's position on the northern Welsh march, and as a major settlement on the Irish Sea coast, made it a strategically significant frontier city, and a trading hub, distant from the royal heartland further south. Economic prosperity and convenient geographical location allowed Ranulf to operate with a degree of *de facto* autonomy, which would come to be expressed more concretely in the development of Chester's distinctive administration. It was during Stephen's reign, under Ranulf's seemingly deliberate instigation, that institutions peculiar to the earldom of Chester first emerge. Ranulf seems to have regarded his status as Earl of Chester as above that of other earls. Certainly, he exercised an exceptional authority. Under Ranulf's successors, the honour would claim unique privileges, leading to the recognition of its future earls as earls 'palatine'.<sup>350</sup> During Stephen's reign Ranulf appears to have overseen the development of his own exchequer for Cheshire. He also appointed comital justices to pleas, emulating royal practice implemented under Henry I. The exchequer, and independent justices of Chester were not necessarily fully formed institutions under Ranulf, but would come more fully into their own under his grandson, Ranulf III, with such longevity that they survived until the governmental reforms of the nineteenth century.<sup>351</sup>

While there were other significant actors in the north, notably Stephen himself who made his presence felt several times, it was Earl Ranulf, Earl William, and King David who dominated the politics of the region through much of Stephen's reign; Ranulf, from his base in Chester, William from Yorkshire, and David from Scotland. There is a temptation to draw neat dividing lines between these three and attribute their support to one or none of the main claimants. David was one of Matilda's earliest and most prominent supporters, invading from the north with the self-declared goal of enforcing the empress's right to the throne.<sup>352</sup> However, the peace David made with Stephen (which included territorial gains for himself) indicates that he was comfortable with abandoning this goal under the

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<sup>349</sup> Ibid, 121.

<sup>350</sup> Ibid, 114-5.

<sup>351</sup> Ibid, 112, 120.

<sup>352</sup> GS, 52-54.

right circumstances. It may have been that David's declaration for Matilda was a mere cover for his own ambitions.<sup>353</sup> Despite ultimately turning against Stephen, William of Aumale, as previously stated, was clearly placed into Yorkshire and invested with lands and privileges there on the assumption that he would support Stephen in the region. The Peterborough Chronicle credits William with leading the alliance against the Scots at the Battle of the Standard.<sup>354</sup> William also determinedly supported Stephen's candidate, William fitz Herbert, in the protracted dispute over the archiepiscopal succession at York.<sup>355</sup>

Meanwhile, Ranulf seems to have been regarded as less than fully trustworthy by his contemporaries. When Ranulf appealed for aid to Robert of Gloucester (his father-in law), William of Malmesbury described Robert as wary, 'mostly because [Ranulf] appeared to be neutral towards either side'.<sup>356</sup> Ranulf appears to have been so unpredictable in his loyalties that when he called upon Stephen for assistance against resurgent Welsh princes, Stephen was so concerned by the risk of a trap that he opted to arrest Ranulf instead, confiscating much of the land the earl had accumulated over the preceding years.<sup>357</sup> Paul Dalton persuasively argued that Ranulf was not disloyal (at least in his own mind) but pragmatically pursuing his own interests. His behaviour must be understood against a contemporary background of limiting allegiance in order to avoid a catastrophic collapse in his own fortunes. By Dalton's reasoning, Ranulf might be understood as the most consistent practitioner of neutrality under Stephen, at least with regards to the succession dispute. The earl was principally concerned with his own claims, the protection of lands that he perceived to be his, and the maintenance of peace in so far as it served his interests.<sup>358</sup> While Ranulf made alliances and lent military support to both of the two main factions, it is not sensible to categorise any of the main political actors of the north as mere proxies for Stephen or Matilda. Indeed, all the great political

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<sup>353</sup> Barrow, 'The Scots and the North of England', 244-5.

<sup>354</sup> *PC*, 210

<sup>355</sup> Dalton, *Conquest, Anarchy and Lordship*, 169.

<sup>356</sup> *HN*, 82 'maxime quia in neutro latere fidus uideretur esse.'

<sup>357</sup> *GS*, 192-8.

<sup>358</sup> P. Dalton, 'In Neutro Latere: The Armed Neutrality of Ranulf II Earl of Chester in King Stephen's Reign', *ANS*, xiv (1991), 39-59.

figures of the region frequently acted in their own interests, even if those went against the desires of the warring claimants, and no man was a strictly selfless partisan.

Focus has been directed to these men in order to emphasise two things. Firstly, that northern coinage (and northern politics at large) was dominated by the behaviour of local magnates, rather than by the rival claimants to the English throne. Secondly, that these magnates may have at times been aligned with particular claimants, but were also perfectly capable of acting in pragmatic self-interest. In the case of the York and Scots coinage (including that of King David and of Earl Henry) the interests of the relevant magnates are clear and distinct in the types that were produced. The mint of Chester is further distinguished from those of Yorkshire or the further north by the fact that no distinct regional coins seem to have emerged under Ranulf. Certainly no coinage in the earl's name has thus far been discovered. To this extent, and given his influence, a coinage specifically of Earl Ranulf is especially conspicuous by its absence. Instead the Chester mint seems to have continued producing Stephen Type 1s. Furthermore, while myriad baronial and Scottish royal coinages emerged in the north, Type 1s continued to be struck across the region, and even where this ceased, its influence over northern designs remained undeniable.

The north saw many different types issued during the war, and is distinct from having so great a variety produced in a region with a comparatively low density of mints.<sup>359</sup> Stephen's Type 1 was produced across the region prior to the war. As was the norm in this period, Type 1 proved to be a popular prototype for local coinage, and many northern types are subtle variants of Stephen's Type 1. Two coins of Type 2 from York are recorded in the Corpus, but this is the sole northern mint to have issued the new Type. York Type 2s were substantially outnumbered by baronial issues, which perhaps suggests the type was unpopular locally. There are examples of imitations of Henry I's Type 15, particularly among the Scottish coinage (Appendix I). Certain novel design elements also appear exclusively in the north, such as the Standing Figure and Two Figure coinages of York, and arguably the episcopal/archiepiscopal 'Bishop Henry' issue of the same mint. There is also a multitude of

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<sup>359</sup> Allen, *M&M*, 30-2.

different reverse styles, either modifying Stephen's cross moline (such as the Voided Long Cross of Newcastle) or departing entirely from royal prototypes (such as the Cross and Crosslets of Bamburgh). There is also an instance of a baronial coinage of York sharing an obverse design with an entirely distinct Angevin coinage, namely the Lion type of Eustace fitz John.<sup>360</sup>

#### 4.2 Scottish Types

For the purposes of this thesis, 'Scottish coinages' refers not just to coins issued in Scotland, but to types produced in the name of David, King of Scots, and his son Henry, lord of Huntingdon and Earl of Northumberland. Scholarly discussion of the Scottish coinage of this period relies chiefly on the work of Ian Hayley Stewart, whose research on David remains foundational despite its age. Stewart's categorisations are based on 'style rather than design', with a focus on the quality of engraving rather than type.<sup>361</sup> New types have emerged since Stewart's day, and so for the sake of consistency a typology focused on design will be employed here.

There is a shortage of Scottish coins within the Corpus that stems partly from the lack of native Scottish coin production until the twelfth century. There is also the compounding factor that the PAS does not record finds from modern Scotland. This heavily skews data towards England. The EMC does have a few entries of finds from Scotland, but these are exceptional. Commentary on Scottish finds thus relies on hoard reports, and most coins recorded in the Corpus are typically those unearthed in England. Twelfth-century Cumberland (now the modern counties of Cumberland and Westmorland) is also an exceptional case, for, as established previously, it had been regarded as part of Scotland by the Scottish kings for centuries and was held by the Scots for effectively the whole of Stephen's reign. Cumberland is therefore the only 'Scottish' region that is properly covered by the Corpus.<sup>362</sup> All of these caveats must be kept in mind when Scottish coinage is discussed.

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<sup>360</sup> Allen, 'The York Local Coinage of The Reign of Stephen' 294-5.

<sup>361</sup> I.H Stewart, *The Scottish Coinage*, (London 1955), 1-7, 173, pl.1.

<sup>362</sup> J. Mattison & P. Cherry, 'The Carlisle Mint Coinages of Henry I, Stephen, David I and Earl Henry', *BNJ*, lxxxiii (2013) 75-100.



Despite David opening new mints in his kingdom, many of the Scottish types appear to have been produced in what were English mints prior to the Scots' arrival. David and Henry's types fall into two broad categories: clear imitations of English royal types, and unique types which nevertheless show similarities with English royal counterparts. David's issues represent the beginning of the Scottish national coinage, that is to say coinage produced in the name of Scottish monarchs within Scotland. There are questions as to why it was at precisely this time that Scottish coinage began. Alice Taylor describes the decision as a political statement as much as an economic policy.<sup>363</sup> The extent to which Scotland was monetised prior to David's reign is not wholly clear. After its introduction, Scottish money was typically allowed to circulate in England until the mid-fourteenth century, but only ever makes up a small fraction of northern hoards. Meanwhile English coin had dominated the Scottish currency supply for centuries, and would continue to do so under David's immediate successors.<sup>364</sup> What reference to coinage there is in Scotland often comes from the written record, which hints at foreign coinage used in towns along the east coast, obtained as the result of trade.<sup>365</sup> It could be that the Scottish coinage was intended solely for those areas that had been brought under David and Henry's influence, particularly in the case of Henry's earldom which (despite being obtained through his father's influence) he held from Stephen as part of his English patrimony. It may be that the money produced was intended solely for local use, as a continuation of normal practice in the region. The Corpus attributes five types to David. Examples of at least four of these have been assigned to the Carlisle mint, which mean it can safely be assumed that they were issued at some point following the Scots' seizure of the city in 1136. North identified a type in the name of David struck at Carlisle which is almost identical to Stephen's Type 1, but with the addition of a sprig of cumin. This may have been added in reference to David's chancellor William Cumin.<sup>366</sup> Regrettably this type is not identified within the Corpus, and while the association of the Carlisle coinage with William is possible, there is no clear supporting evidence for this. There is also no certainty that Carlisle was the

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<sup>363</sup> A. Taylor *The Shape of the State in Medieval Scotland, 1124-1290*, (Oxford, 2016) 397.

<sup>364</sup> Taylor, *The Shape of the State in Medieval Scotland*, 396, Metcalf, 'The Evidence of Scottish Coin Hoards for Monetary History', 4.

<sup>365</sup> Metcalf, 'The Evidence of Scottish Coin Hoards for Monetary History', 8.

<sup>366</sup> North, *EHC*, 210.

first mint to produce Scottish coinage. Though it is the most substantive in the record, and the only mint known to have produced David's and Henry's types in great quantities. Depending on attribution, as many as 22 Stephen Type 1 pennies are known from the Carlisle mint, some seemingly from local dies. It may be that these were issued prior or subsequently to the establishment of Scottish rule over the city. The honour of Carlisle would be granted to the future Henry of Northumberland as part of the peace agreement with Stephen, making it unsurprising that coins in the name of both men might be issued there.<sup>367</sup>

The Scottish types that clearly copy English royal types are the Quadrilateral Cross, and the Cross Moline. Scottish types are conventionally assumed to postdate their English prototypes.<sup>368</sup> The Quadrilateral is derived from Henry I's Type 15, with an identical facing bust obverse, and quadrilateral cross reverse. The Moline is based upon Stephen's Type 1, with a rightward bust obverse and cross moline reverse. Both David and Henry of Northumberland had these types issued in their name. Both correspond closely to the designs set by English monarchs, but with legends reading 'DAVID' or 'DAVID REX' in the case of David's coinage, and 'HENRICVS' or 'HENRIC ERL' for Henry's.

David's Quadrilateral coinage is known from six examples in the Corpus, all issued by Herebald (or Erebold) at Carlisle. The sole recorded Quadrilateral in Henry's name was also struck at Carlisle but is attributed to Willelm, a moneyer who does not appear in David's coinage at all but does appear on multiple other types in Henry's name. The weights of these coinages appear to be good, though the sample pool is of course small. Of the five David's Quadrilateral pennies with available weights, two are halfpennies weighing 0.63g and 0.62g respectively, while the intact coinages range between 1.35g and 1.46g. Henry's sole penny is intact and of a similarly good weight at 1.37g.

The Scottish Cross Moline coinage of David appears to have been struck at a wider range of mints. The EMC records Carlisle, Edinburgh and Roxburgh, though the latter of these is only known from

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<sup>367</sup> *DGRS*, 146.

<sup>368</sup> Mattison & Cherry, 'The Carlisle Mint Coinages of Henry I, Stephen, David I and Earl Henry' 104.

one example and personal examination of the coin suggests an illegible legend.<sup>369</sup> At Carlisle the moneyers Hue and Udard are named, while Edinburgh yields coins in the name of Derin, Deorling, Herebald, and an uncertain figure who may be Herebald or a fourth, unidentified moneyer. While the Roxburgh mint signature is uncertain, the moneyer's name 'Folbald' is fairly clear. Earl Henry's Cross Moline appears to have been struck at Corbridge alone, and here Herebald is the sole moneyer named. The weights of the Scottish Moline coinages are similarly consistent with the English types they imitate, with the eight intact David pennies ranging from 1.05-1.41g, averaging at 1.30g. Three halfpennies of David are also recorded with specified weights, and are unremarkable at 0.49g, 0.56g and 0.71g. Meanwhile Henry's moline pennies do not divert noticeably from his father's, with whole pennies providing a low of 0.99g and a high of 1.60g, and two halfpennies weighing 0.63g and 0.70g. The six whole coins provide an average of 1.23g, which again indicates a respectable weight standard among the Scottish coinage.

Two examples of what appear to be David Moline/Quadrilateral mules also appear in the Corpus. One intact penny and one cut halfpenny combine the facing obverse bust seen on the Quadrilateral coinage, with the reverse moline cross.<sup>370</sup> The penny is seemingly the work of Herebald of Carlisle, and is of a decent weight at 1.49g. The halfpenny's moneyer cannot be identified, though the letters 'BVR' or possibly 'BVRG' are legible, and might indicate an 'EDENBVRG' or Roxburgh mint signature, or an as yet unidentified mint or moneyer. The fact that any burgh is theoretically possible here suggests a need to exercise caution, though Edinburgh and Roxburgh are the only known Scottish mints with '-burgh' place names<sup>371</sup>. All four dies of the coins differ from one another, and the findspots of Durham and Normanton do not indicate any shared origin beyond a vaguely northern arc. Given the coins' designs it could be that they are not mules so much as an attempt to create a distinct type that combined motifs from two trusted and popular coinages in the region. Such a course of action might have made a degree of sense for David in particular, for as an independent monarch he may well have sought to issue money that was distinctly 'his' while borrowing iconography that

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<sup>369</sup> EMC 1992.0304 for the 'Roxburgh' coin.

<sup>370</sup> EMC 2016.0201 (penny) and 2019.0045 (halfpenny).

<sup>371</sup> Taylor, *The Shape of the State in Medieval Scotland*, 390.

reflected the prestige of the Anglo-Norman monarchs in whose style he governed. Alternatively, moneyers possibly opted to combine the reverse and obverse of two popular designs, especially given the variety of coinages in circulation. This is all merely speculative, however, and without more substantial evidence for this type it is probably wisest to consider them as coincidental mules.

The Scottish moline and quadrilateral coinages show an undeniable attempt to emulate English royal designs, being iconographically identical to their prototypes. Other Scottish types show signs of greater innovation, while conforming generally to the broad trends of Anglo-Norman coinages. These types combine an obverse bust in profile, with a prominent reverse cross. The various derivatives of Stephen's Type 1 remain a constant. Even as the figure named on the coins changed, design elements and weight standards remained constant. The presence of quadrilateral crosses bears a degree of similarity to various Angevin types, which may be part of a shared policy or merely the result of coincidental imitation of Henry I's final issue.

The 'Cross Fleury' Scottish coinage is a single category within the Corpus, though the designs are not strictly uniform and there are at least three, possibly five subtypes here. Nevertheless they bear enough resemblance to be considered together. All cross fleury coins have a Type 1 style obverse bust in profile facing rightward, and take their name from their large reverse fleury cross. Notably, coins issued in the name of David depict an arched pentagonal crown on the bust, very similar to that which appears on Stephen's coins. Coins in the name of Henry also use this style of bust, though another triangular image crown appears on coins struck by Ricard of Carlisle.<sup>372</sup> The reverse cross often bears no other adornment, and in the case of Henry's coins is exclusively unadorned. This style (from hereon referred to as Fleury A) is accompanied by other variants which add small pellets to the angles of the cross. These pellets can be entirely separate (Fleury B) or attached to the ends of a saltire that overlaps the main cross. In examples with a saltire there may be four pellets (Fleury C) or two, at opposing arms of the saltire (Fleury D), with at least one instance of four hollow annulets being placed at the arms of the saltire, rather than solid pellets (Fleury E). The variant Fleury subtypes (B-E)

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<sup>372</sup> EMC 2019.0102 Triangular crown.

only survive in David's name, though in some instances legends have been rendered illegible, so not all of them are necessarily David's coins. It is also worth reiterating that, certainly in the case of the saltire coinages, it is unclear whether the variation in design is sufficiently significant to categorise these coins as separate types (Appendix I).

All Fleury coins have similar legends, with David pennies reading variants of 'DAVIT', 'DAVIT REX', and in at least one instance possibly 'DAVIT REX SCO[TORUM]'.<sup>373</sup> Meanwhile, the Henry coins read 'N.ENCI[ ]CON' which is perhaps questionably literate but almost certainly intended to be read as 'HENRICI COMES'. The moneyer names and mint signatures remain conventional.

Identifiable moneyers of David Fleury coins are Fopalt at Berwick, Ricard at Carlisle, and Hugh at Roxburgh. Meanwhile, among Henry's Fleury coins, only the Carlisle mint is identifiable, where Ricard reappears alongside a man named Willem. In both instances there are coins that have been rendered illegible, and so there is the possibility of further mints and moneyers as yet unidentified.

With regards to the mints and moneyers of subtypes, subtype A is recorded solely from Carlisle, with no identified moneyers for David and the aforementioned Willem and Ricard for Henry. Subtype B was issued at Berwick by Folpalt, with an 'ART:ONhA[ ]' which has been attributed to Carlisle and may be the work of Ricart, Hildart, or some other figure, and possibly also Hue at Roxburgh. All moneyers and mints of subtypes C & D are regrettably illegible, while subtype E appears to be solely the work of Ricard at Carlisle. The most pertinent fact from all of this is that Carlisle remains a significant mint across the Fleury type, and that rather than being strictly local variants of only one mint, it was possible for Fleury subtypes to be produced by several different moneyers across multiple mints. This fact reinforces the notion that the Scottish Cross Fleury coinages should indeed be grouped as a single type rather than differentiated as unique issues, as the similarity between their designs and the lack of evidence for their being produced by any single authority or moneyer would imply coins that were meant to circulate together rather than be differentiated either by their casual user or by a royal or civic official.

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<sup>373</sup> EMC 1992.0305 'Rex Scotorum'.

The weights of whole David Fleury coins range from 1.26g to 1.45g, while Henry's are comparable but with a wider range of 1.05g to 1.60g. Both types yield examples of fractional coinage, with four cut halfpennies and a broken halfpenny of David, along with a cut farthing. In Henry's case, there are two cut halfpennies. Strictly speaking, this is a surprisingly high proportion for what (in David's case at least) is a substantive royal issue, and perhaps indicates a region more widely monetised than the otherwise small number of coin finds would suggest. However as always there is the need for sensible caution. While the Fleury types make up a large proportion of the Scottish coinage, the overall sample size is still fairly small with twenty-one coins of David and just fourteen of Henry.

Henry and David share many of their respective types, and there has been speculation by John Mattison and Peter Cherry that some of the coins (specifically the Henry I style Quadrilateral coins issued at Carlisle) might have been the result of a shared kingship. David and Henry also each have a distinct type that is not known to have appeared in the other's name. For David this was the 'Cross & Annulets' coinage issued by Ricard at Carlisle, who was possibly Richard Rider an official of Henry I in the 1120s.<sup>374</sup> The Scottish Annulets type bears the obverse legend 'DAVIT REX', around a rightward facing bust. Meanwhile the reverse depicts a cross patée with pelleted annulets in the angles. Such a design bears marked resemblance to the Midland Annulets type struck in Stephen's name. Both were most likely emulating the annulets style reverse of Henry I's Type 12, which is virtually identical. In this sense David's annulets coin can be taken as part of this tradition of emulating English royal coinage. Of the ten Scottish Cross & Annulets coins, six were struck by Ricard of Carlisle, one at Roxburgh but for an uncertain moneyer. One is tentatively attributed to Radulf of Perth, and two more to uncertain mints or moneyers. Of these last two, one was initially recorded in the database as a Cross Fleury type, but this has been corrected in the Corpus.<sup>375</sup> As has been found consistently among other Scottish Types, the weights of the Scottish Annulets remain high, ranging from 1.27g to 1.46g among the intact coinage, with the single weighed halfpenny recorded as 0.60g.

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<sup>374</sup> Mattison & Cherry, 'The Carlisle Mint Coinages of Henry I, Stephen, David I and Earl Henry', 108.

<sup>375</sup> EMC 2012.017.

The Scottish coinage which bears only Henry's name is the Cross Crosslets Type. The obverse is a by now familiar rightward facing bust, with legends often difficult to read but seemingly variations on 'NENCI', 'NENCI:CON' or 'NEN:CON' in a similar style to the Henry Cross-Fleury legends. What distinguishes this type stylistically is the large reverse cross crosslet, with small cross patées in each angle. Such a design bears similarities to Henry II's 'Tealby' type, though this is almost certainly a coincidence. The entire issue looks to have been the work of Willem at Bamburgh, and shares standards in weights and fractions consistent with the other Scottish types. Of the thirteen crosslet coins, eleven are intact and two are cut halfpennies. Intact coins weigh between 1.15g and 1.43g (averaging at 1.35g) while the cut halfpennies are recorded as weighing 0.51g and 0.64g. Notably, as well as being the only Scottish coinage to be issued at Bamburgh (a Willem possibly appears in David's Cross Moline of uncertain mint), the Crosslets type is the only coinage issued in Earl Henry's name that he did not share with father.

Shortly before this thesis' completion, a new type of David, reading '+DAVID REX' was presented at the British Museum. Supposedly unearthed in Northamptonshire, the coin weighs 1.17g and combines a Cross Moline reverse with a unique obverse that appears to depict a castle or gatehouse.<sup>376</sup> A similar design appears on the 'Tower' coinage of Edward the Elder (crowned 899 - died 924). The mint signature is mostly obscured, but the initial letter might be 'C'. The moneyer 'EREBALD', is known from David's Cross Fleury, and Cross Quadrilateral coinages at the Carlisle mint, which suggests this type was also produced there. If genuine, this coin might represent an issue commemorating David's conquests. Its chronological placement amongst the other types is unclear, though the use of a reverse moline perhaps places it relatively early in the sequence.<sup>377</sup>

#### 4.3 York Types

Unlike the Scottish coins, all coinage of the York group appears to have been the output of a single mint, and in many cases even a single moneyer. Control of the York mint and its output during Stephen's reign has been eloquently and thoroughly discussed by Allen. So as not simply to repeat his

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<sup>376</sup> This coin was sold at auction in September 2024, see <<https://www.bbc.com/news/articles/cy0lnv0gyqxo>>.

<sup>377</sup> Corpus no. 5609.

arguments point by point, only a relatively brief discussion will be given here. Allen's argument (building upon the work of Blackburn and Dalton) is that the various distinct types produced at the York mint during Stephen's reign were essentially the result of William of Aumale's political influence.<sup>378</sup> The specifics of how William's influence can be seen varies from type to type. William's influence is attributed to his proximity and seigneurial dominance over the city of York, which would have granted him control over the city's moneyers.<sup>379</sup> William's promotion as Earl of York following the Battle of the Standard may also have conferred upon him the right to issue coinage.

However, William of Aumale was not the only significant magnate operating within York. The archbishops of York appear to have had the right to a moneyer in the city. Under normal circumstances, this moneyer would have issued coins of the royal type rather than any specific archiepiscopal design. There were similar arrangements elsewhere involving the archbishops of Canterbury, the bishops of Durham and the abbots of Bury St Edmunds. Again in all these instances the right to a moneyer seems to have referred to the rights to profit from mint operation rather than the right to issue a specific variant coinage.<sup>380</sup> While there is a coin of the York types which has been associated with the Archbishop of York (to be discussed in more depth later), the question of archiepiscopal coinage in York during Stephen's reign is complicated by the matter of York's own succession crisis. Following the death of Archbishop Thurstan in 1140, several potential successors emerged. Henry Murdac (1153) had the support of Rome, but William of Aumale attempted to install his kinsman Waldef Prior of Kerkham (1159), and subsequently leant his support to William fitz Herbert (1154) who also had the backing of King Stephen. The earl's influence, as well as Henry's unpopularity within York itself, meant that he was for much of the period unable to enter the city. This long-running controversy meant that for much of Stephen's reign the see had no clear incumbent. William would reconcile with Murdac by 1150, as the conflict would ultimately be resolved in Henry's favour, but still the Archbishop appears to have been reluctant to enter York.<sup>381</sup> Henry's

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<sup>378</sup> Allen 'The York Local Coinage of the Reign of Stephen', 296-8.

<sup>379</sup> Allen 'The York Local Coinage of the Reign of Stephen', 290, 299.

<sup>380</sup> P. Spufford, *Money and its Use in Medieval Europe*, (Cambridge 1988), 100-1.

<sup>381</sup> D. Knowles, 'The Case of St William of York', *Cambridge Historical Journal*, 5 (1936), 162-77, 212-14 (reprinted in Knowles, *The Historian and Character and Other Essays* (Cambridge 1963); Dalton, *Conquest, Anarchy and Lordship: Yorkshire*, 170-175, Fairbairn, 'King Stephen's Reign', 48.



personal influence over the coinage is therefor likely to have been minimal, even if he did retain control of a moneyer.

In terms of the variety of types it produced, York witnessed a flourishing of creative coin design during the period. Allen's research has identified approximately eighteen different local types attributable to the city during Stephen's reign.<sup>382</sup> However, only fourteen of these (including one erased type) are identifiable within the Corpus. Eight (nine including the erased type) of these local York types are in Stephen's name. These eight Stephen York local types are labelled the Flag, Lozenge Sceptre, Palm, Letters (also known as the Bearded type), Wisdegnota's Voided Quadrilateral, Two Figures, Cross Patee, and Thistle issues. The Corpus also distinguishes between Stephen's regular Type 1, and Type 1s issued by 'Wisdegnota', though given that, these are iconographically identical to Stephen's regular Type 1, it seems unwise to consider them a distinct type *per se*. All York types are rare in the Corpus, with seldom more than half a dozen examples of any one type represented. There are four types that are not clearly identifiable within the three main databases, and which have since been added to the Corpus using information provided from Allen's article. These are the Feathered Saltire, Thistle, Standard, and Robert Wisdegnotia types. The first two of these can be consulted at the Fitzwilliam Museum, the third at the British Museum, and the last amongst the collections of the National Museum of Wales.<sup>383</sup>

Allen produced a chronological framework for these types, dividing the York local coinage into seven phases with different types produced during each phase. Various designs were issued across these phases, and these varied in homogeneity within a particular phase. Not all phases are precisely dated, though Allen suggests that coinage in Stephen's name was issued throughout all save the final seventh phase.<sup>384</sup> Given the wide variety of types, and space restraints here, discussion of the York types will be necessarily summary, but further information is available in the appendices, and specific data is supplied within the Corpus itself.

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<sup>382</sup> Allen 'The York Local Coinage of the Reign of Stephen', 285-6, 299.

<sup>383</sup> Ibid, 303-9.

<sup>384</sup> Ibid, 303-16.

The Flag type is the most substantial of the York variants within the Corpus, though not necessarily the most prolifically produced of Stephen's reign. The design is markedly similar to Type 1, but modified by the addition of a small flag to the sceptre. Many examples of the Flag type are fractional, but available weights of intact coinages range from 0.98g to 1.37g, tending to be lighter than standard on average but not exceptionally so. Reverse legends on the Flag type are often illegible or questionably literate, with the possible exception of an 'VNN[ ]RED' recorded on one of the coins.<sup>385</sup> In at least one instance the legend includes random letters interspersed between pictograms.<sup>386</sup> The Standard type is strikingly similar to the Flag, being practically identical in the obverse and only differentiated by an alternative style of reverse cross, and so it is worth considering them together. Instead of a cross moline the Standard type bears a reverse cross patée, with small ornaments in the angles, all within a circle of pellets. This type is known only from a single cut halfpenny, and little other data is available. Examination of the images suggests that what remains of the obverse legend is illegible, while the reverse legend has now been entirely replaced with abstract ornaments rather than letters. Interpretations of the Flag/Standard focus either on the eponymous standard of the 'Battle of The Standard' (1138), at which the Yorkshire magnates defeated a Scottish army. However, another interpretation is that the standard is a papal *gonfalon* sent to participants in the Second Crusade of 1145-9.<sup>387</sup>

Five coins of the Lozenge sceptre type are listed in the Corpus. This also bears resemblance to Stephen's Type 1, with a bust in the conventional style. However rather than a fleur, the sceptre is now capped with a lozenge shape that contains a small pellet. The obverse legend reads 'STIEN' or 'STEFNET', followed in at least one instance by ornaments. The reverse legend has been entirely replaced by ornaments, yielding the names of no moneyers, though of similar style to the ornaments on the flag and other 'York' local types. The reverse cross is pattée over a fleury saltire. The three intact coins with available weights weigh 1.04g, 1.19g, and 1.17g.

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<sup>385</sup> EMC 2016.0058.

<sup>386</sup> EMC 1986.0106.

<sup>387</sup> Seaby, 'A New Standard Type for the Reign of King Stephen' *BNJ*, ciii (1983), 14-8.

The Palm type coinage is known only from a single halfpenny, and is iconographically almost identical to regular Stephen Type 1s. The obverse is inscribed '[ ]T[ ]FNE R', with a rightward-facing bust in profile, clutching what appears to be a palm leaf or possibly a feather. Meanwhile the reverse appears to be illiterate, with a mixture of letters and symbols around a cross moline. The weight is 0.40g, which again perhaps indicates a lighter coinage, but the data pool is far too small to supply certainty.

The Letters or 'Bearded Bust' type is likewise known from a single cut halfpenny, and has no available weight. The obverse seems to depict a typical Type - style rightward bust, this time of a bearded individual. This type is associated with Stephen and what is available of the obverse legend includes the letter N, along with several abstract symbols. However the cutting of the coin means it is unclear what headgear the figure had, and while a hand is visible, what it held remains unknown. It might be that the type is actually of another figure, though of course statistically speaking it is most likely to have been in Stephen's name. The reverse is a cross pattée with pellets and a large saltire that ends not with fleurs or pellets but letters. One such is comprised of wedges (possibly an A) and the other was described by Allen as an uncial M.<sup>388</sup> It is worth considering that this letter may in fact be a 'ω' (Omega), which would become more plausible if the wedged symbol was intended to be an Alpha. Regrettably the missing letters make it difficult to interpret any possible meaning.

The Voided Quadrilateral coinage appears twice in the Corpus, and is one of several 'Wisdegnota' types that are a distinct feature of the York local coinage. Wisdegnota refers to the reverse legends 'WIZ.S.DE.GDEGANT', '+WIZSD.GNOL[ ]A' and other variants, which have been attributed to a Flemish moneyer 'Wizzo of Gent'.<sup>389</sup> Wizzo's quadrilateral coinage adheres to the norms of Type 1 imitations by including the King's name 'STIEFNER' and a rightward, sceptre-wielding bust on the obverse. What marks the coinage as distinct is the voided quadrilateral cross on the obverse. At first glance this cross bears a resemblance to the quadrilateral cross of Henry I's Type 15, though Allen commented that William I's Bonnet type (issued c.1068-70) was another possible inspiration.<sup>390</sup> Given

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<sup>388</sup> Allen, 'The York Local Coinage', 293.

<sup>389</sup> Ibid, 285.

<sup>390</sup> Ibid, 284.

that neither William's name nor his facing bust appear on the York coinage, it is unclear if the quadrilateral is a deliberate attempt to evoke the Conqueror's name, or whether the Conqueror's coin served simply as a convenient prototype. The coins are of a good weight, at 1.39g and 1.30g.

Wizzo issued at least two more types in Stephen's name. One is Stephen's Type 1, unmodified. Nothing distinguishes these coins beyond their being issued by Wizzo, with similar obverse legends to his other coins. Wizzo's Type 1 is relevant, as yet another recreation of the type, and in this case seemingly by an entirely new moneyer. The fact that Wizzo opted to strike conventional Type 1s instead of any other variant attests to the way in which this type was regarded as a reliable investment for a new moneyer, being implicitly trusted by coin users. Had there been a local type that was more commonly accepted, it stands to reason that Wizzo would have struck that type instead. A Wizzo penny in the name of 'RODESTHE' was mentioned in Allen's article as being unearthed in the 1930s and attributed to Robert de Stuteville. The coin regrettably does not survive in either PAS or EMC, and no images survive, but it is described as a baronial issue identical to Stephen's Type 1 with a weight of 1.12g.

While the Wisdegnota coinages are relatively conventional in design, the Two Figures coinage supplies a remarkable example of iconographic innovation, issued in the name of 'STIEFNER' by a moneyer who opted to inscribe random symbols rather than provide their name. The obverse shows two figures in full body profile either side of a 'sceptre fleury' or a large column that is topped with a round object and a fleur. Meanwhile the reverse shows a cross fleury over a saltire pommée.

Speculations on who the two figures might be have varied wildly over time, and include Stephen and Queen Matilda, Stephen and Henry of Anjou, Henry of Scotland and Queen Matilda, or possibly Stephen and his son Eustace. An honest appraisal of available images suggests there is simply not enough information available to reach a decisive conclusion on any of these suggestions. Allen for his part suggested that Stephen and Queen Matilda was the most plausible identification. A more fruitful line of investigation is to what extent this coin's design was influenced by other types. It is certainly not the first English coin to have two figures on the obverse, the most recent being Alfred the Great's

(871-899) 'Two Emperor's' coinage.<sup>391</sup> Allen also drew attention to a coin of Roger II of Sicily (1130-1154) which in turn likely drew on influences from Byzantine coinage.<sup>392</sup> Given the cultural ties and chronological closeness of the York coinage with Roger's, a connection here seems possible, though inspiration from some other Byzantine coin or seal is certainly not to be ruled out. In terms of their weight, the Two Figure coinage remains respectable if a little light, with intact coinages ranging from 1.25g to 1.27g, and the single halfpenny within the Corpus weighing 0.44g.

The Cross Patée type associated with York is known from a single cut halfpenny within the Corpus. Yet again the obverse is conventional for a Type 1 local variant, being in Stephen's name with no obvious iconographic variation. The reverse legend reads '[ ]GIRNRD[ ]'. It is unclear who the moneyer was in this case, or even that the mint was at York.<sup>393</sup> The reverse field depicts a cross patée with pellets at the end of each limb and fleurs in the angles, and the weight was recorded as 0.65g which suggests a healthy standard. Four examples of a very similar Cross Patée were discovered in the Dartford/Gravesend Hoard (see Chapter 1) The legends are conventional Type 1 and according to Mack the coins were struck at Lincoln by Gladewin and Ailric. Weights remain strong at 1.45-1.38g. No images are available of these coins, and it is unclear if they were in any way related to the York Cross Patée coinage given that they were struck by different moneyers seemingly at different mints.

The Thistle coinage is one of the most recent Stephen York types to be unearthed, and also amongst the most elusive. Identified by Blackburn from a single cut farthing in 2005, the coin does not appear in the Corpus and no known image is available. Blackburn's account described a Stephen Type 1 style bust, with a reverse design unlike any other coin but with design elements that suggest a York issue. The arms of the main cross are of a similar design to the Eustace Standing Figure, and Bishop Henry types, and bear a plant like ornament in the angle that has the appearance of a thistle. There is no hint of the significance of the design (if indeed there was any) and Blackburn cautioned against interpreting it as a heraldic symbol.<sup>394</sup> Allen observed that the Thistle's style of reverse cross patée

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<sup>391</sup> For a recently discovered example, see EMC 2021.0194.

<sup>392</sup> Allen, 'The York Local Coinage', 293.

<sup>393</sup> EMC 2013.0074.

<sup>394</sup> M.Blackburn, 'Some Unpublished Coins of Henry I and Stephen', *BNJ*, lxxv (2005), 167-9.

also appears on a baronial coin minted at York, which perhaps places it amongst that mint's later issues.<sup>395</sup> As no weight or moneyer is recorded, almost nothing else can be said of this type, and given the variety of other obverse designs on York coinage Blackburn's warning against over-interpretation is best observed.

Finally, there is an erased Stephen Type 1 coinage produced at York. The single coin known here used an obverse die with a leftward facing bust, erased by two clear vertical lines either side of the portrait. The reverse legend declares the coin to be the work of Martin. Martin does indeed appear in the Corpus for other Stephen Type 1 coins of York, but for none other of Stephen's substantive types. The weight of the coin is recorded as 1.61g. However, this includes a metal loop used as part of a modern repair effort, as the coin was at one point broken into two pieces. This is, as far as is discernible from the Corpus, the only erased coin to have been issued at York. No clear reason for the erasure is discernible, though it has been speculated that it was somehow connected with Archbishop Henry's excommunication of the city and its citizens.<sup>396</sup> It is also worth adding that the die was perhaps locally produced, given the leftward facing bust when rightwards was the norm for Type 1. It is possible that the die was created by a local figure, who then defaced their work after realising their mistake or for some other reason considered the die unsuitable, only for the die itself to be pressed into service regardless.

The Stephen York types are many in number, and often impenetrable in meaning. The fact that Type 1 style busts were retained, even as Type 2 was being used, conforms with a broader trend seen in lands nominally loyal to Stephen but lying beyond his zone of immediate control. Nevertheless, these are not the only York coinages, as we have yet to consider what are best dubbed the 'York Baronial' types. These are coins struck in the names of local figures rather than Stephen, and include the Eustace Lion, Eustace Standing Figure, Robert de Stuteville Rider, and William of Aumale Standing Figure.

A local type attributed to York that has produced considerable controversy is the 'Bishop Henry' type. Known from nine examples within the Corpus, the obverse iconography consists of a rightward bust

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<sup>395</sup> Allen, 'The York Local Coinage', 295.

<sup>396</sup> Dalton, *Conquest, Anarchy and Lordship: Yorkshire*, 173.

with a fleured crown, and with what is clearly a crozier rather than a sceptre in the figure's hand. The reverse depicts a cross patée over a saltire fleury. The obverse legends read 'hENRICVSEPC' and the reverse appears to read 'STEPHANVSREX', both with distinctive lettering. It is worth noting that neither mint signature nor moneyer is recorded on these coins, and so attribution to York is made only from stylistic elements, and the fact that 'hENRICVS' is typically taken to be Henry Murdac.<sup>397</sup> Such attribution is likely but uncertain and will be discussed further later. Finds of this type do mesh well with the range and location we would expect from other York local issues, with four unearthed in Yorkshire and three not far away in Lincolnshire, suggesting it was indeed struck at York. A high proportion are cut (of nine, three are cut farthings and one a cut halfpenny) and the four intact pennies with weights range from 1.03g to 1.16g and average at 1.1g.

The two coinages in the name of Eustace, typically inscribed as 'EVST ACIVS+' or '+EISTAOhIVS' without title or patronym, are conventionally attributed to Eustace fitz John. There is also the possibility that at least one is of Stephen's son Eustace of Boulogne (1153), though given Fitz John's position as a prominent figure within Yorkshire, the former interpretation seems more likely, and they are recorded as his in the Corpus. If both types are indeed Fitz John's, then he holds the distinction of being the only Yorkshire magnate to have commissioned more than one coin type in his name.

Eustace's Lion type appears in the Corpus eight times. The obverse design of Eustace's Lion type bears some resemblance to Robert of Gloucester's Lion coins, to the extent that two coins have been recorded as Robert pennies when they are in fact coins of Eustace.<sup>398</sup> This has been corrected in the Corpus. Like Robert's coin, Eustace's obverse bears a lion passant, facing rightward. In one instance the lion is portrayed with its head facing down, and perhaps bears more resemblance to a wolf.<sup>399</sup> In all examples the lion is placed above wedged objects capped by pellets, creating an effect not unlike heraldic vair (or ermine), though this is very early in heraldry's evolution and it is by no means certain that this is what the marks were intended to represent.<sup>400</sup> Obverse legends favour the 'EISTAOhIVS'

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<sup>397</sup> Allen 'The York Local Coinage', 285.

<sup>398</sup> EMC 1012.0286 & 1012.0287.

<sup>399</sup> EMC 2013.0149.

<sup>400</sup> Woodcock & Robinson, *The Oxford Guide to Heraldry*, 54.

spelling, but in many instances the coins are badly chipped and the legends obscured. In others, the legends are only semi legible and questionably literate. The standard reverse design is of a cross fleury over a saltire fleury, with pellets at the end of each arm and annulets placed either side of the base of each fleur as well as at the point where the saltire and the cross meet. The coin with the downward facing creature (be it lion or wolf) does not have a fleury saltire, but instead bears a cross fleury with a saltire that ends in small crosses patées. Neither reverse bears moneyer or mint signature, but instead a series of abstract symbols that are consistent with the York group. Excluding a cut farthing, the weights of Eustace's lion type range from 0.58g to 1.38g, averaging at 1.04g. There are no more cut or fragmentary coins as such, though as previously mentioned several of the coins are badly chipped which brings the average weight down. The number of chipped coinages perhaps suggests that the coins themselves were not trusted and underwent some type of testing, to calculate their metal content, though there are no peck marks or other conventional signs of such assay. Of the eight available Lion coins, seven show partial or substantial chipping.

Eustace's 'Standing Figure' type is marginally more common within the Corpus with eleven known examples. This total excludes two entries within the EMC that are not genuine examples, the former being a lead cast from known dies and the latter a modern counterfeit.<sup>401</sup> The obverse of the type depicts an armoured figure in pointed helm, standing in full body profile and wielding a sword, facing to the right. Eustace's name is rendered as 'EVST ACIVS+' around the obverse image. The reverse depicts a quatrefoil around a cross patée with pellets in the angles. Reverse legends vary, with one bearing letters and symbols, one reading 'THOM[AS FILIV]S VLF', a cut halfpenny reading 'SBEM(or W)DE' and another cut halfpenny reading 'EFNOBI'.<sup>402</sup> The last of these may be a misspelled version of a much more common reverse legend, '+EBORACI·TDEFS', which unambiguously ties the coinage to York. The coinage's identification with at least one named moneyer (possibly two if EFNOBI is actually a personal name) marks it as unusual among the York coinages which are typically anonymised. Possibly the type was issued when baronial coinage was becoming

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<sup>401</sup> EMC 2019.0273 and 1300.0114 respectively.

<sup>402</sup> EMC 2019.0077, 1994.0290, 2008.0209 and EMC 2004.0110.



more widely accepted and hence less risky in the eyes of York's moneyers. Weights are consistent with other York types, ranging from 1.21 g to 0.93g, averaging at 1.08g excluding cut coinage. Cut coins do make up a substantial proportion of this type in the Corpus, ranging from 0.65g to 0.58g, and averaging at 0.61g which would imply a standard closer to 1.2g for the uncut coinage. It could conceivably be that this coin was issued to a lighter standard, or that an attempt to retain the pre-war royal standard was maintained then abandoned, or indeed that standards were simply not as tightly regulated here as elsewhere.

Three examples of Robert de Stuteville's rider coinage appear in the Corpus, depicting a rightward facing, sword-wielding knight on horseback. The obverse legend 'ROBERTUS D STV' leaves little room for alternative attributions. The reverse depicts a cross patée over a saltire fleury, with a reverse legend consisting of symbols. The two coins with available weights are of 1.00g and 1.06g, though all three coins are chipped which means their initial weights were probably higher.

The William of Aumale 'Standing Figure' type is the rarest York baronial issue within the Corpus. It is also the most recent to be found, and arguably the most significant to our understanding of the local types at large. Iconographically the coin is identical to that of Eustace, the reverse legend being similarly comprised of abstract symbols and letters, while the obverse legend now reads 'WILLEEM[V]S'. There are two known examples of this type, only one of which appears in the Corpus. The recorded weight of this coin is 1.13g, though it is lightly chipped. Notes within the EMC alluding to the second example indicate that it was struck from different dies, which suggests that the type could have been more substantial than the number of surviving examples indicate. Available images suggest that the placement of symbols on the reverse die is almost identical to the reverse of Eustace's Standing Figure. The dies are not the same, and problems over legibility mean it cannot be confirmed that the symbols are identical. There is however a high correlation that suggests an amount of care given to the dies, and perhaps a deliberate attempt to associate the two types.<sup>403</sup> Allen's own framework suggested these two types were produced concurrently with one another.<sup>404</sup> If Allen is

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<sup>403</sup> Compare available images of PAS LVPL-A60778 and EMC 2011.0025.

<sup>404</sup> Allen 'The York Local Coinage of the Reign of Stephen', 295-6.

correct, then it may be that the William of Aumule and Eustace fitz John standing figures actually represent a deliberately shared money of some kind.

#### 4.4 Other Northern Types

Aside from the Scottish and the York types, there are a handful of local variants from other northern mints. As has consistently proved the case, these variants show heavy influence from Stephen's Type 1 and typically bear his name. These are the 'Voided Long Cross' type of Newcastle, the 'Reverse Annulets' of Durham, and the 'Cross Crosslet' of Bamburgh.

The Durham Reverse Annulets coinage bears the most resemblance to Stephen's Type 1, displaying as it does a reverse cross moline, with a small star placed before the sceptre and small annulets placed in the angles of the reverse cross, capping each of the usual fleurs. While this type is recorded as distinct and separate within the Corpus, it is questionable whether or not it warrants classification as a separate type. The star before the sceptre is not always clearly visible in available images, and its presence in some is questionable. Meanwhile it is unclear whether the annulets are noticeable enough to have been conspicuous to the handler, especially when compared with 'Annulets' coinages from other mints. Regardless, technically speaking the coins continue the northern trend of consistent high weight with whole coins ranging from 0.98g to 1.32g and averaging at 1.13g. The coinage is issued in the name of 'STIEFNE' or possibly 'STIEFNE RE'. The moneyer FOBUND of Durham appears to have dominated the type, though a single coin with a reverse transcribed as '—N—NE' may indicate the involvement of another moneyer or mint.<sup>405</sup> Available images are regrettably poor, so it is not possible to confirm this reading. While no confirmable figure (beyond Stephen) is traceable to this type, North speculatively attributed it to the Bishop of Durham, who certainly had the right to a moneyer at the start of Stephen's reign.<sup>406</sup> Given that no clearly episcopal imagery associates it with the bishop, North's interpretation must be treated with caution.

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<sup>405</sup>EMC 1017.0837.

<sup>406</sup> North, *EHC*, 916, Spufford, *Money and its Use in Medieval Europe*, 100-1.

The 'Cross Crosslets' penny of Bamburgh is functionally identical to the Cross Crosslets type of earl Henry mentioned previously. The only substantive difference is the presence of Stephen's name and title, typically in the form 'STIEFNE RE'. There are four coins within the Corpus, one of which is a broken halfpenny and another a cut farthing. Three of the four coins were once again struck by Willelm of Bamburgh, while one (the halfpenny) cannot be identified. The two intact coins show a healthy standard at 1.23g and 1.25g respectively. In many ways the Stephen Cross Crosslets coinage seems typical of other local variants in Stephen's name, the only difference between this and others being that an identical type was issued in the name of another figure (earl Henry) who was not explicitly aligned against Stephen (as compared, for example, with Matilda's Moline type). While Henry's status in northern England was the result of his father's invasion, his homage for the honour of Huntingdon (and later Northumberland) was rendered to Stephen in 1139.<sup>407</sup> It is unclear if Henry's crosslets coinage was issued subsequently to, or simultaneously with, the Stephen crosslets coinage. Henry may have chosen to adopt a pre-existing local coinage as his own, or to issue coinage in his *and* Stephen's names in order to demonstrate a certain parity of status. Perhaps, alternatively, he opted to issue crosslet coinage in Stephen's name after having first done so himself. It is probably less likely that Stephen's crosslet's coinage was issued only after that of Henry, as it is hard to see why, once the taboo over the royal monopoly to coinage had been broken, Henry would opt to restore it and cease production of his own money.

The mint of Newcastle also looks to have produced two near identical types in the name of two different figures. These are the 'Voided Long Cross' type coins. Yet again Type 1's influence is clear, with the addition of a large, voided cross being cut over the reverse moline. Such a cross would make the coin far easier to cut and perhaps hints at a specific design intended to facilitate the production of small change. Regardless, the type in Stephen's name appears to have retained the 'STIEFNERE' obverse legend, along with standard obverse iconography. A substantial proportion of the coinage is fractional, with two of the ten Stephen coins being farthings, and two cut halfpennies. Those intact

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<sup>407</sup> Barrow 'The Scots and the North of England', 248; Dalton, *Conquest, Anarchy and Lordship: Yorkshire*, 148.

coins with available weights vary from 1.01g to 1.36g, while the sole cut halfpenny that has been weighed achieves a reasonably heavy 0.74g. Moneyer's are uncertain for the most part, though a 'WI : /LEL' is almost certainly Willelm, a moneyer who appears at the mint in Stephen's Type 1. It is nonetheless far from clear why exactly this type is attributed to Newcastle,

Alongside these Stephen pennies there is a markedly similar Voided Long Cross type that is known only from a cut halfpenny. What renders this coin distinct is the explicitly episcopal iconography added to the obverse bust.<sup>408</sup> The figure, in rightward profile, wears what is clearly a mitre and wields a crozier rather than a sceptre. While this would suggest a bishop, presumably a local one, the obverse legend of 'TII:ENAOIST' does not fit any obvious candidate, though it is possible (if not probable) that the 'TII' could be expanded as '[SANC]TII' and that the figure in question is a saint rather than a living figure. The obverse legend is similarly obscured, though the available legend '[ ]IDIT:CISI' seems to indicate that the moneyer is not Willelm. Furthermore, the attribution of the coin to Newcastle is itself questionable if 'CISI' is indeed the mint signature, as the Newcastle mint signature was 'CAS' even on Type 1 coins with dies that are assumed to be local.<sup>409</sup> Admittedly, the fact that the legend has no clear beginning makes it uncertain that it is even the mint signature. 'IDIT' does not conform to any known moneyer's name, and so there is also the possibility that the legend is illiterate. If this is the case, then the association with Newcastle based on similarity with the Voided Long Cross is reasonable. In terms of weight, the halfpenny's 0.67g suggests the coin itself was of a good standard, and certainly in terms of design and lettering the penny was well struck from clearly-cut dies.

#### 4.5 Northern Hoards

Compared to the wide range of northern types, the number of northern hoards is comparatively small. Six hoards datable to Stephen's reign have been unearthed in the region. These are the Cattal Hoard

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<sup>408</sup> EMC 2009.0224.

<sup>409</sup> EMC 2018.0132.

(Yorkshire, 1684), the Prestwich Hoard (Lancashire, 1972), the Humberside Hoard (Yorkshire, 1994), the East Riding hoard (East Riding, Yorkshire, 2005), and the Hook Hoard (East Riding, Yorkshire, 2019). Lastly there is the Isle of Bute hoard (Strathclyde, 1863), which though geographically deposited well beyond the conflict zone, is nevertheless a hoard that looks to be of Stephen's reign and as the sole unambiguously Scottish hoard is undeniably significant.

The Cattal hoard is of uncertain size, but contained at least four coins.<sup>410</sup> The deposit date is given as either the early 1150s, or, more precisely by Blackburn, 1152. Blackburn's precision presumably relates to a specific type that was seen within the hoard, perhaps Stephen's Type 6 which he dated to between 1150 and 1154.<sup>411</sup> However the *Inventory of British Coin Hoards* describes the known coins as the Two Figures Type, Eustace fitz John's Lion Type, Robert de Stuteville's Horseman Type, and a penny of Stephen not described.<sup>412</sup> Despite the limited evidence, the presence of baronial coinage within this hoard implies that these regional issues were regarded as worth conserving by those who used coinage, perhaps alongside substantive royal issues. Strictly speaking, this hoard can claim the highest proportion of baronial coinage of any hoard of Stephen's reign. However, it may simply be that the unusual types were preserved by the finders, while a larger portion of more mundane coinage was discarded. Nevertheless, a high proportion of baronial money may indicate either an economy in which various types of coin were used alongside one another, or that the hoard's owner (or owners) was a traveller who moved between zones and so had to use many different coinages. The size estimate is unhelpful, though assuming that the figure of four coins is not too far from the actual total, the hoard may have been a purse, or at least of a size that was not difficult or risky to transport.

Unearthed in 1863 in a wall near the chapel of St Blane, the Isle of Bute hoard consisted of twenty-seven coins. Its findspot suggests deliberate concealment rather than accidental loss.<sup>413</sup> Three coins were of Stephen Type 1, fifteen deemed 'other', and nine 'uncertain'. Blackburn suggests a deposit

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<sup>410</sup> Blackburn 'C&C', 202.

<sup>411</sup> Blackburn 'C&C', 194.

<sup>412</sup> J.D.A Thompson, *Inventory of British Coin Hoards*, (1956), 25.

<sup>413</sup> D.M Metcalf, 'The Evidence of Scottish Coin Hoards for Monetary History, 1100-1600', *Coinage in Medieval Scotland (1100-1600)*, ed. D.M Metcalf, British Archaeological Reports 45 (1977), 1-60.

date of 1155.<sup>414</sup> The Inventory of British Coin Hoards provides more detail, and specifies that as well as three pennies of Stephen (all of uncertain mints) there was at least one penny of Earl Henry, and three of David (one attributed to the mint of Roxburgh, and another speculatively to Berwick). Nine coins in the hoard are attributed to Malcom IV (reigned 1153-1165), who was earl Henry's son and King David's successor.<sup>415</sup> Given these dates the hoard was not necessarily deposited under Stephen, but the fact that a significant share of it consists of coin issued during his reign, and the hoard's unique discovery well within the kingdom of Scotland, it merits discussion here. The mixture of types and issuing authorities, and the presence of money minted in England, supports the conventional understanding that consistency of type was not a major issue for coin users in Scotland. The hoard also renders it plausible that Henry of Northumberland's coinage was not merely that of an English earl for use in his English lands, but that it was intended for circulation in Scotland as well. However there is the counter possibility that, in the case of the Henry and David coinages which resemble Stephen's first type, the user may not even have been aware of whose money they were carrying. Regardless of the legal mechanisms or conventions affecting the use and control of coin, the hoard itself is one of the more sizable known from the north, and given the range of types was likely accumulated over an extended period of time. The hoard's find spot on a small island off Scotland's west coast makes it unique in that it is the only British hoard of the period in which the coins can be confirmed to have travelled by sea, perhaps as the result of trade or travel in the Irish Sea region.

The Prestwich hoard, discovered in 1972, is by far the most sizable hoard unearthed in the north, and one of the most substantial of Stephen's reign. Analysis here relies on personal examination of those coins held within the British Museum, and especially on documentation created by Archibald also held by the Museum. The hoard itself seems to have consisted of approximately 1065 coins. There is some uncertainty with regards to the number as the total figure provided in the original Coin Hoards report suggests 1065, while a manual count of available coins in the list gives a figure of 1062. There is the possibility that certain coins have been overlooked. For example, rather than provide a number

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<sup>414</sup> Blackburn, 'C&C', 202.

<sup>415</sup> Thompson, *Inventory of British Coin Hoards*, 21.

for Henry I's Type 1, the Coin Hoards report only refers to an unspecified number of cut pennies and halfpennies. Meanwhile, Archibald's provisional list suggests the former figure, but a double-checking of these numbers suggests a total of 1064.<sup>416</sup> While this difference is small, for the sake of clarity numbers used by the Coin Hoards report will be used going forward. This is because all sources agree on the relevant types present, and Coin Hoards provides extra detail on the hoard's distribution.

It has not been possible physically to examine the entire Prestwich hoard. Four hundred coins were divided unequally across nine different museums (the British Museum's being the largest single portion, at 185 coins), but 335 were sold through auction houses and the remainder (presumably 327-330, the final report does not state how many) were returned to the finder to be disposed of at their discretion. The hoard's size and dispersed nature renders detailed study difficult, but those coins held by the British Museum have been examined and added to the Corpus where appropriate.

Regardless of the precise number here, all available sources indicate a similar variety of types. This includes Henry I's Type 1 and Type 15, Stephen's Type 1 (including erased Type 1s and Type 1 coinages from local dies), Pereric, Empress Matilda's coinage, pennies in the name of 'Henry' (possibly of Anjou), the Roundels Type 1 variant associated with Queen Matilda, King David's coinage, Earl Henry's coinage, and a variety of 'uncertain baronial' coins. Geographically speaking, the mints extend across the realm, with Henry I's mints alone stretching from London to Gloucester, and Stephen's cast across a wide arc incorporating Newcastle, Thetford, London and Bristol. Of the Prestwich coins known to exist, 215 are recorded within the Corpus as part of the EMC. One-hundred-and-fifty-four of these are of Stephen's Type 1 (excluding local dies) and 22 are of Henry I's Type 15 (Appendix H).

Prestwich has yielded at least one new type: a cut halfpenny that bears some resemblance to David's Cross and Annulets coinage.<sup>417</sup> The obverse appears to be a rightward facing bust, while the reverse has annulets in the angles of a voided cross. No moneyer is identified. Indeed, the entire coin is

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<sup>416</sup> Archibald, 'Prestwich', *Unpublished Notes*; 'British and Irish Hoards', *Coin Hoards*, (London 1975) 85-107.

<sup>417</sup> EMC 1048.1358.

illegible, and there are no further hints as to the type's origin. The halfpenny weighs 0.71g, suggesting a good standard, consistent with other Scottish coinage.

The initial report for Coin Hoards provides a basic summary of the 1062 available coins, including type and moneyer. This is just shy of the 1065 total, though in the case of Henry I's Type 1, reference is made only to cut farthings and halfpennies. Worthy of note, an overwhelming proportion (831) are Stephen's Type 1, with Stephen's other substantive types apparently entirely absent, though there are a few local Type 1 imitations in Stephen's name. The Pereric coinage makes up the next largest portion, with 42 examples, followed by the erased coinages at 32 (no distinction is made between styles of erasure in the report, but the Corpus data suggests a mixture of Anglian Long Cross and Small Latin Cross). 38 coins of king David are recorded, though these are divided roughly between eight coins of his Cross Moline and 30 of his Cross and Annulets type.<sup>418</sup> From hereon the quantities are relatively small, with fourteen coins of the 'North Eastern Area' (presumably including York variants), eleven 'uncertain irregular' coins, and seven simply 'uncertain' (the distinction between the two is unclear though presumably refers to substantive designs versus local ones). Eight coins are grouped together as 'Scottish Border' types, presumably referring to issues in Stephen's name from local dies. Five are of the 'Roundels' type, and a further five are in the name of Empress Matilda. Lastly, three each are attributed to Henry of Anjou and Henry of Northumberland.<sup>419</sup>

Even though only a small portion of the hoard is identifiable within the Corpus, there is still an impressively wide range of data available for analysis, and from this significant inferences can be made. For example, it appears that the hoard is overwhelmingly of whole coins rather than of cut or fragmentary pennies. Of the 215 coins within the Corpus, just thirteen are cut, all being halfpennies. The coins with available weight tend towards the heavier end, with twelve coins weighing a gram or less, 46 coins weighing between 1.01g and 1.25g, and a striking 153 coins weighing between 1.26g and 1.51g. The overwhelming majority of the heavier coins are of Stephen's Type 1 and Henry I's Type 15, but local types such as the Pereric and David's Annulets type are represented as well.

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<sup>418</sup> Recorded as Stewarts IVa and IVc in Archibalds notes. See Stewart, *The Scottish Coinage*, 5.

<sup>419</sup> 'British and Irish Hoards', 92.



Stephen's Type 1 remains dominant, but the presence of local coinages suggests that the hoard was added to even as Stephen's other substantive types were in circulation. Prestwich supplies perhaps the most compelling evidence that Stephen's types 2 and 6 were broadly spurned by coin users, at least beyond the region in which they were struck. However, it may be the types were simply not accessible.

The mints of Prestwich are striking for their sheer variety and geographical reach. Forty-two mints of Stephen's Type 1 are recorded, and these are typically shared with the other types. The only mints recorded in Prestwich that are not represented in the hoard's sample of Type 1 coinage are Carlisle (recorded three times in the Scottish Border types, and fifteen times in David's coinage), Malmesbury (recorded twice in Henry of Anjou's coinage), the mints of Edinburgh, Roxburgh and Perth (nine, one and eight times respectively in David's coinage), and the mint of Corbridge (recorded three times in earl Henry of Northumberland's coinage and the only mint to produce his types recorded within the hoard). There are a further 76 Type 1 coins with unidentifiable mints, one Roundels coin, two 'North Eastern' coins, and four coins of David that are similarly unattributable.

In terms of mint representation, the hoard demonstrates on a larger scale what might be expected from hoards of this period. Major portions of the hoard are sourced from 'local' northern mints, particularly Chester (129) and York (67). On the other hand, mints from further south and east remain well represented, most notably Lincoln, which at 160 coins makes up the largest single segment of the hoard. Lincoln's dominance is understandable, given its proximity to the south-eastern zone (and as a result often substantially represented in finds, regardless of their location). London (95) likewise features prominently, as does Norwich (77). But mints much further south, such as Canterbury (29) and Southwark (18), are here represented in numbers comparable or notably higher to those for the northern mints such as Newcastle (20) and Durham (3). The proportions here reinforce our impression of the south-east's economic dominance in a way that cannot be explained merely by the tendency of metal-detectorists to focus on southern or eastern sites. It is particularly noteworthy that the quantity of coinage from Scottish mints is very low. Firstly the Scottish types already make up a fairly low proportion, just 33 coins of David and three of his son Henry. Edinburgh (7) Roxburgh (1) and Perth

(8) are the only mints from Scotland north of the Clyde to appear in the hoard. The mints of Corbridge (3), Newcastle (20) and Carlisle (18) that were acquired as part of David's initial invasion do not greatly alter this picture, though it is noteworthy that the most prolific mints under Scottish control were those in previously English-held lands. This would not remain the case, as in later Scottish types, the mints of Berwick and Roxburgh become more prominent in David's coinage.<sup>420</sup>

Prestwich represents by far the largest hoard of Stephen's reign available to study even in part, with a total face value of upwards of £4 8s.6d. It is inconceivable that such a hoard could have been misplaced without its owner being aware of the loss, and so it must have been deposited either through a spectacular (possibly violent) accident, or deliberately concealed. The hoard itself was unearthed during construction excavations, preserved in a pot or vase.<sup>421</sup> The chronological range of the types is unusual, leaning towards the initial decade of Stephen's reign, with only Henry (of Anjou's) coin serving to indicate a date later than the mid 1140s. It is of course perfectly plausible (in fact almost certain) either that the hoard was revisited over time and added to, or that it drew from multiple sources over an extended period and perhaps from different regions. In terms of types collected, the owner (or owners) seemingly favoured those which take Stephen's Type 1 or Henry's Type 15 as their prototype. While types such as David's Annulets coinage show modification to the reverse, it is entirely possible that a person handling large quantities of coin might not have noticed (or simply not cared) if different types slipped in. The preference for moline-style coins (whether erased, voided or in the name of different individuals) is helpfully demonstrated by the available image of the initial report.<sup>422</sup> Conspicuous from their absence are any baronial coins that radically vary from this design. Considering that York coinage makes up a sizeable portion of Prestwich, and that the *terminus post quem* for the hoard's final assembly is likely the 1150s, there would have been ample opportunity for these more explicitly baronial types to enter the hoard. We may choose to interpret this absence as evidence that variant types were deliberately excluded, although it is not

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<sup>420</sup> I. Stewart 'The Volume of Early Scottish Coinage' *Coinage in Medieval Scotland (1100-1600)*, ed. D.M. Metcalf, British Archeological Reports xlv (1977) 65-72.

<sup>421</sup> Archibald, *Unpublished Notes* 'Prestwich'.

<sup>422</sup> 'British and Irish Hoards' 91.

impossible simply that they failed to circulate in the areas from which the compilers of Prestwich drew.

There is of course the question of what such a large hoard was doing in the area, and how it came to be deposited. The hoard might have belonged to a relatively wealthy individual, but there is no clear indicator of who that might have been. It perhaps represents taxes collected by a particular official, or pay intended for troops. The fact that there is no uniformity of issuing authorities among the types does not discount this theory, for the *Dialogus* indicates a longstanding tradition (at least in Cumberland and Northumberland) whereby tax need not be paid in current coin.<sup>423</sup> Regardless of possible reasons for the hoard's assembly, the variety of coins suggests it was accrued over an extended period, after the breakdown in the royal monopoly over coinage but before the reintroduction of uniformity. This, combined with the fact that its container was a ceramic vessel, suggests perhaps that it once belonged to a relatively wealthy individual who, given the instability of the period, opted to conceal their wealth, but later was unable to retrieve it. It is tempting to suggest that the owner(s) died during the war, which would simultaneously explain why the hoard was not retrieved and why later types do not appear. While it is difficult to estimate how much wealth the hoard would have represented, it seems highly improbable that anyone who knew of its existence would not have made an effort to retrieve it.

More than twenty years would pass after Prestwich before another hoard of Stephen's reign appeared in the north, and it proved small compared with its predecessor, as well as strikingly uniform. In 1994 three coins of Stephen's Type 1 were unearthed on Humberside in Yorkshire. If Prestwich's variety yields wide possibilities for analysis and interpretation, Humberside's is helpfully brief. Based on its types, the hoard has been dated c.1140.<sup>424</sup> However it is of course possible that this hoard simply

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<sup>423</sup> *DDS*, 14-5, 'Et nota quosdam comitatus a tempore regis Henrici primi et in tempore regis Henrici secundi licite potuisse cuiuscumque monete denarios solutioni offerre dummodo argentei essent et ponderi legitimo non obstaret; quia scilicet monetarios ex antiqua institutione non habentes undecumque<sup>o</sup> sibi denarios perquirebant, quales sunt Norhumberland et Cumberland. Sic autem suscepti denarii, licet de firma essent, seorsum tamen ab aliis cum quibusdam signis appositis mittebantur. Reliqui uero comitatus solos usuales et instantis monete legitimos denarios tam de firmis quam de placitis afferebant.' Specifically this was on account of those areas having no mints of their own.

<sup>424</sup> Allen, 'The Volume of the English Currency, c. 973-1158', 511

belonged to someone who had little use for (or access to) coin, and so did not collect the myriad other types in circulation.<sup>425</sup>

The East Riding hoard of 2005 is similarly small, with eight coins of Stephen Type 1. Finally (so far) there is the Hook hoard (also from the East Riding) unearthed in 2019. Hook contained seven pennies of Stephen's type 1, of which one is a cut halfpenny, and one is complete but broken. Similarity of content naturally leads to a similar range of possible interpretations. But their addition to the record indicates a pattern of smaller hoards being deposited in Yorkshire. This may indicate an increase in monetisation, casual use, and casual loss, though given the aforementioned trend for the east to attract more detectorists and hence more finds, this is uncertain.<sup>426</sup> The dominance of Type 1 in both of these smaller hoards may indicate early deposit, or supply evidence of the type's continued popularity during the wartime years.

#### 4.6 Single Find Distributions

The single find evidence for northern coins clearly indicates that money circulated according to the same basic patterns that had been established prior to the war. Broadly speaking, finds indicate that northern coin moved south and east, into areas such as Lincolnshire, and even further south down to Norfolk. This is evident even from Scottish types. While most Scottish coins are of uncertain origin, there are more recorded single finds of David I from Norfolk (4) and even Kent (2) than from either Stirling (1) or East Lothian (1), and recorded finds overall arc evenly from Durham down the east coast. Henry of Northumberland's coinage travelled a similar distance, with at least one penny found in Kent. Henry's single finds overall seem to be concentrated in the north, with Cumberland (6) and Northumberland (6) producing the most finds, and one penny even being found at Malew on the Isle of Man. Movement of Henry's coinage appears to have been more lateral and local compared with David's, and it is possible that, since David's money was that of a monarch while Henry's was that of an earl, the former was more widely accepted for use in lands beyond its immediate zone of production. There is also the possibility that David (embarking as he did on multiple military ventures

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<sup>425</sup> Checklist, 419a.

<sup>426</sup> PAS YORYM-0395E5.

into the north of England) found more cause to spend coin, and so his money was distributed as pay and plunder across a wider area.

The myriad York local types and variants have distribution patterns similar to the trend set by earl Henry's money, in that while there are rare examples of the types being found well beyond where they were struck (for example a Two-Figures penny in Essex, and a Flag type in Surrey), the bulk of these coins do not seem to have travelled far, with the overwhelming majority being unearthed in York or neighbouring Lincolnshire. Kelleher's work is tremendously useful in this regard, and indicates that various northern local monies circulated within specific zones, up and down the east coast. The distribution of the York coinage suggests that it was a far more localised coinage than the Scottish types.<sup>427</sup>

Meanwhile the Annulets coinage of Durham is an unusual case, as most such coins listed in the Corpus do not have a find spot. Lincolnshire, Norfolk and Yorkshire each have a single find, while the two from the Prestwich hoard technically make Lancashire the county in which the largest proportion has been discovered. The paucity of data hinders analysis here. The pattern of single finds indicates travel south and east, but not the same range as movement seen for other northern types.

There is a similar trend for the Newcastle Voided Long Cross, which is scattered across an arc trending south and east, with finds in Durham, Bedfordshire, Norfolk and Suffolk, but also north into Perth and Kinross. The single coin with a Crozier and Mitre was found in what is vaguely referred to as 'Northumberland'.<sup>428</sup> Given that the Voided Long Cross coins bear very strong resemblance to Stephen's Type 1, while the Mitre coinage does not, it is possible that the latter did not travel as far simply because it was never intended to, but rather was an issue created by a local authority for local payments. Alternatively coin users beyond the Newcastle region may have actively rejected this distinctive-looking type. Meanwhile the voided coinage in Stephen's name may have been intended to

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<sup>427</sup> Kelleher, 'Coins, Monetisation', 396.

<sup>428</sup> EMC 2009.0224.

circulate alongside conventional Type 1 coins, or perhaps, alternatively, the modification to the reverse may not have been considered sufficiently noticeable for individuals in other areas to reject it.

#### 4.7 Regionalism, Adaptation, and Nominal Loyalties: Understanding Northern Coinage

The coinage of the north forms a comparatively small proportion of the Corpus, but represents perhaps the most diverse range of types to emerge during Stephen's reign. While it could be argued that such variety resulted from an absence of any clear English monarchical presence, the situation is in reality more complex. Certainly, a wide range of baronial coinages were struck in the names of figures not themselves English kings, most notably the coins of earl Henry and the various York types, as well as the apparently episcopal coin of Newcastle. Nevertheless a substantial body of coin was issued in Stephen's name, even if they displayed modified iconography. These coins were produced at the York, Newcastle and Durham mints, all from areas in which Stephen was rarely physically present, especially after 1139. But it is not the case that Stephen had no influence in the region at all, as in 1149 he went to York in order to oppose the alliance of Ranulf, Henry of Anjou and King David. Earl William was almost certainly aligned against Stephen by this time, which may have been a further motivating factor for Stephen to travel north. Even after his departure, Stephen's position at York was swiftly taken by his son Eustace.<sup>429</sup> Therefore, while the furthest north may have been further than Stephen was able to travel securely, York itself was not entirely beyond royal reach.

Hoard evidence paints a picture of localised distribution, with local types not straying far from their mints. However, the single find evidence offers a more nuanced picture, as variants moved along established pre-war routes of distribution, down the east coast and into the south. This occurred most frequently among types that were in Stephen's name, and which did not have substantial iconographic variation to their obverse (for example the Voided Moline, Palm and Standard types). Those types in Stephen's name that do show iconographic variation (such as the Two Figure type) do not appear to have travelled far. The fact that imitations of Stephen's types in David's name travelled well beyond their place of issue is intriguing, and suggests that design rather than issuing authority was the

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<sup>429</sup> Dalton, *Conquest, Anarchy and Lordship*, 173.

deciding factor in whether or not a coin was deemed suitable for transport beyond the north.

Conformity to Type 1 style motifs clearly also played a role. Kelleher noted an over-propensity for York coinage to be fractional, and speculated that this might have been deliberately done, to obscure the ‘otherness’ of more innovative baronial types.<sup>430</sup> If Kelleher’s theory is correct, then (combined with the traveling of Scottish Type 1 style coins) it would suggest baronial issues (at least of York) were produced more for political motives than as a result of local economic demand.

In terms of what was hoarded, it appears that Stephen’s types, especially his Type 1 were the most common. The frequent hoarding of this type may have been due to its popularity and trustworthiness, or simply because it was the most widely available. When other coins appear in hoards, they are typically derivatives of this same type, though other local coins were also hoarded, in the Cattal and Prestwich hoards in company with baronial coins. Scottish coins that appear in hoards tend towards the northern frontier, although by no means excluded from hoards further south, and there is no indication that there was a hard policy of exclusion for any particular type. Instead it would appear that money could (and did) flow freely across the region, with some types travelling further south and others (typically coinage of Stephen and David) moving further north along established routes.

It is worth revisiting the notion of the north as a region divided into three loose ‘zones’, each dominated by a particular noble or aristocratic faction: William of Aumale and the Yorkshire baronage in the east; David, Earl Henry and the lands under Scottish authority in the north, and Ranulf of Chester in the west. How does the numismatic evidence as laid out here complement or challenge this notion?

#### 4.7a Scottish

On a certain level, the distinctive nature of the Scottish coinage is undeniable, in that it represents the introduction of money struck in the name of a Scottish monarch as a competitor to that of the English king. Coins of David were struck at formerly ‘English’ mints such as Carlisle, but also at new mints in Scotland such as Edinburgh, Roxburgh and Perth. The existence of such mints should be sufficient

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<sup>430</sup> Kelleher, ‘Coins, Monetisation’, 59.

proof that David's issues were not simply struck for use in whatever territories he gained in the war against Stephen. Instead there appears to have been a deliberate and wider attempt to introduce the minting of money in all territories over which David held sway.

David's reign saw a major transformation of Scottish kingship, and the acceleration of a process by which pre-existing mechanisms of royal governance were reformed along Anglo-Norman lines.<sup>431</sup> David's coins might be understood as part of this wider reform package. However, Metcalf argued persuasively that David did not simply introduce coin-use to Scotland where there had been none before. Finds of English coinage in Scotland prior to David's reign are rare, at least when compared with those in its southern neighbour. But it seems likely that English coinage was used in Scotland, even if Scotland more generally was not as monetised as its southern neighbour. Metcalf drew attention to cartulary evidence which indicates that rents and official payments were being made in coin, well before the introduction of David's money.<sup>432</sup> Indeed one of the earliest available charters in David's name, dating to the reign of his predecessor Alexander (reigned 1107-1124) has David (then holder of the honour of Huntingdon), along with his wife, the countess Maud, granting 100 shillings from his holdings in Northamptonshire to the church of Glasgow.<sup>433</sup> The reference to money here suggests the movement of cash rents obtained in England north to Scotland. A later charter (c.1131-1141, though most likely 1136) of David, now as king, confirms the grant to Glasgow cathedral of the eighth penny of all pleas through Cumberland.<sup>434</sup> The eighth penny presumably referred to cash revenues generated from judicial process, which would suggest a significantly monetised local economy even in these relatively remote parts. The charter also makes the point of distinguishing between 'denarii' (or pennies), and 'pecunia' which was translated by G.W.S Barrow as 'cattle', but could conceivably refer to any form of portable wealth. A third charter of David (regrettably of uncertain date) does not refer to coin explicitly, but rather grants Dunfermline Abbey the customary

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<sup>431</sup> G.W.S Barrow, *Kingship and Unity: Scotland 1000-1306* (1981), 32-5.

<sup>432</sup> Metcalf, 'The Evidence of Scottish Coin Hoards for Monetary History' 4-8.

<sup>433</sup> G.W.S Barrow, *The Charters of David I: The Written Acts* The Written Acts of David I King of Scots, 1124-53, and of his son Henry, Earl of Northumberland, 1139-52 (Woodbridge 1999), no.3, 'Notum sit omnibus bovis me in perpetuo prebuisse redditonem centum solidum in hardingestrona Glasguensi ecclesie in elemosina'.

<sup>434</sup> Barrow, *The Charters of David I*, no.58 'Sciatis me desdisse et concessisse deo et ecclesie Sancti Kentegerni de Glasgu octaum denarium de omnibus placiticis meis per totam Cumberlandm que placitabuntur, aut in denarii saut pecunia.'



render from ships arriving at the port of Inverness. While not mentioning cash, the reference to sea trade on the east coast is highly suggestive of international trade, which was almost certainly a prime cause for the introduction of foreign coin.<sup>435</sup> David was also an English magnate, well before becoming Scotland's king, and thus would have been long exposed to Anglo-Norman governance and its dependence on coin both for income and expenditure.

Available evidence strongly suggests that payment in coin was not unheard of in Scotland before the introduction of David's coinage. At the very least it appears that various payments were calculated in monetary terms, suggesting a society that was at least partially monetised: 'partially' here being the operative word. The reference to pennies or other portable wealth suggests an anticipation from the granter that coin might not be readily available.

The healthy weight of David's and Henry's coinage has traditionally been attributed to Scottish control of the silver mines of Carlisle.<sup>436</sup> A charter probably dating between 1141 and 1153 confirms David's grant of three marks of silver from the mine at Carlisle to Nostell Priory in Yorkshire.<sup>437</sup> There is no reason to doubt that the Cumbrian mines were exploited as a resource by the Scots, though recent research by Jane Kershaw, Rory Naismith, Stephen Merkel and Carl Savage suggests that they were a source principally of lead rather than of silver. Furthermore, the three coins of David's subjected to elemental analysis actually contained slightly less silver than those of Stephen, which hints at a modest debasement of the Scottish coinage and not the 'excellent quality' coins described by King.<sup>438</sup> Allen's work on the Short Cross coinage of Henry I struck at the Carlisle mint also questioned the mine's status as a major source of silver.<sup>439</sup> Under David, pre-existing English coin would almost certainly have been a source of silver, much as it was elsewhere. The charter itself is also a reminder of the fluidity of the boundaries of individual authority in the north. David's influence

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<sup>435</sup> Barrow, *The Charters of David I*, no.138 'Ut habveant omnes rectitudines de omnibus navibus que in portu de Inviresc aplicuerint et ibi super terram suam retinacula sua fixerint, exception theloneo meo si ibi mercatores naviu mmerce suas vendiderint'.

<sup>436</sup> King, *King Stephen*, 214.

<sup>437</sup> Barrow, *The Charters of David I*, no. 145 'Sciatis me concessisse[...]tres marcas argenti unoquoque anno de mineria mea de Carleolo'.

<sup>438</sup> C.Savage, R.Naismith, R. Merkel & J. Kershaw, 'Sources of silver in twelfth-Century northern English and Scottish coins: a preliminary look', *BNJ*, xciv (2024) 87-100

<sup>439</sup> M.Allen, 'The Carlisle and Durham Mints in the Short Cross Period', *BNJ*, xlix (1979) 42-55.

(and money) flowed within a system in which he was able to draw upon silver mines in recently conquered territory, possibly for use in newly established mints much deeper into Scotland. It may well have been that the new mints in Scotland spurred an increase in monetisation, or simply injected more coin into an area that was already more monetised than the record of coin finds might indicate. It is as part of this mixed picture that David's coinage must be considered, alongside any potential implications that it may have for the already monetised regions that he obtained during the war.

It is tempting simply to take the observations from David's coinage, and repeat them for the coins of Earl Henry, his son. Certainly the question of silver and its sources remains the same. There is even a similar charter from Earl Henry granting Nostell an identical sum from his mine at Carlisle.<sup>440</sup> But there are several distinctions between David and Henry that mean that their coins were not simply products of the same system, with the same purpose. Most significantly, Henry was not (nor ever would be) a king, and his coinage therefore belongs to the category of baronial rather than regal money. Henry's exact title appears to have been disputed when he lived, and modern scholars describe him as Henry of Scots, Henry Earl of Huntingdon, as simply lord/holder of the honour of Huntingdon, and/or as Earl of Northumberland.<sup>441</sup> After Stephen's initial promise of promotion for Henry c.1136, Richard of Hexham records a second 'Treaty of Durham' negotiated in 1139, whereby Henry was finally established in the earldom of Northumberland.<sup>442</sup> Boon's comment on the 'Henric Erl' coinage drew attention to this date, and if the coins must be precisely dated then this must be to a period after Henry received his title, even though the 'N.ENCIL ]CON' coins complicate this picture somewhat.<sup>443</sup>

The relationship between Scottish coinage and notions of kingship takes on new significance when cartulary evidence is brought into consideration. Barrow noted that David's grants often recorded that they were made with the consent of his son, and that this joint rule by father and son was a distinct feature of David's reign.<sup>444</sup> It is possible that Henry's right to issue coinage stemmed from a form of

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<sup>440</sup> Barrow, *The Charters of David I*, no.146 'H comes filius regis Scot' [...] Sciatis me concessisse ecclesie Sancti Oswaldi et canonicis ibidem deo servientibus .iij. marcas unoquoque anno de mineria mea de Carl'.

<sup>441</sup> Barrow, 'The Scots and the North of England' 247-9, Fairbairn, 'King Stephen's Reign', 97, Crouch, *The Reign*, 137.

<sup>442</sup> *DGRS*, 177-8.

<sup>443</sup> Boon, *Coinage of The Anarchy*, 24.

<sup>444</sup> Barrow, *The Charters of David I*, 5.

co-rule, if not outright co-kingship, whereby the heir presumptive was granted certain royal privileges in anticipation of his becoming king. Many charters emphasise Henry's role as the son of king David, and three texts issued at St Andrews in the 1140s further describe him as 'rex designatus': a title likely borrowed from the Capetians. Barrow's analysis of David's charters characterised the relationship between the King and his son as something like co-kingship, even if only one of the two could claim full royal title. David and Henry frequently issued charters making similar grants, to similar locations at similar times. Barrow also noted the regional nature of Scottish government, in which power might be regularly delegated and regional proxies (particularly in the north and west) operated with significant autonomy.<sup>445</sup> It is into this picture of Scottish government that earl Henry's coinage must be fitted. There is the possibility that permitting Henry to issue money was not the equivalent of a continental French-style tradition of baronial coinage, but rather according to a model of co-kingship whereby father and son co-operated in certain aspects of royal government. Such sharing of royal privilege occurred despite clear distinction being drawn between the King and his designated heir.

Given that several other earls across England (Patrick of Salisbury, Robert of Gloucester, and of course William of Aumale in the north, to name just a few) issued money in their own names, there is the question of whether the right to issue coinage was granted by Stephen as part of the peace of 1139. In such a case, it could be that such coin was meant only for use in Henry's English territories, and not in Scotland. The distribution of the Henry pennies might technically support this suggestion, as all of Henry's types are overwhelmingly found in the north of England, with seemingly none (at least within the Corpus) unearthed in Scotland. Though again, the murkiness of where twelfth-century 'Scotland' began or ended means any conclusions must be drawn with caution. While the twelve counties that have yielded Henry pennies stretch as far south as Kent, there is a clear tendency for Henry's types to be unearthed in the north. Cumberland and Northumberland provide almost a third of the known finds, with fourteen of the forty-one pennies split between those two counties at eight and six respectively. Meanwhile Durham's three finds make it the third ranking county to yield types of Henry (Appendix X). Such a pattern suggests comparatively localised circulation, and may imply a

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<sup>445</sup> G.W.S Barrow, 'Charters of David I', *ANS* xiv (1991), 26-35.

more consensual approach to the monetary devolution that occurred under Stephen. It could also, of course, have been the case that Henry opted to issue money in his English lands and deliberately chose not to have coin issued in Scotland that might otherwise challenge the monetary authority of his father: an authority that Henry could have safely assumed would become his own in time.

#### 4.7b York

The available evidence for the York coinage presents neither obvious challenge nor further support for extant interpretations, a sensible level of caution notwithstanding. What the available data reveals is that, despite the variety of types and presumably the political developments that led to each type's issue, a clear effort was made to issue consistent coinage, with the ranges of weights among those local types showing no obvious sign of major debasement or a marked departure from pre-war standards. Many of the York local types do not appear to have travelled far from their mint, and again this could be taken as a sign of a 'deliberately' local minting policy, especially given that what types have been unearthed further afield bear close resemblance to Stephen's Type 1. Even so, the available data suggests that Stephen's Type 1 coins from York did not travel significantly further than any of the local coinages produced at the mint.

Allen's framework suggests that Type 1 was produced alongside the York local coinages.<sup>446</sup> It may therefore be that there was a general localisation of trade as a result of political instability. But it is unusual that even for the years prior to *c.*1141, no great portion of Stephen's substantive issue from York has been unearthed south of the Wash either as hoards or single finds. Within the corpus single finds of Type 1 from York tend to be made locally. Six York pennies are recorded from Yorkshire, followed by four each unearthed in Lincolnshire and Hertfordshire (Appendix X). It might therefore be that York pennies were already a relatively local issue, even before the war. There are still no clear answers to questions of where the York types were intended to be used, and whether distinction of type mattered to those controlling the York mint, . The lack of any clear demonstration of a specific economic function for York types (for example that specific types were intended for specific

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<sup>446</sup> Allen, 'The York Local Coinage of the Reign of Stephen', 299.

payments) results in a return to a political interpretation for these coins, such as the notion that William of Aumale deployed his influence over the mint in order to aggrandise himself and his followers, in response to local political needs.

There is something to be said for the weakness of this Aumale-centric interpretation, at least with regard to evidence available from the Corpus. The numismatists' tendency to be overly precise with date and attribution risks leading the historians astray. The connection between 'York coins' and York itself is based firstly on the proximity of named baronial figures to the city, and secondly on stylistic similarities. Even so, the reverse legends are deliberately obscured, and no mint signature or moneyers names are available. Given that such a variety of types was produced, including those struck in the names of figures who were not earls and (in the case of William and Bishop Henry) likely in political opposition to each other, it is just as plausible that the moneyers here were operating in a private capacity, producing small issues of coins for individual patrons from dies produced in an appropriate style. While longstanding legislation suggests that moneyers were meant to strike coins only in cities, such moneyers were also perfectly capable of travelling between mints.<sup>447</sup> Whoever crafted the York baronial issues may have been based in York, but then travelled with the necessary equipment to issue coinage according to the wishes of particular local patrons elsewhere. Those who created the coins were certainly technically skilled, as the styles of the coins themselves clearly show. They were also clearly literate and may well have been associated with the continued production of various of Stephen's coins in York. But it is uncertain that a neat through-line can be drawn from William of Aumale to all of the various York types, some of which display different styles of motif, inscription and erasure. As always, caution must be exercised before reaching for any particular interpretation.

As can clearly be seen, the mint of York presents one of the most vibrant flowerings of numismatic iconography to emerge during Stephen's reign, assuming that the many anonymised types are indeed of the York mint. Given similarities in style, and the alignment between names appearing on coins and those of the principal Yorkshire magnates, York was very likely the chief source here. But what

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<sup>447</sup> Naismith, 'The Moneyers and Domesday Book', 192.

conclusions can be drawn from such diversity? Dalton considered the variety of types as representing a serious deterioration of royal control over Yorkshire after 1138.<sup>448</sup> Meanwhile Allen's work on the subject remains persuasive, and Aumale's influence is at least plausible, though given that mints were effectively private enterprises it is not inconceivable that various barons simply contracted moneyers and die cutters to make coin, which they then disposed of as payments or for use in their own localities as they saw fit.

With regard to the episcopal coins there is the possibility that these were produced by a supporter of Archbishop Henry within the city of York, though the circumstances here remains unclear and our interpretation depends on how rigorously mints within the city were regulated, once it became apparent the royal monopoly had ended. There are also alternative attributions that might be made for the York episcopal coinage, possibly associated not with Henry Murdac but with Henry of Blois, who as the King's brother had the support of Archbishop William de Corbeil (1136) and more significantly of York's treasurer, Hugh du Puiset.<sup>449</sup> If these coins were the product of archbishop William's patronage, that would imply that they were the product of the Canterbury rather than the York mint, which seems unlikely given their design and the distribution of their finds across Yorkshire and Lincolnshire. On the other hand attributing the coinage to Henry of Blois would help to explain the 'EPC' contraction. In truth there is no easy route to certainty here. It is also unclear why either Archbishop would choose to issue coinage in the name of a third person, Henry of Blois. If Hugh du Puiset did indeed instigate the issue, then this might perhaps suggests that control over mints did not rest exclusively with the most senior magnates, but might be influenced by more junior administrators

#### 4.7c Local Stephen Types

In terms of Stephen variants attributed to Newcastle and Durham, not a great deal can be said that is not applicable to local variants more generally. The iconographic variation is subtle, while being distinct enough to be deliberate. Both the Voided Moline and Durham Annulets types bear marked resemblance to conventional Stephen Type 1 coins, retaining the bust and moline. Both types, and

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<sup>448</sup> Dalton, *Conquest, Anarchy and Lordship: Yorkshire*, 162.

<sup>449</sup> Ibid, 161.

especially the Annulets, make such subtle adjustments to the coin design that it seems most reasonable to infer they were not part of any serious attempt to cultivate any particular individual's political reputation. Likewise, there is no clear indication of a closed monetary system from which 'rival' coin was excluded, or of these types being used to supplement a specific regional demand for specifically 'local' coin. The episcopal (possibly saintly) coinage is the exception here, but the type's rarity, as well as a lack of any clear patron with whom to associate it, preclude any more certain interpretation.

#### 4.7d The Void/Ranulf

Finally, further attention ought to be given to the place of Ranulf of Chester in the northern coinage. At the time of writing, no coin of the earl has been unearthed, nor has there been even a speculative attribution of a coin to him. What makes the absence of coin in Ranulf's name particularly strange is that his ambitions and accumulation of power gave him considerable influence in so many other matters across the north. During Stephen's reign, Ranulf was so formidable that the *Gesta Stephani* described him as terrorising 'the whole north' and ultimately possessing almost a third of the kingdom.<sup>450</sup> In Yorkshire, Eustace fitz John, Ranulf's constable and most senior counsellor since 1144, supported Ranulf by destroying castles in the East Riding.<sup>451</sup> In the Scottish borderlands, Ranulf rode against the Scots in pursuit of his own claims to Carlisle, and later he co-operated with King David and a young Henry of Anjou in an attack on York.<sup>452</sup> In Wales, he accepted Cadwalдар ap Gruffud (exiled king of Gwynedd) into his entourage and wed Madog ap Mreiddud (king of Powys) to his niece. Despite being traditionally characterised as selfish and opportunistic in quintessentially 'anarchic' fashion, Ranulf never explicitly rejected Stephen's claim to be king. However, Dalton's more charitable reading of Ranulf as a 'neutral' party does not alter the contemporary perception of Ranulf as unreliable and ambivalent in his loyalties.<sup>453</sup> Politically, the earl appears to have attempted to walk a middle path between the main factions, and likely benefited from a weak royal presence as

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<sup>450</sup> *GS*, 166, 'Comes namque Cestriae uniuersam illam borealem plagam continua persecutione affligere', 186, 'Comes siquidem Cestriae, qui tertiam fere regni partem armis praualentibus occuparat'.

<sup>451</sup> Dalton, *Conquest, Anarchy and Lordship*, 174; White, 'The Legacy of Ranulf de Gernons', 118.

<sup>452</sup> White, 'The Legacy of Ranulf de Gernons', 121.

<sup>453</sup> Dalton, 'In Neutro Latere', 39-41, 48.

Stephen rarely travelled beyond Yorkshire and certainly not as far as Cheshire.<sup>454</sup> Ranulf's seeming reluctance to commit to any one side in the war is described as a prime factor in the advice from Stephen's courtiers that led to his arrest and the surrender of many properties he had acquired from his rivals in the north. Yet Ranulf's arrest did not occur until 1146, and a wide variety of other magnates look to have issued their own money prior to this.<sup>455</sup> It might therefore be that Ranulf intended to demonstrate nominal loyalty to Stephen by maintaining Stephen's pre-war coinage, rather than producing his own issue and staking a claim to un-precedented autonomy.

The Earldom of Chester was an unusual area during Stephen's reign, with privileges and distinct administrative procedures that arguably made Ranulf's status unique among the other magnates. Established under William I, the earldom was one of several created after the Conquest, but while other more southerly earldoms would be reabsorbed and see their administration brought into line with royal standards at the expense of their earls, Chester would go on to develop distinct institutions, including most notably its own exchequer. As mentioned previously, it is unclear if the exchequer was fully formed under Ranulf, but distinct practices of fiscal administration appear to have been at least partially developed. Certainly Ranulf's method of expanding his own administrative power as well as territorial influence was part of a trend that continued under his predecessors.<sup>456</sup> Chester's geographical position likely contributed to Ranulf's (and his heirs') ability to act autonomously, being simultaneously positioned far enough to the north-west to be beyond any monarch's easy reach, and sufficiently (though by no means conveniently) close to the contested frontier of Scotland to exert influence there. Chester was most especially close to Wales, with a strategic location in the northern march that presented Ranulf with an opportunity to expand his holdings at the expense of native princes, even while nominally working to protect the lands he held under the authority of the English monarch. Even in the succession of events that were to lead to his arrest at court, Ranulf had appealed

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<sup>454</sup> White 'Continuity', 130.

<sup>455</sup> *GS* 194-8 'Talibus rex instigatus iam se cum comite progressurum aiebat, iam se in expeditionem promoturum lætus et alacer promittebat, cum ecce primi omnes, qui ei assistebant, animaduertentes quod præfata comes in dolo loqueretur, a proposito regem subito reuocarunt.'

<sup>456</sup> White, 'The Legacy of Ranulf de Gernons', 112-7.



to Stephen for aid against Welsh attacks, as if such attacks were as much a threat to the King as to the earl.<sup>457</sup>

Expansion by local barons rather than the King was the norm across the Welsh march, especially in the early Norman period. William I only made a single visit to Wales, while Henry I led two separate invasions to shore up the march. Stephen supported the marcher lords materially though not with his presence during the Welsh rising at the start of his reign, which marked a general weakening of the Anglo-Norman presence in the region. The marcher lords, broadly speaking, were by the end of the war ultimately aligned against Stephen.<sup>458</sup> As has been discussed previously, the southern march (notably those marcher lords who supported Matilda) also produced distinct coinage. Such coin may have been intended to finance their own military ventures or to further the integration of Welsh lands within Anglo-Norman conventions of administration. Yet again this pattern of quasi-independence, and the precedent set by other (though not all) marcher lords, makes Ranulf's wider political actions more easily understandable and the absence of any coinage of his own the more perplexing.

The mint of Chester struck coins of Stephen's Type 1, and it is unclear when production ended though a single Type 7 coin is attributed to the mint and so it may be that Type 1 was continually issued until 1153. Interestingly, the Chester Type 1 coins are comparatively common: 50 of them can be confidently attributed to Chester, sixteen from Prestwich. This is not a great quantity at first glance, but if Allen's assertion that Type 1 was issued at York for the majority of Stephen's reign is correct then it compares favourably with that mint's 68 examples (twenty-five of these known from Prestwich). York also benefits from being an eastern mint with a closer proximity to areas where geography assists the work of detectorists and inflates the number of finds. Examination of available Chester coins does not suggest any distinct local pattern of die production, and though there appear to have been some die duplicates (for example the coins of Æthelmaer within Prestwich) there is sufficient variety, both of moneyers (at least 6) and dies, to suggest substantial long-term production.

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<sup>457</sup> *GS*, 192-4.

<sup>458</sup> Crouch 'The March and The Welsh Kings', *The Anarchy of King Stephen's Reign*, ed. E. King (Oxford 2001) 255-89; M.Lieberman, *The March of Wales 1067-1300: A Borderland in Medieval Britain* (Cardiff 2008) 21-4.

It is undeniable that several of Ranulf's northern neighbours, his fellow earls and his fellow marcher lords opted to strike their own coinage. Why therefore did the Earl of Chester not do the same? Given that this turns upon an argument *ex silentio*, sensible caution is required, as it could be that Ranulf's coins still await discovery. There is no indication that coin production at Chester ceased, and given Ranulf's military ventures he likely had need of coin for troops in much the same way Robert of Gloucester surely did. Despite a dearth of finds in Cheshire, it is inconceivable that an institution such as an independent exchequer could have emerged in an area without a monetised economy. Beyond the notion that they did exist but simply do not survive (a problematic reading), there are two possible explanations for why no coins of Ranulf have been found. Firstly, Ranulf's own political caution is well established. His political isolation is alluded to in the *Gesta*, as well as his seizure of royal lands.<sup>459</sup> But Ranulf also renewed his oath of allegiance to Stephen in 1146 and received not only Lincoln but numerous other northern and midlands lordships from the King.<sup>460</sup> Ranulf's appeal to Stephen for aid against the Welsh that same year suggests he considered himself in good enough standing to be deemed worthy of trust and support. The fact that Ranulf chose not to introduce his own coinage may have been a demonstration (whether sincere or not) of loyalty to Stephen.

However, if Ranulf was indeed hoping to demonstrate his loyalty to Stephen why does Chester appear to have struck none of Stephen's subsequent substantive types, until after the restoration of uniformity in the mid 1150s? It could be that Type 2 dies were not distributed, and/or that the type did not circulate in the region in sufficient numbers to influence coin design. Within the Corpus, there are no known finds of Type 2 that far to the north-west. A single coin found in Nottinghamshire is the closest the type appears to have travelled to Chester. The most likely explanation is that Ranulf was again adopting a stance of pragmatic neutrality, opting neither to associate himself with the Angevin monetary system nor to tie himself to Stephen's administrative apparatus with its new types.

Besides political motives, it is possible that Ranulf deliberately chose to not change the type of coin because he did not wish to disrupt Chester's fiscal administration. There is also the complementary

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<sup>459</sup> GS 192, 236 'Comitem etiam Cestriae, cuius manus, ut de Ismaele legitur, contra omnes et manus omnium contra eum,'.

<sup>460</sup> Dalton, 'In Neutro Latere', 46.

notion that the mint of Chester was practicing a system of monetary control, more in keeping with the norms of mainland Europe, and that Ranulf was able to enrich himself through levying a payment on not changing the type. Ranulf had estates in Normandy, and their return to him formed part of his negotiations with the then Duke Henry of Anjou.<sup>461</sup> It is highly likely that, from his Norman estates, he was familiar with the *monetagium* tax of Normandy and France. This reading would place the impetus for monetary control more with Chester's urban community, and the city was certainly wealthy with a privileged status and a prime location to benefit from trade with Wales and other actors across the Irish Sea.<sup>462</sup> It is necessary to reiterate, however, that no documentary evidence or comment from contemporaries supports any of these arguments, so that any attempt to explain the nature of Chester's coinage remains speculative.

#### 4.8 Conclusion

To return to the initial questions of the thesis: what can be said about coinage in the north during Stephen's reign? What does the numismatic evidence imply about notions of authority and mechanisms of power when placed alongside the written record? Is there anything to be gained from such a regional focus, and if so what if anything made the north exceptional?

It seems indisputable that the political situation in the north was distinctly different from that of other regions, and that this fact had a clear impact on the coinage. The money of York was struck against a political background in which whoever controlled minting (if minting was indeed strictly controlled by only one person) opted explicitly to demonstrate that loyalty to Stephen by issuing coin in his name, both of the substantive first and second types and of the myriad local variants. But at the same time explicitly baronial coin (at least some of which was produced as a result of the patronage of William of Aumale) was minted and issued alongside these types.

Meanwhile the Scottish types of David I were undeniably the product of that monarch's attempt to establish a coinage that was under his control, rather than relying on flows of English coinage as his

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<sup>461</sup> G.White, 'King Stephen, Duke Henry and Ranulf de Gernons, Earl of Chester' *English Historical Review* xci (1976), 555-65.

<sup>462</sup> Bradley 'A Tale of Three Cities', 51-66.

predecessors had done. David produced coin that imitated Stephen's, as well as that of Henry I, but he also produced his own distinct coinage. David's money likely existed to serve the demand for coin in those territories over which he had recently gained influence, but also advanced monetary use and control across Scotland more broadly. Complicating this is the presence of Earl Henry's coinage, which was often similar in design and has a markedly similar distribution pattern. Indeed, based on Kelleher's work, Henry's coinage appears to have travelled even further than David's.<sup>463</sup> It is possible nonetheless that David did seek to establish a regalian monopoly over coinage, or at least that he permitted this monopoly to extend to his designated heir

In the local mints of Newcastle and Durham, Type 1 style coins were struck with modifications so slight that it is questionable whether these types were easily differentiated from other coin. These local types (and similar designs from other northern mints) fall within the same trend of local Type 1 variants elsewhere across the kingdom, in that they yield little evidence of who may have patronised them or to what end. They do however reinforce the longstanding constant that (despite the impact of regional politics upon coinage), the norms set by Type 1 established norms which local coinage then adopted, with the aesthetics and standards of the type remaining highly influential thereafter. Once again, distribution analysis is a useful tool in this regard, as it would appear that these variants travelled further afield than more localised coinage, especially when compared with coins that were notably and visually distinguishable from Stephen's Type 1. This is most clear when comparing the find spots of Earl Henry's Cross Moline (scattered across various regions along the east coast) with those of his other types (concentrated in an east-west arc from Yorkshire, Cumberland and even as far as the Isle of Man). Interestingly, the coins of David do not conform strictly to this trend, as while what moline coins he did issue travelled some distance (for example a penny from Edinburgh that moved as far south as Hampshire), his Cross Fleury and Quadrilateral coinage also have find-spots as far south as Surrey and Kent.<sup>464</sup>

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<sup>463</sup> Kelleher, 'Coins, Monetisation', 396.

<sup>464</sup> EMC 2017.0221, the Hampshire coin.

Such an analysis of types and distribution helps supply context for the written record then, even if readings are limited by available data and raise further questions that for the moment remain unanswerable. It is, for example, unsurprising that the coin types of David (with his holdings in Yorkshire and grant of cash payments to institutions well within English territory) spread across a wider area than those of other northern magnates. The fact that David's money was the money of a king may also have helped to increase its circulation. Meanwhile, the lesser, local magnates perhaps had less reason to spread their money around, while coin users perhaps considered such untested baronial coins as of less value except for local exchange. But these remain suppositions, with no hard or fast rule by which to interpret the distribution of northern coinage.

There is something to be said for the geography of the north dictating not only coin use but the possible interpretations of available evidence. The area was not commercially or politically isolated, and the presence of Type 2 within Yorkshire suggests, that this far north at least, there was still an attempt by Stephen to maintain unity within the monetary system. However the sheer physical distance between the main actors in northern politics and the political centres of loyalists and Angevins must have granted those individuals who oversaw northern mints a *de facto* leeway in which coins they produced. Some chose to continue striking Stephen's Type 1, as local dies clearly indicate. Others innovated. There is also the effect northern geography may have had on how practical it was for certain factions within the north to exert themselves in rivalry with others. The very presence of silver mines in Carlisle remains a plausible explanation for why no northern coinage shows any obvious degradation in weight, though as previously stated, not necessarily in silver content.<sup>465</sup> The northern frontier with the Welsh, the contested Scottish borders, the Pennines, and Irish Sea trade would have affected the flow of soldiers and treasure, and dictated where individuals chose to apply their chief political and economic efforts. Perhaps more importantly, the geography of the north does not lend itself to the work of detectorists and archaeologists that has provided so much evidence for other regions.

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<sup>465</sup> Barrow 'The Scots and the North of England', 214, Fairbairn, 'King Stephen's Reign', 97.

It may be that the lack of coins from the north is due to the south-easterly detecting bias. The north provides only six of the hoards recorded nationally: a surprisingly limited number, given the extent of military conflict the area witnessed as well as its overall size. Northern hoards also tend to be smaller than those of other regions, with the notable exception of Prestwich. This may indicate a general lack of coin in circulation, which would in turn perhaps suggest that local variants were created more for the prestige of their owners, and perhaps for specific official payments.

With all of this said, it should be clear that coinage in the north during Stephen's reign had its own distinctive characteristics. There was no neat divide between south and north, and the evidence for the circulation southwards of certain northern coinage indicates a continued flow of trade. In terms of the wider Anglo-Norman picture, focusing on the north yields an understanding that areas with powerful local figures and no strong interference from Stephen or Matilda might well have led to the production of baronial issues for local needs. But at the same time, pre-war practices persisted, notably in patterns of trade and the conservation of weight and quality, in a way that encouraged the circulation of local coinage much further afield.

## **Chapter 5 - The Midlands**

### **5.1 Introduction**

As defined in this work, the midlands comprise the central zone which runs from Herefordshire, Shropshire and the central Welsh march, across England to Lincolnshire. This area borders on all the main zones described so far. In the west and south it touches upon Welsh principalities, and Earl Robert's marcher lordship of Gloucestershire. It then runs eastward atop the contested county of Oxfordshire where Matilda held court. Oxfordshire in this sense is not a midlands county, as its chief town was disputed between Angevin and loyalist control. In the east and south-east, the midlands border Stephen's heartland and East Anglia where (after initial rebellion) Stephen was able to assert himself over the monetary system. To the north were the sometimes competing and sometimes cooperating magnates such as Ranulf of Chester and William of Aumale, as well as the various Yorkshire barons. The courses of the Humber and the Ouse roughly mark the northern and southern

limits of the midlands, much as the North Sea and Welsh march mark its east and west. However, it should be clear that the midlands sits at the intersection of the power bases of various of the more prominent figures of Stephen's reign. All of these figures exerted influence in the area, even if that influence was not necessarily sustained or decisive. Indeed, the most significant battle of Stephen's reign occurred at Lincoln. This brought together many of the key players of the three neighbouring regions, including King Stephen, William of Aumale, Hugh Bigod, Robert of Gloucester, Ranulf of Chester, Waleran de Beaumont, Eustace fitz John, and the Welsh princes Madog ap Marredud and Cadwaladr ap Gruffud, along with many other prominent men.<sup>466</sup>

If the midlands stood at the confluence between various regional political actors, why then define it as a distinct zone? Would it not be wiser to partition it between the regions, and account for each part separately? The western march (a hilly and contested frontier that yields little coin) is ostensibly quite different from Lincolnshire (a prosperous coastal region, in which a great deal of surviving coin was struck and a significant amount of coinage has been found).<sup>467</sup> Yet during Stephen's reign both of these areas became contested frontier territories of a sort. More broadly, the midlands is distinct precisely because of the number of actors competing within it, and their varied political goals. It is best in a sense to regard the midlands as a space between spaces. It was the area in which the features that define the remaining three regions intersected. But in doing so these forces created a distinct regional identity, one defined by uncertain authority and a separation from any of the monetary systems that Stephen, Matilda or other powerful regional magnates seem to have cultivated. Money and power in the midlands in this sense was influenced by the aforementioned figures, but none were able decisively to exert themselves in the area in a manner that decisively controlled either the written or the numismatic record.

This is not to say that the midlands had no strong magnates. In 1138, Stephen created eight new earldoms, of which four were in the midlands. William d'Aubigny (1176) received the earldom of Lincoln, while William de Roumare (1161) was created Earl of Cambridge and would eventually hold

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<sup>466</sup> Crouch, 'The March and the Welsh Kings', 277; Barrow, 'The Scots and the North of England', 249, *HN*, 84-7, *CMRH*, 200-1, Though he did not name them, Malmesbury wrote that six earls fought on Stephen's side.

<sup>467</sup> Kelleher 'Coins, Monetisation', 306, 392, 393.

Lincoln as well.<sup>468</sup> Hugh de Beaumont (1141) was made Earl of Bedford<sup>469</sup>, and Gilbert de Clare (1151) became first Earl of Pembroke.<sup>470</sup> After the battle of the Standard that same year, Stephen awarded more earldoms, so that in the midlands Waleran de Beaumont (1166), who was already count of Meulan in Normandy, received the earldom of Worcester.<sup>471</sup> The earldoms of Nottingham and also Derby would be held by Robert de Ferrers (1139), and later by his son of the same name (1159).<sup>472</sup> The fact that all of these titles were granted by Stephen signifies his influence and ostensibly places the midlands squarely in alignment with the King, even if Angevin and more independent-minded northern figures could exert themselves in the region. Yet after the battle of Lincoln, the great magnates tended to avoid Stephen's court, and see to their own local interests.<sup>473</sup> Following the events of 1141, Northampton, Huntingdon and Cambridge would all come under the control of earl Simon II of Senlis (1153).<sup>474</sup> In Northamptonshire, Simon appears to have stood in for Stephen as a source of authority, confirming property and overseeing lawsuits.<sup>475</sup>

The damage that Stephen's defeat at Lincoln caused to his influence across the midlands is perhaps best illustrated from the changing fortunes of the Beaumont family. Waleran de Beaumont was Stephen's ally and highly influential at court.<sup>476</sup> He sat at the head of a vast network in the midlands, which included his brothers Robert and Hugh, and various other followers. This Beaumont faction was highly influential at the start of Stephen's reign, with Crouch going so far to describe it as the group which was most indispensable to Stephen in the early 1130s.<sup>477</sup> However, after the battle of Lincoln this network was effectively destroyed. By the end of 1141, Waleran was at least nominally aligned with Matilda, and at any rate spent the rest of his life in Normandy where he became

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<sup>468</sup> G.White 'Aubigny, William d' [William de Albini; *known as* William d'Aubigny Pincerna], first earl of Arundel' *ODNB*, (2004), P.Dalton, 'Roumare, William de, first earl of Lincoln' *ODNB*, (2008).

<sup>469</sup> D.Crouch, *The Beaumont Twins: The Roots and Branches of Power in the Twelfth Century*, (Cambridge, 1986), 41.

<sup>470</sup> Lieberman, *The March of Wales 1067-1300*, 17.

<sup>471</sup> Crouch, *The Reign*, 85-8.

<sup>472</sup> M. Jones, 'Ferrers, Robert de, first Earl Ferrers [earl of Derby, earl of Nottingham]', *ODNB*, (2004).

<sup>473</sup> Crouch, *The Beaumont Twins*, 51.

<sup>474</sup> Blackburn, 'C&C', 181.

<sup>475</sup> Hollister, 'The Aristocracy', 134.

<sup>476</sup> Crouch *The Beaumont Twins*, 41-3.

<sup>477</sup> Crouch, *The Reign*, 43, Hollister, 'The Aristocracy', 56.



influential at Geoffrey of Anjou's court.<sup>478</sup> Over the ensuing decade, Waleran's twin brother Robert, earl of Leicester, painstakingly rebuilt the family's influence in the midlands, securing alliances with prominent neighbouring magnates such as Ranulf of Chester, William of Gloucester and eventually Duke Henry. By 1154, Robert had become one of the most influential men in England, but it appears that very little of this was done with Stephen's support or approval. Robert's precise movements over the twelve-year period between 1141 and 1153 are not well recorded. His influence over local coinage (if it existed at all) is similarly hard to establish.<sup>479</sup>

The midlands earls were not simply Stephen's proxies. It seems that they could be just as intransigent and quarrelsome as their counterparts in other regions. For example, William Peverel initially opted to support Matilda, though would swiftly reconcile with Stephen.<sup>480</sup> There were also strong familial ties which motivated local actors. The Beaumont faction has been discussed, and Waleran's brother-in-law, Gilbert de Clare, was promoted Earl of Pembroke.<sup>481</sup> William de Roumare was half-brother to Ranulf of Chester through their mother Lucy, heiress to Bolingbroke (1136), and was granted substantial holdings in the north and midlands by Stephen.<sup>482</sup> Meanwhile, Ranulf pursued (and often received) substantial lands in the midlands, including *terra regis* and fiefs to which he had no hereditary claim. Ranulf received West Derby in Lancashire from Stephen and also claimed Lincoln through his mother, briefly holding the city before being forced to surrender it to the King in 1146. Stephen in turn granted Lincoln to Jordan de Blosseville in 1153, though Ranulf would pursue his claims in Lincolnshire effectively until his death later that same year.<sup>483</sup>

There were of course also local figures who exercised great influence in the region. Blackburn identified four earldoms, with the two mints of Lincoln and Stamford being held by the earls of Lincoln. What Blackburn noted (helpfully drawing attention to what made midlander politics distinct) is that this single earldom had at least three different holders during Stephen's reign. First there was

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<sup>478</sup> Bates, *The Normans*, 133, Crouch, *The Beaumont Twins*, 49-51.

<sup>479</sup> Crouch *The Beaumont Twins*, 41-3, 79-88.

<sup>480</sup> Mack, *Stephen and The Anarchy*, 64.

<sup>481</sup> Crouch *The Beaumont Twins*, 41.

<sup>482</sup> Dalton, 'Roumare, William de, first earl of Lincoln'; Blackburn, 'C&C', 180; Dalton, 'In Neutro Latere' 46.

<sup>483</sup> White, 'King Stephen, Duke Henry and Ranulf de Gernons, Earl of Chester', 556-7; Dalton, 'In Neutro Latere' 45-6, 53.

William d'Aubigny (until 1139), then William de Roumare (1140-1149), and finally Gilbert of Ghent (1149-53) who was installed as a rival earl by Stephen.<sup>484</sup> This shuffling of earldoms suggests a high degree of local political instability, which may have impacted local perceptions among coin users of who was in power. No dominant magnates appear in the coinage of the midlands during Stephen's reign, (possibly excepting Roger de Beaumont, d.1154). At any rate, there is currently no clear evidence of any substantial coinage being issued in a baron's name, such as those which emerged in the north and west.

What all of the previous scholarly work demonstrates is that the midlands are not simply divisible into neat appendages of the three main regions. Instead, it is reasonable to think of them as a distinct zone, with their own core and peripheral areas in much the same manner as the others. What marks the midlands as distinct is the region's central location between the three other zones. The centrality of the region meant that while powerful actors from other regions (such as Stephen, Matilda, Ranulf and Robert of Gloucester) influenced events in the midlands they could not do so in a decisive or sustained manner. Meanwhile, the local aristocracy produced no defining central figures or cliques that dominated the area's politics in the manner that Matilda and Robert did in the south-west, or Ranulf, William and David did in the north. There were influential men, and these competed with one another while navigating the loyalist and Angevin political factions.

In terms of coin, several midland earls must have controlled mints, but apparently without the inclination to issue types in their own names. At the same time, midland coin did not simply conform to standards of any other region, not even to those of Stephen's coinage in the south-east. Instead, midland types display very distinct traits in terms of design and distribution, and it is these traits that will be explored further in this chapter. Overall, it is the coins themselves that provide perhaps the most decisive argument for interpreting the midlands as a distinct region in its own right. Once the coins have been examined, further discussion will be devoted to the midlands overall distinctiveness.

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<sup>484</sup> Blackburn, 'C&C' 180; Dalton, 'Roumare, William de, first earl of Lincoln'.

Midland coinage can be effectively divided into two groups. The first is the substantive issues, which include Stephen's Type 1, and no more than two pennies of Type 2. Type 6 was struck at Northampton and Bedford, though curiously not, it seems, at the much more prolific mint of Lincoln (Appendix D2). The Pereric type was also struck and has since been unearthed in Lincolnshire, though as discussed previously this type's distribution is unusual and it ought not to be considered a midlands type *per se*. For further comments on Types 1, 2 6, and the Pereric see chapter one. Type 7 was also produced in the midlands as part of the return to uniformity.

The main focus of this chapter will be on the second category, which consists of various local issues. So far nine local types identifiable in the Corpus can be said to have originated in the midlands. This figure includes erased coinages, but not Type 1 coinages struck from local dies, or a handful of examples distinguished by hammered flans, though these are identifiable in the Corpus. What marks out the midland coinages as unique is that they are almost entirely in the name of Stephen. No money in the name of a baron appears, with the possible exception of a single penny that may be in the name of the earl of Warwick, Roger de Beaumont. A single Type A coin in the name of Matilda possibly survives though this is also highly contestable. In terms of other 'baronial' types, Allen's forthcoming work attributes various pennies of Stephen's reign (notably Type 3, 4, 5, the Derby-Tutbury Eagles, and two types derived from Type 2), to various midlands earls, but notes that effectively all are in the name of Stephen.<sup>485</sup> It is certainly possible that certain midland types in Stephen's name were produced by the various midlands earls. Coins minted in Stephen's name and not in that of anyone else ought not to be attributed to comital or baronial commission, without any firm evidence beyond that earl or baron's nominal control of the vague locality in which a particular type was produced. It may be that these coinages were the product of lower ranking individuals, such as local landholders or the moneyers themselves. In the case of the Derby-Tutbury Eagles Type (to be discussed later) this possibility becomes in fact a strong probability. Sensible caution must nonetheless be exercised when

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<sup>485</sup> Allen, 'Stephen, The Anarchy and The Accession of Henry II, 1145-58' 20-3.

attributing any midlands type not in Stephen's name to the patronage of a particular earl, and such attributions will not be made lightly here.

## 5.2 The Midlands Types

### 5.2a 'False Substantive'

Of the midlands types in Stephen's name, three were once thought to be substantive issues. Stephen's substantive issues are conventionally numbered 1-7. However, as early as 1966, Mack was speculating that types 3, 4 and 5 were not regular issues and may have been issued concurrently with one another.<sup>486</sup> Essentially the distribution (both in terms of mints and find spots) of these false-substantive issues in no way conforms to would we expect of a substantive royal coinage. Instead, they seem to be localised, small issue types. It is not even entirely clear how accurate the numbering of these non-substantive types is, chronologically speaking. It is wise to consider their dating and typology as purely speculative. Despite not being substantive issues, the nomenclature of types 3, 4 and 5 has been retained in order to avoid confusion and conform with pre-existing literature.

In terms of iconography and legends, false substantive types functionally speaking show no great difference from other local variants minted in the King's name. All are in the name of Stephen, with a royal bust on the obverse and various styles of reverse cross. Moneyers and mint signatures are present rather than obscured, and no obvious baronial iconography appears. What perhaps distinguishes the false substantive coins from other local variants is that they were produced by a variety of moneyers and sometimes even at multiple mints. It is for this reason that they are still marked out as a separate group for purposes of analysis, even if the idea of them being 'substantive' royal issues can be discarded.

The Type 3 coinage bears a marked resemblance to Type 2. They share very similar forward facing busts, with an arched crown and the King's name rendered as 'STIEFNE' or 'STIEFNE:R' on the

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<sup>486</sup> Mack, 'Stephen and the Anarchy', 50-2.

obverse. The reverse depicts a cross patée with fleurs in the angles, and with the moneyer's name and mint signature clearly inscribed as normal. There are ten examples of Type 3 identifiable within the Corpus, struck at a variety of mints and by several moneyers. At Northampton, the type was struck by Paen (who also Struck Type 1 there) and a new moneyer named Willem. One Northampton coin is attributed to Pagan (perhaps identical with Paen), who also struck Type 1, with examination of his Type 3 coin indeed suggesting that 'PAEN' is a better reading of his name.<sup>487</sup> The 'S---' who struck at Nottingham is presumably Swein who struck Type 1 at the same mint. Another coin struck at Stamford, has no clear moneyer, and one known penny from Huntingdon was struck by Walter (PALTER). Of the ten Type 3 coins, six have recorded weights. One of these is a cut halfpenny and only weighs 0.47g. The remaining five weigh 1.20g, 1.16g, 1.14g, 1.14g and 1.10g. This suggests a coin that tends to be somewhat lighter than pre-war types, but the relatively small range (no more than 0.1g fluctuation, and a trend towards 1.15g) suggests the imposition of a lighter standard rather than a drastic deregulation of weight.

Type 4 resembles Type 3 in terms of design. A long-haired bust of Stephen wearing a fleured crown faces the viewer on the obverse. The King's name is given as 'STIEFNER', allowing for some occasional misspellings such as 'STEENER', and one coin that has been transcribed as '[STIEF]NIF[HI]' with a retrograde S.<sup>488</sup> The reverse of the coins depict a quadrilateral cross fleury with a central star and hollow annulets in the angles. The entire reverse legend is contained within a circle of pellets, beyond which rest conventionally literate moneyers' names and mint signatures.

Thirty-four examples of Type 4 exist within the Corpus. Twenty-one of these have been confidently attributed to Lincoln, with a further four speculatively so assigned. A single coin is possibly of Nottingham, and the remaining eight that are of uncertain mints. The type looks to have been issued by a fairly substantial number of moneyers. Names identifiable at Lincoln are Paen, Ranulf (or Radulf/Raulf), Diofd, Godwine, Godric, Sigeward and Hue. Of these, only Raulf appears at the mint in earlier coinages. It may be that some of these names were pseudonyms deployed by fraudulent

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<sup>487</sup> For images of the Pagan/Paen coin see EMC 1200.0184.

<sup>488</sup> EMC 2013.026 and 1996.0302 respectively.

moneyers seeking to obscure their identity. However, Hue and Paen do reappear at Lincoln in Type 7, which suggests they were indeed legitimate moneyers who became trusted figures in the community. No other names appear either on the single coin of Nottingham or the coins of various uncertain mints, though Hugh does appear on one coin of uncertain mint which perhaps links it to Lincoln.<sup>489</sup>

Twenty of the Type 4 coins have recorded weights, and seven of these are halfpennies ranging from 0.60g downwards to 0.47g (averaging at 0.54g). The fourteen intact coins range from 0.91g (somewhat chipped) to 1.31g. The average weight of intact pennies is 1.03g. Only two coins weigh more than 1.13g, with the bulk of weights congregating around the 1.00 – 1.10g mark. While available data is still limited, Type 4 is one of the more numerous of weighed coins and the available data seems to indicate that the type was struck to a lighter standard. There is no clear correlation between weight and moneyer or mint. The single Nottingham coin sits close to the average 1.09g. The heaviest coin was struck by Godric, while Godwine (the most prolific moneyer) issued coins weighing 1.22g, 1.10g, and 1.05g. It may be that Type 4 was lightened over time, though given the similarity of average weights between Type 4 and 3 it may be that there was a more general lightening of coin in the midlands. Of course it may simply be that standards were not rigorously enforced during the period of instability.

Available data on Type 5 (sometimes referred to as ‘Lozenge and Fleurs’) is regrettably limited. Six were initially listed in the Corpus. However, two of these appear to have been mislabelled within the EMC and are most likely Type 4.<sup>490</sup> With this error now corrected, only four Type 5 coins are actually listed there. Furthermore, only two coins have images available to study, and both are heavily worn.<sup>491</sup> The Type 5 obverse bears another new bust in a fleured crown. This time the figure is facing rightward in three-quarters profile, holding a sceptre in his left hand. The only coin with a transcribed legend appears in the BMC and reads ‘[ ]PENER’ which might imply a legend similar to STIEFNE R. This seems to be the coin photographed by North, though North attributed it to Leicester rather than

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<sup>489</sup> PAS LIN-467513 for the Hue coin of uncertain mint.

<sup>490</sup> EMC 1988.0236 and 1988.0235.

<sup>491</sup> EMC 1200.0186 and 1060.0310.

Lincoln.<sup>492</sup> Whether this coin is the same as the example, with no image, attributed to Lincoln within the EMC is thus unclear. Type 5 reverses depict an elaborate lozenge cross with concave edges, pellets at the end of each arm and a pellet in the centre. Crescents at the end of each arm arch out further, and fleurs extend from the points at which these crescents make contact, creating an effect not unlike Type 1's moline cross.

Two Type 5 coins within the EMC are attributed to Lincoln and London respectively, though it is unclear why, as no mint signatures are available. The single moneyer identified (Simun) does not appear at Lincoln or London in other types. The London attribution seems particularly implausible given that mint's centrality to the monetary system of the south-east, where royal control was largely maintained. The Type 5 coin within the BMC is attributed to Leicester, with a moneyer's name beginning with 'S'. The Leicester moneyer may in fact be Simun again, who struck Type 1 at Leicester. It may alternatively be Samar, who is also identifiable at that mint. Given that it is not entirely clear why the EMC attributes its various Type 5 coinages to Lincoln, it may be that the type was actually produced only at the Leicester mint. If this is true, then it may be the only of the types falsely regarded as substantive to be the product of just one moneyer at one location, though the paucity of the data precludes certainty. All of the known Type 5 coins are whole pennies. The three with available weights are remarkably consistent at 1.05g, 1.07g and 1.08g. Yet again (sensible cautions on the size of the dataset notwithstanding) consistency here suggests a deliberate lightening of the standard.

The suggestion that these three types were actually substantive issues of Stephen can be safely discounted. There is no coincidence with the mints or moneyers that suggests they were the product of a unified royal monetary system. They were issued only in the midlands, not the south-east where one might expect Stephen's money to be chiefly produced, and (as will be discussed further) it is in the midlands that, broadly, they continue to be found. The dies themselves are often of a rougher quality that suggests more localised production. However, there is still something to be said for the

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<sup>492</sup> BMC 179; J.North, *English Hammered Coinage: Vol II Edward I to Charles II 1272-1262* (London 1994), pl xiv, no.32.

consistency of these types. There is consistency of style across a wider range of mints than is typical of other regional coinages in Stephen's name. Furthermore there is a notable consistency of weight, with averages hovering much closer to a 1.10 or 1.00g standard than the more typical 1.25 or 1.50. The precise reasons for this will be discussed later. Here it remains to be seen whether these traits truly distinguish them from other local types of the midlands.

### 5.2b Other Local Types

Five further types can be confidently identified as having been issued in the midlands during this period. These coins are identified as the 'Midland Annulets', 'Derby Eagles', 'Heavy Cross', 'Quadrilateral Long Cross', and 'Long Cross Fleury' types. There are also two 'types' that are not true types but substantive issues marked as distinct within the Corpus and distinguished by some quirk of their manufacture. These are first of the 'Erased Small Latin Cross', which was struck at Nottingham, and the 'Hammered Flan' struck by the same moneyer at the same mint and distinguished by its unique flans. Given their close proximity, these will be discussed together. All of these types were struck in the name of Stephen by assorted moneyers at midland mints.

The Midland Annulets coinage (not to be mistaken for other regional Annulets such as the type struck at Durham) bears considerable resemblance to Type 1. The obverse legend reads 'STIEFNE' and the bust is as Type 1, facing rightward in profile with a fleured sceptre. The reverse bears the moneyer's name and mint signature, along with a moline style cross with pelleted annulets in the angles. As is often the case, there is no clear significance to the addition of annulets to the cross. Any association with a political figure has been lost, though their peculiarities do at least make the coins relatively easy to distinguish at a glance. Given that the annulets effectively replace the fleurs on what is otherwise a conventional Type 1 coin, it may be that they indicate the issuing of the coin on non-royal authority, but this is highly speculative. More likely is that this coin deliberately evokes the reverse style of Henry I's Type 12 (Appendix I).



Two mints are identifiable issuing the Midland Annulets Type. First (and most substantially) there is Northampton, which produced perhaps as many as three moneyers '[ ]NOD' '[ ]E[ ]' and 'PVL[ ]'. The only one of these names that possibly corresponds to a Nottingham moneyer of the substantive types is '[ ]E[ ]' which may be Paen, although the EMC also proposed Willem as an alternative. 'PVL' is likely Wulfric, while Ailnod or Wulnod might stand in for '[ ]NOD'. The second recorded mint is Stamford, with a moneyer named 'Dodda', a curious name that is seemingly unique in the Corpus and may well indicate the emergence of an emergency moneyer within the type. No other coin can be confidently traced to a moneyer of another type, as all names are regrettably illegible or contracted. It may well be that the Annulets type was the only one issued by these men.

Seven Annulets coins exist within the Corpus. Of these, four are halfpennies (three clearly cut, one broken. No weight is recorded for the three cut halfpennies, and the remainder weigh, 0.55g, 0.55g, 0.56g. The intact coins weigh 0.91g, 0.93g 1.03g and 1.38g, with the first of these also being substantially chipped.<sup>493</sup> Evidence of weights suggest a relatively light standard for the coin, close to 1.00g, though the heavier outlier indicates this may not have been strictly imposed.

The Derby-Tutbury Eagles type is one of the more distinct types that emerged from the midlands. Issued in the name of 'STEPHANVS REX, the obverse normally depicts a rightward facing bust, with a conventional fleured crown and sceptre. One coin modifies the bust, with a domed crown studded with small annulets.<sup>494</sup> For five of the coins the reverse bears the moneyer's name 'WICHELINVS' or 'WALCHELINVS', with the moneyer's name on the domed crown coin illegible. Four of the coins bear a 'DERBI' mint signature, with a single rival instance of 'TVT', for Tutbury. The titular eagles appear on the reverse in the four quarters of a ringed and voided cross.

Despite being unique among the coinage of Stephen, the eagle style reverse is not original. Rather, it derives from no less than Edward the Confessor's 'Sovereign and Eagles' type (Appendix I).<sup>495</sup> Among the six known coins, there are at least three different sets of obverse and reverse dies. The

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<sup>493</sup> EMC 1200.0167 for the chipped coin.

<sup>494</sup> EMC 1018.1406.

<sup>495</sup> North, *EHC*, 180.

reverses are likely contemporary as EMC data suggests that Walchelinus was not a moneyer of Edward's day. Indeed, despite their ambitious designs, the dies in many ways seem remarkably crude. The lettering is particularly uneven and seemingly eschews the traditional process of using punches to construct letters. Only the reverse of the Tutbury coin appears to have been created using conventional punches for its legend, rather than some other tool.<sup>496</sup>

If the fabrication of Eagles dies seems amateurish, the actual weights of the coin are strikingly high. All surviving examples are intact, and weigh anything from 0.88g to 1.40g. Collectively the Eagles coins average at 1.22g overall, with four of them weighing 1.38g or above. Furthermore the two lightest coins are the Tutbury coin and the domed crown penny of an uncertain mint, both of which come from distinctly different dies.<sup>497</sup>

At first glance it is unclear who may have patronised this coinage. However, Allen noted that Walchelinus is recorded as having paid a £100 fine in the Nottinghamshire and Derbyshire accounts of the pipe rolls of 1158/9 and 1159/60.<sup>498</sup> It seems highly probable that this is the same Walchelinus as the moneyer, and it could be that this type was created specifically to facilitate official payments. Alternatively as a wealthy individual, Walchelinus might have been regarded as a trustworthy local figure, and established his own mint while lending his name to coinage as a guarantee of quality.

The Eagles coinage raises several other questions. How was it that a penny of Edward the Confessor could still be in circulation, so as to inspire its design? Did the individual who designed the type recognise that their prototype was in fact of the Confessor? Edward's coin would have displayed the monarch's name, and therefor presumably have been visibly associated with him. It might have been that the Tutbury eagles marked a deliberate attempt to evoke the days of a saintly king, remembered fondly in the public imagination. By the twelfth century Edward was effectively regarded as another Solomon, and the supposed 'Leges Edwardi Confessoris', were being viewed as the 'good old laws' of former days.<sup>499</sup> Alternatively it may simply have been that the antiquity of Edward's design was

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<sup>496</sup> EMC 2013.0332.

<sup>497</sup> EMC 1018.1406 and 2013.0332 respectively.

<sup>498</sup> Allen 'Stephen, The Anarchy and The Accession of Henry II', 22.

<sup>499</sup> B.O'Brien, *God's Peace and King's Peace: The Laws of Edward the Confessor*, (Philadelphia 1999), 44-47.

enough to give it an air of quality, and so it was paired with a more contemporary obverse. There is also the question of weights. Why was there such disparity between weights of the coins of different mints and styles? Is the disparity indicative of Walchelinus feeling some particular need to produce heavier coin at the Derby mint, but not elsewhere? Did he even control the practicalities of the coins' production? Perhaps the Derby coinage was earlier, and after initial attempts to conform with a pre-war standard the other Eagles coins were lightened to conserve silver, enrich the moneyer, or conform to a more local standard that appears to have been emerging in the midlands. There is no decisive answer to any of these questions, but the Eagles coinage should not be dismissed as an impenetrable mystery simply for that.

While the Eagles coinage is iconographically intriguing, it is a relatively uncommon issue. By contrast the 'Heavy Cross' coinage has eleven entries within the Corpus, almost twice the number for the Eagles. Stylistically, the coin again shows influence from Type 1, retaining the same style of obverse portrait with an inner circle. The obverse legend is often illegible, but at least one coin appears to read 'STEPHANVS' or possibly 'STEPHANVS RE'.<sup>500</sup> Transcription is difficult, and letter forms are often crude and inconsistent. The reverse of the coins depicts a large cross patée with a pellet at the end of each arm, and in each angle atop inward facing fleurs.

In terms of its minting, the Heavy Cross type appears to have been exclusively struck at Lincoln, though this attribution is somewhat speculative given the difficulty in reading the coins. Indeed, at least one appears to have been struck at a mint beginning with the letter R, though if this reading is accurate it is unclear what mint in the midlands this could be.<sup>501</sup> The only mint of Stephen's name beginning with the letter 'R' from Stephen's reign is Rye in Kent. Such an attribution seems highly unlikely given the type's find distribution. Rye's location securely in the south-east and the lack of any Heavy Cross coins from that area are further evidence against this.

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<sup>500</sup> EMC 1030.0787 provide the most legible form of 'STEPHANVS'. The 'RE' is partially legible here and more so on EMC 1200.0163.

<sup>501</sup> EMC 1201.0016.

The Heavy Cross moneyers are similarly illusive, but some cautious identifications are ‘AILR’ (possibly Ailric or Ailred) and ‘ROGER’. An ‘[-R]D’ might be Ailred or any number of alternative names. Another name transcribed as ‘-REDUS’ might be Alfred, or Ailred once again. These moneyers cannot be confidently identified in any of the other types struck at Lincoln, neither in the substantive nor in local issues such as Type 4. While it is possible they were outsiders from other mints, their absence from other Lincoln types hints at a unique origin for the Heavy Cross coinage, one that will be discussed further below.

While the Heavy Cross coins can be difficult to read, their weights are helpfully clear. The ten coins are roughly evenly split between whole and fractional coins. There are two cut halfpennies and two cut farthings.<sup>502</sup> The halfpennies weigh 0.77g and 0.71g, and the two farthings 0.40g and 0.39g. The intact coinage is indeed remarkably heavy, with available weights ranging from 1.46g to no lighter than 1.39g, averaging at 1.41g. Such an average rivals many other wartime coinages, even those of Scotland where coin has a modern reputation for quality.<sup>503</sup> The type’s weight might be explained in the same way as that of the Eagles’. However there is no obvious lightening (unless cutting of coins is regarded as an acceptable alternative to lightening), and it may instead be that this type was commissioned at a heavier standard for some unknown reason. The apparently exclusive team of moneyers perhaps gives credence to this notion, as it would explain why a group of moneyers appears for this type, only to move on thereafter.

The Quadrilateral Long Cross appears five times in the Corpus, as one cut halfpenny, two whole pennies and two of indeterminate proportions. All bear a Type 1 style obverse bust, but obverse legends appear to be illegible. Nevertheless these coins are categorised as coins of Stephen by the EMC, and so remain so within the Corpus. The type derives its name from the quadrilateral cross on its reverse, one that displays fleurs at the edges of the quadrilateral, a small saltire within, and long segmented arms. The three transcribed reverse legends of ‘[ ]ODVINVSOOEX[ ]’ ‘[ ]NR[ ]’ and ‘[ ]AN[ ]V[ ]’ do not provide much help in terms identifying a mint. However ‘-‘ODVINVS’ has been

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<sup>502</sup> This figure includes EMC 1201.0016, for which no available image survives but based on its weight is almost certainly a halfpenny of some description.

<sup>503</sup> King, *King Stephen*, 214.

interpreted as Godwine, a moneyer of Lincoln.<sup>504</sup> It is therefore at least plausible that the type emerged from the Lincoln mint, though this is uncertain. An alternative reading of the 'EX' mint signature would be Exeter, though no Godwine is recorded there, and Devon is far distant from the coin's supposed midlands place of manufacture.

Regardless of their origin, the Midlands Quadrilateral type marks a return to lighter coinage. The single fractional halfpenny has no recorded weight, while the intact coins weigh 1.10g and 0.97g. Obviously it is unwise to extrapolate on the basis of only two coins, but if other coins of this type are unearthed and they prove similarly light, it could be that they were conforming to a standard itself far lighter than that encouraged elsewhere.

As discussed in previous chapters, the quadrilateral cross had previously appeared on Henry I's Type 15 coinage as well as on earlier types. Type 15 was the type introduced after the assize of moneyers, and functionally marked the end of recoinage until Stephen's first issue.<sup>505</sup> In the south-west, there is tentative evidence to indicate that the quadrilateral cross in this style on a coin's reverse indicated some sort of political allegiance, certainly within the Angevin zone. There is also the possibility of extending this to the Scottish coinage of King David that copied Henry I's type wholesale, as well as to identical coinage minted in the name of David's son Henry. There is of course also the possibility that the use of the quadrilateral was in no way ideological, and that it was simply an attempt to evoke the stable coinage of Henry I. Complementary to this is the notion that, once a particular design was accepted in a region, it might be more widely imitated by contemporaries as the coin came to be trusted by merchants and other coin users.

To what extent might such explanations for the quadrilateral apply to this rare midlands type?

Certainly a deliberate association with Henry I seems entirely plausible, as unlike other regional coins there is there is no clear association here with any figure besides Stephen. However, the illegibility of the legends makes it unwise simply to assume that they are all in Stephen's name. After all, Henry of Northumberland issued quadrilateral coinage, and was at least nominally holder of the midland

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<sup>504</sup> Corpus No. 5275, based upon notes held within EMC No.1030.0779.

<sup>505</sup> Allen, *M&M*, 281.

honour of Huntingdon.<sup>506</sup> While there is no supporting evidence beyond the coins themselves, Henry's physical presence (or the presence of his agents) could theoretically have initiated a coinage in a similar style to that he issued in the north. Alternatively, the presence of Angevin supporters in Lincolnshire (for example in 1141 at the battle of Lincoln) might have led to the introduction of quadrilateral style-variants in the region. If Godwine was indeed a moneyer of Exeter (or at least from that region) he might similarly have been influenced by coinage circulating in the Angevin west.

These are all highly speculative explanations. In the case of assuming Angevin influence, there is also the issue that the midlands coinage must date to a period after the quadrilateral was adopted in the south-west. This would presumably imply that the type postdates 1141, if that date does indeed mark the emergence of quadrilateral coinage in the west. Such a date would make any connection between the midlands quadrilateral type and the battle of Lincoln unlikely, unless Angevin quadrilaterals were somehow issued earlier. A Scottish connection is perhaps more plausible, although the fact that the obverse style does not match Scottish quadrilateral types argues against this. Yet again, the most prudent approach is to not focus on any particular figure or event to mark the 'introduction' of the quadrilateral style to the midlands. Instead it is most probable (and certainly least problematic to argue) that the quadrilateral was simply a trusted style associated with good coinage under Henry I. The quadrilateral reverse was then combined with a similarly trusted obverse design in the form of Stephen's Type 1: a trend that is observable in many other coinages across the kingdom during this period.

Another much rarer midlands type is the Long Cross Fleury. Data on this type is rare. To an extent, it resembles similar though not necessarily identical coins that are nevertheless attributed to midlands mints. Only one is identified within the Corpus, but North was able to photograph the other and so visual analysis is possible. The type retains a Type 1 style obverse, with one obverse legend reading '[ ]NE' and the other having an 'E' or 'F' legible, all of which suggests the type was in Stephen's name.<sup>507</sup> The stylistic shift once again appears on the reverse, where the moline is retained, but with

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<sup>506</sup> Barrow, 'The Scots and the North of England', 247.

<sup>507</sup> North, *EHC*, 155, pl; xvii, EMC 1200.0164.

the addition a long cross with a fleury at the end of each arm. The placement of this cross means that its arms divide the legend, which appears to have been cut around it. This suggests that the long cross was an initial part of the design, rather than a later modification of a Type 1 die. There are no legible moneyers' names, but reverse legends do include mint signatures, with both coins originating from 'NWERCA' or Newark. This places the type close to the centre of the midlands zone. It is worth noting that the coins are clearly from different dies, which suggests a relatively substantial issue across time, or that multiple moneyers were engaged in the type's production. Both coins are intact pennies, but only one has a recorded weight, at 0.98g. While no concrete assertions can be made on this basis, as it is only one coin and there are outliers in all types, it does suggest that the Midlands Long Cross Fleury was among the lighter coinages.

Despite the distinctive cross, the overall design of the Long Cross Fleury is particularly close to conventional Type 1 coinage. It is tempting to consider it another of the 'local Type 1 variants' that emerged across the kingdom during Stephen's reign. Certainly the design retains the cross moline, even though it adds a clear distinguishing mark. The question arises again whether this coin could be casually distinguished from other Type 1s. Arguably, its only modification is the extension of the arms of the cross and the addition of fleurs. Therefore it is possible that the moneyers were simply producing local dies for Type 1 and modified them in some small way, but never intended to 'change' the type or create any obvious distinction.

As well as its local types, the midlands produced erased coinage. Twenty-five coins are known from Type 1 dies, the obverse portrait now obscured by a small Latin cross with a pellet in the lower right angle. The moneyer and mints named on these coins are Svein and Nottingham, though given their erased nature it could well be that the coins were not actually struck in the town that is named on them.<sup>508</sup> As is often the case with erasure marks, there is no clear significance to the style of erasure. It may be that the cross represents an ecclesiastical authority, but this remains highly speculative, and the Erased Long Cross coinage of Norwich suggests that a cross was simply an accepted form of

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<sup>508</sup> For further exploration of this, see discussions of erased coinage in Chapter 1.

erasure. There is also the question as to whether the obliteration of the portrait represents a gesture against Stephen. Nottinghamshire was held by Robert de Ferrers, though Nottingham itself was controlled by William Peverel.<sup>509</sup> Not much is known about William, but Robert was a kinsman of Stephen and promoted earl following his support for the King at the Battle of the Standard.<sup>510</sup> Robert thus held his title from Stephen, and there is no clear evidence that he was ever explicitly aligned against the King. No coin was issued in Robert's name, and the Nottingham mint continued to produce types in the name of Stephen even if they did not conform to the designs current in the south-east. It therefore seems unlikely that the erasure represents any rejection of Stephen's authority.

Helpfully, all of the known Erased Latin Cross coinages have recorded weights. Of the twenty-five coins in the Corpus, all but two are whole pennies. These range in weight downwards from 1.09g to 0.90g, averaging at 1.02g. Given the relatively consistent weight of these pennies (most do not stray further than 0.05g from the average), it seems likely they were deliberately struck to a lighter standard. The halfpennies present a similar picture, with one weighing 0.46g and the other (described in the BMC as a large broken half) weighing 0.69g.<sup>511</sup> It may be that these coins were produced in some clandestine fashion, and so their moneyer used lighter flans. On the other hand it would be odd deliberately to produce illegal coin yet have them distinctively marked as well as lightened. Instead it seems more likely that these lighter pennies conform with the general lightening of coinage that seems to have occurred in the midlands. The shortage of fractional coinage does perhaps indicate a general wariness of the erased design.

The other notable erased coinage is the Erased Bar issue. This type is as Stephen's Type 1, but with an obverse modified by the placement of a bar across the sceptre, and a short cross on the bust's shoulder. In at least one instance the bar is instead replaced by two fleur-de-lis on the sceptre. Four Bar pennies are recorded in the Corpus. The fleur-de-lis subtype is attributed in the EMC to Gladewin of Lincoln, and weighs 1.26g.<sup>512</sup> The three regular Bar coins were all struck by Lefsi of Stafford, and

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<sup>509</sup> Blackburn, 'C&C', 181.

<sup>510</sup> King, *King Stephen*, 52, 131.

<sup>511</sup> BMC 241.

<sup>512</sup> EMC 1017.0827, North, *EHC*, 211-2.



weigh 0.95g, 1.09g and 1.18g. According to the Corpus, one of these Bar pennies was unearthed in Prestwich, while the remainder have uncertain findspots. The precise implications of the modifications to these dies were remarked on extensively by Peter Seaby. Seaby argued that this coinage (and several other erased issues) stemmed from episcopal control of mints, and indicated Stephen's excommunication following the interdict of 1148.<sup>513</sup> Seaby's argument will be explored more fully below. For now it suffices to remark that, if his theory is false, there is no other clear reason for the Erased Bar type than those speculatively attributed to other erased types. W.J. Andrew also speculated that the bar might indicate coinage of the Abbot of Peterborough,<sup>514</sup> presumably on the basis of the cross though this seems particularly weak reasoning.

The final midlands coinage in Stephen's name is distinguished by the nature of its flans. The 'Hammered Flan' coinage is represented by a pair of Type 1 coins issued by Swein at Nottingham. What distinguishes these two coins are the visible hammer marks on the obverse. The pennies are intact, and of good weight at 1.46g and 1.47g. Likewise the dies are of a good clear style, that suggest they were the product of proficient die cutters, rather than amateur local issues. It is difficult to know what to make of these hammered flans, especially given that no similar flans appear elsewhere. It may simply be an irrelevant fluke. On the other hand, the seemingly unorthodox method of flan production may hint at overall disruption to the system of coin control. Revisiting the discussion around erased coinage, there is also the possibility that these coins were in some way produced in a clandestine fashion, perhaps by someone who had obtained dies but had no way to produce flans in the usual manner. They are of a trusted pre-war design, and the unusual flans may have been enough to fool a casual observer. Metallurgical analysis may either prove or disprove this, but for now it remains an enigma.

Beyond these types in Stephen's name, there is a single coin in the style of Stephen's Type 2, in the name of '+ROGER:DE:'. The coin may have been struck in the name of Roger de Beaumont (Earl of Warwick) or the Yorkshire magnate, Roger de Mowbray.<sup>515</sup> The moneyer is '[ ][OD?][EME:R'

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<sup>513</sup> Peter Seaby, 'King Stephen and the Interdict of 1148' *BNJ*, 1 (1980), 50-60.

<sup>514</sup> Andrew, 'A Remarkable Hoard', 27-89.

<sup>515</sup> Allen 'Stephen, The Anarchy and the Accession of Henry II', 23.

(possibly Godmere), while the mint, named as 'TI', is regrettably unidentifiable and does not correspond to any known mint signature.<sup>516</sup> The coin has no recorded weight. What this type effectively represents is a type in the name of an unknown magnate and possibly a new moneyer. It is discussed in this chapter chiefly because the EMC has opted speculatively to attribute it to Roger de Beaumont.

Roger was at least briefly affiliated with Empress Matilda in 1141.<sup>517</sup> It may therefore be that the coin was struck for similar reasons as various 'Angevin' types. Fairbairn regarded the attribution to de Beaumont as plausible, given that the coin was unearthed in Lincolnshire, not far from Roger's estates.<sup>518</sup> A similar coin was attributed by Mack to a 'Robert' (possibly the earl of Leicester, Roger's cousin), but this coin does not survive in the Corpus, and even Mack was unsure as to whom it ought to be attributed.<sup>519</sup> The iconography of the Roger coin does not fit with the pattern of other known western baronial issues, which often include personal motifs and derive more from earlier royal types rather than Type 2. Further arguments against attributing the coin to Earl Roger are that it does not include any of his titles (neither as 'comes' or 'erl' as inscribed in the coinage of Patrick of Salisbury or Henry of Northumberland), and that it cannot be decisively traced to any midlands mint. Alternatively, Yorkshire is a county that produced a variety of baronial coinage, as well as Stephen's Type 2. Type 2 also does not appear to have circulated widely in the midlands, where finds of it are exceedingly rare but remains more common in the north.<sup>520</sup> While Roger de Mowbray may not have been as politically prominent as Roger de Beaumont, there is reasonable cause for attributing the type to him. At any rate, the extreme rarity of this type means that nothing more can be said about the scale of its issue, though the craftsmanship does appear to be of high aesthetic quality and perhaps suggest an experienced moneyer.

### 5.3 The Hoards

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<sup>516</sup> Godmere is a rare moneyer's name in the Corpus, known only from a penny of Henry of Anjou and even this is speculative. An alternative may be Heremer, a known moneyer of Norwich.

<sup>517</sup> D. Crouch, 'Roger, Second Earl of Warwick', *ODNB*, (2004).

<sup>518</sup> Fairbairn, 'King Stephen's Reign' 46.

<sup>519</sup> Mack, 'Stephen and The Anarchy' 94-5.

<sup>520</sup> Kelleher, 'Coins, Monetisation', 393.

Based on the available data, it appears that coins produced in the midlands were issued almost exclusively in Stephen's name. Exceptions are the Pereric coins of Lincoln, and the unique 'Roger de' coin, if it was indeed struck in the midlands. The overall picture to emerge therefore is one of nominal loyalty to Stephen, with the possible exception that Pereric raises. Analysis of what exactly was used is better understood in terms of hoard evidence and single finds, which will be the focus here.

Hoard of Stephen's reign from the midlands are striking not only for their number but their size. Eight hoards are known at the time of writing, and six of these are reckoned at 100 or more coins. As always, data is patchy, and not all coins are recorded or identified in the Corpus. Particularly in the case of older known hoards, recorded information is very poor indeed, and discussion must therefore be summary. The usual caveats therefore apply in terms of our interpretation of available information.

The earliest known hoard was unearthed in 1788/9 at Ashby de la Zouche (also sometimes referred to as Ashby Wolds in the literature), in Leicestershire.<sup>521</sup> All available information stems from a British Numismatic Society publication of 1909. Given the more than 120 years between the hoard's discovery and this publication, it is perhaps understandable that the hoard's composition is known only in the vaguest of terms. Allen's list described it as containing c.450 Henry I Type 15 to Stephen Type 1 coins, as well as 'independent types' though it is unclear what they may have been.<sup>522</sup> In 1978, R. J. Seaman described the hoard as being 'said to contain' c.400 coins of Henry I and Stephen, though descriptions of only nine coins survived.<sup>523</sup> Seaman was making reference to an earlier account by Blunt, Jones and P. H. Robinson.<sup>524</sup>

It was Blunt, Jones and Robinson, who delved into the recorded correspondence to produce the most comprehensive list of contents. They asserted that Ashby de la Zouche preserved an uncertain number of Henry I pennies, and four hundred or more of Stephen. They discounted the presence of Henry II

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<sup>521</sup> Thompson, *An Inventory of British Coin Hoards AD 600-1500*, 5, Allen, *M&M*, 465.

Thompson and Allen refer to the hoard as 'Ashby Wolds' and 'Ashby-de-la-Zouche (Ashby Wolds)' respectively.

<sup>522</sup> Allen, *M&M*, 465.

<sup>523</sup> R.J. Seaman, 'A Re-Examination of Some Hoards Containing Coins of Stephen' *BNJ*, xlviii (1978), 58-72

<sup>524</sup> C.E. Blunt, F. Elmore Jones and P.H. Robinson, 'On Some Hoards of the Time of Stephen' *BNJ*, xxxvii (1968), 35-42.

and III pennies as unlikely. Of the Stephen coins, 375 were pennies, 60 or more were halfpennies, and twelve were farthings. Types present (of which very few are identified) included Henry I's types 4 and 15, Stephen's Type 1, and irregular coinage from Fobund at Durham and Walchelinus at Derby.<sup>525</sup> The Durham and Derby coins are almost certainly the Annulets and Eagles coins respectively, as there are no other irregular coinages recorded from these mints.

Despite the patchy nature of the evidence, the Ashby de la Zouche hoard immediately establishes two useful facts. Firstly, that substantial quantities of coin were hoarded in the midlands. The hoard's exact size is unclear, but all available information suggests it measured in hundreds of individual coins, with a total face value of c.£1.14s. This same information also suggests that the hoard was added to over an extended period of time. The range of known types included the bulk of Henry I's reign, extending well into Stephen's. The presence of the Annulets and Eagles types indicates that these types were indeed considered sufficiently legitimate to be worth hoarding. If the data on weights presented within the Corpus is broadly indicative of average weights for these types overall, it may be that the weight of coin was not regarded by contemporaries as of particular importance (Eagles being notably heavy and Annulets notably light), which may indicate they coins were for the most part exchanged at face rather than assayed value.

In 1848, roughly 300 pennies (c.£1 5s.) were unearthed in Lincoln. Yet again this is a hoard of striking size compared to the norm for other regions. Initially this find inspired only a single sentence in the *Gentleman's Magazine* of 1849. The magazine described the sale of a 'rare and much finer than usual penny of Stephen' which was of a 'scarce' type, and that 'about 300' pennies of Stephen were found near Lincoln in the previous year.<sup>526</sup> No legends or other descriptions are supplied. The sensible approach would be to cease analysis here, as there is frankly no more data to be extracted. However pushing onwards into speculation, whatever the coin sold was, it was unlikely to have been of Type 1. This can be reasonably argued, both because the type is described as 'scarce and seldom found', and because the Watford hoard would by the 1840s have released a substantial number of Type 1s onto the

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<sup>525</sup> Blunt, Jones and Robinson 'On Some Hoards of the Time of Stephen' 35-8.

<sup>526</sup> *Gentleman's Magazine New Series* xxvii (1849), 407.

market. Whether or not the type was baronial, or simply another of Stephen's substantive issues, is unclear. Lincoln itself produced substantive types as well as more localised issues, so that neither possibility can be ruled out.

Before moving on from Lincoln, it is worth drawing attention to an 1958 article by Metcalf, where he alluded to the 1848 hoard. Metcalf was concerned with a find that was similarly poorly reported, when in 1725 a 'coyn of David of Scotland' was unearthed in the city, apparently as one of several found including a coin of William Rufus and a coin of king Stephen. Metcalf shrewdly noted that it is unclear which David (I or II) the writer was referring to.<sup>527</sup> Likewise the William coin may actually have been a coin of William I of England, or of David I's grandson, William the Lion (born 1142, died 1214) king of Scots, given that by the 1720s no proper taxonomy had been established for the coins of any of these kings. A Stephen coin on the other hand can only have originated from the period 1135-54, and Metcalf rightly observed that if all three coins were contemporaneous with, or earlier than Stephen's, then the hoard may well have been deposited during his reign.<sup>528</sup> Exceptional caution must be exercised in extrapolating from this find, but it hints at the possibility that David's coin (at least) was hoarded well beyond the northern frontier where it was struck. There is no reference to type however, which means it is unclear if this was a David coin easily distinguishable from one of Stephen's own types.

An 1867 hoard from Sheldon Derbyshire continues the trend of midland hoards reaching into hundreds of individual coins. Unlike the previously mentioned hoards, Sheldon was simultaneously substantial, well recorded, and contained a noteworthy number of coins not in Stephen's name. The earliest report is from 1910, with W.J Andrew describing the hoard as consisting of 102 coins, of which 95 were pennies and seven were halfpennies, with a total face value of 8s. 2½d. Despite the length of time between the find and Andrew's publication, the coins were kept together and record survived of a lead container which had originally held them but which disintegrated upon

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<sup>527</sup> D.M Metcalf, 'Eighteenth Century Finds of Medieval Coins from the Records of the Society of Antiquaries' *NC*, xviii (1958), 73-96.

<sup>528</sup> *Ibid*, 90.

discovery.<sup>529</sup> The container was said to have been a dish, about eight inches in diameter and turned inward at the sides. Several glass fragments were also unearthed with the hoard, although these were dated to c.1400 and so will not be given further notice here.<sup>530</sup>

The hoard contained two coins of Henry's I's Type 15, but the overwhelming majority were of Stephen and his contemporaries. Type 1 dominates, with 65 Type 1s within the hoard, including two of the cut halfpennies. Two more coins were mules of Type 1 and Type 2, one of which was a cut halfpenny.<sup>531</sup> Sheldon also contained a large number of subtle variants, many of which Andrew attributed to ecclesiastical figures. This was occasionally done on somewhat dubious reasoning. One was a single Type 1 variant struck by Godwin of Exeter, marked with a rosette. This is not identifiable within the Corpus, but the use of a rosette on coins from Oxford is clear to see. Andrew attributed pennies of this style to the Bishop of Exeter, with a style of lettering on the 'M' of 'MO[NETA] that indicated local dies.<sup>532</sup> Thompson did not comment on any ecclesiastical link, and the association today seems tenuous. A single penny of Lincoln with a small obverse cross is also recorded, which Andrew attributed to the bishop of that city.<sup>533</sup> At least one Erased Bar penny was also present.<sup>534</sup> Finally a York penny that was described as replacing the fleur-de-lis of the sceptre with a ring is attributed to the Archbishop of York on the basis that a ring is symbol of archiepiscopal authority.<sup>535</sup>

There is perhaps some connection to be made between the 'Ring' coin and the Lozenge-Sceptre pennies of York, but the coin identified by Andrew differs from these in that the reverse cross style is as Stephen's Type 1 and the reverse legend remains literate. It is unclear how much can be read into these subtle distinguishing marks, given how unlikely it is they would have been noticed by a casual observer. Thompson also expressed reservations about some of Andrew's attributions.<sup>536</sup> Certainly Andrew's arguments with regards to 'ecclesiastical' coinage are intriguing but by no means

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<sup>529</sup> Andrew, 'A Remarkable Hoard of Silver Pennies and Halfpennies of the Reign of Stephen' 27.

<sup>530</sup> Andrew, *Ibid*, 28.

<sup>531</sup> *Ibid*, 32-89.

<sup>532</sup> *Ibid*, 52.

<sup>533</sup> *Ibid*, 53-5.

<sup>534</sup> *Ibid*, 55-6.

<sup>535</sup> *Ibid*, 56-7.

<sup>536</sup> Thompson, *An Inventory of British Coin Hoards AD 600-1500*, 123-4

conclusive. Beyond the coins themselves (where his attributions are not especially persuasive) he relied on Roger of Hovedon's account of Bishops (among other great magnates) issuing money.<sup>537</sup> Roger's account does date to after Stephen's reign, and should be taken with some caution. More significant (and explicit to the contemporary observer) are the erased coinages, of which a single example from Thetford was recorded in Sheldon. Eleven of the erased Latin Cross coinages from Swein of Nottingham were within the hoard, along with one penny and three cut halfpennies in the same style of an illegible moneyer.

All of the above-mentioned types found in Sheldon were at least nominally associated with Stephen, excluding perhaps the erased coinages. A single Pereric type from Lincoln was preserved within the hoard, which also contained a penny in the name of Empress Matilda, which Thompson theorised to be a Stephen mule. Thompson's reading suggests Matilda Type A, or a mule combining the reverse of a Stephen Type 2 with a Matilda obverse. The fact that the coin is speculatively attributed to Simund of Exeter supports this notion, as Exeter is not recorded as a Matildine mint in the Corpus.

Thompson also did not accept Andrew's argument that the coin was a Matilda issue from Leicester.<sup>538</sup> Two whole pennies of King David were also found at Sheldon, both Cross Molines with 'Roger' as a possible identification for the moneyer of one, and the other being illegible. Mints are similarly unidentified, though the Roger coin appears to have been struck at 'STRADA' which Andrew speculated (somewhat wildly) might have been Strathaven.<sup>539</sup> No mint with a similar name appears in the Corpus, and it may be that Andrew possibly misread the coin. It is certainly unusual that no coin of the 'STRADA' mint has appeared in the century since Andrew's report, and so this may have been a transcription error.

Despite the occasional vagaries of the record, the quality of the documentation for the Sheldon hoard combined with its size, renders it an exceptionally useful source. But it is when placed alongside the other midlands hoards that it becomes even more useful. While not as large as other such midlands

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<sup>537</sup> Andrew, 'A Remarkable Hoard of Silver Pennies and Halfpennies of the Reign of Stephen' 30, *RdH*, 211.

<sup>538</sup> Thompson, *An Inventory of British Coin Hoards AD 600-1500*, 123; Andrew, 'A Remarkable Hoard of Silver Pennies and Halfpennies of the Reign of Stephen' 85-8.

<sup>539</sup> Andrew, 'A Remarkable Hoard of Silver Pennies and Halfpennies of the Reign of Stephen' 46.

hoards, Sheldon still represents one of the larger hoards of Stephen's reign. The fact that it is one of several large hoards from this area suggests a region that was dealing in large quantities of cash, perhaps far more than the single find evidence (concentrated in the south-east) would suggest. The hoard's size perhaps also suggests an area afflicted by wider conflict and instability, especially if one associates failure to retrieve hoards with the death(s) of their owner.

One intriguing aspect of Sheldon is its combination of types. Allen assigned the hoard a deposit date in the mid to late 1140s.<sup>540</sup> There is no reason to query this, and if such a date is accurate it would suggest that there was ample time thereafter for other coinages to have been struck and circulated beyond those which appear in the hoard. The bulk of the hoard is of Stephen's Type 1, and but for the Type 2 mule there are no further substantive issues. The mule in this case provides insight into the type of coin that was being hoarded, as the hoard must have been deposited after Type 2's introduction. It is surprising that no more Type 2 coin appears, while pennies of figures such as David and Matilda had sufficient time to travel to the midlands, and be deemed worthy of hoarding. It is worth noting that the types of Matilda and David that have entered the hoard are not only issued in the name of aspiring monarchs, but clear derivatives of Stephen's first type.

There are no baronial types reported from Sheldon. A large portion of the hoard was based upon derivatives of Type 1. This includes variants with almost imperceptible differences, and erased coinages that are nevertheless recognisable as derived from Type 1. It therefore seems probable that whoever compiled the hoard did so with deliberate effort to assemble Type 1 coinage and its derivatives, regardless of whether or not they had been erased. The fact that Pereric and David coins in this style were also included raises various possibilities. The owner may have been indifferent to the names of different monarchs stamped on their coins, or was unable to read their inscriptions, or did not scrutinise the coins thoroughly enough to exclude them. Given that Type 2 does carry Stephen's name, and that the most basic comparison should have led even an illiterate observer to recognise this, it seems that design rather than the named figure was the deciding factor in what was

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<sup>540</sup> Allen, *M&M*, 465.



hoarded. This certainly seems the case given that there were many other local coins in Stephen's name circulating in the midlands which were visually distinct from Type 1, but which were *not* hoarded. It may be that Type 1 was simply the only type trusted by the hoard owner. The inclusion of erased coinages has implications for how such coins were perceived (at least in this instance), as it seems that the owner(s) of Sheldon did not regard the erasure marks as an indication of poor quality. In a region where many coins were circulating, and authority was contested, the fact that Sheldon's coins are so consistent in this manner implies that the owner sought first and foremost for uniformity amongst the various, rival coinages established prior to the breaking of Stephen's monopoly over coin production.

The Nottingham hoard, like Sheldon and Lincoln, was unearthed in the nineteenth century. Allen described the hoard as having held upwards of three hundred coins (>£1 5s), ranging from Henry I's Type 1 to Stephen's Type 1 along with 'independent types, with a deposit date of the early to mid 1140s, presumably calculated on the basis of the absence of Stephen's Type 2.'<sup>541</sup> Like other nineteenth-century finds, the Nottingham hoard was not well recorded before being dispersed, though its discovery was recorded relatively swiftly by John Toplis writing for the *Numismatic Chronicle*. Toplis' 1881 account describes the discovery of the hoard, heavily oxidised and buried in sand. Shortly after their discovery, 'a couple of hundred' of these coins were taken by an unnamed worker, and a few more were retrieved by Toplis himself, but beyond this no precise figure is assigned to the hoard. Of the hundreds that were initially discovered, Toplis was only able to provide data on eleven.<sup>542</sup> In the 1960s, E.W. Danson conducted his own investigation of the hoard its surrounding literature, and his work combined with Toplis' provides the only reliable reportage.<sup>543</sup> Danson was satisfied with a figure provided by W.J. Andrew of 'over three hundred' pennies, with 170 recovered initially, some noticeably damaged by fire.<sup>544</sup>

The Nottingham hoard apparently contained seven different types, in the names of at least four (or perhaps five) individuals. According to the initial report, upwards of 150 conventional Stephen Type 1

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<sup>541</sup> Allen, *M&M*, 464.

<sup>542</sup> J. Toplis, 'Coins of Stephen and Others Found at Nottingham', *NC*, i (1881), 37-41.

<sup>543</sup> E.W. Danson, 'The Nottingham find of 1880: A Stephen Hoard Re-Examined', *BNJ*, xxxvii (1968) 43-64.

<sup>544</sup> Danson, 'The Nottingham find of 1880: A Stephen Hoard Re-Examined', 44.

pennies were hoarded: in larger number than those of King Henry I.<sup>545</sup> The first of these coins of Henry I, of which Toplis identified nine and Danson fourteen, were of Henry's Type I (a single coin), Type 10 (again a single instance), and twelve of his Type 15.<sup>546</sup> All of these coins were of Norwich, London or Chichester. This distribution of mints fits the pattern to be expected from a hoard under normal pre-war circumstances. Stephen's Type 1 also appeared in the hoard, as did several Type 1 variants. Danson added that many of the Type 1 coins were light and of 'poor workmanship', speculating that this might have implied contemporary forgeries. In particular, four coins appeared to be of base metal with a silver layer flaking off.<sup>547</sup> Other types present included a Type 1 Mullet with Annulets recorded by Toplis, for which he provided an illustration. Toplis also described a Type 1 style coin with an unusually large portrait.<sup>548</sup> It is unclear if this was a new type, an inexpertly executed Type 1, or (perhaps most likely) a Type 1 from local dies. The hoard also contained several examples of Stephen's erased coinage. Besides two Long Cross coins of the Norwich mint, and two Latin Cross coinages of Nottingham, Toplis also indicated that one coin was erased by the application of a reverse die over the obverse. However, he supplied no illustration, and this was almost certainly merely a mis-strike. Meanwhile Danson identified nine examples of erased Long Cross coins.<sup>549</sup>

Besides the pennies of Henry I, the 'independent' coins from Nottingham came from several figures. A single Pereric coin was recorded, which Toplis attributed to the Earl of Warwick, though this can be safely discounted as the type's production extended well beyond the earl's sphere of influence. At least one of Matilda's Type A pennies from Oxford was also identified by Toplis. Danson's work expanded this figure to five, and the identifiable mints to Bristol, Oxford, 'WAR' and 'CA'.<sup>550</sup> Danson's list also includes a 'REX AN' coin, similar in style to Stephen's Type 1, struck by 'WAL[TER]I:DE:MAL' and attributed by Danson to Henry of Anjou.<sup>551</sup> No such coin in Henry's name is known from the Corpus, though a markedly similar penny is recorded within the EMC, there

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<sup>545</sup> Toplis, 'Coins of Stephen and Others Found at Nottingham', 39-40.

<sup>546</sup> Danson, 'The Nottingham find of 1880: A Stephen Hoard Re-Examined', 48.

<sup>547</sup> Ibid, 45.

<sup>548</sup> Toplis, 'Coins of Stephen and Others found at Nottingham', 40.

<sup>549</sup> Danson, 'The Nottingham find of 1880: A Stephen Hoard Re-Examined', 55-6.

<sup>550</sup> Ibid, 63.

<sup>551</sup> Ibid, 62.

attributed to Matilda.<sup>552</sup> Given the age of Danson's report, the fact that no other pennies of Henry of Anjou in this style from this mint and moneyer are known, and the ambiguity of the obverse inscription, it is perhaps wisest to doubt Danson's attribution.

A curious Type 1 style penny with the letters 'NC' on the obverse flummoxed Toplis.<sup>553</sup> But with the benefit of modern data this can be compared with the obverse legend on Henry of Northumberland's Cross Fleury coinage. The style is not a perfect match, however, and the reverse cross of the 'NC' coin at Nottingham is a kind of Moline-Fleury Long Cross, with fleurs extending from the arms and dividing the legend itself. The moneyer and mint for this coin (speculatively identified by Toplis) is '--ANDE-' of '---CO' which may be Lincoln but either way does not correspond to any known mint or moneyer of earl Henry's types. Given Henry's possession of the lordship of Huntingdon after 1139, it is not inconceivable that money of his might have been produced in the midlands.<sup>554</sup> However it is unclear what mint 'CO' could signify in this area. Furthermore, after 1141 Huntingdon was *de facto* under the control of Simon II of Senlis.<sup>555</sup> There is also a possibility that the coin was misread, and that 'CO' was actually the 'CA' of 'CARLEL'. Even if there can be no way of proving where the coin was produced, one need only look to the David coins present in other midlands hoards for evidence that Scottish money did indeed circulate further south.

The Nottingham hoard continues trends that are generally noticeable in other midlands hoards. It is far larger than many of the hoards from other regions, and while data is patchy there are similarities in composition. The hoard was apparently assembled over several decades, chiefly from coins from the south-east but drawing on more local mints, supplying no indication that the conflict of Stephen's reign dramatically affected monetary flows. The hoard contained a variety of types including coins not in Stephen's name. These non-Stephen types nevertheless broadly imitate his Type 1, with differences that are negligible and might be easily overlooked, particularly when handled as part of a

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<sup>552</sup> EMC 1048.1353. This coin is recorded within the EMC as having been found within Prestwich.

<sup>553</sup> Toplis, 'Coins of Stephen and Others found at Nottingham', 40.

<sup>554</sup> Barrow, 'The Scots and the North of England', 247.

<sup>555</sup> Blackburn, 'C&C', 181.

higher volume transaction. Stephen's other substantive types are absent, as are monies that drastically deviate from the style of Type 1.

In 1994, approximately 150 coins were unearthed during excavations near Bedford. Despite the more modern standards of record keeping, available information for this hoard is frustratingly slim. The hoard changed hands several times, and was dispersed without being reported to a coroner, with just three coins passing to Blackburn for examination. Blackburn identified a Henry I Type 15 (struck at London by Ordgar), and two Stephen Type 1s (struck at Thetford by Robert, and perhaps Bury or Gloucester by Gilebert). The coins were of good weight (ranging from 1.32-1.34g), and led Blackburn tentatively to date the hoard *c.*1138. In truth, little can be confidently said of this hoard beyond the presence of these three coins. Blackburn himself was cautious, and speculated that the figure of 150 coins might be exaggeration, as no parcels of relevant coins were noticed being traded at the time.<sup>556</sup> If the array of types identified by Blackburn is any way indicative of its overall contents, they would suggest a deposit made fairly early in Stephen's reign.<sup>557</sup>

In 2000, detectorists at Grendon Northamptonshire came upon a small hoard, of just four coins, that combined Stephen's Type 1 with Henry I's type 15. The Coin Hoards report here is as succinct as it is comprehensive. A single penny was found, bent and crimped so as to hold two cut halfpennies and a cut farthing, all fused together during their time in the soil.<sup>558</sup> The whole penny (now broken into fragments) was a Stephen Type 1, as was one of the halfpennies. The other fractional coins were a halfpenny of Henry I's Type 15, and a farthing of an uncertain ruler and type. No moneyers or mints were legible. Weights provided included the combined weight of the whole coin and the fused halfpenny (1.13g), the Stephen halfpenny (0.47g), and the farthing (0.31g), which suggest perhaps a somewhat lighter coinage overall but not so as drastically to alter the present understanding of coin weights in this period.<sup>559</sup>

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<sup>556</sup> 'Medieval and Modern Hoards' *NC*, clvi (1996), 292.

<sup>557</sup> *Ibid.*, 292.

<sup>558</sup> 'Medieval and Modern Hoards' *NC*, cvxi (2001), 349-59.

<sup>559</sup> *Ibid.*, 353.

The Grendon hoard is notably small, more in keeping with hoards from the south-east. Yet Grendon's size along with the high proportion of fragmentary coin serves as useful evidence of smaller scale coin use and transactions. The size contrasts with the exceptionally large midlands hoards previously unearthed, and suggests a casual loss rather than deliberate deposition. What is distinctive is the manner in which Grendon was held together, as there is no evidence of a container. The initial report notes the appearance of a similar folded cluster dating to Henry I's reign, unearthed at Billingsgate in 1984.<sup>560</sup> A significant number of bent coins (precisely how many is as yet unclear) were contained within the Wicklewood hoard, and a portion of Archibald's notes on the hoard are concerned with the precise meaning of 'bent' coinage.<sup>561</sup> The suggestion has been made that bent coins were in some way votive, and it may have been that the Grendon hoard penny was bent for the same reason. It is unwise to extrapolate too far, but if the hoard was not simply lost by accident, the form in which the pennies were pressed together may be indicative of some sort of popular devotion at the find spot. Regrettably the findspot itself remains secret, and so no further insight can be gleaned.

In 2012, another hoard was unearthed in Bedford, considerably smaller than that of 1994, so best referred to as the 'lesser' Bedford hoard. Information comes from the PAS, which will be relied on here. The lesser Bedford hoard consisted of five coins, all broken and fragmentary. Three of the five were fused to one another, the pennies all seemingly of Stephen's Type 1. This is presumably what led the PAS liaison officer to assign a deposit date of c.1136 X 1145, although it is clear from wider evidence that Stephen's Type 1 continued to be used in substantial numbers in the midlands, even after Type 2 was introduced. There is therefore no reason to suppose that the lesser Bedford hoard (and indeed any hoard of Stephen's Type 1 from this area) was not deposited much later.<sup>562</sup>

The obverses of three of the coins were either obscured, or badly corroded and illegible. It is thus not possible to say if they were actually conventional Type 1 or one of its variants. Legible mints were London, Norwich and Northampton, and while the PAS entry suggest 'SITRIC' as a legible moneyer's name, I am not personally convinced from available images that this reading is accurate. Available

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<sup>560</sup> Ibid, 352.

<sup>561</sup> Archibald, 'Stephen + Wicklewood' Unpublished Notes.

<sup>562</sup> PAS-A5A988.

weights are 0.78g for a coin of which '60%' survived, 1.28g for two pieces of a coin of which '80-90%' survived, and 2.75g for the three remaining fused coins. There is perhaps significance to the fact that such broken and chipped coins were deemed worth keeping together at all, assuming that they were in such a condition when concealed. It is possible that fractional coinage was being used for smaller transactions, or that this suggests that, from time to time, payments might be made in silver by weight rather than face value. The fusing of three of the coins suggests that the hoard was deposited in a way that pressed the coins together. One possible explanation would be that the coins were bound together in a container that has now been lost, though a plausible alternative is that a building fire heated the coins which were then deposited among waste debris.

#### 5.4 Single Finds Distributions

Finds of coins produced in the midlands spread over some sixteen counties.<sup>563</sup> Hoards (discussed here) and single find evidence from other regions (discussed in previous chapters) make clear that coinage from other zones travelled to the midlands. When considering the midlands coinage, the first sensible step would be to ascertain whether the midland variant designs affected their ability to travel. Given that they were issued in Stephen's name, and that moneyers names were not deliberately obscured, it is reasonable to assume that their creators hoped to present them as 'legitimate', in so far as that word had meaning in this period.

While the focus of this chapter has been upon Stephen's substantive types, it is worth discussing their distribution and production in the midlands, so as to ensure suitable comparisons for the local types. The well-established dominance of Type 1 is clearly evident in the midlands, both in terms of surviving types and in the influence Type 1 had over the design of local variants. The largest single portion of Type 1s (44 coins) is found at Prestwich, followed by South Kyme (22 coins). A Type 1 from Lincoln was part of the Eynsford hoard in Kent. Meanwhile, single finds suggest that Type 1s from the midlands were more likely to travel beyond the region than to stay. The overwhelming

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<sup>563</sup> Buckinghamshire, Cambridgeshire, Derbyshire, Dorset, Essex, Hertfordshire, Kent, Leicestershire, Lincolnshire, Norfolk, Northamptonshire, Nottinghamshire, Lancashire (Prestwich), Suffolk, Wiltshire, Yorkshire (inc. North Yorkshire, South Yorkshire, & East Riding).

portion (86 coins) of midland Type 1s are of ‘uncertain’ provenance, but available data suggests a pattern that reappears in other substantive and local issues. Counties with single finds from midland mints in the south-east include Norfolk (four coins), Suffolk (two) and Kent (one).<sup>564</sup> The only northern county to yield midland Type 1s is Yorkshire (three coins), but this is still more than have been found in Nottinghamshire (one coin), the only midland county where the type appears as a single find. Pereric coins of the Lincoln mint have been unearthed in Lincolnshire as single finds (three coins) or in Lancashire as part of the Prestwich hoard (eight). The single Type 2 produced in the midlands (from Bedford) was actually unearthed in Kent. Likewise the Type 7 coinage produced at the midlands mints of Lincoln, Huntingdon, Bedford, Stamford and Leicester, is more likely to be found in Suffolk (three or four known finds) than Cambridgeshire (one or two), and the bulk of recorded findspots are once again in Kent (seven, see Appendix X).

The ‘False Substantive’ coinages, were clearly part of some concerted effort to synchronise mint production, at least at the local level. This is demonstrable from the consistency of weights, designs, and the variety of mints per type. It is unclear whether this occurred as a result of a higher authority co-ordinating effort, or by disparate moneyers acting on their own initiative. Based on the distribution of finds, False Substantives seem to have circulated in the midlands and thence into neighbouring counties. Type 3 has been unearthed in Northamptonshire and Leicestershire (one coin), and Lincolnshire (one), but also in Cambridgeshire (one), ‘East Anglia’<sup>565</sup> (one), and even Kent (two). the two Kentish coins were hoarded at Eynsford, with no single finds from the county more widely. Type 4 was struck at Lincoln, a prosperous city sitting at the intersection of much national trade.<sup>566</sup> It is reasonable to assume that the coins struck at Lincoln would travel some distance. However the overwhelming bulk (21 instances) of known Type 4 coins were unearthed in Lincolnshire, with a smattering in Nottinghamshire (3), Yorkshire (2) and Suffolk (1). Meanwhile, the comparatively rare Type 5 is only known from Lincolnshire (1).

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<sup>564</sup> The Kent find is of the Hammered Flan ‘type’.

<sup>565</sup> The find data is no more precise than this.

<sup>566</sup> G.Platts, *Land and People in Medieval Lincolnshire*, (Lincoln, 1985), 185-194.

It would appear that at least two of the False Substantive issues did not travel particularly far. The reasons for this can (as always) only be guessed, but it is odd that the Lincoln coinage did not move any great distance, penetrating at best into neighbouring counties. When the types did travel further, it was into areas where flows of money and finds are already particularly high, as is evident with the Type 3 coinage unearthed in Kent and East Anglia. The existence of False Substantive coinages might be considered in light of how pre-war standards of coin design and mint control influenced baronial coinage. Whoever introduced these designs (be they prominent earls or other local actors) clearly strove to conform to pre-war standards, while also appropriating the material benefits of the control of money. Stephen's name was retained, and a level of consistency of weight was enforced, even if it was now lower than it had been for Type 1. Regal imagery and reverse crosses in familiar styles were also retained, even if they were distinguished from other money in circulation.

Analysis of the distribution of erased coinage is difficult, as the vast majority (20 coins) have no recorded findspots. Three were found at Prestwich, having travelled some distance.<sup>567</sup> It is worth restating that Erased Long Cross coins were perfectly capable of travelling out of Norwich and into the midlands and elsewhere. It is therefore unsurprising that Latin Cross pennies travelled out from the midlands to other regions.

The various other local types present differing pictures. The Hammered Flan coinage (rare as it is) is recorded as unearthed only in Kent, some distance from its Nottingham mint. Presumably the style of flans offered no deterrent to those who owned it. Meanwhile Heavy Cross coins have been unearthed in Nottinghamshire, Norfolk, Lincolnshire and Buckinghamshire. Each of these counties has yielded a single coin, and most lie a good distance from the type's Lincoln mint. The Midlands Quadrilateral coinage has no confirmable mints, but its three find spots, in south Yorkshire, Lincoln and Derbyshire, suggest a midlands or northern origin. Interestingly, no Quadrilaterals appear to have been found in the south-west, which may well indicate that it was never intended as part of any wider 'Angevin' monetary system. The sole county with a confirmable Derby/Tutbury Eagles find is Derbyshire, and

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<sup>567</sup> Archibald, 'Prestwich', Unpublished notes.



this is of the Tutbury mint, on the county boundary between Derbyshire and Staffordshire. The 'Roger de' penny was unearthed in Lincolnshire, though again it is unclear where it was struck. Finally, the Midlands Annulets coinage was issued from Northamptonshire and two of its known finds come from within that county. A further two Annulets (both from the Northamptonshire mint) were unearthed in Lincolnshire and Essex. Others, this time of uncertain mint or moneyer, were unearthed in Essex and Kent.

Collectively, single find evidence for midland coins tends to fit one of two patterns. Those in the first category did not travel particularly far from their counties/mints of origin, spreading to neighbouring counties but no further. Such a pattern is noticeable for the Eagles Coinage, and Type 4. Most finds, however, fall into a second category, being perfectly capable of travelling beyond their locality, and subject to a 'gravitational drag' by which they were pulled south and east. Counties that might be dubbed outliers supplied with midland coins include Kent and Norfolk, both of which frequently yield midlands types. The preponderance of south-eastern counties here may result simply from detecting bias, but there can be no denying that midland coins circulated in those regions and were not deliberately excluded. York likewise yields some midlands types, namely Type 4 and the Midlands Quadrilateral.

If hoard evidence paints a picture of what coin users in the midlands thought was worth keeping from outside, tracking the single finds of types produced in midland mints indicates what they thought was worth carrying away. In this regard, analysis suggests that, at a fundamental level, the patterns of coin distribution did not significantly change. Sensible caution over the available data notwithstanding, single finds suggest that substantive issues from the midlands (such as Type 2 and 7) travelled along similar routes to those of Type 1, being found in a similar range of counties some distance from their original mints (Appendix X). For the local issues the picture is more nuanced. But again it would seem that at least some coin users thought it was perfectly legitimate to carry coins that were not of Stephen's substantive types, beyond the localities in which they were produced, presumably for use in commercial or 'official' transactions. Whether such transactions involved smaller or larger amounts of coin is unclear. The Midland Annulets and Type 3 coinages are prime examples of such a trend. Single

finds of these types trend southward and eastward, although a reasonable number have also been found closer to home, so that south-eastern detecting bias may once again somewhat skew our overall impression.

Not all midland types conform to a south-easterly trend. The Eagles coinage has already been discussed as a 'genuinely' local type, seemingly never straying far from its Tutbury/Derby point of origin. However, other types were capable of travelling long distances, and not simply towards Kent or East Anglia. The Heavy Cross travelled from Lincoln to Norwich, but finds have also been made in Nottinghamshire and Buckinghamshire. Type 4 also travelled in a westerly direction from its Lincoln mint, to Buckinghamshire (1 coin) and Nottinghamshire (1). As it is, based on the single find evidence, a coin from the central midlands is more likely to be found much further south and east than in its own locality. Meanwhile, a coin from the eastern midlands is just as likely to have travelled south or east as west.

While absence of evidence does not equal evidence of absence, finds suggest that midland coin rarely travelled north of the Humber. When it did do so, it was almost never beyond Yorkshire. Likewise, surprisingly little coinage from the midlands has been found in the south-western Angevin zone.

Wiltshire provides three midlands pennies of Stephen's Type 1, and one of his Type 7. It is telling that these midland coins found in the west are of substantive types issued either before or after the war. It may well be that factors relating to disruption of the national network, and the introduction of substantial coinages not in Stephen's name from the north and west, in some way affected midland coinage's ability to travel into the Angevin zone.

### 5.5 Pseudo-Royal Money & Local Lordship: Understanding Midlands Coinage

An overall conclusion on the midlands coinage must begin by revisiting the initial questions of this thesis. What is to be gained from a regional approach to the understanding of coinage in Stephen's reign? What can be gleaned from analysis of the midlands as a distinct 'zone', and in what ways (if any) did the unique political and geographical elements of this zone impact coin production and use? What do the coins themselves tell us about the distinctness (or lack thereof) of the midlands and the

nature of power and authority there between 1135 and 1154? Finally, how does all of this information supply new perspectives on the broader historiographical debates over Stephen's reign?

First, there can be no doubt that the midlands is the hardest of region to define in terms of landscape. The Welsh marches are a very different space to Lincolnshire, and the southern border with Oxfordshire faced distinctly different pressures to the northern border with Cheshire and Yorkshire. Likewise, as previously stated, while Robert de Beaumont emerged as a powerful figure in the west midlands by the end of Stephen's reign, no single unifying figure or dominant clique of aristocrats left an impression on the midlands coinage in quite the way that occurred in other zones.

The money of the midlands never ceased to be produced in Stephen's name, and so it is tempting to claim that royal control here was never explicitly ended. No regional magnate can be said indisputably to have stamped their name on coins of the midlands, though there are tentative hints that this may have occurred. There is the 'Roger de' coinage, and the 'NC' coin possibly indicates a penny issued in Earl Henry's name at a mint associated with him. However, both of these attributions are uncertain and exceptional. Andrew's analysis of midlands coinage followed a tradition according to which small modifications to dies, such as rosettes and crosses, were to be read as indications of commissioning by a local figure, such as a bishop, abbot or earl.<sup>568</sup>

The notion that ecclesiastics took control of coin production, and that this is reflected in the coinage itself, is particularly significant in the midlands and warrants further discussion. There are certainly references in the primary sources to ecclesiastical figures and institutions owning the right to moneyers or mints. Andrew notes a charter of Stephen granting bishop Alexander of Lincoln the right to a mint at Newark, albeit that the charter itself dates only from 1154, at the very end of the reign.<sup>569</sup> Another charter of Stephen, issued after 1149, confirmed in 1154 by Henry of Anjou, confers similar rights upon the bishops of Chester/Coventry for a mint at Lichfield.<sup>570</sup> Bolton noted that, after the Conquest, the ecclesiastical mints at Bury St Edmunds, Durham, York and Canterbury (both of the

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<sup>568</sup> Andrew, 'A Remarkable Hoard of Silver Pennies and Halfpennies of the Reign of Stephen, Found at Sheldon Derbyshire, in 1867', 47-57.

<sup>569</sup> Ibid, 54; *RRAN*, iii, no.489.

<sup>570</sup> *RRAN*, iii, nos.457-8, *LCH*, vi, no.3943.

prior of Christ Church and the abbot of St Augustine's) shared in the royal profits of mints.<sup>571</sup> That ecclesiastics appropriated royal revenues from mints is possible, but uncertain. Ranulf of Chester's appropriation of royal lands was sufficiently controversial to excite comment at the time.<sup>572</sup> It is possible (though again, uncertain) that there was a similar taboo against seizing royal revenues, and so it is uncertain that local actors uniformly moved to do so, especially if they were detached from the wider royal fiscal apparatus, with its regular changes of type. Beyond assertions that bishops such as Hugh du Puiset of Durham 'must have' controlled coin production at their mints, Andrew's argument is based principally upon the claims of Roger of Howden. These, however, remain problematic, as available numismatic evidence suggests that the claim that 'every principle man' issued coin is a considerable exaggeration. Attributions based on the iconography of the coins are entirely speculative, and for the most part unconvincing.<sup>573</sup>

A complimentary argument to Bolton's comes from Seaby's interpretation of the erased issues. Seaby distinguished between erased coinages struck as a result of Angevin influence (as at Bristol), and those of regions nominally aligned with Stephen.<sup>574</sup> Seaby attributed the non-Angevin erased moneys to Stephen's extended conflict with the Church. Stephen had already confronted great churchmen in 1139, arresting Bishop Roger of Salisbury (1139) and dismantling Roger's network of followers. Stephen and the ecclesiastical authorities also found themselves in conflict over the archiepiscopal succession at York.<sup>575</sup> Seaby argued that Stephen's relations with the English Church (and indeed the papacy) reached a nadir in 1148, when the king refused to permit Archbishop Theobald's attendance at the council of Reims. The controversy led to Pope Eugenius III (1145-1153) to threaten Stephen with excommunication. Theobald ignored the King's prohibition, seeking shelter with Hugh Bigod upon his return to England instead of returning to Canterbury.<sup>576</sup>

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<sup>571</sup> Bolton, *MITMEE*, 106.

<sup>572</sup> *GS*, 185.

<sup>573</sup> Andrew, 'A Remarkable Hoard of Silver Pennies and Halfpennies of the Reign of Stephen, Found at Sheldon Derbyshire, in 1867' 30, 47-57 for Andrew's discussion of ecclesiastical coinage.

<sup>574</sup> Seaby, 'King Stephen and the Interdict of 1148' 56-7.

<sup>575</sup> *Ibid*, 57-9.

<sup>576</sup> *Ibid*, 58.

Seaby interpreted the various erased coinages (and particularly their use of crosses to deface Stephen's portrait and sceptre) as a statement by the bishops (and their supporters) who, after 1139, sided with the papacy against Stephen. This is based upon a supposition that the mints of erased coinages (excluding Bristol) can be neatly matched to the map of England's dioceses, and those areas where Stephen's personal influence was weak by the late 1140s. Seaby even argued (based upon the placing of a cross on several coins) that the design supplies tangible proof that Stephen was in fact excommunicated by the Pope (a sentence otherwise unreported).<sup>577</sup>

Seaby considered it 'indisputable' that the erased coinages of the midlands and York were ecclesiastical in origin, while also acknowledging that no written source records Stephen's excommunication. The main issues with Seaby's interpretation are firstly that erasure was so inconsistent. In the case of the bar marks, it is unclear that these would even have been noticeable to the casual observer, while other forms of erasure (such as for the York issues) make no clear iconographic reference to ecclesiastical power.<sup>578</sup> Furthermore, the window for Stephen's supposed excommunication and subsequent reconciliation with the Church is implausibly narrow: no more than a few months, leaving little time for the bishops to coordinate their response, let alone to command permanent alteration to such public objects as coins. There is also Graeme White's pertinent observation that much of the historical record from Henry II's reign was keen to portray Stephen's reign in an unflattering light.<sup>579</sup> In those circumstances, the fact that Stephen was excommunicated would have been not just a curious but frankly a stunning omission for Henry II's chroniclers to make. Seaby's argument for the erased coinages is thus intriguing, but ultimately unconvincing. The erasures *may* have resulted from ecclesiastical influence, but to assume Stephen's excommunication is almost certainly a step too far.

Debates over precisely who issued what coins, and why, have engaged numismatists for centuries. Even so, any attributions based on the coins themselves remain merely speculative. There is simply not enough data to determine who (for example) issued the false substantive coinages. The coins'

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<sup>577</sup> Ibid, 60.

<sup>578</sup> Ibid, 60.

<sup>579</sup> White, 'The Myth of the Anarchy' 323.

existence is the single greatest piece of evidence, and should be interrogated on its own merits. In certain instances (for example Derby and Lincoln) the mints coincide with the seats of prominent earls. Whoever issued coins from such places, what does available data tell us about mechanisms of authority? Broadly speaking, it is clear that there was no mere 'free for all' or 'anarchic' approach to coinage across the midlands. Rather, coin became more localised. Types were produced at fewer mints (though not necessarily exclusively at one) and with distinct designs based upon Stephen's Type 1 and earlier moneys. Exactly who patronised these coins is unclear, but it seems reasonable (given the retention of Stephen's name) that they largely intended to express loyalty to the King. Exactly why they chose to express such loyalty remains debatable. A figure such as Robert de Beaumont, earl of Leicester, who ultimately came out against Stephen might still have chosen to issue coin in Stephen's name, out of a desire for stability, and the maintenance of pre-war order. Even then, Robert seems to have avoided outright opposition to the King, operating (as many magnates did) a kind of *de facto* neutrality until the final years of the reign.<sup>580</sup> Issuing money in Stephen's name may have been an expression of political loyalty to Stephen. However, a counter-argument to this would be that the issuing of money other than Stephen's served as a *de-facto* expression of disloyalty, and hence a severe dislocation of the royal monetary system.

There was no real contradiction between magnates being simultaneously 'loyal' to Stephen, and acting in their own interests. It is well understood that magnates sought to enrich and empower themselves, exercising authority in Stephen's absence, while also maintaining and supporting royal authority. Hollister described the proliferation of earldoms under Stephen as the creation of 'semi-autonomous districts', albeit ones still governed by magnates who owed their titles to Stephen.<sup>581</sup> In this regard, issuing money in Stephen's name, the 'default' position, could have served as a way to avoid openly declaring for a particular figure whilst distancing oneself from the wider monetary system that Stephen maintained via the exchequer and the issue of his own substantive coin types. In doing so, local magnates strengthened their own positions at the monarch's expense, but did not actively reject

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<sup>580</sup> For discussions of 'neutrality' see, Crouch, *The Reign*, 233-9.

<sup>581</sup> Hollister, 'The Aristocracy', 55.

royal authority. Ranulf of Chester (who was infamous for his changeable loyalties) seems to have adopted just this approach.<sup>582</sup> Indeed, Dalton's reading of Ranulf's behaviour as self-interested neutrality, combined with nominal loyalty to Stephen, could well be applicable to other midland magnates.<sup>583</sup> Such a reading is arguably supported by the coinage, or at least is not incompatible with it.

It is not inconceivable that the men in power were more interested in deploying coin for economic rather than ideological ends, and this may be the key to understanding the midlands coinage more generally. Available evidence points to the effective maintenance of monetary standards, albeit with diminished weight and less consistency of style. Most midlands types retained a Type 1 style bust, which must have been in circulation for at least five years and was the prototype for many regional types.<sup>584</sup> Those midland coins that do not emulate Type 1 were influenced by Stephen's Type 2, or issues of earlier monarchs (Appendix I). The weight of coins either conforms to the pre-war standard, or to a lighter standard which could have been a pragmatic response to a shortage of silver. There is also the likelihood that reduction in weight (and by proxy the amount of coin available per unit of silver) was a response to greater demand for coin, confirming that institutions dependent on trade or taxation (such as markets and fairs) continued to function. The find evidence perhaps supports this mercantile reading, with coin being carried across the region rather than strictly regulated as part of a system that excluded 'external' coin. Coins of certain types were hoarded together, and single finds show that (to a broad extent) midlands coinage travelled along pre-existing economic routes.

The economic/mercantile reading need not be applied to all types. The idea of localised production deserves more scrutiny. Taking the Eagles coinage on its own merits here, it may well be that this coinage was created by a specific figure (possibly Earl Robert de Ferrers though this is speculative) for production in the areas where he held sway. It was after all produced only at two mints close to one another. On the other hand, of the six single finds from Derbyshire, only one is of an Eagles type, and the remainder are a mixture of substantive issues (Type 1 and Type 7) and the Midland's

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<sup>582</sup> *GS*, 185; *HN*, 82-3.

<sup>583</sup> Dalton, *In Neutro Latere*, 52-7.

<sup>584</sup> Blackburn, 'C&C' 194, 198.

Quadrilateral. The Sheldon hoard likewise combined various types. Taking the Eagles type as an example, the notion of local coinage created with the ambition of excluding all others becomes even more improbable.

It therefore seems most likely that the midlands barons (or whoever patronised coinage there) were not concerned with excluding other types. There is no evidence that authorities insisted on accepting only current or local types for official payments. The picture that emerges from coin finds is that if such a policy existed, it did not extend to (or was not enforced in regard to) private transactions.

Overall, the numismatic evidence reinforces the notion that the midlands was a zone defined by a lack of prominent magnates, with no particular figure issuing coinage in their own name, or capable of monopolising the production of coinage in their area. It may well have been that local magnates and ecclesiasts appropriated the revenues of the monetary system. But there is little or no documentary evidence for this. Apart from the licencing of episcopal mints for Lichfield and Newark, in both cases apparently only very late in the reign, the only possible evidence, laid out by Yoshitake, is that, after 1154, the rapid restoration of exchequer payments (including from the midland counties of Lincoln, Leicestershire and Huntingdonshire) by *tale and blanch* implies a certain continuity of administration.<sup>585</sup>

Questions over the relationship between magnates and coinage lack clear answers from the midlands. By contrast, midlands moneyers provide a far richer source of evidence. Unlike in other counties, for example Yorkshire, moneyers of the midlands typically opted to place their names on coinage rather than to anonymise their work. There are reasons not necessarily to take a moneyer's name at face value. In some instance new moneyers appear in a local type, while established moneyers from these mints go unrecorded. At Lincoln there is the Heavy Cross moneyer Rogier, or Type 4 moneyers such as Hue and Paen. None of these men appear in Stephen's Type 1. Hugh and Paen do so in his Type 7, whilst Rogier disappears. From this, there is the temptation to assume that a coinage such as Type 4 was the product of coordinated effort by those who would go on to become established moneyers.

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<sup>585</sup> Yoshitake, 'The Exchequer', 958.



Perhaps they were members of pre-existing moneyer families, or at least a community of metalworkers who gained the support of the political establishment. Meanwhile, the Heavy Cross may have been the work of a sole moneyer, who for whatever reason had only a temporary licence or desire to create coin. Other moneyers of midland types, suggest these phenomena were not unique to Lincoln. For example, Walchelinus of Derby/Tutbury who struck the Eagles coinage, or Dodda of the Midland Annulets. Neither man had made any appearance in previous coinages, and neither reappeared thereafter in later issues, being instead confined to their specific local types (Appendix F).

Meanwhile there is the fact that, at least at Lincoln where Type 2 was definitely struck, there clearly was an attempt to maintain uniformity of coinage. Likewise Type 6 was issued at Northampton and Bedford. In the case of Northampton, this was done by a moneyer who also issued non-substantive types. Yet again, the midlands coinage is not uniform, making it difficult to establish any overarching trend. It appears instead that the precise mechanisms of coin control and production differed not only from mint to mint, but even between moneyers of the same mint.

Any discussion of precisely who was manufacturing coin and controlling its production in the midlands must accept that there is a striking inconsistency in terms of what types were produced in what locations and by whom. Certain mints had multiple moneyers, and moneyers of ostensibly the same mints might produce not only different types, but demonstrate entirely different patterns of coin production. This was seen in Lincoln but is also apparent at Northampton. Paen of Northampton struck types 1, 3 and 6 at his mint, overlapping substantive and non-substantive issues. Meanwhile other moneyers of Northampton were producing the Midland Annulets type. It could of course be that all moneyers struck all types at their mints, but that examples of such no longer survive. As it is, the available data allows for no such interpretation, and instead suggests that a town mint could see different moneyers issuing entirely separate coinages, and applying different levels of conformity to coinages produced at other mints. Moving south into Bedfordshire, there is yet a different pattern. The Bedford mint is sparsely recorded in Type 1, but nevertheless a Thomas there struck Type 2, Iohan

Type 6, and both moneyers Type 7.<sup>586</sup> Bedford therefore suggests that certain midlands mints were relatively well integrated into the royalist monetary system, even while those in neighbouring counties were not.

It is extremely difficult to confine this pattern of types, moneyers and mints, within any rational framework. The possibility that at least one midlands type may not have been produced in Stephen's name threatens to remove the only unifying factor thus far identified. If there is any justification for describing English money as proof of 'anarchy' it is to be found in the midlands, and based on data such as that laid out in this chapter. Neither royal nor aristocratic control can be decisively proved. Meanwhile moneyers look to have improvised, based on their own specific situations. It is possible that some of these men were emergency figures, or simply opportunists who used the degradation of royal control to enrich themselves. It seems most likely that demand for coin was based on specific local concerns. Allen's study of Walchelinus suggests that he may have been a rich man locally, and that his coinage was the result of a substantial fine that he was required to pay.<sup>587</sup> Regardless of their identities, these new moneyers often produced coin that was both distinctive and localised. Other figures look to have been 'legitimate' moneyers (as much as that is an appropriate term), who tried to maintain the pre-war system as well as they could, even cooperating with official changes of type. It may be that cooperation with the royalist system stemmed from physical proximity to Stephen and his political heartland, confirming the overall argument of the thesis that authority and influence over coinage fundamentally stemmed from the influence of local personalities. With all due caution due to the limits of the data, it might be said that the midlands was an area in which local figures opted to acknowledge nominal loyalty to Stephen while disengaging from any wider, royally controlled monetary system.

### 5.5a Exploring Types and Renovatio

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<sup>586</sup> Admittedly, the attribution of Type 2 to Thomas of Bedford is uncertain, but it is the one made by Archibald in her notes.

<sup>587</sup> M.Allen, 'Stephen, The Anarchy and The Accession of Henry II, 1145-58', 22.

If the authorities and mechanisms of control behind the midland coinage remain hard to identify, the actual standards and stylistic conventions of the coins are considerably clearer. Money of the midlands can be grouped stylistically, and also in terms of weight. Stylistically speaking, the influence of Stephen's Type 1 remains undeniable. Most midlands issues imitated Stephen's Type 1 through the retention of the leftward facing bust and often the cross moline, even those with slight additions such as fleurs or annulets. The reasons for such conformity to the pre-war type have been widely discussed above. Type 1 was a trusted design associated with royal authority. It was known to have been struck before any disruption to the monetary supply. Therefore coins in its style would likely be of good weight and so be perceived as more trustworthy by coin users. Issuing coin in Stephen's pre-war style minimised the risks of other 'politicising' designs or associating the coinage with any particular faction or administrative network. The combination of these elements would encourage the continuation of Type 1 style coinage in order to avoid disruption or confusion among coin users, and thus ensure local stability both commercial and political.

The second category of iconography deviates much more sharply from Stephen's Type 1, adjusting the angle of the bust and the style of the reverse cross. These coins in a sense are 'true' new types rather than Type 1 'variants' or 'imitations' elsewhere so common during Stephen's reign. Given that Type 1 was (for all the reasons mentioned above) such a popular prototype, why would a midlander opt to issue different types at all? There is a possibility that moneyers struck coins to meet specific local needs (as in the case of Walechlinus) but it seems improbable that this could explain so great a variety of midland issues.

As stated previously the notion of a policy of exclusion against 'enemy' coinage is not supported by the find evidence. There is the possibility that the change in type is itself evidence of an attempt to enforce uniformity, at least for official payments. Otherwise, there is little reason why types would have been changed at all. The system of *renovatio monetae* was predicated on the assumption that coin users were required to make at least some payments in official money; otherwise moneyers had

no means by which to draw a profit using the dies they purchased from royal authorities.<sup>588</sup> Without official demand for payment in the ‘current’ type, there would have been no reason for coin users to change their money into the most recent type. Admittedly bullion and foreign coin might still have been converted when there was demand for English coin, but without a *renovatio* system, the main revenue stream for moneyers and exchange operators would have dried up.<sup>589</sup>

The absence of clear association between the iconography of midlands types, and potential political patrons therefore discloses a conundrum. If coin finds suggest that uniformity was not imposed, and the iconography of coins does not clearly evoke a particular authority, why change type at all? There is a temptation to suggest that there ‘must’ be a rational explanation for all this. Either authorities looked to impose uniformity for official payments and failed, or evidence of their success does not survive. Alternatively, perhaps the change of type was a tax in and of itself, so that while authorities were not sufficiently strong to force payments in official type, they were capable of persuading local moneyers to purchase dies and strike the new type. There is also the possibility that the introduction of a new type simply stemmed from a shortage of dies, and moneyers opted to improvise their own styles, drawing influence from the earlier coinage of Stephen, Henry I, and other monarchs in creating such new designs.

There is also the possibility of moneyers seeking to enrich themselves by issuing their own coin as a private venture, particularly if there was demand for coin from merchants (required to pay tithes and tolls) and magnates (needing to pay troops). A moneyer may have taken it upon himself to issue a distinct coinage, using dies that manufactured locally to designs intended to evoke ‘quality’ while distinct from the coin of other moneyers by the modification of minor design features. Such moneyers might have lightened the coinage, in order to increase the amount of coin in circulation and hence satisfy the demands of their customers. There is also the possibility of outright fraud, with moneyers opting to strike coin with reduced silver content in order to enrich themselves. A metallurgical analysis of the various types might confirm or deny this. What types a moneyer opted to produce were

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<sup>588</sup> Allen, *M&M*, 184, Blackburn, ‘C&C’ 151.

<sup>589</sup> Bolton, *MITMEE*, 65.

rarely consistent, even within a single mint. In certain instances it may have been that a moneyer chose (or was instructed) to put their name to a single type, with a distinct design, and then never produce coin again. Such is the case for the Eagles type, and several moneyers of the Heavy Cross (Appendix F).

Lastly, and this is perhaps the most plausible explanation: the change of type stemmed from a demand for coin with which to pay troops and so forth, and those barons who commissioned the coinage were unconcerned with the needs of moneyers or mercantile communities. Evidence for such a practice is found elsewhere in mainland Europe, and eventually led to the development of the *monetagium* system. Bisson gave various examples of how coin types might be changed at the instigation of local magnates, even in absence of a *renovatio* system, for instance as a practical response to poor quality coinage, or to aggrandise a local ruler.<sup>590</sup> Admittedly there is little evidence, numismatic or otherwise, to support the existence of such practice in England, beyond perhaps the sheer diversity of midland coinage.

#### 5.5b Trends in Hoarding

Despite the paucity of reliable data, midlands hoards seem to exhibit certain distinct traits. For one thing, the number of coins within midland hoards trends well above average for Stephen's reign. It may be that coin was hoarded in such quantities as a direct result of the chaotic nature of the monetary system. There is also something to be said for the effects of physical danger in the midlands brought about by roving troops. One of the great battles of Stephen's reign was at Lincoln, which is regarded as a turning point in the war and often cited as the first occasion that provoked the issue of many different coinages.<sup>591</sup> Regardless of the debates around 'anarchy' the presence or threat of violence is undeniable and acknowledged even by White.<sup>592</sup> Ranulf of Chester's campaigns from the north, Geoffrey de Mandeville's chevauchées across Essex, the chaos caused by Welsh risings in the west, or

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<sup>590</sup> Bisson, *Conservation*, 6-10.

<sup>591</sup> Barrow, 'The Scots and the North of England', 249; Crouch, *King Stephen*, 141-2; Fairbairn, 'King Stephen's Reign', 46; Mattinson and Cherry, 'The Carlisle Mint Coinages of Henry I, Stephen, David I and Earl Henry', 108; White 'Continuity', 122-4.

<sup>592</sup> White 'The Myth of the Anarchy' 324.

Eustace's rampage of 1153, all must have increased this sense of fear.<sup>593</sup> Any of these (or similar events) might have brought a violent end to a hoard's owner, or at least instilled such fear in them that they considered it prudent to store some of their wealth. Types held within midland hoards are most conventionally dated to some point in the 1140s.<sup>594</sup> The theoretical rise in local types in the 1140s would coincide with the height of the conflict. After Stephen's capture and subsequent release, the war took on a quieter and attritional character, with many magnates settling into private peace with one another.<sup>595</sup>

At the risk of over-interpretation, it may be that the types revealed from the hoards also demonstrate a harkening after the peace and stability of an earlier age. Stephen's Type 1 is the most common, but five of the midlands hoards contain coin of Henry I's reign or earlier. These earlier coins seem to have partly inspired several local types, most notably the various quadrilaterals in imitation of Henry's Type 15, and possibly those coins with rosettes. A cursory glance at Allen's hoard data for Henry I's reign reveals that 26% (4 out of 15) include coins of William II, while 41% (10 out of 25) of the Stephen-era hoards contain issues of Henry I.<sup>596</sup> This statistic may reflect the respective lengths of William and Henry's reigns. However, it supplies tentative evidence that money of Henry was regarded as particularly valuable, long into the reign of his successor.

Meanwhile local or baronial issues are comparatively rare in midlands finds. The chief exception to this is the large number of erased coins found in the Sheldon and Nottingham hoards. But was such erasure sufficient to declare these coins illegitimate or untrustworthy in the eyes of their potential users? It is quite possible that the answer to this question differed from person to person, which may explain why certain midlands hoards contain such a high quantity of erased coinage while others do not. Those few local issues found in midland hoards that are not erased, still bear sufficient resemblance to Type 1 that it is possible such difference could be overlooked by a casual observer. Given the size of most hoards, it is not improbable that their owners did not regard a handful of

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<sup>593</sup> Crouch, *The Reign*, 243-4, 210, 270; Crouch, 'The March and the Welsh Kings', 264-6; King, *King Stephen*, 150.

<sup>594</sup> Allen, *M&M*, 463-6.

<sup>595</sup> Crouch, *King Stephen*, 233-8.

<sup>596</sup> Allen, *M&M*, 464-6.

outliers in such a large quantity of cash as sufficiently important to warrant separating 'official' from local issues. It is also possible that the opposite is true, and that there was a deliberate attempt to exclude local coinages, with these various types simply escaping the owner's notice. It is perhaps relevant that the 'lesser' Bedford and Grendon hoards both consist entirely of Stephen's Type 1. These hoards are both smaller, but could supply tentative evidence that Stephen's Type 1 was the most desirable of all the types issued in the midland during his reign. However, it is just as likely that these hoards were concealed before uniformity ceased.

Beyond the types preserved in the hoards, midlands finds yield evidence of fractional coinage. There have been fractional finds of Stephen's substantive issues, for example the cut Type 1/2 mule halfpennies found within the Sheldon hoard, or the Type 1 halfpennies and farthing found within the Grendon hoard. The existence of such money points to the persistence of a monetised economy, with a local demand for small change. A healthy number of local types have been discovered as fractional pennies, notably Type 3, the Midland Annulets, Heavy Cross and Quadrilateral Long Cross coins. If fractional coinage can reasonably be taken as evidence of smaller transactions, and if such transactions likely granted opportunities to scrutinise coin more closely, fractional local issues could be seen as evidence that local types were accepted.

Available find evidence paints a mixed picture, with multiple possible interpretations and a lack of clarity or consistency across the midlands. Admittedly part of the problem is that in many of the larger hoards the data is so poor that it is unclear what types were preserved. Loosely speaking, Stephen's Type 1 was popular, but in certain instances (particularly the largest hoard) there is evidence of Type 1 mixing with older types of Henry I, and/or regional variants and erased coinages. Single finds do not provide a clearer picture, as in some instances local types travelled far, and in others did not, while substantive types may or may not have moved long distances from the areas in which they were found. What the single finds do make clear is that the coinage that circulated the most in the region remained Type 1 while other types could have been used simultaneously in smaller numbers (Appendix X).

## 5.6 Conclusion

Midland coinage seem impenetrable. But there are identifiable patterns to the types produced and hoarded. Older styles of coinage were influential in terms of aesthetics, weight and what was hoarded. This statement comes with the caveat that the midlands witnessed the circulation of imitative issues, as well as erased money. It may also have simply been that the bulk of the hoards were gathered pre-war. One cannot simply claim that midlands coinage was heavily localised, nor was it entirely coherent and uniform. As in all regions there were continuities with pre-war money, and also distinct changes.

It might be tempting to characterise this situation as 'anarchic', but doing so marginalises the various anonymous figures who clearly attempted to create some kind of order within their local coinages. Some midland moneyers even cooperated with the monetary system that Stephen effectively enforced in the south-east. Instead, if a word is required to describe the midlands coinage, it might be 'granular'. There is undeniable evidence of repeated attempts by those who controlled coinage within the midlands to coordinate monetary policy beyond the level of individual workshops. Types 4 and 3, being struck by multiple moneyers and in Type 3's case at multiple mints, supplies undeniable evidence for this. Likewise the rare Type 2 and 6 coins from the midlands, as well as the Pereric types, indicate that the midlands was at least partially integrated into the wider monetary system of the kingdom, even after the end of uniformity. Weights could be consistent within these types, and either be set roughly at the pre-war standard, or at a lighter (but consistent) alternative.

At the same time (and in the same areas) there are types that in no way conform to these trends. These types only form a small percentage of overall currency from the region, and typically were produced by a single moneyer at a single mint or at mints in close proximity to one another. Even these types may still conform to a conventional weight standard, though the usual caveat applies, that heavy weight does not necessarily indicate strong silver content. It may be that these types are the result either of private initiative by a particular moneyer, or a local authority instigating coin production in the face of a shortage or for any of the reasons previously discussed.

'Granular' is therefore the term to use as it is best to think of midlands coinage as a series of separate, small-scale phenomena that nevertheless occurred for coherent reasons. Part of this may well have



been due to the region's being situated between the three other zones. Control over coinage did not simply break down (though there was an end to uniformity and royal control), nor can it comfortably be said to have fallen into the hands of self-interested and opportunistic barons. The evidence points to consistent, concerted attempts to produce coin in a manner that would have been understandable to those who produced and used it. This in turn was based upon pre-existing conceptions of what was desirable in coinage: that it be of good weight, of a style befitting a royal coinage (rather than introducing the personal symbolism that appeared in the north and west), and that it be validated both by the king's name and (perhaps more importantly) by the name of the moneyer. Indeed, the consistency with which moneyers' names were stamped on midlands coinage, even when new types were introduced perhaps indicates that the moneyer's name was regarded as equally important or even superior to that of the king's in terms of quality assurance. Such a reading does not exclude the possibility that in some case false names may have been used, to deceive the coin user by affiliating the coin with a reputable moneyer (perhaps a known local figure) when that was not in fact the case.

What can be said about midlands coinage in relation to the overall thesis, and wider discussion of the 'anarchy' of Stephen's reign? It does seem that the initial conception of the midlands laid out in the introduction above fundamentally persists. The midlands was in fact a distinct zone, characterised by uncertainty and lack of clear authority, as well as by a diversity of actors and geopolitical factors. At the same time, elements of coin design, and most likely the profits of coin production, continued to function as they had before the war, though perhaps now in the hands of local magnates. In many areas it appears that type was effectively immobilised, with Type 1 style coinage being continuously issued.

Misgivings about the anarchy debate notwithstanding, the midlands might be considered the region most corresponding to the idea of 'anarchic' chaos. But I would argue that this is a misguided and perhaps even lazy reading. Certainly, hoard evidence suggests that the greater magnates who appear in the written record did not in any obvious way influence the money in the areas they controlled.

Appropriation of royal revenues by these men can be inferred but not proved. Meanwhile, the dominant unifying characteristic of midlands coinage is that it was (almost) all issued in Stephen's

name. Anarchy in this sense is largely in the eye of the beholder. While coinage became more localised, every deviation from the norm can be explained as the behaviour of a rational actor, working in good faith to produce good coin, while still acknowledging at least nominal loyalty to the king. On the other hand, it is possible to read the appropriation of monetary mechanisms, and the *de facto* access to larger quantities of cash that would have come from mint control, as a challenge to royal authority. These seemingly contradictory behaviours are in fact not dissimilar to those exhibited in the north and west. The midlands embodies them most obviously, by combining several dissonant and seemingly contradictory approaches to money, all within the same space and in a manner notoriously difficult to categorise. In short, the midlands is a zone rendered distinct by its lack of consistency, both in its power structures and its money.

## Chapter 6 - The Coinage of Stephen's Reign: Problems, Potentialities, and Closing Remarks

### 6.1 Introduction

This project was conceived as an attempt to understand coinage and its relationship with notions of authority and the mechanisms of government during Stephen's reign. It has sought to centre coins as a legitimate historical source in their own right. This approach has tested the limits of coins as a source, both pushing up against such limits and expanding them in an attempt to understand the Anglo-Norman realm under Stephen. In terms of the wider scholarship for Stephen's reign, this thesis is indebted to an approach pioneered by scholars such as Allen and Naismith, who have interrogated coins as a valid source for understanding the societies in which they were produced. The intention is to move the collective understanding of Stephen's reign away from that generated by older approaches to coinage. These theoretical approaches used coins in an ancillary manner, with written sources forming the narrative core, while coins were deployed to support, to supplement, and even to challenge the written record.

As stated in the introduction, Allen's work on the York coinage of Stephen's reign has proved particularly influential in shaping this thesis' approach to the numismatic evidence. The overall intention was to test whether a similarly regional approach to interpreting coinage might be expanded and applied to the wider Anglo-Norman polity between 1135 and 1154. At its core, this thesis is concerned with coinage and authority in Stephen's reign, and it was my belief (building on Allen's work) that these things could only be properly understood by adopting a regional viewpoint. This approach builds on Allen's work, but also on that of the scholars of English 'state' development more broadly. Despite the existence of powerful royal institutions, even prior to Stephen's reign, Anglo-Norman government was reliant on powerful local intermediaries to assert royal authority.<sup>597</sup> In Stephen's reign there was a notable shift in the balance of power between the monarch and these local magnates.<sup>598</sup> In 1135, coinage was exceptionally highly regulated as part of a system that centred on the monarchy, and made England unique when compared to neighbouring France or the Empire. If

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<sup>597</sup> Crouch, *The Reign*, 147.

<sup>598</sup> Hollister, 'The Aristocracy', 55.

power shifted from the monarch to local figures during the wars of Stephen's reign, then a study of the coinage at the local level is vital to our understanding of the nuances of administration during this period.

The assumption here is that a regional approach to coinage under Stephen is not only valid, but essential to understanding the nature of power. The four regions identified here did indeed have distinct regional characteristics, and these factors impacted coin design and use. The regionalised nature of coinage becomes clearest the mints of non-substantive coinage in the name of Stephen are mapped out alongside mints of other figures. Matilda and her supporters' mints clearly congregate in the south-west. Mints of David and Henry of Scots, as well as the Yorkshire barons, appear exclusively in the north. Meanwhile the extreme south-east has almost no local types or baronial coinage despite the abundance of mints in that region (Appendix J3).<sup>599</sup> Yet despite this fragmentation there were notable continuities with pre-war practice in all regions. With this in mind, it is worth reiterating the nature of the evidence and exploring what analysis of regional coinage has yielded.

The south-east of England consistently supplies the greatest number of coin finds, both in terms of single finds and hoards. It was in the south-east that Stephen's authority was most effectively maintained, and, of all regions, the coinage here suggests most effective continuation of pre-war mechanisms of control, and particularly of type change. The transition from Type 1 to Type 2, to Type 6 and finally to Type 7, conforms to the longstanding system understood as *renovatio monetae*. Yet the south also experienced significant disruption. The abundance of erased coinage from Norfolk is a clear instance of this, though there were also a smattering of rare local types such as the Heavy Cross coinage and the erased money of London. Coinage from outside the south-east also trickled in, such as the various Angevin issues and Scottish types. The presence of coins from competing factions within the south-east may be taken as evidence that exclusion of such 'foreign' types extended only to those issues produced beyond the British Isles: an impressive sign of continuity, in its own right. It is also worth noting that the types from rival factions that did enter Stephen's heartland typically

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<sup>599</sup> Creighton & Wright, *The Anarchy*, 144

resembled his Type 1. The broad uniformity (in types and issuing authority) asserted for coinage in the south-east contrasts with the variety of local coinages minted in other regions. There are hints that Stephen's substantive types were issued beyond the south-east, namely Type 2 at York and Bedford. In essence, the south-eastern coinage simultaneously demonstrates Stephen's ability to maintain strong monarchical authority over coinage, to maintain the *renovatio* system, and to re-assert that system over particular areas (notably East Anglia) when it had formerly been disrupted.

If south-eastern coinage is defined by a strong monarchical presence, then western/Angevin coinage is defined by a weaker presence. Empress Matilda's initial money (Type A) seems deliberately to have copied Stephen's Type 1, with certain modifications to the legends. This in itself suggests continuity with pre-war practice, and supplies a fine example of Type 1's continued influence across all types in all regions. However, Matilda (or perhaps her followers) also demonstrated uncertainty as to what form her coinage ought to take, and how uniform it should be. Her Type B may have been a 'substantial' issue, but for the fact that it was struck at only at a handful of Welsh mints and at no English mint. This is a hint at a recurring trend in western coinage, specifically a tendency towards the regionalisation of money within the Angevin zone. Such regionalisation possibly occurred in response to Matilda's declining personal influence through the 1140s. The existence of the 'John' coinage, in Type B style, also struck in Wales, may indicate that money in Matilda's name was simply the product of local actors creating specific coinages in response to local demands. Such an explanation might also supply wider context to the various baronial coinages of the Angevin west issued by such men as Robert of Gloucester, Patrick of Salisbury, Brian fitz Count (if that attribution is correct), and later William of Gloucester. Of course, the nature of the evidence makes it impossible to know if Matilda delegated monetary authority to her followers, or whether control over minting was unilaterally adopted and/or usurped. Certainly Matilda's imperial background may well have inclined her to suppose that such delegation was not of itself improper.

The consistent (lighter) weight standard of the west, and the fact that the 'Angevin Quadrilateral' motif occurred so often in south-western coinage suggests a level of deliberate synchronisation across the region, even as the names and specific motifs of other magnates also appeared. The coins

themselves do not reveal whether this synchronisation occurred deliberately, top-down and as a result of commands from higher authority, or was instigated on a bottom-up basis. In the former case, the right of magnates to issue coins was theoretically recognised by Matilda, and such magnates then deployed similar motifs, possibly as an aspect of central planning by the empress and her clerks. In the latter case, it is possible that neither Matilda nor her magnates had any interest in developing a shared 'Angevin' coinage at all, but that lower-level coin producers (possibly moneyers) co-ordinated efforts. There is also the possibility that the 'Angevin Quadrilateral' came about simply as an *ad hoc* response to the popularity of a particular type. According to this theory, the Quadrilateral cross of Henry I became a trusted type among coin users. Trust may have stemmed from Type 15's association with the previous monarch, its association with Matilda (who frequently styled herself in her charters *Henrici regis filia*), its disassociation from Stephen, and the type's sheer longevity. Moneyers then independently issued coins with this motif in order to ensure that their mints continued to operate, and thus to protect profits. Nothing in the numismatic evidence proves which of these interpretations is correct.

One of the quadrilateral issues was of Henry of Anjou's 'Rex Fututrus' penny, which supplies perhaps the most overt demonstrations of coin's use as a propaganda tool. The 'Rex Futurus' coin arguably transforms our conception of how coinage was manipulated during Stephen's reign. It implies a Latin literate audience that handled coinage within a casual enough context to warrant such a legend.

Henry's money (both its iconography and motif) demonstrates how coinage could be deployed according to the immediate and specific political needs of an individual, while also conforming to region-wide trends. This is characteristic of many south-western coinages which (after an attempt to impose pre-war uniformity by Matilda) evolved into a series of regional types patronised by local actors. These local coins nevertheless shared a weight standard and drew from a similar pool of popular motifs, and this dichotomy between localisation and synchronisation is arguably a distinct feature of the Angevin zone.

The north presents a unique picture as, functionally speaking, neither of the two main claimants to the English throne was able to make their presence strongly felt in the region. Matilda (as far as available

evidence suggests) never ventured north of the Humber. Stephen's presence in York was rare and he relied on proxies. Although Henry of Anjou was knighted by his uncle at Carlisle, his ability to influence northern politics does not appear to have been significant until after David's death. Politically speaking then, the north is defined by the absence of any strong English monarchical presence. Indeed, the most influential monarch in the north was actually David of Scots, who struck various issues in the English style. Moneyers under the Scots eventually innovated with entirely new types, but even these still showed influence from English prototypes. David's son Henry also issued coinage, often of the same design as his father but in one instance clearly distinct. It is possible that Henry's coinage was issued in his capacity as earl of Northumberland, and given the closeness of their relationship it seems unlikely that he was doing so in direct opposition to his father. The Scottish coinage shows an influence from English norms (notably in weight standard and elements of design), but the presence of Earl Henry's coinages suggests that there were distinct and deliberate departures from the English system of monetary control. At no point before Stephen's reign was any English magnate permitted to issue coinage: not even the heir apparent. Henry's and David's coins must be fitted within a wider pattern of co-ordinated action that bordered on co-kingship. Meanwhile, under Stephen the issuing of baronial coinage was likely not a deliberate policy by the king, as in areas where he held greatest authority the practice was stamped out.

The north was not just defined by the presence of the Scots and their coinage. If it were, then it would be little different from the Angevin zone, with a monarchical coinage supplemented by the issues by barons broadly in alignment with the sovereign. However, politically speaking the north was divided between the Scots, and Anglo-Norman magnates who were largely not subordinated to Scottish royal authority, and on at least one notable occasion (the Battle of the Standard) rose in direct military opposition against it. The York-group coinage never acknowledged David, and instead York moneyers continued to strike in Stephen's name while also striking coins in the names of more local figures. It may well be that these York baronial types were issued at the instigation of William of Aumale, in response to specific local political needs. It is also not inconceivable that local actors commissioned their own coinages on an individual basis. Certainly York is not the only mint to have produced a non-

royal local coinage. The episcopal or saintly Voided Long Cross type (possibly of Newcastle) suggests another local figure moving in to assume responsibility for money, even as powerful local actors were producing their own. Precisely why northern baronial coinages were issued remains a question without clear answer. It would appear (as has been a constant throughout this study) that those types with greater resemblance to Stephen's Type 1 travelled greater distances than those with specific local designs. It may well be that this was because coinages with innovative iconography were not perceived as useful to itinerant traders, which in turn suggests a system whereby local coinage was not acceptable beyond its own region. Hoard evidence from the north also indicates a preference for Type 1 style coins, alongside Scottish types. However single finds indicate the casual use of various types alongside one another, particularly York issues.

The notion of the midlands as a separate zone remains reasonable, sitting at the intersection where neighbouring political actors struggled against one another. In many ways this is illustrated in the midland's coinage, which for the most part granted Stephen at least nominal recognition but in practical terms deviated noticeably from the coinage of his heartlands, and indeed from the coinage of any other region. The midlands produced a great variety of local issues in Stephen's name, including Type 1 variants and types with innovative designs. Midland coinage is distinguished by clear departure from Stephen's minting system (substantive types from midland mints are rare, see Appendix X), while lacking any clearly dominant figures whose authority might be displayed by the coins. The possible exceptions to this are Henry of Northumberland and Roger de Beaumont. However, evidence for Henry's coin is very scanty, and the only coin plausibly attributable to Roger is of an unknown mint. It seems most likely that the midlands saw the greatest level of fragmentation within the coinage. Types such as the Derby-Tutbury Eagles suggest local figures of lower social status (perhaps the moneyers themselves) improvising and produced coinage to meet local demands. At the same time, these local types maintained stability by retaining two pre-war elements: Stephen's name, and a consistent weight.

## 6.2 Coinage and Authority in Stephen's Reign



From 1135 to 1154 authority over the manufacture of coin shifted into the hands of local figures, while the monarch exercised increasingly reduced power over the monetary system. With this in mind, it is best to think of the relationship between coinage and authority in Stephen's reign as being highly granular. Essentially, what had been a national coinage, defined by uniformity and rigorous standards, developed into a system comprised of multiple smaller parts. Such parts had unique markers while still retaining features that proclaimed them parts of a recognised whole. Increasing granularity saw coinage modified and deployed to meet specific local needs. The designs of coins gained new details in order to facilitate this process. The precise modifications to the coinage differed according to local circumstances, as is clearly evident at York but also further north and in the Angevin west. The process of granularization is evident even in the south-east, with the introduction of erased coinages and (possibly) the re-introduction of regular type changes.

Throughout this granularization, there were certain pre-war elements of coinage that remained constant. Chief among these was weight standard which, despite a slight decrease, shows no signs of wild fluctuation. There is no evidence of a type falling drastically below 1.00g (the lowest verifiable standard), and a norm of 1.25g seems to have been maintained in many areas. This trend extended to baronial issues and erased types. Strong standards are even observable in types where the moneyer's name has been deliberately omitted, which would theoretically have minimised the risks taken by those issuing poor-quality coinage. Respect for Stephen's name was also displayed, commonly used on coinage except in those areas where a rival claimant to the throne was able to assert themselves.

There is something to be said for the persistence of the mechanisms of monetary control at the local level, though confident claims in this respect lack documentary evidence to sustain them. The *Dialogus* indicates that, at least in certain northern counties, it was acceptable to make official payments in a variety of types rather than the current coinage.<sup>600</sup> It may be that this was the case elsewhere in the kingdom during Stephen's reign. Certainly hoards (particularly larger hoards) across all regions often preserve a variety of types, and this would not have been the case had such types

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<sup>600</sup> DDS, 14-15

been deemed valueless or not worth keeping. Domesday evidence indicates that moneyers paid fees for dies<sup>601</sup>, and this could well have been maintained as a revenue-stream if the practice persisted into the twelfth century. The moneyers' fees to take up office seems to have supplied local revenue, with the moneyer then retaining the profits of mint production after the fee had been paid to king or local magnate. There is no decisive evidence that these rights were appropriated by the various local figures who struck coinage, but (even allowing for a considerable number of fraudulent or covert moneyers) it seems highly unlikely that regional magnates would have refrained from seizing such a revenue stream together with their wider seizure of disputed rights and land. References to Robert of Gloucester's coin purses certainly indicate that cash was a valuable commodity to the leading figures in the war.

### 6.3 Ambiguities & Speculations

Despite the numismatic evidence suggesting a great deal of how coinage functioned in the reign of Stephen, there are still ambiguities and uncertainties that cannot be answered from the available evidence. Often this is due to the limitations of the evidence itself, and it is worth re-iterating that within the pool of numismatic data is constantly being improved. Comments about rare types may swiftly become irrelevant after the finding of a particular hoard. The Box hoard has transformed modern understanding of the Lion type, which went from a presumably small issue speculatively attributed to Earl Robert, to a major issue in his and later his son's name, more or less overnight.

It is also important to re-emphasise that the geographical factors at play within the regions not only affected coin use and distribution in the mid twelfth century, but have affected the patterns of coin finds in the modern period. Most single finds of Matilda's types have been unearthed in the east rather than the west, but this may well be less to do with contemporary distribution patterns and more with the greater number of metal detectorists operating in the east and south than in the west country.

Neither numismatic nor the written record supplies indisputable evidence for the nature of the power structures that instigated the production of various coinages. In terms of regnal types (Stephen'

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<sup>601</sup> Allen, *M&M*, 123

substantive issues, Matilda's types, money of king David) it seems rational to suggest that these coins were created at the instigation of the monarch. These individuals operated on a long-established English pattern of using coin to enhance royal prestige, protect revenues, guarantee the quality of coinage, and ensure economic stability. This last point is particularly relevant to Stephen's reign, as concern for the quality of coinage was not confined to monarchs. Bisson's work has shown that good-quality coinage was of importance not just to the social elites, but to mercantile communities and town-dwellers. These groups relied on there being a trustworthy coinage, in order to conduct their economic affairs. Bisson effectively argued that in mainland Europe there was a strong tradition of communities seeking validation and protection against changes of type, by paying prominent local figures, be they lay or ecclesiastical. Coinage was in effect a public and moral issue, rather like pledges to keep the peace.<sup>602</sup> In this sense regulation of stable money was often instigated in a 'bottom up' rather than 'top down' fashion, answering to direction from the wider body politic.

Regrettably, the kind of evidence that Bisson was able to work with is simply not available for England in Stephen's reign. There is no written record of rituals confirming the stabilisation of coinage, or of official payments made to guard against the change of type. It seems reasonable to suppose that coin users would have desired a stable coinage, and it may be those areas which continued to strike Type 1 (such as Chester) did so as a result of the desire by local actors to avoid a change of type. Meanwhile those areas that produced distinct regional coinages (such as Newcastle) did so, on occasion, at the instigation of higher-level magnates. Those magnates could well have taken control over minting for much the same reasons by which kings, elsewhere, controlled the issuing of coin. On the other hand, Allen's observation that the moneyer of the Derby-Tutbury Eagles type may have struck his coins in order to make a substantial local payment may suggest that specific local issues were of greater importance to the moneyer than the figure named on the coins. It might therefore be that specific demand among urban communities spurred the production of regional types, not merely the aggrandisement of local magnates. This theory may hold more weight for those types that name Stephen, rather than those which name a specific local magnate. In truth, it is not possible

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<sup>602</sup> Bisson, *Conservation*, 129-30.

to be sure who commissioned every type, and the most sensible course of action is to recognise that the reason for their production typically implicates a specific local explanation. A local, regional approach to coinage is thus again vindicated, even though the evidence remains limited.

Beyond ambiguities in administrative process, there are other questions concerning the coinage that it has not been possible to answer, due to the limitations in the data. The question of fineness is particularly significant as it would theoretically answer whether various regional coinages actually conformed to pre-war standards or simply appeared to do so in terms of weight. It is not theoretically impossible to supply answers here, and limited studies have been attempted, such as recent work on the Scottish coinage. Unfortunately, testing for silver content as part of this thesis would have been labour intensive, expensive, and questionably accurate. For these reasons, beyond taking their presence in hoard as a sign of a type's perceived trustworthiness, weight and physical examination of coins remain the first method for assessing each coin's 'quality'.

Finally, while various regional and national trends can be observed in the coinage of Stephen's reign, none of the trends described above is uniform and there are always rare, or sometimes less rare exceptions. For example, what of the role of earls and bishops in striking coinage? Certainly some earls did mint coin, including Robert and William of Gloucester, Patrick of Salisbury, Henry of Northumberland, and possibly Roger de Beaumont of Warwick. Yet not all earls did so, and notable abstainers here include Ranulf of Chester and Hugh Bigod who both controlled urban mints, as well as Baldwin de Redvers who one might have expected to strike coins as part of a wider Angevin tendency. Robert of Leicester is another prominent exception, given his pre-eminence in the midlands. Likewise, while some episcopal coinage is known (notably the Bishop Henry type), there is no evidence that bishops or archbishops regularly took control of minting or the issue of money. It is noteworthy that on some of the more ambiguous coins (for example the 'John' coinage of Cardiff, and the episcopal Voided Long cross in the north) the monarch's name was replaced with that of a local figure, possibly where alignment with Stephen could have been politically risky. Some of these changes may have been motivated by national political factors, or local ones. Coinage may have been produced with the encouragement of a regional faction leader, or on the initiative of moneyers

working alone or in collaboration. Once again, local explanations for specific types are necessary, and broader generalisation are for the most part best avoided.

#### 6.4 Future Approaches

The questions raised by the numismatic evidence, and the limitations of coins as a source could well be addressed by deeper research. A thorough comparison of circulation trends in the reigns of Henry I and Henry II could establish to what extent the localisation of coinage under Stephen differed from patterns of circulation in the wider twelfth century. This would in turn hint at the extent of disruption to national and international trade, and possibly further the discussion over to what extent contemporary reports of widespread violence are trustworthy.

Meanwhile, exploring cartulary evidence for the names of individual moneyers could help to identify precisely what class of individual took up the role under Stephen. This would be particularly useful for those new moneyers who appear during the reign, and particularly those who only appear on specific local types such as Sanson and Walechin. Naismith's work on the moneyers of Domesday has set a useful precedent here, and it would not be too great a task to apply his methods to Stephen's coinage. This thesis has focused on coins as a source in their own right, and delving into cartularies has not therefore been my priority. However, were the project to be expanded and refined, this would certainly be an area ripe for attention.

Integrating analysis of coinage with deeper theoretical discussions concerning governance, consultation and community, would also yield useful insights. Susan Reynold's work explored the exercise of law alongside consultation with the communities to which it was applied.<sup>603</sup> The emergence of local coinage alongside the general twelfth century emergence of municipal self-government is another theoretical avenue for study.<sup>604</sup> Bisson's work hints at the possibilities of studying coinage in relation to communities. It cannot be a coincidence that Bisson remarked upon the 'abusive' manipulations of French currency reaching their peak in the twelfth century, before

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<sup>603</sup> S.Reynolds, *Kingdoms and Communities in Western Europe, 900-1300*, (Oxford 1984), 21, 36.

<sup>604</sup> *Ibid*, 168.

mechanisms of stabilisation become more perceptible in the record.<sup>605</sup> Community has not been a major focus here, chiefly because localised coinage's relatively short lifespan under Stephen has ensured that evidence of communities participating in its regulation (either through internal management or negotiation with elites) no longer survives. Nevertheless, a deeper exploration of Stephen's reign with a focus on municipal government and financial matters may yield insights into the relations between communities and coinage.

### 6.5 Conclusion

In closing, this thesis has aimed to explore the coinage of Stephen's reign, providing sensible categorisation and contextualisation. The explicit paradigm of 'anarchy' has been avoided as much as possible, and instead an attempt has been made to establish a framework in which the coinage of Stephen is recognised as emerging from one of several overlapping regional spheres. Each region had its own principal political and economic actors, as well as environmental factors that influenced coin production. There is strong evidence for continuity under Stephen, particularly in terms of weight standards and the omnipresence of Type 1 throughout all regions across our period. The respect for coins as an object of prestige, well-regulated and struck at urban mints is another continuity with pre-war practice.

Yet at the same time these coins were produced by a variety of figures who were often in competition with one another. This competition presented multiple individuals with the need to navigate an armed conflict that damaged royal authority, disrupted the pre-existing political order and likely generated a level of economic uncertainty. It has been my intention to probe the nuances of these continuities and disruptions by focusing on specific regional aspects. The merits of this approach have been asserted within this thesis, and it may well be applied to other aspects of Stephen's reign. Coinage and authority under Stephen did not simply collapse in chaos, but became fragmented and localised in a manner that bore similarities to mainland European practice. At the same time, coinage operated

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<sup>605</sup> Bisson, *Conservation*, 190-1.

according to a longstanding English tradition that emphasised regulation. Throughout Stephen's reign one finds an attempt to maintain healthy standards and a display of authority that also guaranteed a certain level of accountability for money as an aspect of the public good. Thus coinage in Stephen's reign shows continuity and evolution, with local factors often decisive in how money was adapted and used across the Anglo-Norman realm.

## Appendices

### Appendix A1 – Hoard List & Contents: Ratio of Stephen Coinage to Other Types

Note: Data on several hoards is incomplete. Figures here are based on Corpus data and figures provided in Allen's *Mints and Money*.

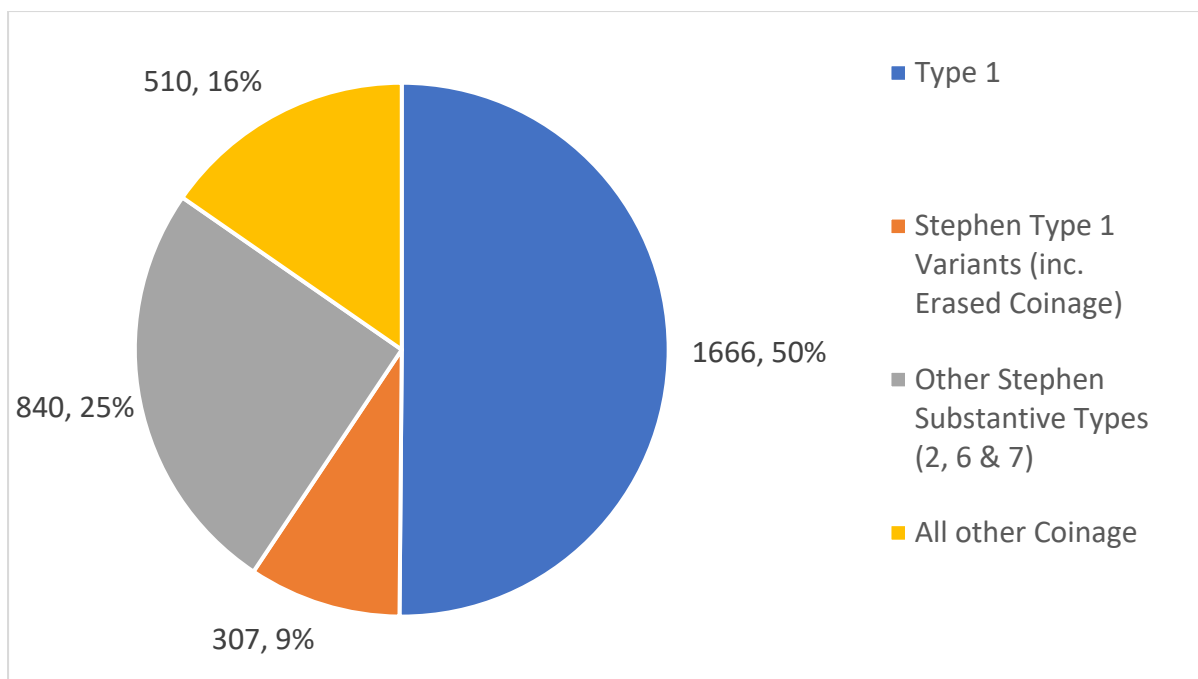
**Blue** = South-Eastern, **Red** = Western, **Yellow** = Northern, **Green** = Midlands

	Stephen (Substantive)	Stephen (Other)	Matilda	Pereric	Baronial (Inc. David I)	Other <sup>606</sup> (Inc. Henry I, II & Uncertain)	Total
<b>Browne</b>	60?	?	-	-	-	-	60
<b>Watford</b>	<i>1227 Pennies and Halfpennies, including a substantial number of Type 1, local Issues in Stephen's name, Pereric, At least 1 Matilda coin, and several coins of William I and Henry I</i>						
<b>Dartford/Gravesend</b>	130	3	4	-	1	-	138
<b>Henley on Thames</b>	5	-	-	-	-	-	5
<b>Linton</b>	87	1	-	-	-	-	88
<b>Rayleigh</b>	6	1	-	-	-	-	7
<b>Kent</b>	14	-	-	-	-	-	14
<b>Wicklewood</b>	319	5	1	-	1	157	483
<b>Eynsford</b>	11	-	-	-	-	-	11
<b>Portsmouth Hill</b>	25	-	-	-	-	-	25
<b>Bledow with Saunderton</b>	2	-	-	-	-	-	2
<b>Dunton</b>	2	1	-	-	-	-	3
<b>Winterslow</b>	3	-	-	-	-	-	3
<b>Latton</b>	3	-	-	-	-	-	3
<b>Coed-y-Wennalt</b>	25	-	70	-	6	-	101
<b>Box</b>	10	-	22	-	34	17	83
<b>Swindon</b>	2	-	-	-	-	-	2
<b>Cattal</b>	4	-	-	-	-	-	4
<b>Bute</b>	3	-	-	-	4	9	3
<b>Prestwich</b>	831	29	5	42	11	22	940
<b>Humberside</b>	3	-	-	-	-	-	3
<b>Hook</b>	3	-	-	-	-	-	3
<b>Ashby</b>	400+	2+	-	-	-	<i>Uncertain</i>	400<
<b>Lincoln</b>	c.300	1+	-	-	-	-	c.300
<b>Sheldon</b>	65	21	1	1	2	2	92
<b>Nottingham</b>	150+	5-9	1-5	1	1	14+	c.180
<b>'Greater' Bedford</b>	2+	-	-	-	-	1+	3<
<b>Grendon</b>	2	-	-	-	-	2	4
<b>'Lesser' Bedford</b>	3	-	-	-	-	2	5

### Appendix A2 - Types Within The Corpus relative to Type 1 and its Derivatives in Stephen's Name

<sup>606</sup> Including coinage of Henry I, Henry II (post 1154) and coins of uncertain type.





### Appendix A3 - Average Weights of Types (Grams)

Note: These averages have been provided for Types that have been struck in substantial enough numbers and have enough recorded weights (at least nine) to warrant a meaningful dataset. The point is to demonstrate the broad conformity of a standard between 1.00g and 1.25g across myriad local coinages, be they local or baronial. Two figures have been given, one complete average and one excluding any entries lighter than 0.70g, on the basis that these coins are almost certainly fractional. The intention is that the latter number will provide an average that is more indicative of the intact coinage that circulated in Stephen's reign.

Data on Henry I's Type 15 is derived from the PAS & EMC

#### Henry I Type 15

Type 15	Type 15 (70+)
1.15	1.29

#### Stephen's Substantive Issues

Type 1	Type 1 (70+)	Type 2	Type 2 (70+)	Type 6	Type 6 (70+)	Type 7	Type 7 (70+)
1.15	1.08	1.07	1.26	1.04	1.31	1.11	1.29

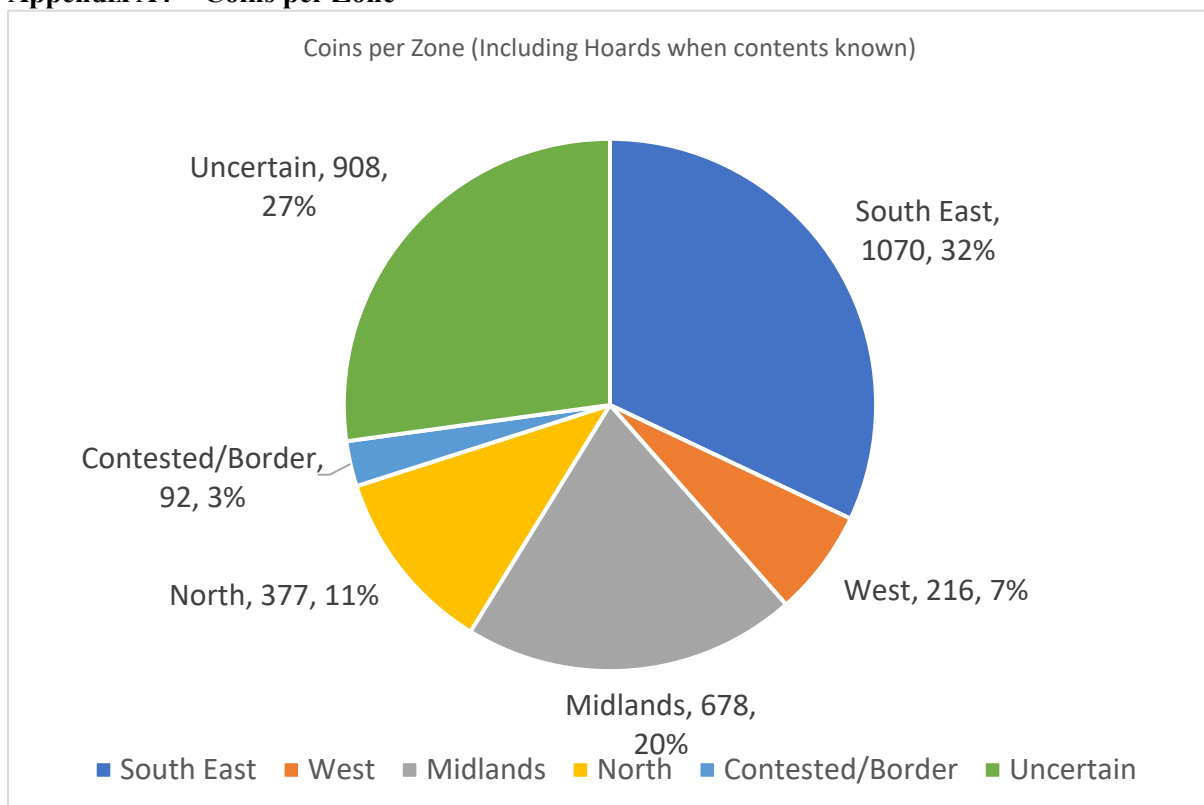
#### Matilda, Robert, David & Pereric

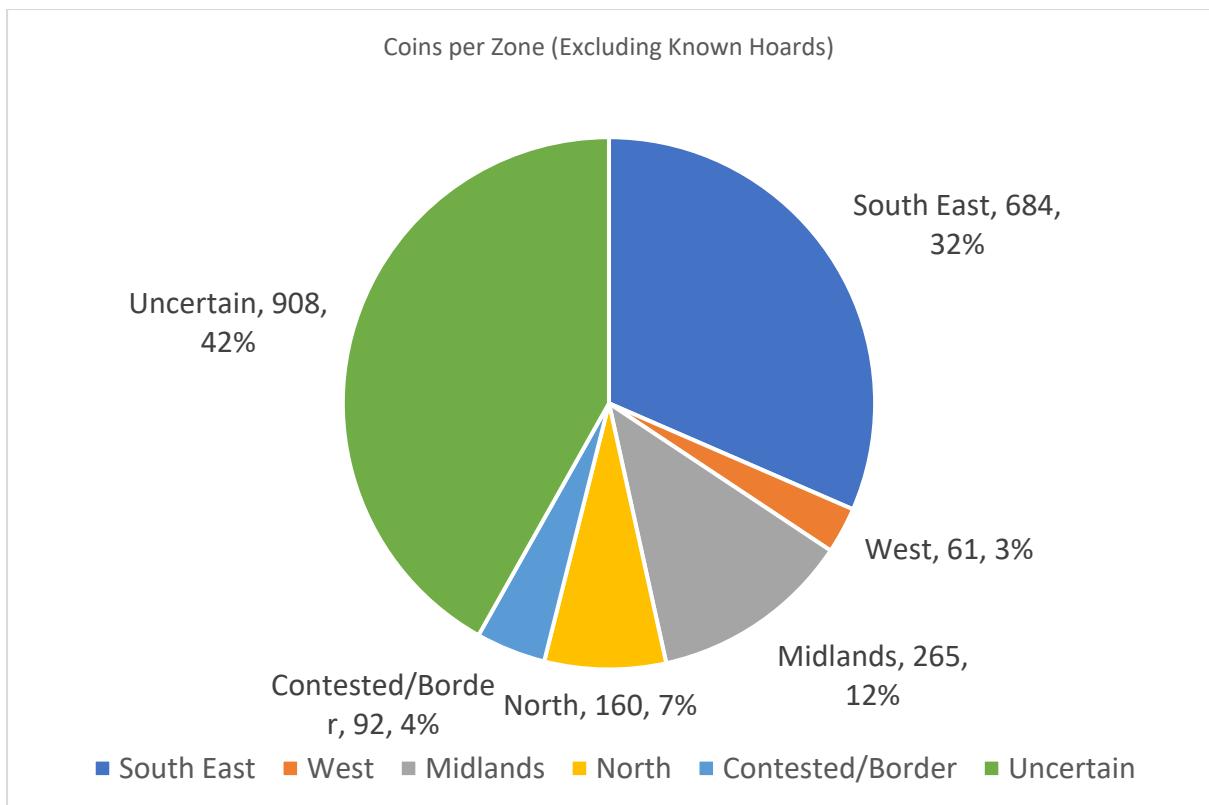
Matilda A	Matilda A (70+)	Robert Lion	Robert Lion (70+)	Pereric	Pereric (70+)	David Moline	David Moline (70+)	David Fleury	David Fleury (70+)
0.98	1.03	0.84	1.00	1.25	1.25	1.06	1.24	1.00	1.23

#### Other Local and Erased Types

Stephen Type 4	Stephen Type 4 (70+)	Erased Long Cross	Erased Long Cross (70+)	Erased Small Latin Cross	Erased Small Latin Cross (70+)	York Two Figures	York Two Figures (70+)	York Flag	York Flag (70+)
0.84	1.09	1.03	1.03	0.99	1.02	1.15	1.24	0.91	1.1

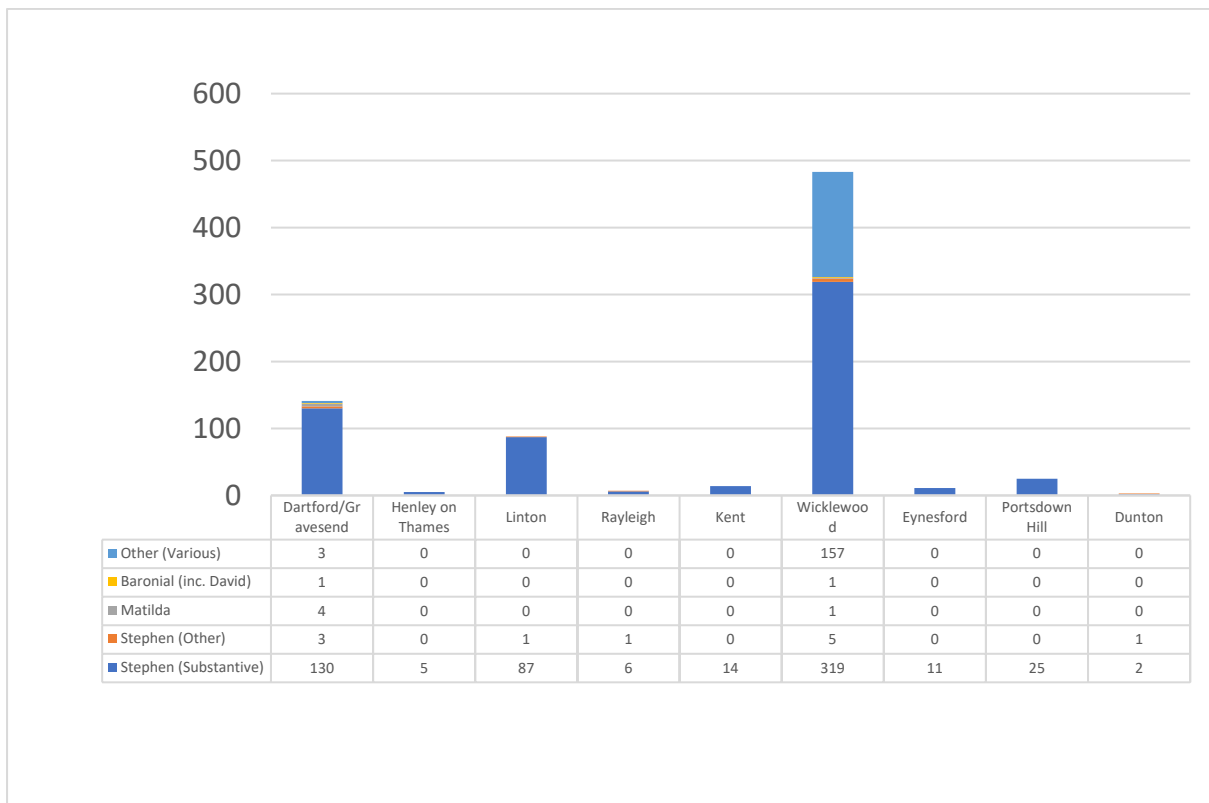
#### Appendix A4 - Coins per Zone



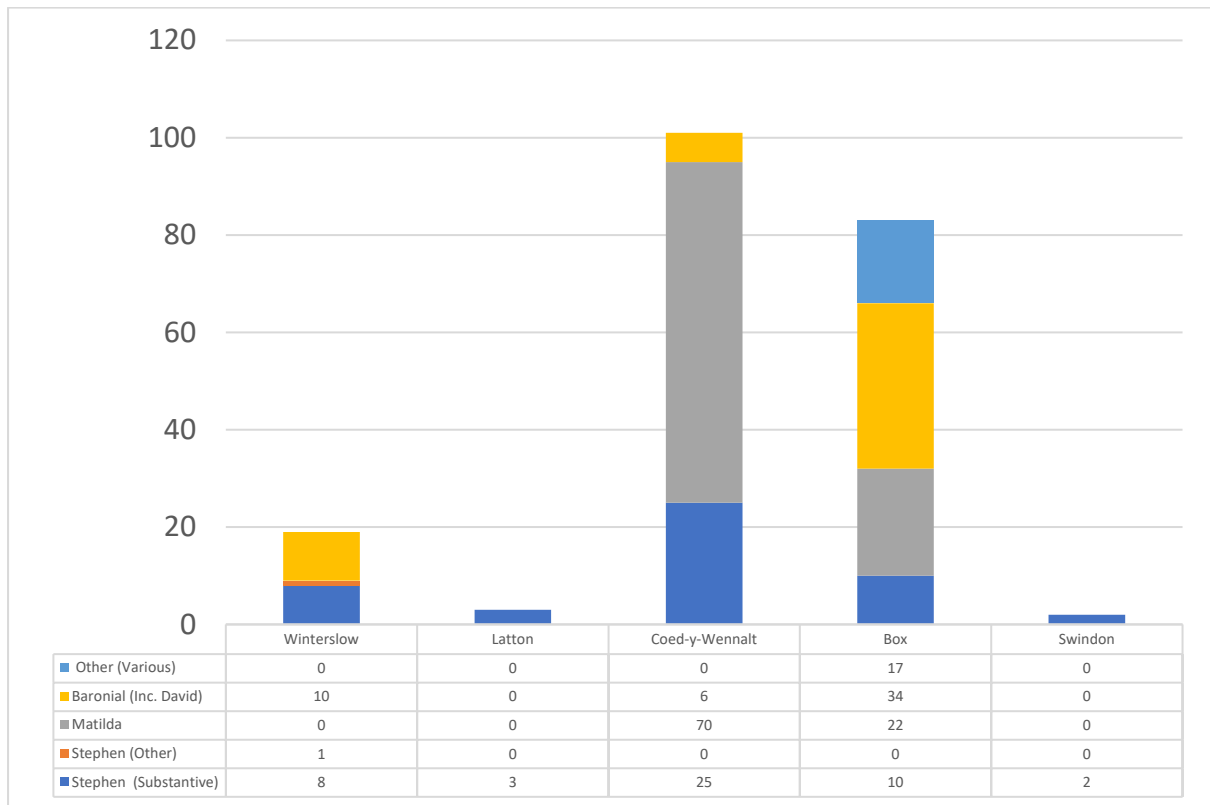


## Appendix A5 – Ratios of Coinage in Regional Hoards

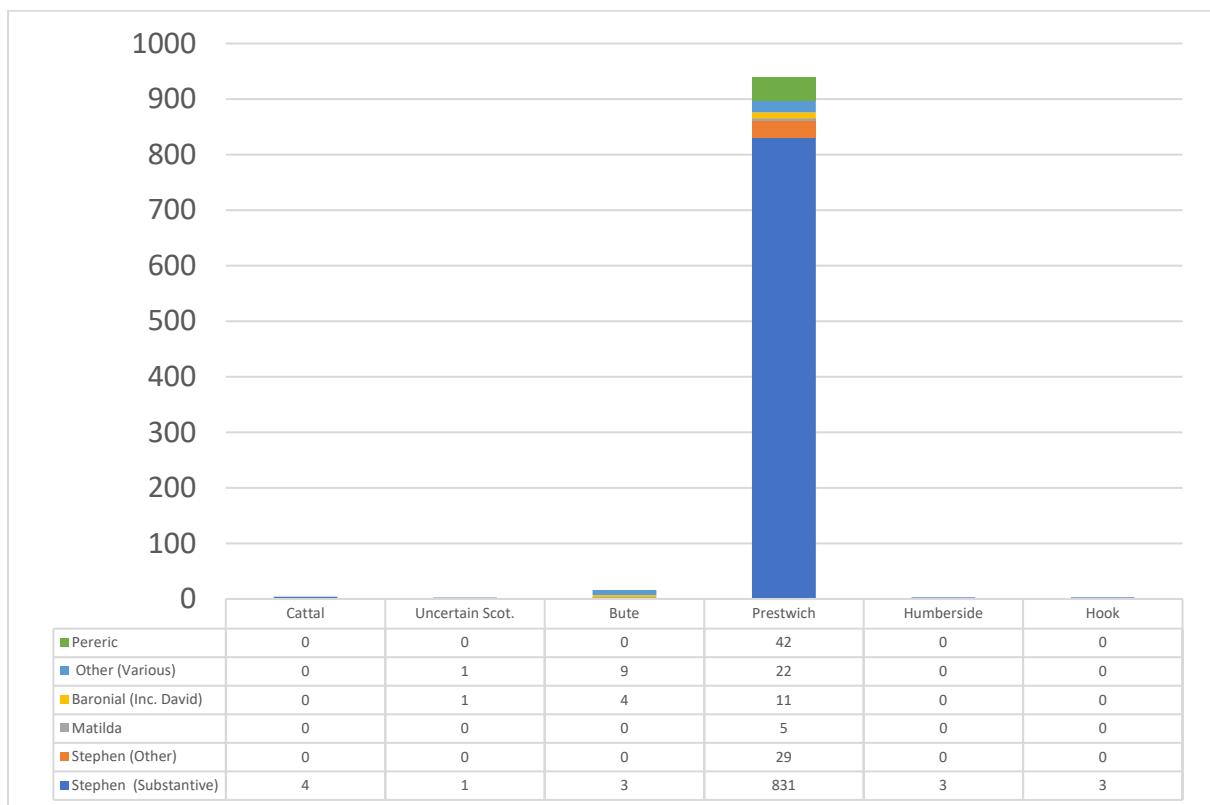
### A5a – South East



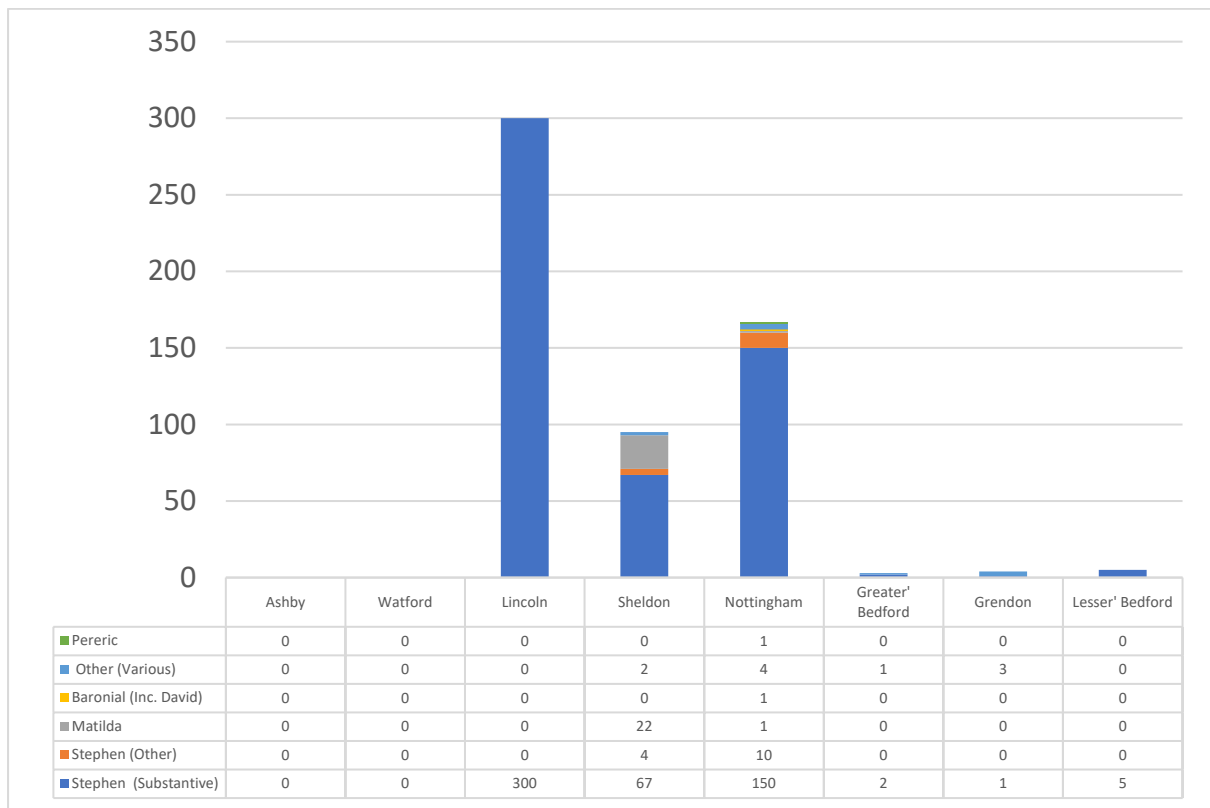
### A5b - Western



### A5c - Northern



## A5d - Midlands



## Appendix B Mints, Moneyers & Find Spots

### B1 - Mints of Stephen's Substantive Types and Pereric

Type	Type 1	Type 2	Type 6	Type 7	Pereric
Bedford	X <sup>607</sup>	X?	X	X	
Bramber				X	
Bristol	X				X
Buckingham			X		
Bury St Edmunds	X	X	X	X	
Cambridge			X	X	
Canterbury	X	X	X	X	X
Cardiff	X				
Carlisle	X				
Castle Rising	X	X	X	X	
Chester	X			X	
Chichester	X				
Christchurch					
Colchester	X		X	X	
'DELCA'	X				
Dorchester					
Dover		X		X	
Dunwich		X	X	X	
Edinburgh					
Exeter	X			X	
Eye	X		X		
Gloucester	X			X	
Hastings	X	X	X?		
Hedon				X	
Hereford	X			X	
Hertford		X			
Huntingdon	X		X	X	
Ilchester	X				
Ipswich	X	X		X	
Launceston	X				
Leicester	X			X	
Lewes	X	X	X	X	
Lincoln	X			X	X
London	X	X	X	X	X

<sup>607</sup> Known from a single Type 1 with no inner circle.

<b>Maldon</b>	X				
<b>Newcastle</b>	X				
<b>Northampton</b>	X		X	X	
<b>Norwich</b>	X	X	X	X	
<b>Nottingham</b>	X			X	
<b>Oxford</b>	X	X		X	
<b>Pembroke</b>	X				
<b>Pevensey</b>	X	X		X	
<b>Richmond</b>	X				
<b>Rochester</b>					
<b>Romney</b>					
<b>Rye</b>	X	X	X?	X	
<b>Salisbury</b>	X			X	
<b>Sandwich</b>		X	X	X	
<b>Shaftesbury</b>	X			X	
<b>Shepway</b>					
<b>Shrewsbury</b>	X				
<b>Southampton</b>	X				
<b>Southwark</b>	X				
<b>Stafford</b>	X				
<b>Stamford</b>	X			X	X
<b>Stanford</b>			X		
<b>Sudbury</b>	X			X	
<b>Swansea</b>	X				
<b>Tamworth</b>				X	
<b>Taunton</b>	X				
<b>Thetford</b>	X	X	X	X	
<b>Totnes</b>					
<b>UA-</b>			X		
<b>Wallingford</b>					
<b>Walton</b>			X		
<b>Wareham?</b>	X				
<b>Warwick</b>	X				
<b>Watchet</b>	X				
<b>Wilton</b>	X			X	
<b>Winchester</b>	X			X	
<b>Worcester</b>	X				
<b>York</b>	X	X		X	

**B2 – Finds of Type 2 per county (Including Hoards) as per Corpus Data**

<b>County</b>	<b>Quantity</b>
Cambridge	3

East Sussex	4
Essex	4
Kent	156
Lincolnshire	3
London	4
Norfolk	32
Nottinghamshire	1
Oxfordshire	1
Swansea	1
Suffolk	18
Surrey	1
Wiltshire	15
Yorkshire	3

### B3 – Finds of Type 6 per county (Including Hoards) as per Corpus Data.

County	Quantity
Bedfordshire	1
Buckinghamshire	1
‘East Anglia’	1
East Sussex	1
Essex	2
‘Essex/Suffolk Border’	1
Hampshire	1
Kent	155
Norfolk	32
Northamptonshire	1
Suffolk	20
Sussex	2
Wiltshire	1

### B4 - Moneyers of Stephen’s Substantive Types

Mint	Stephen Type 1	Type 2	Type 6	Type 7
Bedford		Thomas	Iohan	Iohan, Thomas, ‘[ ]SHH’
Bramber				Pil-, [ ]A[ ], Orgar, Willem
Bristol	Fardein/Farthein, Turchil, Gurdan,			
Buckingham			Ro[ ]et/Rodbert?	Rodbert
Bury St Edmunds	Aedward, Alfward, Almair? Ædward/Edward, Godhyse/Godhese, Iun, Pillem/Willem, Robert, Sawine, Simon? Willem, Wulfric, Wulfwine	Ace/Eaglen?	Ace, Hunfrei	Ace, Gilebert, Pillem, Willem
Cambridge			Reinald	Reinvld,
Canterbury		Edward, Eadweard, Roger, Rodbert,	Rodbert, Rogier, [TA]/Uncertain	Rodbert, Rogier,
Carlisle	Erebald/Herebald?, Willem			
Castle Rising	Uncertain	Rawulf? Rodbert, -et	Rodbert,	Hivn, Ivn/Iohan
Chester	Ailmer, Almer, Ravenswert, Ravenspert, Paltir, Thurbner, Paltr,			RO[D-?]/Uncertain
Chichester	Gilbert Godwine, Godpine			

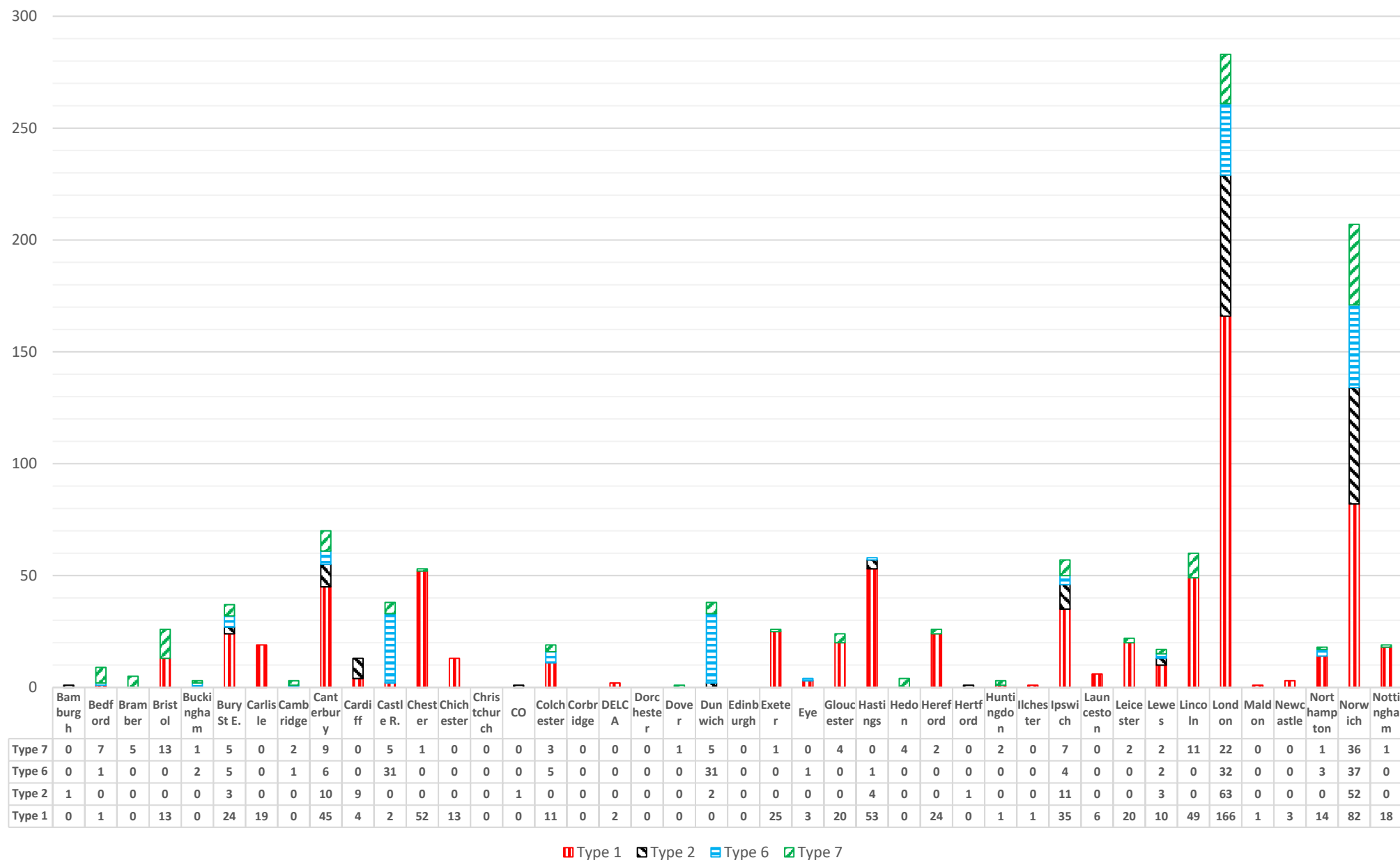


Colchester	Alfwine,Edpard,Safari	-VARE	Alc-, Ælfwine, Randvlf	Godhese, Ranulf?, Randulf
DELCA	Willem, Uncertain			
Dover		Ad-		Adam
Dunwich		-ier/Waltier?, Paen	Henri, Hinri, Rogier, Thurstein, Turstein, Tursten, Turstan	Henri? Nicol, Nicole
Exeter	Ailric, Ælfgar, Algar, Algier, Al[], Britpi/Britwi, Semier, Simvn, -GAR			UncertainGerrasd
Eye	Willelm		Uncertain	
Gloucester	Alfpine, Æthelwig, Gillbert, Gilleberd, Wibert, Pibert,			
Hastings	Aldred, Rodbert, Sapine, Penstan,	Rodbert, -INE/Godwine?	Eadred?	
Hedon				Gerard
Hereford				-EBALT/Herebalt?, Saric
Hertford		Iordan		
Huntingdon	Goimer			Godmer
Hythe				
Ilchester	Uncertain			
Ipswich	Ædgard, Edmvnd, Osbern, Paen	Alain, Edmund, Germane, Gerard, Gillebert, Osbern, Rodbert?	Aedgar? Alvrice, Osbern	David, Roger,
Launceston	Pillem			
Leicester	Samar/Sæmær			Gefrei, Simon
Lewes	Herrevi, Osbern, Willem, Pillem	Ælmar/Æthleamar, Osbern,	Rogier	Hvn, Hunfrei
Lincoln	Armpi, Gladepin. Gladepin, Gladepine,Gladv-, Oslac,Ravlf, R—F, - PVLf, Reinald,Seinauvt, Sipard, SIGVE-			Gladewine, Hve, Paen, GV-, Willem, Terri:D
London	Adam?, Adelard, Alfred, Ali, Baldewin, Baldepin, Bricmar, Bricmær, Brimar, Britmar, Dereman, Estmvnd, Giefrei, Godric, Godricvs, Lefred, Liefred, Raulf? Robert,Rodbert, Smæpin, Smepine, Smeapine, Tovi, Vhtred, -DELLAR-, Pulfpine,	-LARD/Dogla?, Edward, Gefrei, Godard, Hamvnd, Rodbert, Terri:D, Tierri D, Tierri (sic), -SANDER, -INE, Pvlf/Wulf, Pulfpin-/Wulfwine	Gefrei, Godard, Radulf/Rauk, Terri:D, -DRE/Alisandre?	Adam, Alisandre, Dereman, Gefrei, Raulf, Ricard, Rodbert, Terri, Terri:D,
Maldon	Heremer			
Malmesbury	Willem, Edstan/Athelstan			
Northampton	Paen, Paien, Stiefne,		Paen	Paien
Norwich	Adam, Ædstan, Ailwi, Ælfric, Alfpard, Etrei, Etstan/Athelstan, Evsta- /Eustace, Godpine, Geremer, Iun, Oter/Ottar? Oterche, Palt-/Paltier?, Spein, Sihtric, Spetman, Suneman? Spedman/Swedman. Paltier, Willelm,	Ailward, Alpard, Alvard, Alvrice, Dor/Thor? Edstan/Athelstan, Etstan, Heremar, Raul, Ralph, Rogier, Rogir, Stanchil, Staneric/Stanung? Staneril, Thorrr, Paltier, Waltier	A[ ][C?]/Alruic?/Alfric? Edstan, Etstan, Godard/Godhese, Hildbran, Paen, Rapvl/Rawulf?, Stanchil, ðor, Thorr,To-, Staneric? Willem	Alfirc, Alfric, Alfrich, Hereman, Hildebran, Randv- /Randulf? Rogier, Thor, ðor, -fric, -frich, Waltier, Willem, Pillem, ---G,
Nottingham	Spein, Sveinn,			Svein
Oxford	Gahan, OS--- /Osbert/Osbern, Rapv/Rawulf?, Swetig, --- ERN,	Gahan		Uncertain
Pembroke	G---, Gilpatric			

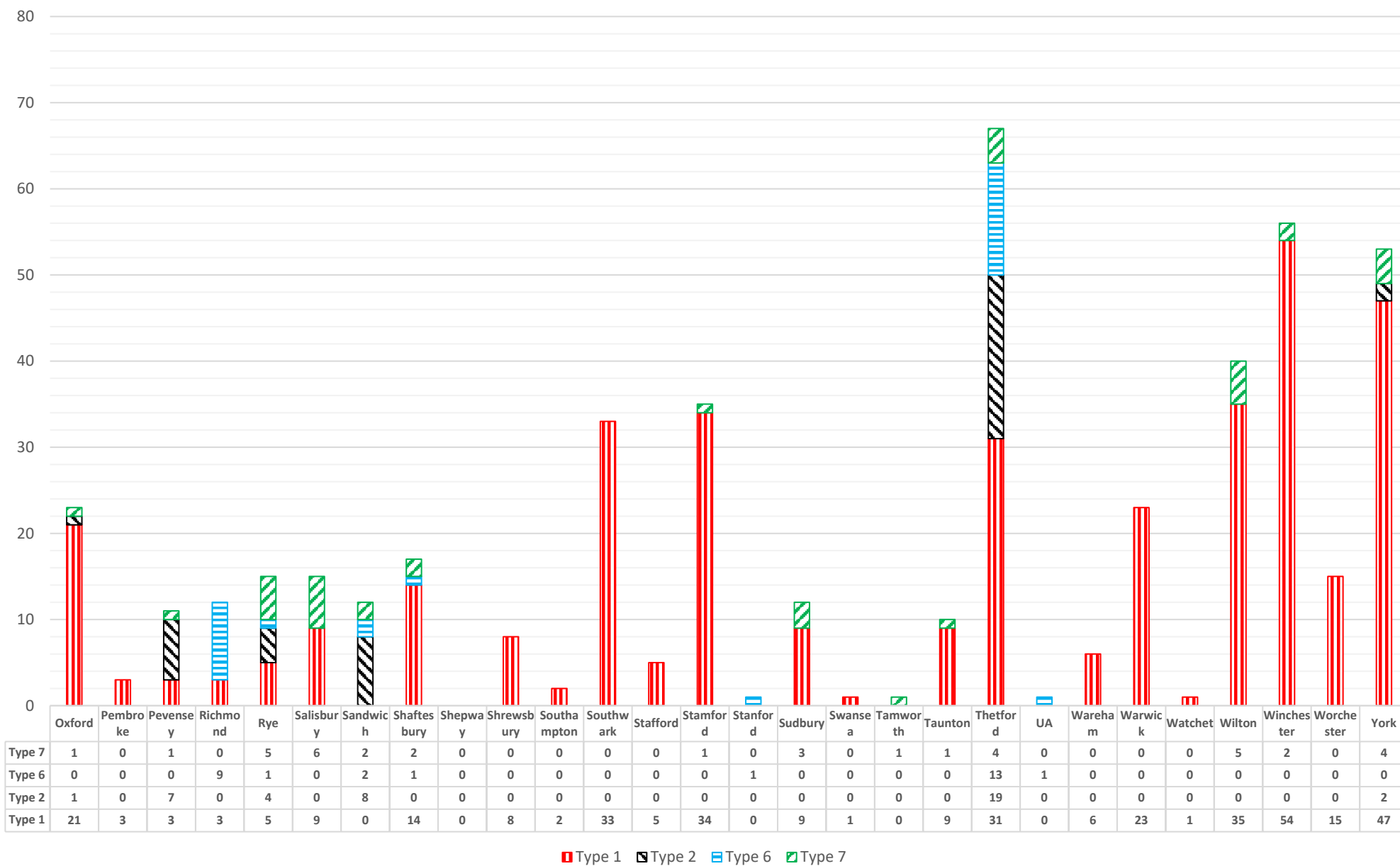
Penny(?)				Tovi,
Pevensey	hERV---	Alwine, Alpine		Ælfwine
Richmond	Bertold, Bertoldus			
Rye	Rawulf	Radulf/Ravlf/Ravl, Rawulf?	Radulf	Rap[ ]f/ Radulf/Raul/Raulf, Rapvl
Salisbury	Godefroi, Stanghvn, Stanung, Stanghan, Stanning,		Uncertain (See Southwark and Stafford)	Edmvnd, Staning, Stan?, Vineman?
Sandwich	Ricard, Sagrim,	Wulfic	Pvl[ ]ri[ ]	Osbern, Wulfic(sic)/Wulfic
Shrewsbury	Revensart, Ravensart/Harfnsart, Rodbart,			
Southwark	Alfpine, Alfwine, Ælfwine, Thorketill, Tvrchil, Pvlfpold, -vlfold, Pvlfp-,		Uncertain (See Salisbury & Stafford)	
Stafford	Godric		Uncertain (See Southwark and Salisbury)	
Stamford	Lefsi, Sipard			Asketill
Stanford?			Lefri/Leofric?	
Sudbury	Goiher, Goimer, God-- /Godwine?			Gilebert
Swansea	Henri			
Tamworth				Alfred
Taunton	Alfred, Alfræd, Æl-			Uncertain
Thetford	Alfred, Baldepin, Baldewin, Gefe-, Geffrei, Hacvn, Ode, Roberta, Rodbard.	Ailwi, Baldwin, Davit, Hacvn/Hakon, Robert,	Gefrei, Hatvn, Racun or Ricard?	Driv, Gefrei?
Uncertain			Aleme,	
Wareham	Rogir, Rogier, Rodger, Thorketill			
Warwick	Edred, Everard, Lefric, ,			
Watchet	Fo---			
Wilton	Falche, Thomas, Tomas, Tvm, Turchil?			Willem
Winchester	Alpold/Alwold, Chippig, Ckippig, Gefrei, Kippig, Rogirvs, Rogier, Rogir, Saiet			Hue
Worcester	Alfred, Godric, Pvlfric/Wulfic, PVLVL--			
York	As- Æthelmaer, Augrim, Authgrim, Laisig, Martin, Tvrstan, Vlf, OTB-	Uncertain		MA[ ]N/Martin?

## Appendix C - Types Per Mint

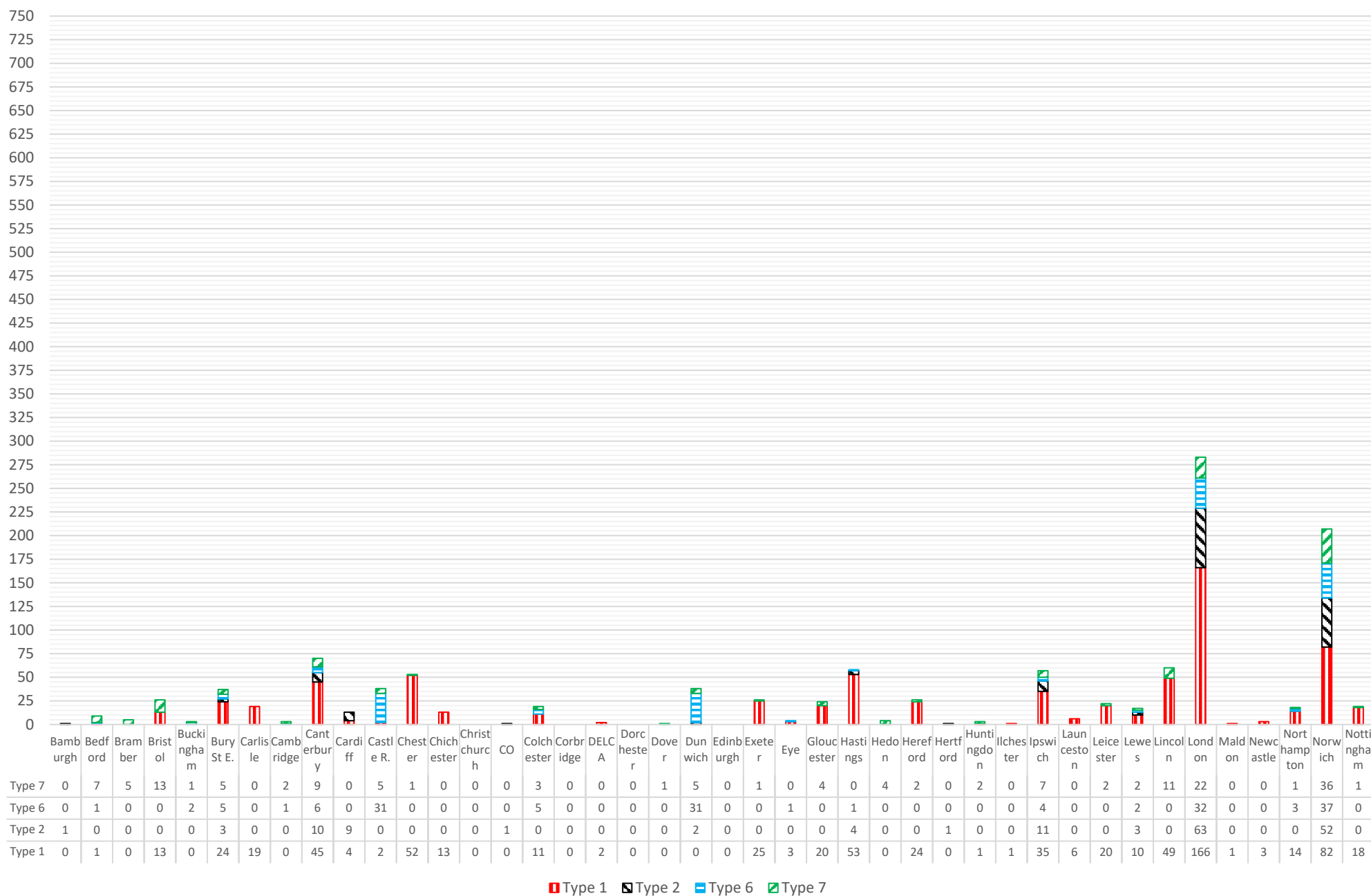
# C1a No. Of Coins Per Mint (Stephen's Substantive Types W/O Uncertain, A-N)



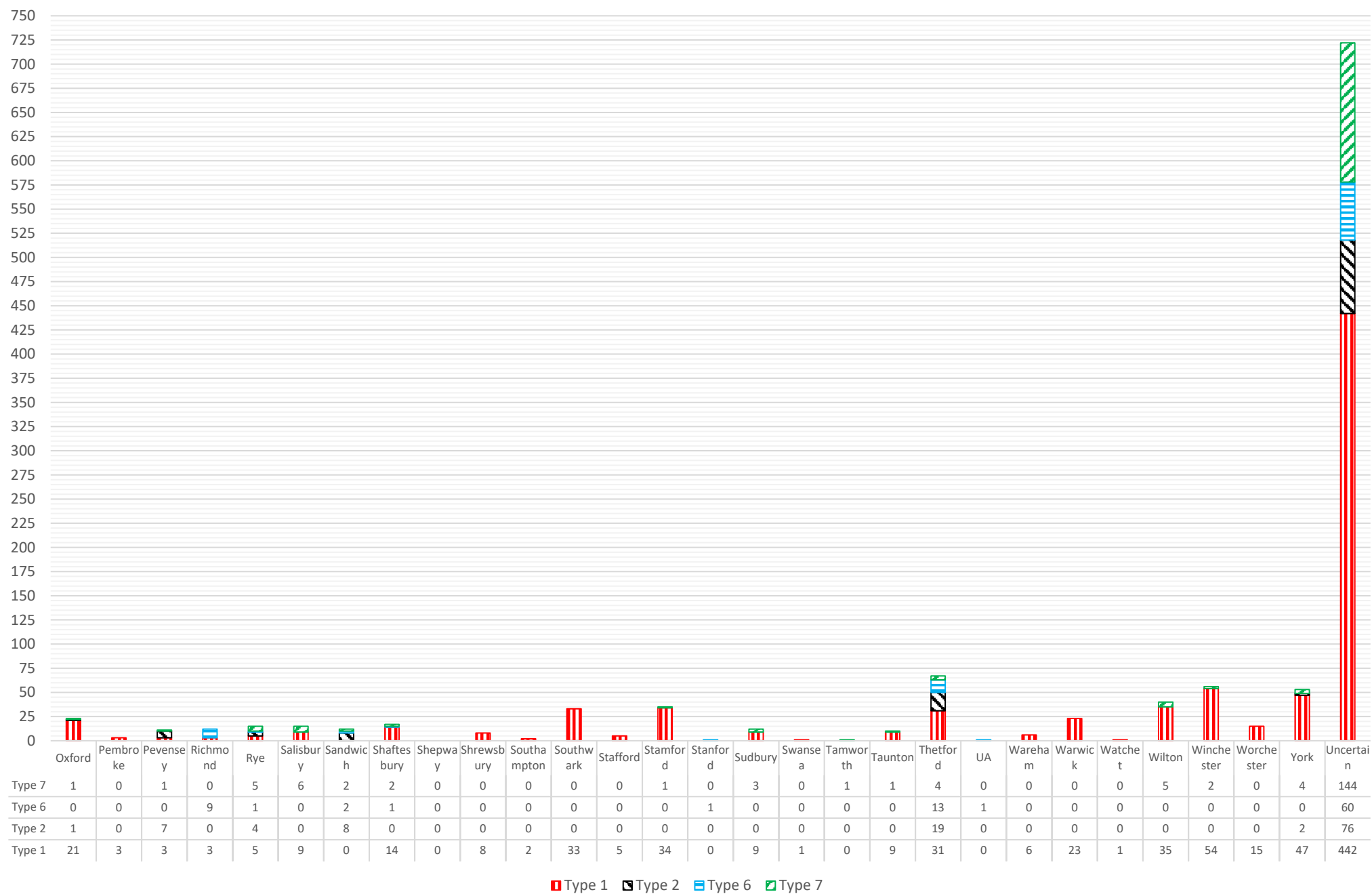
**C1b** No. Of Coins Per Mint (Stephen's Substantive Types W/O Uncertain, O-Z)



## C2a No. Of Coins Per Mint (Stephen's Substantive Types) A-N



## C2b No. Of Coins Per Mint (Stephen's Substantive Types) O-Z



## Appendix D – Type Chronologies and Mint Distributions

**Transcription of Names, Legends &c:** Those coins I had a chance to physically examine have transcriptions based on my reading. If a coin was initially categorised as ‘uncertain’ but the available transcription strongly suggested a name that was within the database, then I recorded the coin under that name rather than as uncertain. If a moneyer, ruler or mint was recorded in a particular database but there was no available transcription then I took the record at face value.

### Type 1 Moneyers

Adam, Aedward, Alfric, Ailric, Alfward, Alfwine, Alri, Alvred, Alwold, Baldwin, Bricmar/Brihtmar, Chipping, Dereman, Edgar/Aedgar, Edard, Edward, Erebold, Estmund, Etstan/Athelstan, Eustace, Falche?, Fardein, Gefe?, Gefrei, Gilbert, Godhese, Godricus, Godwine, Hacun, Henri, Heremer, Hildibrand?, Iun, Laising, Ode, Osbern, Paen, Raulf/Ralph, Rodbert, Rogier, Safari?, Samar, Sanson, Sawine, Scareman?, Semier, Sihtric, Smaewin, Spetman, Stanghun, Stanung, Suneman, Sweyn?, Turchil, Ulf, Uncertain, Waltier, Wenstan, Willels, Willem, Witric, Wulfic, Wulwfine, Wulfwold

### **D1 Chronology of Stephen’s substantive issues, as per Mark Blackburn, Marion Archibald & Seaman-Seaby<sup>608</sup>**

Type	Seaman-Seaby	Archibald	Blackburn
<b>Type 1</b>	c.1135-1149/50	1135/6-42	c.1136-45
<i>Type 1 STIFNE REX</i>	1135-41		
<i>Type 1 STIEFNE RE</i>	1141-5		
<i>Type 1 STIEFNE R</i>	1145-7		
<i>Type 1 STIEFNE</i>	1147-9/50		
<b>Type 2</b>	c.1150-2	1142-c.1148	c.1145-50
<b>Type 6</b>	c.1153	c.1148-53	c.1150-4
<b>Type 7</b>	c.1153-8	1153-8	c.1154-8
<b>Matilda</b>	1142, or possibly 1147	1141-	c.1141-5?

**Appendix D2 - Mints & The Types they struck.** Note that names in ‘Quotes’ are local issues in Stephen’s name that might not necessarily have been issued under his authority.

MINT	Types Issued
<b>Bamburgh</b>	Henry of Northumbria (Crosslet) ‘Stephen’ (Crosslet)
<b>Bedford</b>	Stephen (Type 1, 2, 6, 7)
<b>Berwick</b>	David (Cross Fleury)
<b>Bramber</b>	Stephen (Type 7)
<b>Bristol</b>	Henry of Anjou (Facing Bust and Stars), Robert of Gloucester (Lion) Matilda (Type A), Pereric, Stephen (Type 1)
<b>Buckingham</b>	Stephen (Type 6, 7)
<b>Bury St Edmunds</b>	Stephen (Type 1, 2, 6, 7) ‘Stephen’ (Leftward Bust, Erased - Anglia Long Cross)
<b>Caerphilly</b>	John <sup>609</sup> (As Matilda Type B)
<b>Cambridge</b>	Stephen (Type 6, 7) ‘Stephen’ (Type 1 w. Star)
<b>Canterbury</b>	Stephen (Type 1, 2, 6, 7) ‘Stephen’ (Mace)
<b>Cardiff</b>	Matilda (Type A, B) Stephen (Type 1)
<b>Carlisle</b>	David (Cross Fleury, Cross & Annulets, Quadrilateral, Cross Moline) Henry of Northumbria (Cross Fleury Cross Moline), Stephen (Type 1) ‘Stephen’ (Type 1)

<sup>608</sup> Blackburn, ‘C&C’, p.194

<sup>609</sup> Possibly John of St John

<b>Castle Rising</b>	Stephen (Type 2, 6, 7)
<b>Chester</b>	Stephen (Type 1, 7)
<b>Chichester</b>	Stephen (Type 1)
<b>Cirencester</b>	Robert of Gloucester (Lion) William of Gloucester (Facing Bust & Stars)
<b>Colchester</b>	‘Stephen’ (Erased – Uncertain) Stephen (Type 1, 2, 6, 7)
<b>Corbridge</b>	Henry of Northumbria (Cross Moline)
<b>Cricklade?</b>	‘Stephen’ (Rosette)
<b>‘DELCA’</b>	Stephen (Type 1)
<b>Derby</b>	‘Stephen’ (Eagles)
<b>Dorchester</b>	William of Gloucester (Facing Bust & Stars)
<b>Dover</b>	Stephen (Type 2, 7)
<b>Dunwich</b>	Stephen (Type 6, 7)
<b>Durham</b>	‘Stephen’ (Durham Rev. Annulets)
<b>Edinburgh</b>	David (Cross Moline)
<b>Exeter</b>	‘Stephen’ (Crescent) Stephen, (Type 1)
<b>Eye</b>	‘Stephen’ (Erased - Anglia Long Cross), Stephen (Type 1, 6)
<b>Gloucester</b>	Henry of Anjou (Quadrilateral, Voided Moline), ‘Stephen’ (Voided w. Annulets) Stephen (Type 1, 7)
<b>Hastings</b>	Stephen (Type 1, 2, 6?)
<b>Hedon</b>	Stephen (Type 6, 7)
<b>Hereford</b>	John (Cross Moline), Henry of Anjou (Cross Moline, Quadrilateral) Stephen (Type 1, 7)
<b>Hertford</b>	Stephen (Type 2)
<b>Huntingdon</b>	‘Stephen’ (Type 3), Stephen (Type 2, 7)
<b>Ilchester?</b>	Stephen (Type 1)
<b>Ipswich</b>	‘Stephen’ (Roundels) Stephen (Type 1, 2, 6, 7)
<b>Launceston</b>	Stephen (Type 1)
<b>Leicester</b>	‘Stephen’ (Type 5), Stephen (Type 1, 7)
<b>Lewes</b>	Stephen (Type 1, 2, 6, 7)
<b>Lincoln</b>	Pereric, ‘Stephen’ (Erased – Bar, Heavy Cross, Crescent, Crown Annulets, Type 4, 5, Quadrilateral Long Cross) Stephen (Type 1, Type 7)
<b>London</b>	Pereric, ‘Stephen’ (Crescent, Crown Annulets, Type 5), Stephen (Type 1, 2, 6, 7)
<b>Maldon</b>	Stephen (Type 1)
<b>Newark</b>	‘Stephen’ (Heavy Cross)
<b>Newcastle</b>	‘Stephen’ (Voided Long Cross) Stephen (Type 1)
<b>Northampton</b>	‘Stephen’ (Annulets, Type 3) Stephen (Type 1, 6, 7)
<b>Norwich</b>	‘Stephen’ (Erased – Anglia Long Cross, Pelleted Crown) Stephen (Type 1, 2, 6, 7)
<b>Nottingham</b>	‘Stephen’ (Erased – Small Latin Cross, Hammered Flan, Type 3, 4) Stephen (Type 1, 7)
<b>Oxford</b>	Matilda (Type A) ‘Stephen’ (Rosette & Mullet), Stephen (Type 1)
<b>Pembroke</b>	Matilda (Type A) Stephen (Type 1)
<b>Perth</b>	David (Cross & Annulets)
<b>Pevensey</b>	‘Stephen’ (Mullet) Stephen (Type 1, 2, 7)
<b>Richmond</b>	Stephen (Type 1)
<b>Roxburgh</b>	David (Cross & Annulets, Cross Fleury, Cross Moline)
<b>Rye</b>	Stephen (Type 1, 2, 6, 7)
<b>Salisbury</b>	Henry of Anjou (Round Cap) Robert of Gloucester (Lion, Quadrilateral), Patrick of Salisbury (Quadrilateral Fleury <sup>610</sup> , Sword) Stephen (Type 1, 7)
<b>Sandwich</b>	Stephen (Type 1, 2, 6, 7)

<sup>610</sup> As Henry I Type 13



<b>Shaftesbury</b>	Stephen (Type 1, 6, 7)
<b>Shrewsbury</b>	Stephen (Type 1)
<b>Southampton</b>	‘Stephen’ (Voided Moline) Stephen (Type 1)
<b>Southwark</b>	Stephen (Type 1)
<b>Stafford</b>	Stephen (Type 1)
<b>Stamford</b>	Pereric, ‘Stephen’ (Annulets, Erased – Bar, Type 3) Stephen (Type 1, 7)
<b>Stanford</b>	Stephen (Type 6)
<b>Sudbury</b>	‘Stephen’ (Roundels) Stephen (Type 1)
<b>Swansea</b>	Henry de Neubourg ( <i>As Matilda Type B</i> ), Stephen (Type 1)
<b>Tamworth</b>	Stephen (Type 7)
<b>Taunton</b>	Stephen (Type 1, 7)
<b>Thetford</b>	‘Stephen’ (Erased – Anglia Long Cross) Stephen (Type 1, 2, 6, 7)
<b>Trowbridge</b>	Robert of Gloucester (Lion)
<b>Tutbury</b>	‘Stephen’ (Eagles)
<b>‘UA’</b>	Stephen (Type 6)
<b>Wallingford</b>	Henry of Anjou (Cross Moline, Quadrilateral, Round Cap)
<b>Wareham</b>	William of Gloucester (Facing Bust and Stars) Matilda (Type A)?, Stephen (Type 1)
<b>Warwick</b>	Stephen (Type 1)
<b>Watchet</b>	Stephen (Type 1)
<b>Wilton</b>	Stephen (Type 1, 7)
<b>Winchester</b>	Stephen (Type 1, 7)
<b>Worcester</b>	Stephen Type 1
<b>York</b>	Bishop Henry (Crozier), Eustace FitzJohn (Lion, Standing Figure, Thistle), Robert de Stuteville (Riderm Wisdegnota), William of Aumale (Standing Figure), ‘Stephen’ (Erased – York Vertical, Letters/Bearded, Flag, Lozenge, Wisdegnota), Stephen (Type 1, 2, 7)
<b>Uncertain</b>	David (Cross Fleury, Cross Moline, Cross Annulets) Eustace FitzJohn (Lion, Standing Figure), Henry of Anjou (Facing Bust & Stars, Quadrilateral) Henry of Northumbria (Cross Fleury) Matilda (Type A) Patrick of Salisbury (Quadrilateral Fleury, Sword), Roger de (Cross Voided & Mulletts) ) ‘Stephen’ (Erased w. Scratches, Erased w. Long Cross, Erased w. Cross Pomees, Erased w. Long Bar) Quadrilateral, Sword, Two Figures, Annulets, Eagles, Leftward Bust, Heavy Cross, Quadrilateral Long Cross, Flag, Rosette & Mulletts, Rosette & Left Bust, Pelleted Crown, SANSON, Type 3, 4, 5), Stephen (Type 1, 2, 6, 7) William of Gloucester (Facing Bust & Stars, Lion, Quadrilateral)

## Appendix E - Hoards Grouped by Region

### South East

Norfolk ‘Browne Hoard’ – 60 coins of Stephen found in a grave.

Watford (Hertfordshire) – 1818 – Aprox. 1227 pennies. Including William I Type 5, Henry I Type 14 & 14, Stephen (Type 1 & Pereric), a penny of Matilda, and an uncertain Quadrilateral coinage

Dartford/Gravesend – 1817-1825/6 – Approximately 70 coins, three of Henry I Type 15, four of Empress Matilda, one of David of Scots, ‘several varieties’ of Stephen coins mostly in the style of Type 1.

Henley on Thames – 1881 – Five coins, all of Stephen Type 1

Linton – 1883 – Approximately 180 coins, Nine Henry I Type 15, 39 of Stephen's Type 1, 48 Stephen Type 2, one Voided Moline.

Rayleigh (Essex) – 1909-10 (Further excavations in 1961) – Seven coins, Six of Stephen's Type 1 and one 'of local dies'

Kent – 1986 – Fourteen coins, Stephen's 'Type 1 to 7'

Wicklewood (Norfolk) -1989 – Aprox. 482 Coins, ranging from Henry I Type 9 to Henry II Type 1 (Tealby). 17 coins of Henry I, 138 coins of Henry II, 323-324 coins of Stephen including Types 1, 2, 6, 7, SANSON, Rosette, Pelleted Crown, Erased Long Cross, Type 3, 'several smaller issues', one coin of Matilda and one of David.

Eynsford (Kent) – 1993 – Eleven Stephen Type 1 coins.

Portsdown Hill (Hampshire) – 25 Stephen Type 7 coins.

Bledlow with Saunderton - Two Stephen Type 1 coins.

Dunton (Norfolk) – 2007 – Three coins, two of Stephen's Type 1, one 'probable baronial issue'

### **South West**

Winterslow (Wiltshire) – c.1804 – Nineteen coins, eight of Stephen (A mixture of Type 1, 2, 3, flag and an irregular), Six of Henry of Anjou, one William of Gloucester Facing Bust, one Patrick of Salisbury Sword, one of uncertain episcopal,

Latton (Wiltshire) – c.1882 - 60+ Coins, of which at least 3 are Stephen's Type 1

Coed-y-Wennalt (Cardiff) – 1980 - 25 coins of Stephen's Type 1, Seventy coins of Matilda (39 Type A and 31 Type B), a single penny of 'John' and five pennies of Henry de Neubourg.

Box (Wiltshire) – 1993 – 184 Coins, (83 of which were available for examination.) 24/5 Robert of Gloucester Lion, 22 Matilda Type A, 8/9 William of Gloucester Lions, one Henry de Neubourg (as Matilda Type A), Ten Stephen Type 1, seventeen coins of uncertain origin.

Swindon (Wiltshire) 2012 – Two Stephen Type 1 coins.

### **North**

Cattal (Yorkshire) – 1684 – At least four coins, one Robert de Stuteville Riding Figure, One Eustace Fitzjohn Lion, one Stephen Two Figures, and another of Stephen.

Uncertain Scottish Hoard – 1725 – At least one coin of 'David', one of William Rufus, and one of Stephen.

Isle of Bute (Strathclyde) – 1863 – Twenty-seven coins, one penny of Earl Henry, Three of David I, nine coins of Malcon IV, Three of Stephen's Type 1,

Prestwich (Lancashire) – 1972 – 1065 Coins, including 22 of Henry I Type 15, 831 Stephen Type 1, 42 Pereric, 38 coins of David I (eight Cross Moline, 30 Cross and Annulets), Fourteen 'Northeastern' coins, eleven 'irregular', eight 'scottish border' types, five 'Roundels', five of Empress Matilda, three of Henry of Anjou/Henry of Northumberland.

Humberside (Yorkshire) – 1994 – Three Stephen Type 1 coins

Hook, East Riding Yorkshire - Stephen – 2019 – Seven Stephen Type 1 coins

### **Midlands**

Ashby de la Zouche/Ashby Woulds (Leicestershire) – 1788/9 – 400+ Stephen Type 1s and irregular coinage, at least one Durham Annulets and at least one Eagles penny. An uncertain number of Henry I Type 4 and 15.

Lincoln (Lincolnshire) – 1848 – Aprox. 300 Pennies, a substantial number of which were Stephen's Type 1 and at least one 'scarce' type at time of discovery.

Sheldon (Derbyshire) – 1867 – 102 coins. Two of Henry I Type 15, 65 Stephen Type 1s, two Type 1-2 Mules, one Rosette, one erased bar, one small cross, one York Lozenge-Sceptre(?)

Nottingham (Nottinghamshire) - 1881 – Upwards of 300 pennies. At least fourteen (one of his Type 10, 12 Type 15), at least 150 Stephen Type 1, one pereric, at least one Matilda Type A, at least one Henry of Northumberland Fleury, one 'Mullet w. Annulets' coin, at least nine erased coins including two Erased Long Cross and two Erased Latin Cross,

Bedford 'Greater' (Bedfordshire) – 1994 – Roughly 150 Coins, of which three are known. One of Henry I's Type 15 and two of Stephen's Type 1.

Grendon (Northamptonshire) – 2000 – Four coins, Two cut halfpennies of Henry I Type 15, one Stephen Type 1, one cut farthing of uncertain type.

Bedford 'Lesser' (Bedfordshire) – 2012 – Five coins, all seemingly of Stephen's Type 1.

## Appendix F- Moneyers of Local Issues in Stephen's Reign

### 'New' Moneyers

Moneyers here only struck local issues at their mints. Unless otherwise noted in comments, the moneyers listed here never struck Stephen's substantive types even at other mints.

Name	Mint	Type(s)	Comments
Amal	Norwich	Type 1 w. Pelleted Crown	
Arefin	Bristol	Henry of Anjou Facing Bust & Stars	
Beohrtwig	Exeter	Type 1 w. Crescent	
Beorn?	York	Flag	
Bricmar	Cardiff	Matilda Type A	Name also appears on Type 1s of London.
-celd/-elm	Salisbury	Robert (Lion)	Perhaps 'Willelm'?
Deorling	Edinburgh	David I (Cross Moline)	
Derin	Edinburgh	David I (Cross Moline)	
Durling	Cirencester	Robert of Gloucester (Lion)	
Eadweard	Canterbury	Type 1 w. Mace	
Edward	Sudbury	Type 1 w. Roundels	A relatively common name which appears on Type 1 and 2 at

			Canterbury and London, and Type 1 at Colchester.
Efnobi	York	Eustace FitzJohn Standing Figure	Unusual name.
Elfric?	Norwich	Type 1. Pelleted Crown	
Findin?	Durham	Type 1 Durham Annulets	
Fobund	Durham	Type 1 Durham Annulets	
Fobold	Roxburgh	David I (Moline)	
Fritel	Wareham	Type 1 (Local Dies)	Known from a single coin.
Gilulf	<i>Uncertain</i>	Stephen (Sword)	
Godfrei	Gloucester	Henry of Anjou (Voided Cross Moline)	A Godfrei did strike Stephen's Type 1 at Salisbury.
Godemere	<i>Uncertain</i>	Roger de (As Type 2)	A Godemere did strike Type 1 and 7 at Huntingdon.
Godemere	Bristol	Henry of Anjou (Quadrilateral)	<i>See above.</i>
Godwine	Lincoln	Type 4, Pereric	Very common name. Godwines struck Type 1 at Chichester Hastings, Norwich and Subury. Also struck Type 7 at uncertain mint.
Godwine	<i>Uncertain</i>	Type 1 Fleury w.trefoil	<i>See above.</i>
Herebald	Corbridge	Henry of Northumbria (Moline)	A common name particularly in the Scottish coinages. Herebald appears at Carlisle (Type 1 and David Quadrilateral) and Edinburgh (David Moline).
Herebald	Edinburgh	David I (Moline)	<i>See above.</i>
Hue	Carlisle	David I (Moline)	Name also appears in local and substantive coinages of Lincoln, and in David's Fleury at Roxburgh.
Hue	Roxburgh	David I (Fleury)	<i>See above</i>
Iordan	Wallingford	Henry of Anjou (Moline)	Moneyer appears in Type 6 at Norwich, Type 2 at Hertford, and in Robert of

			Gloucester's Lion coinage of Bristol. Possibly the same moneyer at Bristol.
Iordan	Bristol	Robert of Gloucester (Lion)	<i>See above.</i>
Orom	<i>Uncertain</i>	Type 1 (Local Dies)	Mint transcribed as DVNIN or PVNIN. Known only from a single coin. EMC 2019.0007
Ricard	Carlisle	David I (Cross & Annulets, Fleury), Henry of Northumbria (Fleury)	Name also appears in Type 1 at Shaftesbury and Type 7 at London. Unlikely to be the same figure.
Rodbert/Robert	Bristol	Matilda (Type A), Robert of Gloucester (Lion)	An extremely common name, appearing at Bristol, Buckingham, Canterbury, Castle Rising, Chester, Gloucester, Hastings, London, Norwich, Shrewsbury and Thetford.
Rodbert/Robert	Norwich	Type 1 w. Pelleted Crown	<i>See above.</i> Known from a single coin.
Rogir/Rogier/Roger	Lincoln	Type 1 w. Heavy Cross	Another extremely common name, appearing at Canterbury, Dunwich, Ipswich, Lewes, Lincoln, London, Norwich, Oxford, Wareham and Winchester
Rogir/Rogier/Roger	Oxford	Type 1 Rosette & Mullets	
Saeward	Lincoln	Pereric	
Sagrim	Salisbury	Robert of Gloucester (Quadrilateral)	
Salide	Trowbridge	Robert of Gloucester (Lion)	
Sanson	<i>Uncertain</i>	Type 1 w. Voided Moline	
Sew-	Malmesbury	Matilda Type A	Possibly 'Seward'.
Sigurd	Lincoln	Type 1 (Local dies) Type 4	Possibly the same as 'Sigvard' who struck Type 1 and Pereric at

			Lincoln. <i>See following table.</i>
Simon	London	Type 5	Name appears in Type 5 and 7 at Leicester, Type 1 at Canterbury and Exeter
Thomas FitzUlf	York	Eustace FitzJohn (Standing Figure)	
[M?]AM[R?]	Hereford	John (As Type 1)	The reading of the moneyer's name is uncertain but it does not match any of the known moneyers of Hereford in the reign of Stephen.
Urberik	<i>Uncertain</i>	William of Gloucester (Quadrilateral)	
Walechlinus	Derby & Tutbury	Derby-Tutbury Eagles	
Waltier	York	Type 1 w. Flag	
Wisdegnota	York	Stephen (Wisdegnota)	Possible Wizzo of Ghent?
Willelm/Pillelm	<i>Uncertain</i>	William of Gloucester (Quadrilateral, Lion),	An exceptionally common name. Appears at 23 different mints across a range of local and substantive types.
Willelm	Bamburgh?	Henry of Northumbria (Cross Crosslet), Stephen (cross Crosslet)	<i>See above.</i>
Willelm	Bristol	Matilda (Type A)	<i>See above.</i>
Willelm	Caerphilly	John (As Matilda Type B)	<i>See above.</i>
Willelm	Carlisle	Henry of Northumbria (Quadrilateral, Fleury) Type 1 (Local dies)	<i>See above.</i>
Willelm	Cirencester	William of Gloucester (Facing Bust & Stars)	<i>See above.</i>
Willelm	Corbridge	Henry of Northumbria (Cross Crosslet)	<i>See above.</i>

Willelm	Hereford	Henry of Anjou (Moline)	<i>See above.</i>
Willelm	Malmesbury?	Matilda Type A	<i>See above.</i>
Willelm	Northampton	Type 1 w. Annulets, Type 3	<i>See above.</i>
Wulfric	Northampton	Type 1 w. Annulets	Relatively common name, struck Type 1 at Canterbury and Worcester, and Types 2, 6 & 7 at Sandwich.

Moneyers of Stephen's Reign who Struck Local and Substantive Types

Name	Mint(s)	Type(s)	Comments
Adam	Oxford	Type 1, Type 1 w. Rosette & Mulletts	
Alric	Lincoln	Type 1, Heavy Cross	
Alfred	London	Type 1, Type 1 w. Crescent	
Alfpard	Norwich	Type 1, Erased Long Cross	
Alpine/Alwine	Pevensey	Type 1, Type 2, Type 1 w. Mullet	
Baldwin	Thetford	Type 1, Type 6, Erased Long Cross	
Brihtwi	Exeter	Type 1, Type 1 w. Rosette(?)	Rosette is of an uncertain mint
Edmund	Ipswich	Type 1, Type 2, Type 1 w. Roundels	
Edstan	Norwich	Type 1, Type 2, Erased Long Cross	
Erebald	Carlisle	Type 1, David I (Quadrilateral), Henry of Northumbria (Moline)	
Eustace	Norwich	Type 1, Erased Long Cross	
Everard	Warwick	Type 1, Matilda Type A	Matilda coin speculatively attributed to Wareham, however mint signature is unclear and Everard only appears at Warwick.
Fardein/Farthein	Bristol	Type 1, Matilda Type A	
Gillepatric	Pembroke	Type 1, Matilda Type A	
Gladewin	Lincoln	Type 1, Type 7, Erased w. Bar	
Godric	London	Type 1, Pereric	
Godwine	Chichester/Colchester	Type 1, Type 1 Erased Uncertain.	Erased Coinage attributed to Colchester within the EMC. However no

			other coinage is recorded from Godwine at this mint and the mint signature is heavily obscured. Chichester seems more probable.
Henri	Swansea	Type 1, Henry de Neubourg (as Type A)	Rare mint. Only one coin of each type recorded.
Herebald	Carlisle	David I (Quadrilateral), Type 1	Also appears on a mule of David's with a facing bust and moline reverse.
Hue	Lincoln	Type 1, Type 4	
Hunfrei	Bury St Edmunds	Type 6, Type 1 w. Leftward Bust	Name also appears at Lewes (Types 6 & 7)
Lefsi	Stamford	Type 1, Erased w. Bar, Type 1 Local dies? Pereric?	
Liefred	London	Type 1, Type 1 w. Crown Annulets	
Martin	York	Type 1, Erased Vertical	
Paen	Northampton	Type 1, Type 6, Type 7, Type 3	Paen also appears at Norwich, Ipswich and Lincoln. 'Paen' recorded at Northampton in Type 7 and Type 3.
Paen	Lincoln	Type 7, Type 4	<i>See above</i>
Radulf/Raulf/Radwulf	Gloucester	Type 7, Henry of Anjou (Voided Moline)	A very common name appears at Lincoln, London, Rye and possibly Perth.
Radulf/Raulf/Radwulf	Lincoln	Type 1, Pereric, Type 4, Type 1 w. Crown Annulets	<i>See above.</i>
Reinald	Lincoln	Type 1, Type 6, Pereric	



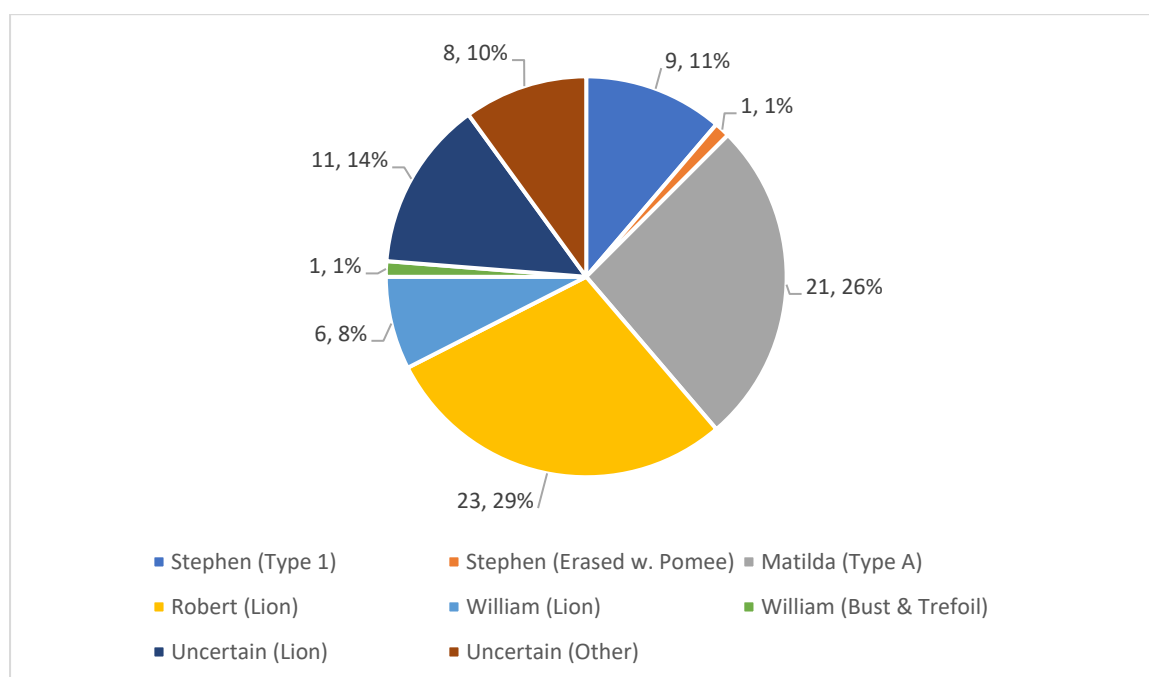
Rodbert/Robert	Thetford	Type 1, Type 2, Erased Long Cross	Extremely common name, appearing at Bristol, Buckingham, Canterbury, Castle Rising, Chester, Gloucester, Hastings, London, Norwich, Shrewsbury and Thetford.
Rogir/Rogier/Roger	Ipswich	Type 1, Type 2, Type 1 w. Roundels	Another extremely common name, appearing at Canterbury, Dunwich, Ipswich, Lewes, Lincoln, London, Norwich, Oxford, Wareham and Winchester
Sigvard	Lincoln	Type 1, Pereric,	<i>See previous table 'Sigurd'.</i>
Simon	Leicester	Type 7, Type 5	
Sip/Sipard/Siward	Lincoln	Type 1, Pereric,	
Stanung	Salisbury	Type 1, Type 7, Patrick of Salisbury (As Type 15, & As Type 13)	
Swetig	Oxford	Type 1, Matilda Type A	
Spein/Sweyn	Nottingham	Type 1, Erased w. Small Latin Cross, Type 1 w. Hammered Flan	
Turchil	Bristol	Type 1, Matilda Type A	
Udard/Uhtred	Carlisle	Type 1, David I (Cross Moline)	
Paltier/Palter/Waltier/Walter	Norwich	Type 1, Type 2, Type 6, Erased Long Cross	Relatively Common name, struck Type 1 at Chester, Type 2 & 6 at London,
Wilelm/Pillem	Canterbury	Type 1, Pereric	An exceptionally common name.

			Appears at 23 different mints across a range of local and substantive types.
Willelm	Cardiff	Type 1, Matilda Type B	
Willelm	Eye	Type 1, Erased Long Cross	
Willelm	Newcastle	Type 1, Type 1 w.Voided Long Cross	

### Appendix G – Box Hoard Per Corpus Data

Note: Attributions based on Archibald's unpublished notes.

#### G1 – Types within Box



Type	Quantity
Matilda (Type A)	21
Robert of Gloucester (Lion)	23
Stephen (Type 1)	9
Stephen (Type 1 – Erased w. Cross Pomees)	1
William of Gloucester (Lion)	6
William of Gloucester (Bust & Cross Trefoil)	1
Uncertain & Illiterate (Lion)	11
Other Uncertain Coinage	8

#### G2 Box Mints & Moneyers (& Types Struck)

Mints	Moneyers (& Types Struck)
Bristol	Farthein, Iordan, Rodbert (Robert, Lion), Uncertain (Matilda Type A, Robert Lion, Uncertain Lion)

Cardiff	Elwine? <sup>611</sup> , Uncertain, (Matilda, Type A),
Hastings	Uncertain (Stephen, Type 1)
Malmesbury	[-]nie, Seward, [-]god, Elwine (Matilda Type A)
Marlborough	Uncertain (Robert, Lion, Matilda, Type A)
Norwich	William (Stephen, Type 1)
Rye <sup>612</sup>	David?, Uncertain, (Robert of Gloucester, Lion)
Salisbury	Uncertain (Robert of Gloucester, Lion)
Stamford	Sivard (Stephen, Type 1)
Trowbridge	Salide (Robert, Lion)
Wilton	Uncertain (Stephen, Type 1, Uncertain Type 1)
Uncertain	[-]picu (William, Bust & Cross Trefoil)

### G3 Average Weights Per Type

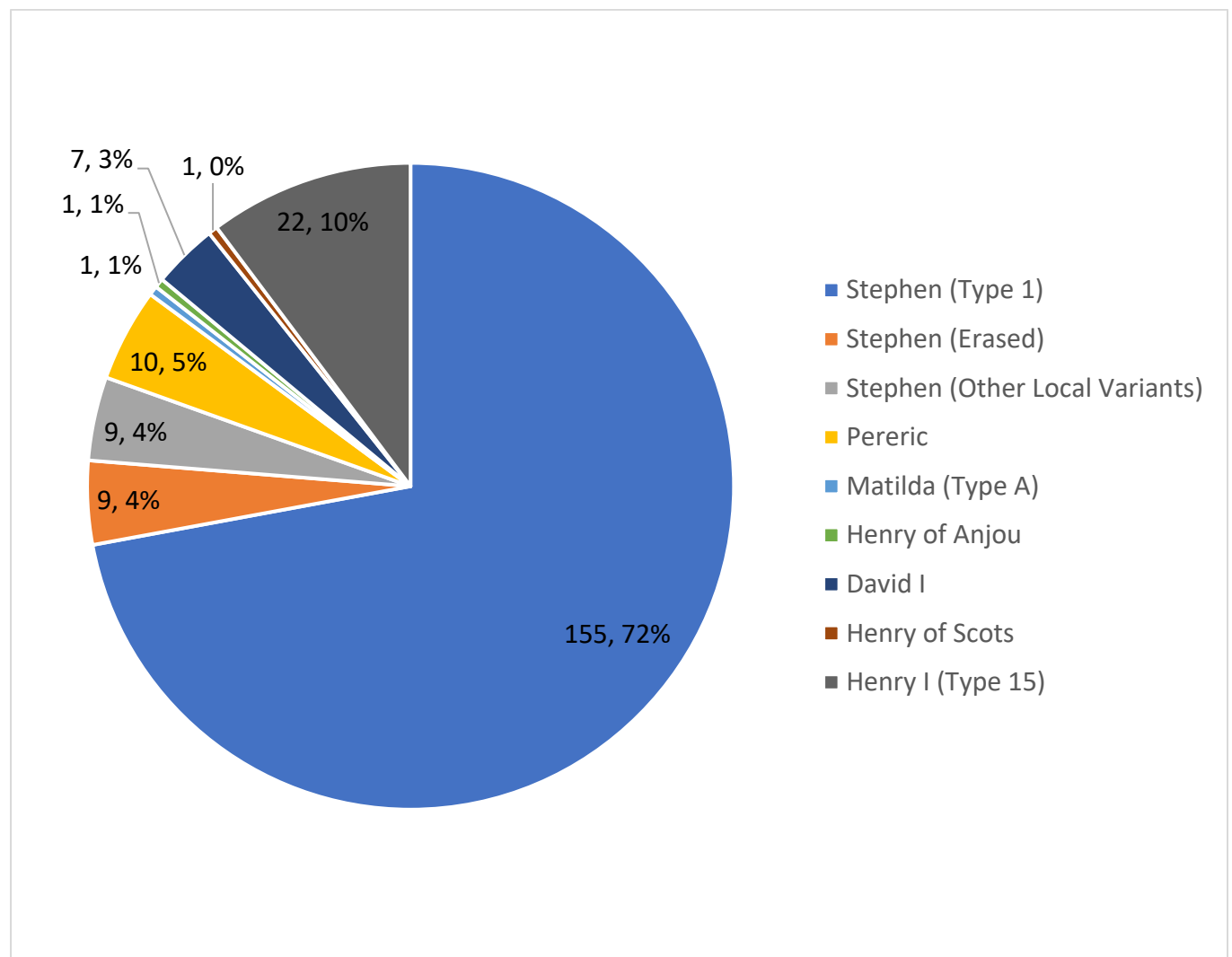
Note: *See appendix A3*

Type	Weight (grams)	Weight (grams, 70+)
Matilda (Type A)	0.74	0.95
Robert of Gloucester (Lion)	0.86	0.94
Stephen (Type 1)	0.79	0.92
William of Gloucester (Lion)	0.74	1.00
Illiterate Lion Coins	0.87	1.03

<sup>611</sup> Possibly actually a 'MAL' mint. See appendix X.

<sup>612</sup> Speculative attribution by Archibald.

## Appendix H – Prestwich Hoard Per EMC Data



## Appendix I - The Types of Stephen's Reign: A Visual Dictionary

Note - Of the types recorded in the Corpus, Images are available for 87. EMC/PAS and North numbers provided for ease of access.

### Stephen's Substantive Issues

Stephen Type 1 (Inner Circle on obverse) - 1005.042 – Moneyer 'AILMER' (Æthelmær), Mint 'CES' (Chester)



Stephen Type 1 (No inner Circle) – 1200.0160 – Moneyer (Herevei) Mint (Cambridge)



Stephen Type 2 'Voided Cross Mullets' – 1020.1615 Moneyer 'TERRI D' (Theoderic) Mint 'LVN' (London)



Stephen Type 6 'Profile/Cross and Piles' - 1016.0311 - Moneyer (No Data) Mint 'RIS-' (Castle Rising)



Stephen Type 7 - 1200.0200 - Moneyer hIVN (Iun) Mint (Castle Rising)



Stephen Type 7 'Bust Three Quarters Right' - 1200.0240 - Moneyer (uncertain) Mint (Uncertain)



### **Matilda's Issues**

Matilda Type A 'Cross fleury over cross moline' – 1200.0219 - Moneyer (Farthein) Mint (Bristol)



Matilda type B – 1200.0223 - Moneyer (Willelm) Mint (Cardiff) Weight 1.10g



Matilda Type A 'IMREXANG' -



*Image © Trustees of the British Museum*

Matilda Type A Mod<sup>613</sup> – Quadrilateral – 2014.0240– Moneyer & Mint Uncertain



### Henry of Anjou Issues

Henry of Anjou Cross Moline– 1030.0801 - Moneyer ‘WILEL[.]’ (Willelm) Mint ‘HEREFORD’ (Hereford)



Henry of Anjou Voided Cross Moline – 2007.0061 - Moneyer ‘GODEFRAI’ (Godefroi) Mint ‘GL’ (Gloucester)



Henry of Anjou Quadrilateral – 1016.0317 - Moneyer ‘---IC’ (Wihtric) Mint ‘HERE’ (Hereford)

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<sup>613</sup> This coin is recorded as a Moline over Fleury within the EMC, but this is incorrect.





Henry of Anjou Round Cap – 1200.0227- Moneyer & Mint Uncertain



Henry of Anjou Square Cap – 2010.271 – Moneyer (Uncertain) Mint '[ ]RIS' (Bristol)



Henry of Anjou Square Cap – 2013.0296 – Moneyer 'VRBERIK' (Urberik) Mint (Uncertain)



Henry of Anjou Facing Bust and Stars – 1016.0318 - Moneyer 'AREFIN' (Arnfinnr) Mint 'BRI' (Bristol)





Henry of Anjou Cross Quatrefoil – WAW-7AD304 – Moneyer (Uncertain) Mint ‘ADE’ (Uncertain/Cricklade?)



### **Other Angevin/Western Issues**

Robert of Gloucester Lion - 1300.0080 - Moneyer ‘DURLING’ (Dealing) Mint (Cirencester)



Robert of Gloucester Quadrilateral - WILT-239A33 ‘SAGRIM’ (Sagrim) Mint (Shaftesbury)



William of Gloucester Lion – 2019.033 – Moneyer ‘WIL[E?]M[ ] (Willelm) Mint (Uncertain)



William of Gloucester Facing Bust and Stars – 1200.0228 Moneyer (Willelm) Mint (Uncertain)



Patrick of Salisbury Sword - 1200.0230 Moneyer (Stanung) Mint (Salsibury)



Patrick of Salisbury Star & Trefoils - 1200.0231 Moneyer (Uncertain) Mint (Wilton?)



John (of St John?) Saltire Fleury over Patée as Matilda Type B – 1200.0234 - Moneyer (Willelm) Mint (Caerphilly)



Henry de Neubourg Saltire Fleury over Patée as Matilda Type B - 1200.0233 Moneyer (Henry) Mint (Salisbury)



### **Scottish Coinage**

David I Quadrilateral - 2017.0070 - Moneyer 'EREBALD' (Herebeald) Mint (Carlisle) weight 1.35g



David I Moline – 2015.0250 Moneyer '[ JVDAR' (Hudard) Mint (Carlisle)





David I Cross Fleury B - 1035.0006 – Moneyer (Fopalt) Mint (Berwick)



David I Cross Fleury C – 2018.0104 – Moneyer (Uncertain) Mint (Uncertain)



David I Cross Fleury D – 1200.0235 - Moneyer (Uncertain) Mint (Uncertain)



David I Cross Fleury E - 2016.0227 –Moneyer (Ricard) Mint (Carlisle)



David I Cross Fleury W.Triangular Crown - 2019.0102 – Moneyer (Ricard) Mint (Carlisle)



David I Cross and annulets – 2007.0212 – Moneyer (Ricard) Mint (Carlisle)



David I 'Tower' – Moneyer 'EREBALD' (Herebald) Mint (Carlisle?)



*Images ©Trustees of the British Museum*

Henry of Northumbria Quadrilateral – 1200.0236 - Moneyer (Willelm) Mint (Carlisle)



Henry of Northumbria Cross Moline – 1048.1360 - Moneyer 'EREBALD' (Herebeald) Mint (Corbridge)



Henry of Northumbria Cross Crosslet – 1030.0808 - Moneyer 'WILLELM' (Willelm) Mint 'B' (Bamburgh)



Henry of Northumbria Cross Fleury A - 2011.0014 - Moneyer 'WILEL [N reversed]' Mint 'C[A?]ID' (Carlisle)





### York Group Coinage<sup>614</sup>

Stephen 'York Wisegnota' – 2008.0325 - Moneyer (Uncertain) Mint (Uncertain)



Stephen Wisegnota Quadrilateral – 2016.0229 - Moneyer 'WIZ.S.D.GDEANT [*DE's ligated, N reversed*] Mint (York)



Stephen Flag – 1030.0790 - Moneyer 'VI.DNESI' Mint (York)

<sup>614</sup> As discussed previously, the mint signatures for many of these types are illiterate symbols, but the coins are all conventionally attributed to York.



Stephen Lozenge sceptre – 2014.0234 - Moneyer (Uncertain) Mint (York)



Stephen Palm– 2009.0132 - Moneyer (Unvertain) Mint (York)



Stephen Cross Pattee and Fleurs - 2013.0074 - Moneyer (Uncertain) Mint (York)





Stephen Letters in angles of rev. cross - 2004.0187 - Moneyer (Uncertain) Mint (York)



Stephen Two Figures – 1012.0282 - Moneyer (Uncertain) Mint (York)



Stephen Figure/Crescents and Quatrefoils – 2020.0378 Moneyer (Uncertain) Mint (York)



William of Aumale Standing Figure – 2011.0025 – Moneyer (Uncertain) Mint (York)



Bishop Henry (Henry Murdac?) & Stephen Crozier – 2020.0419 – Moneyer (Uncertain) Mint (York)



Robert de Stuteville Horseman – 2020.0114 – Moneyer (Uncertain) Mint (York)



Eustace FitzJohn Lion – 1200.0173 - Moneyer (Uncertain) Mint (York)



### **Erased Coinages**

East Anglia Long Cross - 1012.0272 - Moneyer 'EDSTAN?' (Eadstan) Mint '/' (Norwich?)



Nottingham Short Cross– 1016.0313 Moneyer ‘SPEIN’ (Sveinn) Mint ‘SNOT’ (Nottingham)



Two Crosses – 2011.0097 – Mint & Moneyer Uncertain



Bar – 1048.1344 – Moneyer ‘LEFSI’ (Leofsige) Mint ‘ST-‘ (Stafford/Stamford?)



Bristol Scratches – 1020.1630 – Moneyer (Uncertain) Mint (Bristol)



York Vertical– 1021.0793 – Moneyer ‘MARTIN’ (Martin) Mint ‘EVE[ ]’ (York)



Uncertain Erased – 1200.0961 – Moneyer (Godwine) Mint (Colchester/Chicester?)



### **Other Southern Types**

Stephen Northampton Facing Bust Quadrilateral – 1017.0722 Moneyer ‘Alf[ ]’ (Uncertain) Mint (Uncertain)





Stephen Voided Moline – 2006.0001 Moneyer ‘SANSON’ (Samson) Mint (Southampton?)



### **Other Northern Types**

Stephen Cross Crosslet - 1200.0238 – Moneyer (Willelm) Mint (Bamburgh?)



Stephen Voided Long Cross – 1048.1348 Moneyer ‘IOCE’ (uncertain) Mint [] (Newcastle)



Uncertain Episcopal Voided Long Cross - 2009.0224 – Moneyer (Uncertain) Mint ‘CISI’ (Uncertain)



### **Other Midland Types**

Stephen Heavy Cross – 1029.0955 – Moneyer ‘AILR’ (Æthelric) Mint ‘LIN’ (Lincoln)



Roger De (Beaumont?) Voided Cross and Mullets - 2009.0417 - Moneyer name ‘[ ][OD?]EME:R’ (Godmer) Mint ‘TI’ (Uncertain)



Stephen Type 3 – 1020.010.1617 – Moneyer ‘Paen’ (Pagan?) Mint ‘NORh’ (Northampton)



Stephen Type 4 – 1200.0185 Moneyer ‘Godwine’ (Godwine) Mint (Lincoln)



Stephen Type 5 – 1200.0186- Moneyer ‘Simon’ (Simon) Mint (Leicester)



Stephen Derby Eagles - 1030.0788 - Moneyer ‘WALCHELINVS’ (Walechin) Mint ‘DERBI’ (Derby)



Stephen Tutbury Eagles – 2013.0332 – Moneyer ‘WALCAL[ ]’ (Walechin) Mint ‘STUT’ (Tutbury)



Stephen Derby-Tutbury Eagles – 1018.1406 – Moneyer & Mint Uncertain





### Local Type 1 Variants in Stephen's Name

Leftward Bust– 1200.0963 Moneyer (Uncertain) Mint (Uncertain)



Leftward Bust - 2010.0152 - Moneyer 'hVNFRI' (Hunfrei) Mint 'EDM' (Bury St Edmunds)



Mace -2020.0240 – Moneyer - 'E[DP?A[ ] (Eadweard) Mint (Canterbury)



Mullet – 1984.0208 – Moneyer 'ALPINE' (Æthelwine) Mint '[P]EVE' (Pevensy)





Rosette by Sceptre - 1017.0834 - Moneyer 'ANGI[]' (Angier) Mint 'CRI' (Cricklade?)



Rosette & Mullets - 1012.0275 - Moneyer 'ADAM' (Adam) Mint (Oxford)



Long Cross Fleury - 1200.0164 - Moneyer (Uncertain) Mint (Newark)



Annulets 1200.0167 Moneyer 'Dodda' (Dodda) Mint (Stamford)



Trefoil Annulets – 1012.0280 – Moneyer 'FOBVND' (Fobund) Mint (Durham?)



Roundels 1017.0831 Moneyer '[E]DW[ard]' (Eadward) Mint 'SV--' (Sudbury)

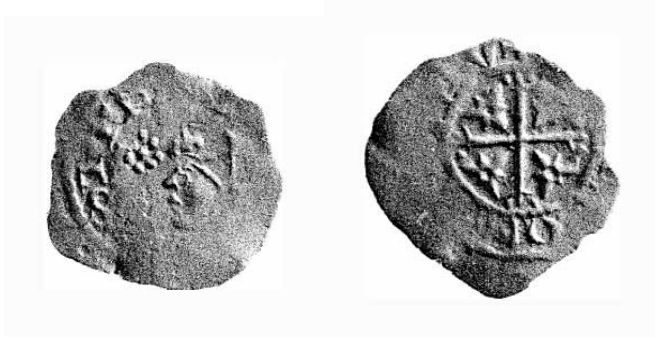


### **Local Issues of Uncertain Provenance**

Stephen Type 2 (Local Dies) – 1200.0176 – Moneyer (Willelm) Mint (Uncertain)



Stephen Leftward Bust w. Rosette & Mullets - 1012.0276 - Moneyer (uncertain) Mint (uncertain)



Stephen Quadrilateral Long Cross - 1200.0168 Moneyer (uncertain) Mint (Uncertain)



Stephen Sword? – 2016.0200 – Moneyer ‘GIL[E or L?]VLF (Giulf) Mint (Uncertain)



Stephen Facing Bust w.Quadrilateral? - 2008.0225 – Mint & Moneyer Uncertain



### **Substantive Issues of Previous Monarchs**

Various coins of Stephen’s re-use design elements from these types.

Henry I Type 12 – EMC 12000.0048 – Moneyer (Stanheard) Mint (Norwich)



*Note the obverse rosette and reverse annulets.*

Henry I Type 15 – EMC 1020.1572 – Moneyer ‘DEREMAN’ (Deorman) Mint (London)



*Note the quadrilateral cross.*

William II Type 1 – 1001.0652



*Note the saltire fleury over patee.*

William II Type 2 - 2002.0246





*Note the reverse cross within quatrefoil*

William II Type 3 – 1027.0904



*Note the facing bust w. stars and reverse cross patée w. saltire.*

William I Type 2/’Bonnet’ – EMC 1005.0395



*Note the quadrilateral.*

Edward I ‘The Confessor’ Sovereign/Eagles – EMC 2022.0413 –



*Note the reverse eagles.*

Edward The Elder 'Tower' – EMC 1020.0765



Alfred I 'Two Emperors' – EMC 2021.0194



**French Baronial Coinage**

Denier of Eustace IV of Boulogne (1146-53) – Boudeau #1933

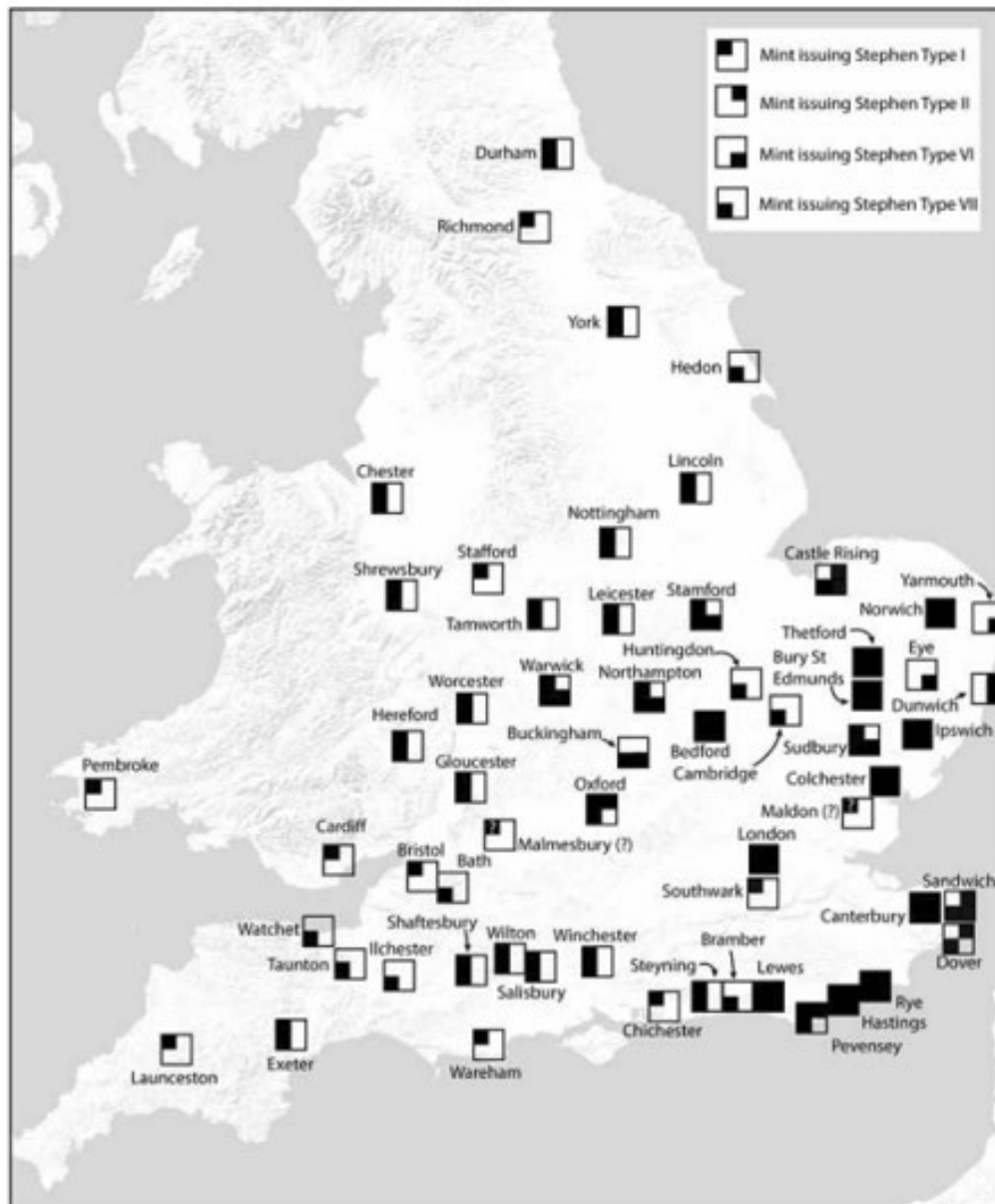


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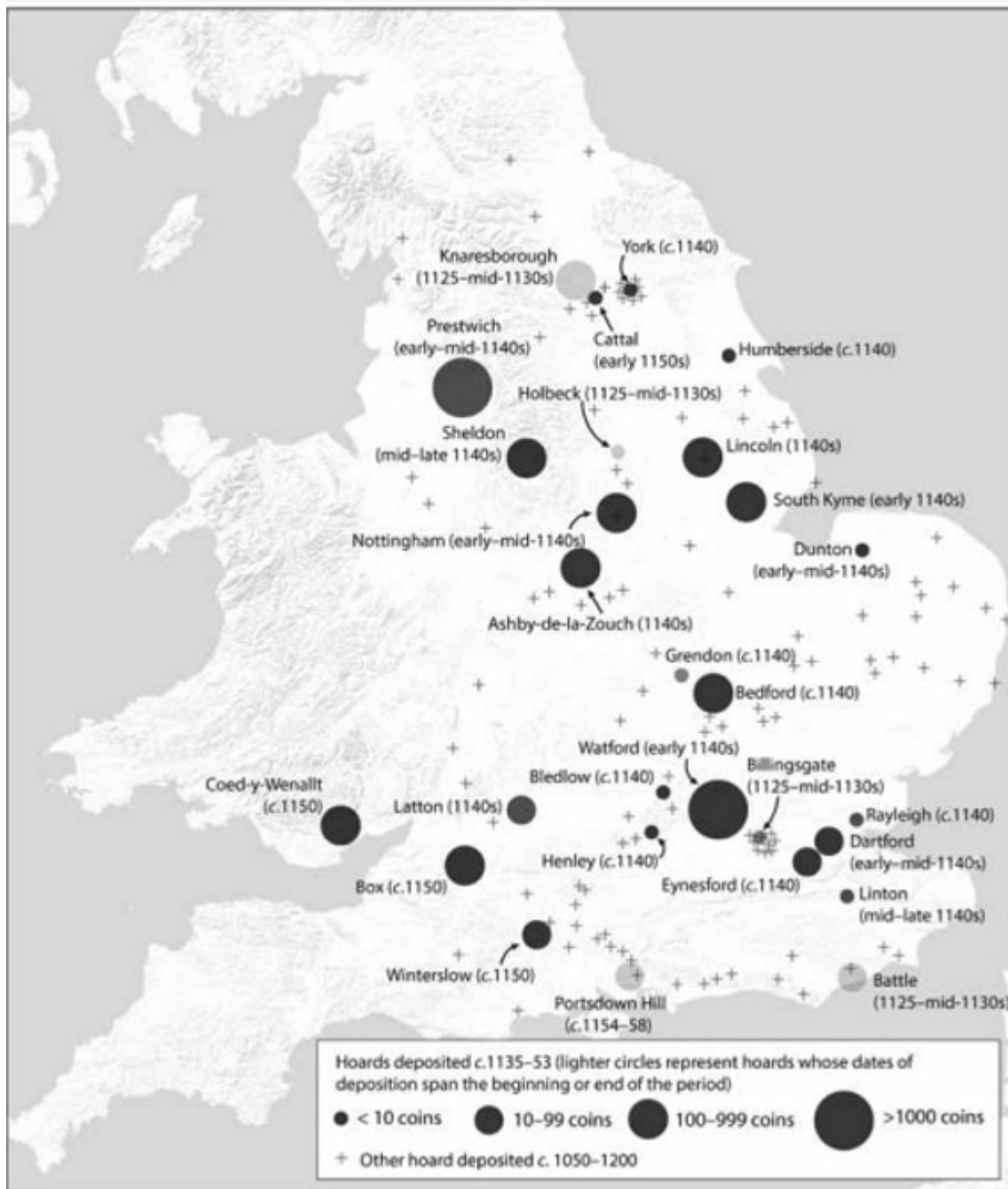
## Appendix J – Maps

Note: Unless otherwise noted, all maps are from Oliver Creighton and Duncan Wright's *The Anarchy: War and Status in 12<sup>th</sup> Century Landscape of Conflict* (Liverpool, 2016)

### J1 – Mints Issuing Stephen's Substantive Types

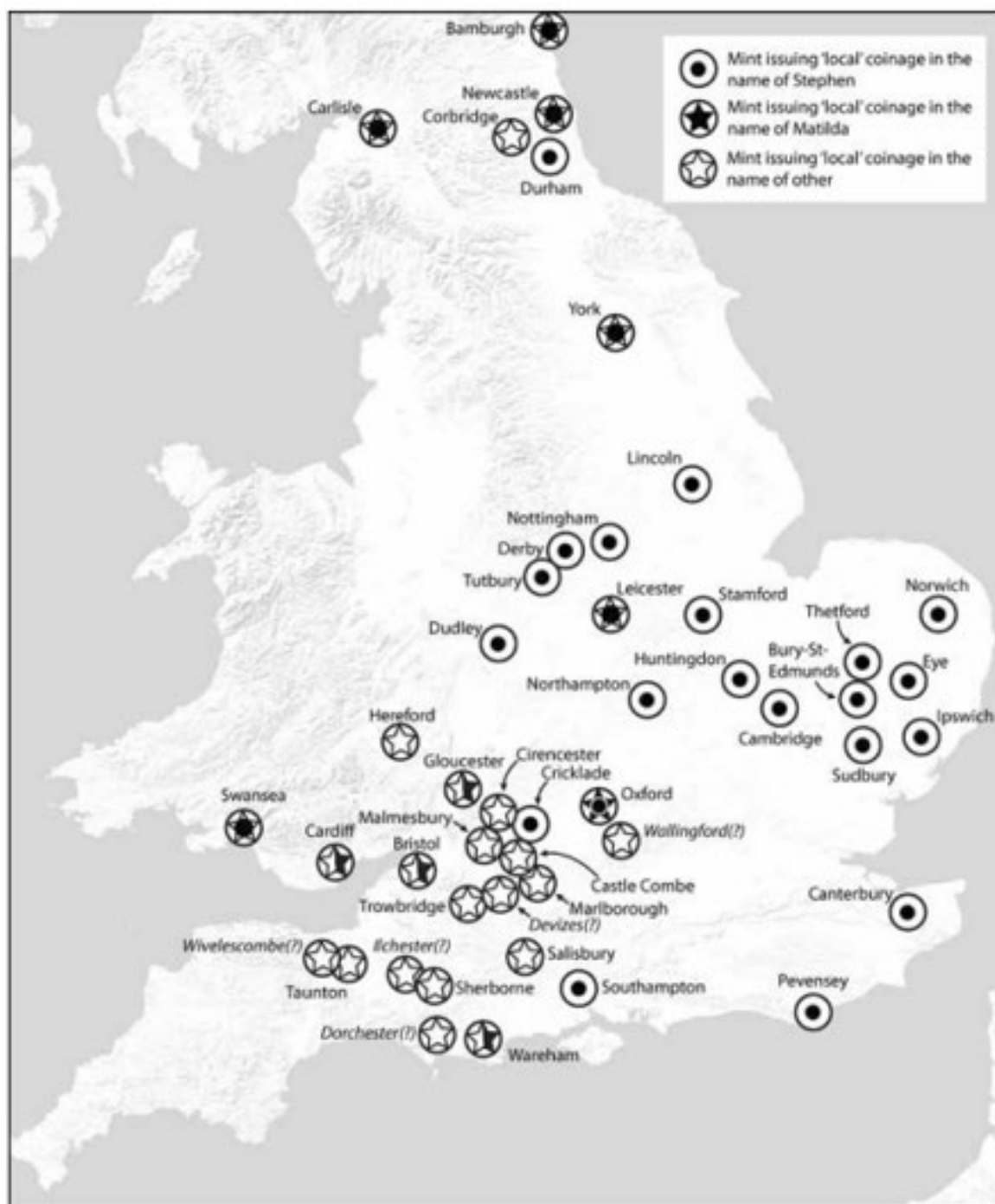


J2 Map of Hoards Deposited c.1050-1200



J3 Mints issuing coinage not in Stephen's name and 'Stephen' local issues.





## Appendix X – The Corpus

The Corpus is available as an excel document. Please use the following link: [Appendix X 30-9-24 No Changes.xlsx](#)

Please note, due to UEA policy, this link will expire on the 29<sup>th</sup> of December 2024.

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