

Money and coinage in the French lands of Henry Plantagenet, c.1150-1189

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Abstract

Henry Plantagenet, Duke of the Normans, Aquitanians and Count of the Angevins is more often remembered as Henry II, King of England, lauded for his English monetary reforms. Henry's French coinage is generally overlooked, especially by English historians, and characterised as chaotic and unregulated. This thesis provides a new interdisciplinary approach to the study of the 'Angevin Empire' by examining Henry's French coinage and challenging the Anglocentric focus which dominates the literature. Via an overview of the coin types circulating within the French Plantagenet lands during Henry's rule and the differences between the 'Angevin' and 'Aquitanian' coinages, it explores the use of money and coin, placing the French Plantagenet lands within their wider European context.

By examining the numismatic evidence alongside the written sources, it is possible to establish clear distinctions between the circulation patterns of the 'Angevin' and 'Aquitanian' coinages. The dividing line between the 'Angevin' and 'Aquitanian' monetary zones is the river Loire, the historical boundary between the duchy of Normandy and the duchy of Aquitaine. There is no evidence that Henry Plantagenet ever attempted to bridge the divide between the two monetary zones or to introduce a single, uniform coinage, despite incorporating the English sterling into the 'Angevin' monetary zone in 1180. It appears, therefore, that the areas in which the 'Angevin' coinages circulated were those north of the Loire which were staunchly Plantagenet and were meant to be inherited by Henry's eldest son Young Henry. The 'Aquitanian' coinages, by contrast, are found only within the duchy of Aquitaine, the inheritance of Henry's second son Richard the Lionheart. Henry's plans for the Plantagenet succession appears to have directly impacted the coinage and its circulation within the French Plantagenet lands.

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Chapter 1 - Introduction

Money and coinage in the French lands of Henry Plantagenet remain a neglected topic in the existing literature, either on the rule of Henry Plantagenet or the so-called 'Angevin Empire'.¹ Most studies of Henry refer to him as Henry II and focus on his position as King of England between 1154 and 1189.² By doing so, however, these studies exclude a significant element of his role as Duke of the Normans, Aquitanians and Count of the Angevins, titles Henry held prior to being crowned as King of England. Henry is remembered for implementing two reforms of the coinage in the kingdom of England, in 1158 and 1180 which introduced first the Cross and Crosslets, then the Short Cross coinage, the latter of which continued to be minted in England until 1247.³ English sterling coinage was produced at an authorised number of mint towns located throughout the kingdom of England with strict controls over the design and weight standards of the coins produced.⁴ Henry's English coinage was the only specie of his cross-Channel domains to carry his name and title, and as such is the only coinage that can be definitively linked to him. During the eleventh and twelfth centuries England stood apart from the rest of Western Europe in having a single, uniform royal coinage which was the only legal tender within the kingdom.⁵ On the continent, and in Henry's French lands, by contrast, there was a tradition of 'feudal' or 'seigneurial' coinage; the localised production of coin in the names of local rulers rather than the king.⁶ This tradition persisted in Henry's French lands throughout his rule, where coinage types, originally produced during the tenth and eleventh centuries, remained immobilised for

¹ For a discussion of the historiography surrounding the term 'Angevin Empire' see: Stephen Church, 'The "Angevin Empire" (1150-1204): A Twelfth Century Union', in *New Forms of Rule in Medieval and Renaissance Europe*, eds. Paul Srodecki, Norbert Kersken and Rimvydas Petrauskas (Abingdon 2022), pp. 68-82.

² Although King Henry may have been used by contemporaries, I have chosen to refer to Henry as Henry Plantagenet throughout this thesis to reflect the language used in discussions of Henry and his family in France, emphasising his position in his French lands as the heir of the Empress Matilda and Geoffrey Plantagenet.

³ Martin Allen, *Mints and Money in Medieval England* (Cambridge 2012), p.15.

⁴ Allen, *Mints and Money*, pp. 45-54.

⁵ The conflict between King Stephen and the Empress Matilda during the 1130s and 1140s saw a temporary breakdown in the royal monopoly of coinage for the first time since a kingdom-wide coinage was introduced.

⁶ Nicholas Mayhew, *Coinage in France from the Dark Ages to Napoleon* (London 1988), pp.19-55; Françoise Dumas, 'La Monnaie dans les domaines Plantagenêt', *Cahiers de civilisation médiévale*, 29 (1986), 53-59.

decades.⁷ As a result, the currency of Henry's French lands comprised many different coin types produced to varying weight and silver standards, all with an individual design, for the most part referencing the name of the local ruler who had originally produced each type of coin.⁸ The term 'feudal' coinage was created by nineteenth-century scholars to distinguish the coins produced by local rulers from the royal coinages of the tenth and thirteenth centuries. It has since accrued connotations of disorganisation and a lack of firm, centralised control.⁹ This thesis will show that, just because many seigneurial coinages circulated, this did not necessarily denote chaos or an absence of control over the coinage. The assumption that only a royal coinage had centralised authority is not, in the case of the French Plantagenet lands, correct.

Previous Work on the Coinage in the French Lands of Henry Plantagenet

The coinage in the French lands of Henry Plantagenet has received limited attention from numismatists. However, it is far from a popular subject, especially outside of France. The lack of secondary literature on Henry's French coinage stands in stark contrast to the significant amount of work published on his English coinage, from the nineteenth century onwards. The second-half of the nineteenth century witnessed an initial wave of writing on the French 'feudal' coinages, by French scholars such as Léopold Delisle, Faustin Poey d'Avant, and Émile Caron, persisting into the work carried out on the coinages of the French Plantagenet lands by Blanchet and Dieudonné, published in 1916.¹⁰ Each of these authors mention the coinages found in the French Plantagenet lands, but for the most part only as part of a wider categorising of 'feudal' coinages across the entirety of what is now modern-day France, with no particular emphasis upon Henry Plantagenet's coinage. From these works it is possible to piece together a history of each coinage and discover details of their design and inscriptions.

⁷ A coinage is immobilised when the type and design remains unchanged for a period of years even if changes in the ruler or minting authority occur: See chapter three for further discussion.

⁸ See chapter three for details.

⁹ For example see: Léopold Delisle, 'Des revenus publics en Normandie, au douzième siècle', *Bibliothèque de l'École des chartes*, 12:5 (1848-9), 173-289; Émile Caron, *Monnaies féodales Françaises* (Paris 1882); Faustin Poey d'Avant, *Monnaies féodales de France*, 3 vols (Paris 1858-1862).

¹⁰ Delisle, 'Des revenus publics en Normandie'; Poey d'Avant, *Monnaies féodales de France*; A Dieudonné and A. Blanchet, *Manuel de numismatique Française: Monnaies royales Françaises depuis Hugues Capet Jusqu'à La Révolution*, vol.2 (Paris 1916); Caron, *Monnaies féodales Françaises*.

As will be discussed in chapter three, some of the evidence on which these studies were based, especially in respect to their claims about the origins and history of the coins, is highly questionable. However, they remained the main sources for taxonomy until Jean Duplessy's *Les Monnaies Françaises féodales* was published from 2004 onwards.¹¹

Meanwhile, the topic acquired renewed interest in the 1970s and 1980s, leading to publications by a new wave of French scholars; Françoise Dumas, Jean Yvon and Jean Duplessy.¹² Dumas, Yvon and Duplessy all relied upon the existing literature as the basis for their research. But to this brought new discoveries from coin finds to formulate more focused arguments. For Jean Yvon, this meant studying a collection of forty-seven English Short Cross coins found at Le Mans and comparing them with the English coins in the cabinet de médailles at the *Bibliothèque Nationale de France*. Yvon's conclusion was that English sterling did circulate in north-western France as a legitimate currency whilst the Plantagenets ruled these regions.¹³ His article moved away from providing a basic history and description of the 'feudal' coins, instead analysing the mint origin and find locations of the coins, as well as the composition of the hoards. This facilitated insight into a particular aspect of the coinage; namely how the coins circulated, and the potential reasons for their circulation patterns. A similar approach was adopted by Françoise Dumas, in her studies of the money of Normandy, and later on the money of the Plantagenet domains more broadly, arguing for a certain level of centralised control over the coinage.¹⁴ These studies provide a more comprehensive account of the background to the different coinages in Normandy and the other Plantagenet domains, including information on different coin types and the historical reasons behind the changes to the coinage during this period. Dumas, working alongside Jean-Noël Barrandon, also carried out metal analysis on some of the coins circulating during the

¹¹ Jean Duplessy, *Les Monnaies Françaises féodales*, 2 vols (Paris 2004-2010).

¹² Françoise Dumas 'Les Monnaies Normandes (xe-xIIe siècles) avec un répertoire des trouvailles', *Revue Numismatique* (1979), 84-140; Dumas, 'La Monnaie dans les domaines Plantagenêt', 53-59; Jean Yvon, 'Esterlins À la croix courte dans les trésors Française de la fin du XIIe et de la première moitié du XIII siècle', *British Numismatic Journal*, 39 (1970), 24-60; Jean Duplessy, 'Observations sur les monnayage du comte de Blois entre 1050 et 1218', *Bulletin de la Société Française de Numismatique*, 54 (1999), 5-6; Duplessy, *Les Trésors monétaires*.

¹³ Yvon, 'Esterlins À la croix courte dans les trésors Française', 24-60

¹⁴ Dumas, 'Les Monnaies Normandes', 84-140; Dumas, 'La Monnaie dans les domaines Plantagenêt', 53-59.

twelfth century, analysing their silver content and whether, where evidence of their values survives, the coins themselves support the values of the coins given in the written sources.¹⁵ Dumas and Barrandon's metallurgical study remains the only one of its kind for twelfth-century French coinage, providing unique insight into the silver content of the coins and the accuracy of supposed exchange rates. Even more significant was Jean Duplessy's *Les Trésors Monétaires Médiévaux et Modernes Découverts en France*, the first volume of which was published in 1985 covering the period 751-1223.¹⁶ This work is a catalogue of all the reported coin hoards discovered in France from the Middle Ages onwards and provides the most comprehensive research resource yet produced for the study of the coinage in the Plantagenet lands. These studies, collectively, demonstrated renewed interest by numismatists and historians in the French coinage of Henry Plantagenet, exploring how the monetary system could have functioned through a more detailed analysis of the coins themselves and their historical context.

Even so, no new studies focused specifically on Henry Plantagenet's French coinage appeared for almost twenty years, until, in 2006, Barrie Cook published his article '*En Monnaie aiant cours: The Monetary System of the Angevin Empire*'. Cook's article was the first study of this topic published by a numismatist outside of France, bringing together all previous work on the subject to supply a comprehensive account of the historiography.¹⁷ Cook's article explored the argument for the existence of a monetary system in the 'Angevin Empire'. Using Duplessy's catalogue of hoards to study their composition and consequently identify what a typical 'Angevin hoard' might look like, Cook concluded that the coinages of England, Angers, Guingamp (Brittany), Châteaudun, Le Mans, Vendôme, Tours, and Gien might be found in such an 'Angevin hoard' in varying quantities.¹⁸ Cook argued that it was possible here to detect evidence of a monetary 'system' applying across Henry Plantagenet's French lands, as the hoards

¹⁵ Françoise Dumas and Jean-Noël Barrandon, *Le titre et le poids de fin des monnaies sous le regne de Philippe Auguste, 1180-1223* (Orléans 1982).

¹⁶ Duplessy, *Les Trésors Monétaires*.

¹⁷ B.J. Cook, '*En Monnaie Aiant Cours: The Monetary System of the Angevin Empire*', in *Coinage and History in the North Sea World c. 500-1250*, eds. Barrie Cook and Gareth Williams (Leiden 2006), pp. 617-686.

¹⁸ Cook, '*En Monnaie*', pp. 622-3.

showed that certain ‘foreign’ coins (such as those of the Capetian Ile-de-France) were deliberately excluded from circulation, while others (including the Guingamp denier of Brittany) were exchanged at set ratios and found in numerous ‘Angevin’ hoards. The main bulk of Cook’s evidence was numismatic, supplied by the hoards. However, he supplemented this with original research examining a selection of French cartularies to show how the deniers minted in Angers were used in transactions beyond the borders of Anjou. Cook’s article goes a long way towards overturning the view that the coinage of the French Plantagenet lands was just one of many such disorganised and chaotic ‘feudal’ coinages. Despite the vast amount of information Cook brought together in this article, his examination of whether or not there was a monetary system in the Angevin ‘empire’ is constrained in certain areas. For example, although a brief summary is given of the coinages found in the duchy of Aquitaine, Cook’s focus is predominantly on the regions north of the Loire, for which there is more surviving evidence, or at least better catalogued evidence.¹⁹ Therefore, his examination is chiefly of the monetary system of lands north of the Loire, and not the ‘Angevin empire’ as a whole. Furthermore, Cook’s article is reliant on published sources, for both his numismatic study of the coinage and the cartulary evidence. He included no analysis of any single find data, and the geographical scope of the cartularies studied was limited. There is also room here to extend the search for written sources beyond the cartularies.

In the years since Cook’s article was published there have been a few published studies of French coinage briefly noticing the coinage of the French Plantagenet lands. Studies of the French coinage of Henry Plantagenet as a whole, however, remain almost unknown.²⁰ Regionalism is a characteristic of French numismatics and the study of

¹⁹ Cook looks at Aquitaine in the thirteenth to fifteenth centuries in: Barrie Cook, ‘English monetary policy in Aquitaine’, in *Money and its use in Medieval Europe: three decades on essays in honour of Professor Peter Spufford*, eds. Martin Allen and N.J. Mayhew (London 2017), pp. 19-30.

²⁰ Gareth Williams, ‘Monetary Contacts between England and Normandy, c. 973-1180: A Numismatic Perspective’, in *Circulations monétaires et réseaux d’échanges en Normandie et dans le Nord-Ouest européen (Antiquité-Moyen Age)*, eds. Jérémie Chameroy and Pierre-Marie Guihard (Caen 2012), pp. 173-184; Ian Stewart, ‘The English and Norman Mints, c.600-1158’, in *A New History of the Royal Mint*, ed. C.E. Challis (Cambridge 2012), pp. 1-82; James N. Roberts, *The Silver Coins of Medieval France (476-1610 AD)* (New York 1996); Lucien Musset, ‘Réflexion sur les moyens de paiement en Normandie aux XIe et XIIe siècles’, *Aspects de la société et de l’économie dans la Normandie médiévale (Xe-XIIIe)*, *Cahiers des Annales de Normandie*, 22 (1988), 65-89; P and B Withers and Steve Ford, *Anglo-Gallic Coins: Monnaies Anglo-Françaises of Aquitaine, Bergerac, Issoudun, Ponthieu, Poitou, and the Royal Coins of Henry V and*

French history more broadly. As a result, studies which touch on the French Plantagenet coinage tend to look at a small region, rather than surveying the field as a whole. There is no wider study of the monetary system of the French Plantagenet lands more generally. Lucien Musset's 1988 article examining the means of payment in Normandy over the course of the eleventh and twelfth centuries only briefly mentions the coinage of the Plantagenets.²¹ Similarly, Isabelle Lerquet, has studied the mint at the fortress of Montreuil-Bonnin in Aquitaine, briefly noting Plantagenet coinage, as the mint itself was established by Richard the Lionheart.²² Yves Coativy's *La Monnaie des ducs de Bretagne* (2006) built on and updated the work of Yannick Jézéquel in his *Monnaies des comtes et ducs de Bretagne*, published in 1999.²³ Such regional focus is not limited to French numismatists. Paul and Bente Withers, for instance, have studied the Anglo-Gallic coinage minted by the Kings of England in thirteenth-century Aquitaine, including a brief discussion of the twelfth-century coinage of the Plantagenets.²⁴ Likewise Serena Sozzi has recently completed a doctoral thesis examining the coinage of Aquitaine between the thirteenth and fifteenth centuries.²⁵ But, as has been the case for far too long, those who work on regions south of the Loire tend to ignore the view from the north, and vice versa. Because the French Plantagenet lands spanned multiple regions they have only rarely been studied as a whole. Since Cook's article, only Jens Christian Moesgaard has published work specifically devoted to the coinage in the French Plantagenet lands, and even here is limited to the regions north of the Loire. His catalogue of hoards from upper Normandy builds on the work of Jean Duplessy, drawing on research Moesgaard had previously undertaken on Norman coinage, including the circulation of English sterling in Normandy, the chronology of the Fulk Angevin deniers, and the role, if any, that

Henry VI (Llanfyllin 2015); Philip Grierson, *The Coins of Medieval Europe* (London 1991), pp. 81-104; Mayhew, *Coinage in France*; Dominique Legros, *Monnaies féodales Françaises* (self-published 1984); Jean Belaubre et Bruno Collin, *Les Monnaies de France: histoire d'un peuple* (Perrin 1992).

²¹ Musset, 'Réflexion sur les moyens de paiement', 65-89.

²² Isabelle Lerquet, 'La fabrique monétaire (1181 à 1346) de la forteresse de Montreuil-Bonnin, atelier des comtes de Poitou et des rois de France', Academia:

https://www.academia.edu/108644586/La_fabrique_mon%C3%A9taire_du_ch%C3%A2teau_de_Montreuil_pour_nouvelles_marges_1_5_2_0_du_21_octobre_2023_15h?f_r=47143, (accessed, 30/07/24).

²³ Yves Coativy, *La Monnaie des ducs de Bretagne* (Rennes 2006); Yannick Jézéquel, *Monnaies des comtes et ducs de Bretagne Xe au XVe siècle* (Paris 1999).

²⁴ Withers and Ford, *Anglo-Gallic Coins*.

²⁵ Serena Sozzi, *La Monnaie en Aquitaine XIII-XV siècle*, unpublished PhD thesis, (l'Université de Bretagne Occidentale 2021).

Renovatio Monetae played in Normandy.²⁶ The breadth of this work has greatly enhanced our knowledge of the coinage of Henry Plantagenet, with a particular focus on the coins themselves and the archaeological contexts in which they were found. The only limitation to Moesgaard's work is, once again, its geographical focus as each of his studies is limited to the greater Normandy area, and none turn their attention southwards to the duchy of Aquitaine. Therefore, whilst any contribution to the study of the French Plantagenet coinage is welcome, the divide continues to grow between what we know about the coinages of the duchy of Normandy and county of Anjou, and the coinage of Henry's lands south of the Loire, including how such southern coinages interacted with the 'Angevin' coinages of the north.

One topic that might extend discussion involves the distinction between money and coin. Physical coins are just one aspect of money, albeit the most obvious to modern scholars. However, money, more generally, could take many different forms.²⁷ Peter Spufford's monograph *Money and its use in Medieval Europe* provides a useful introduction to this topic, emphasising that coins were just one aspect of the medieval money supply.²⁸ Spufford argued that by broadening our focus to look at money as a whole, beyond mere coins, it is possible to gain a deeper understanding of medieval society and economics. For example, in considering the life cycle of a silver mine, Spufford showed how a new mine might attract urban development and political interest in controlling the profits of the mint, but that when any such mine was exhausted, silver trading routes would change, impacting both the local and the wider

²⁶ Jens Christian Moesgaard, *Les Trésors monétaires médiévaux découverts en Haute-Normandie (754-1514)* (Wettern 2015); J.C. Moesgaard, 'La Chronologie des deniers du comte d'Anjou au nom de Foulques (XIIe siècle)', *Bulletin de la Société Numismatique Française*, 1 (2007), 17-22; J.C. Moesgaard, 'Renovatio monetae en Normandie à l'époque ducale?', *Bulletin de la Société Française de Numismatique*, 53.6 (1998), 127-31; J.C. Moesgaard, 'Variante inédite du denier de Penthièvre (XII siècle)', *Bulletin de la Société Française de Numismatique*, 56 (2001), 60-2; Jens Christian Moesgaard, 'Saints, Dukes and Bishops: Coinage in Ducal Normandy, c. 930-c.1150', in *Money and the Church in Medieval Europe, 1000-1200: Practice, Morality and Thought*, eds. G. E.M. Gasper and Svein H. Gulbekk (Farnham 2015), pp. 197-207; Jens Christian Moesgaard, *La circulation des monnaies anglaises en France and the financement de la guerre franco-anglaise* (2002); Jens Christian Moesgaard, 'Two Finds from Normandy of English Coins of Norman the Norman Kings (1066-1154)', *The Numismatic Chronicle*, 154 (1994), 209-213.

²⁷ This will be discussed more in chapter four.

²⁸ Peter Spufford, *Money and its use in Medieval Europe* (Cambridge 1989), pp.1-3.

regional or seigniorial economy.²⁹ As an introduction to the different forms of money, and patterns of the use of coins and the trade of silver across Europe, Spufford's book is invaluable. Although in no way focused upon the Plantagenet monetary system, it helps to place the developments of Plantagenet coinage within a wider European context.

Another work published around the same time as Spufford's, likewise supplying a better contextual understanding of Plantagenet coinage, was Nicholas Mayhew's *Coinage in France from the Dark Ages to Napoleon*.³⁰ As the title suggests this work looked solely at coinage developments in France and, due to its broad time-frame, paid only vague and limited attention to Plantagenet coinage. Mayhew relied on various of the earlier numismatists, and this is reflected in some of the conclusions drawn about the history of the Plantagenet coinages.³¹ As a broader contextualisation, his work is useful. His concern to trace the breakdown and subsequent re-establishment of royal authority over the coinage has implications for the French Plantagenet lands, even though he himself has very little to say about the coinage of Henry Plantagenet, or the agency of those involved in its developments.

Although not engaging directly with the distinction between money and coin, Thomas Bisson's book *Conservation of Coinage* seeks to avoid the traditional, top-down approach, instead placing coinage and its production within a wider social context.³² As a historian rather than a numismatist Bisson studied the changes in the coinage from a very different perspective to any of the works already mentioned. Bisson's focus was on the interactions between the ruler, townsmen, merchants and the local aristocracy, all concerned both to ensure a stable currency and to reduce the risk of exploitation of the coinage by those holding minting rights. Bisson looked at the Norman triennial tax (*monetagium*), first recorded in the eleventh century, which townsmen paid to the ruler in exchange for his not reminting the coinage in order to debase them for his own

²⁹ Spufford, *Money and its Use*, pp. 112-123.

³⁰ Mayhew, *Coinage in France*.

³¹ Mayhew, *Coinage in France*; These conclusions will be discussed further in the chapter three.

³² Thomas N. Bisson, *Conservation of Coinage: Monetary Exploitation and its restraint in France, Catalonia and Aragon, c. 1000-1225* (Oxford 1979).

profit.³³ He also studied the practice in Aquitaine of the ruler confirming the coinage and personally guaranteeing that the coinage would align with a specified weight standard.³⁴ Observing practices across the continent, Bisson argued for a common theme throughout all efforts to conserve the coinage; the involvement of those below the level of the aristocracy, who had a particular concern for the preservation of coinage at fixed values. The approach taken by Bisson is useful for better understanding twelfth-century perceptions of coinage and its social significance. However, Bisson's training as a historian inclines him to use written sources, and to a large extent to ignore or sideline the purely numismatic evidence.

The divide between the disciplines of history and numismatics was highlighted by Philip Grierson in his 1962 presidential address for the *Numismatic Chronicle*. Grierson made the case that greater interaction between historians and numismatists was needed to help incorporate the study of material evidence (especially coins) and not just written sources into historical study.³⁵ Spufford also highlighted the need for interaction between numismatists and historians in his book, citing the problem that 'numismatic language' acted as a barrier to the historian's ability to write about money and coinage.³⁶ Spufford acknowledges that much has been done by numismatists to make their discipline more accessible. Nevertheless, this has not yet translated into a comprehensive study of the Plantagenet coinage fully incorporating numismatic techniques alongside those of more traditional history. A reason for this is that the majority of the studies of French coinage focus on royal coins, so that the 'feudal' coinages are generally presented as an interlude in the history of French coinage rather than being studied on their own merit.

By taking Barrie Cook's article as a starting point, this thesis will expand upon the work he has already done by producing a thorough examination of the numismatic evidence. Using written sources it will also provide insight into where and how the different

³³ Bisson, *Conservation of Coinage*, pp. 14-28.

³⁴ Bisson, *Conservation of Coinage*, pp. 48-50.

³⁵ Philip Grierson, 'Numismatics and the Historian', *The Numismatic Chronicle*, 2 (1962), i-xvii.

³⁶ Spufford, *Money and its use*, p. 3.

Plantagenet coinages were used. The reasons behind the differing circulation patterns of the coinages north and south of the Loire will be explored, as will contemporary attitudes towards money and coinage. The resulting study will be an up-to-date examination of money and coinage in the French lands of Henry Plantagenet.

The French Plantagenet Lands

The chronological focus of this thesis is the rule of Henry Plantagenet who in France, between 1150 and his death in 1189, held the titles Duke of the Normans and Aquitanians and Count of the Angevins, as well as King of England from 1154 onwards. The duchy of Brittany will also be discussed because the Plantagenets had strong links to the duchy, even though Henry never personally held the title Duke of the Bretons. Too much of the literature has assumed that the control over the English coinage enjoyed by the English kings was more sophisticated and therefore better than that which they enjoyed over the coinage on the continent. Hence the far greater number of works examining Henry's English coinage.³⁷ This thesis will take Henry's coinage in his French lands out of that comparative framework and examine continental coinage on its own terms. One of the main ideas to be explored here is how the coinage might reflect differences in Henry's relationships with the various regions under his control. For example, are there distinct differences between the coinage used in the 'Angevin heartland' of the duchy of Normandy and county of Anjou, inherited from his parents, compared to the duchy of Aquitaine which he held through his wife, Eleanor of Aquitaine? Below is a brief overview of how each region came under Henry's control or influence. Further discussion of his individual relationships with each region, together with a consideration of their numismatic and written evidences, will be found in subsequent chapters.

³⁷ Cook, *En Monnaie*, p. 621; Nicholas Mayhew, 'From Regional to Central Minting, 1158-1464', in *A New History of the Royal Mint*, ed. C.E. Challis (Cambridge, 1992), pp. 83-106; Spufford, *Money and its use*, pp. 187-202; Martin Allen, 'Mints and Money in Norman England', *Anglo-Norman Studies*, 34 (2012), 1-20.

The Duchy of Normandy

The first title gained by Henry Plantagenet was that of Duke of the Normans which was conferred on him by his father, Geoffrey Plantagenet, Count of Anjou, in 1150.³⁸ Geoffrey was the first count of Anjou to also claim the title Duke of the Normans, a claim made in right of his wife, the Empress Matilda, who had been named heir to the duchy by her father, Henry I (1100-1135), but who had struggled to secure it after Henry's death despite receiving homage from Norman barons.³⁹ With Geoffrey's investiture as duke at Rouen in April 1144, the county of Anjou and duchy of Normandy were formally brought under the rule of a single person. The conquest of Normandy in 1144 followed years of Plantagenet influence in the region which had increased significantly following the capture of Stephen of Blois, Matilda's cousin and rival claimant to the duchy (and the kingdom of England), in 1141 at the battle of Lincoln.⁴⁰ Kathryn Dutton has argued that the successful conquest of Normandy by Plantagenet forces in 1144 was partly down to Geoffrey's skills as a diplomat which saw him actively cultivate the loyalty of the Norman aristocracy.⁴¹ The resulting defection of members of the aristocracy, such as the counts of Perche and Meulan, to the Plantagenet cause was sufficient to secure the duchy of Normandy under the rule of the counts of Anjou.⁴² During Henry's time as Duke of the Normans there were territorial additions to the duchy: the Norman Vexin in 1158 and Gisors in 1167/8.⁴³ Despite periods of unrest on the Norman frontier, and effectively the loss of Évreux and its region from 1194 onwards, the duchy remained for the most part firmly under Plantagenet control from 1144 until 1204, when it was conquered by Philip Augustus, King of France.⁴⁴

³⁸ W.L. Warren, *Henry II* (London 1991), pp. 51-3.

³⁹ Kathryn Dutton, 'Geoffrey, Count of Anjou and Duke of Normandy', unpublished PhD thesis (University of Glasgow, Aug 2011), pp. 177-206; Warren, *Henry II*, pp.13-53.

⁴⁰ Dutton, 'Geoffrey, Count of Anjou', p. 178.

⁴¹ Dutton, 'Geoffrey, Count of Anjou', p. 178.

⁴² Daniel Power, *The Norman Frontier in the Twelfth and Early Thirteenth Centuries* (Cambridge 2004), pp. 6-7.

⁴³ Daniel Power, 'Angevin Normandy', in *A Companion to the Anglo-Norman World*, eds. Christopher Harper-Bill and Elisabeth M.C. Van Houts (Woodbridge 2003), pp. 65-6; Power, *The Norman frontier*, pp. 394-8.

⁴⁴ Power, 'Angevin Normandy', pp. 63-6.

The County of Anjou (including Maine and Touraine)

Following the death of his father in 1151, Henry inherited the title of Count of the Angevins, making him the second such count to also be Duke of the Normans.⁴⁵ The county of Anjou included control over Maine and Touraine which had been annexed by the Angevins under Fulk IV, who claimed to be ruler of Touraine, Maine, Nantes and Anjou.⁴⁶ There has been considerable debate as to whether or not Henry was intended to inherit both Normandy and Anjou together. According to William of Newburgh, Geoffrey Plantagenet left Anjou to Henry's younger brother, Geoffrey, to ensure that some provision was made for him, without relying on Henry's generosity. But that until Henry could gain both Normandy and England, Anjou was held by him whilst Geoffrey held Chinon, Loudun and Mirebeau.⁴⁷ Newburgh states that Henry appealed to the Pope, who overturned the oath he had sworn to honour Geoffrey's portion, allowing Henry to legitimately claim the county of Anjou as part of his paternal inheritance.⁴⁸ According to the *Chroniques d'Anjou*, on his deathbed Geoffrey Plantagenet made Henry swear to govern Normandy and Anjou according to their respective customs, recognising the differences of the two regions, suggesting that there was no doubt in the author's mind that Henry was intended to rule both regions concurrently after his father's death.⁴⁹ Whether or not Geoffrey's intention had been for Henry to inherit both Normandy and Anjou, the fact remains that from 1151 until his death Henry was both Duke of the Normans and Count of the Angevins.

⁴⁵ Dutton, 'Geoffrey, Count of Anjou', p. 169; *Chronography of Robert of Torginy*, ed. Thomas N Bisson (Oxford 2020), pp. 163-4.

⁴⁶ Robert Latouche, *Histoire du comté du Maine pendant le Xe et le XIe siècle* (Paris 1910), pp. 20-1; John Gillingham, *The Angevin Empire* (London 2001), pp. 7-8.

⁴⁷ William of Newburgh, *History of English Affairs*, II, eds. Peter Walsh and M.J. Kennedy (Liverpool 2007) pp. 30-1; For description of conflict between Henry and Geoffrey over Anjou see: Gillingham, *The Angevin Empire*, pp. 19-22.

⁴⁸ Newburgh, *History of English Affairs*, pp. 30-33.

⁴⁹ Gillingham, *The Angevin Empire*, p. 80; Nicholas Vincent, 'King Henry and the Poitevins', in *La Cour Plantagenêt (1154-1204): Actes du colloque tenu à Thouars du 30 avril au 2 mai 1999*, ed. Martin Aurell (Poitiers 2000), pp. 103-135, p. 125 citing: *Chroniques des comtes d'Anjou*, eds. MM. Marchegay and Salmon (Paris 1856-71), p. 224.

The Duchy of Aquitaine

The duchy of Aquitaine, itself a far-flung and amorphous territory, was ruled by the counts of Poitou who had extended their influence over the region during the tenth century, claiming the title *dux Aquitanorum* from the third quarter of the tenth century.⁵⁰ In 1058 the duchy of Aquitaine was united by Duke William VII with the previously independent duchy of Gascony, and as a result all of south western France was, in theory at least, ruled by the same overlord.⁵¹ Even so, throughout the twelfth century, Gascony, and others of the more southerly or eastern regions of Aquitaine, were not firmly incorporated within the dukes' power.⁵² The itinerant ducal court was only occasionally in Bordeaux. More often it was to be found in Poitou and the Saintonge. There was also a linguistic divide, with *langue d'oc* spoken in Bordeaux, and the northern French dialect spoken in Poitou, creating a cultural and political divide between the two regions.⁵³ The duchy of Aquitaine that Henry claimed through his marriage to Eleanor of Aquitaine, daughter of William X Duke of Aquitaine, therefore spanned internal divisions which persisted throughout his rule.⁵⁴ Stephen Church has suggested that, despite marrying Eleanor in 1152, Henry did not use the title Duke of the Aquitanians until 1153, when Eleanor was pregnant with their first child. This proof that Henry was capable of producing an heir, Church suggests, supplied an excuse to begin using the title of duke in his charters.⁵⁵ Even before this, Henry faced opposition in Aquitaine. In 1152 Henry angered the people of Limoges by destroying the town's new walls and bridges. In 1158, he besieged and captured the castle of Thouars in northern Poitou, as well as engaging in disputes with the Taillefer counts of Angoulême, the

⁵⁰ Jane Martindale, 'Peace and War in Early-Eleventh Century Aquitaine', in *Status, Authority and Regional Power. Aquitaine and France, 9th to 12th Centuries*, ed. J. Martindale (Aldershot 1997), p. 15.

⁵¹ Ralph V. Turner, *Eleanor of Aquitaine: Queen of France, Queen of England* (Yale 2009), p. 12 citing: Martindale, 'Peace and War', pp. 163,170 citing: Adémar de Chabannes, *Chronique*, eds. Yves Chauvin and Georges Pon (Turnhout 2003); Paul Courteault, *Histoire de la Gascogne et de Béarn* (Paris 1938), pp. 55–56; Michel Zimmermann, 'Western Francia: the southern principalities', in *The New Cambridge Medieval History vol. 3, c.900-c.1204*, ed. Timothy Reuter (Cambridge 2008), p. 440.

⁵² Jean Dunbabin, *France in the Making 843-1180, 2nd Edn.* (Oxford 2000), pp. 340-346.

⁵³ Turner, *Eleanor of Aquitaine*, pp. 21-3 citing: Jane Martindale, "'Cavalaria et Orgueil,'" : Duke William IX of Aquitaine and the Historian', in *The Ideals and Practice of Medieval Knighthood II: Papers from the Third Strawberry Hill Conference 1986*, ed. Christopher Harper-Bill (Woodbridge 1988), pp. 96-8; Charles Higounet, *Bordeaux pendant le haut moyen âge: Histoire de Bordeaux II* (Bordeaux 1963), pp. 58, 64.

⁵⁴ Turner, *Eleanor of Aquitaine*, p. 12 citing: Patrick Geary, 'Vivre en conflit dans une France sans état' in Patrick Geary, *Living with the Dead in the Middle Ages* (New York 1994), pp. 1107-33.

⁵⁵ Church, 'The "Angevin Empire"', p. 76.

counts of Périgord, and the four viscomtes of the Limousin (Limoges, Comborn, Ventador and Turenne). In 1159, he attempted unsuccessfully to enforce Eleanor's claim to Toulouse.⁵⁶ In 1168, he faced revolts on Poitou's southern frontier led by the counts of Angoulême and La Marche alongside the lords of Lusignan, whom Henry decisively defeated.⁵⁷ There was also the problem of the frontier where Aquitaine bordered the Capetian lands. This remained in dispute, with the county of Berry divided in two between the Capetian and Plantagenet zones.⁵⁸ As will be apparent throughout this thesis, the duchy of Aquitaine was very much Eleanor of Aquitaine's inheritance and Henry's only claim to the region came through his wife. Henry's relationship with his lands in Aquitaine was consequently more complex than that he enjoyed with his northern domains, all of which had an impact on the coinage.

The Kingdom of England

In December 1154, following the death of King Stephen, Henry was crowned King of England in Westminster Abbey, an event that concluded years of conflict between Henry's mother, Empress Matilda, and his uncle, Stephen of Blois.⁵⁹ Henry's claim to the English throne had already been confirmed by the 1153 treaty of Winchester, in which Stephen acknowledged him as his heir, his eldest son Eustace having pre-deceased him.⁶⁰ Despite having spent his childhood in his parent's continental lands, it is as King of England that Henry is most often remembered. In English history Henry is renowned as the founder of the Plantagenet dynasty that continued to rule England until the fifteenth century. By contrast, in France, the Plantagenets are presented as powerful members of the aristocracy whose defeat by Philip Augustus was a significant turning point in the reassertion of French royal authority and a step on the way to the creation of the French nation state. The different administrative and political structures of Henry's French lands

⁵⁶ Turner, *Eleanor of Aquitaine*, pp.123-33, 177-8; John Gillingham, 'The Unromantic Death of Richard I', in *Richard Coeur de Lion: Kingship, Chivalry and War in the Twelfth Century* (London 1994), p. 41.

⁵⁷ Turner, *Eleanor of Aquitaine*, p. 184.

⁵⁸ Turner, *Eleanor of Aquitaine*, p. 181citing: Guy Devailly, *Histoire du Berry* (Toulouse 1980), pp. 351-426, 438.

⁵⁹ Edmund King, *King Stephen* (London 2010), pp. 270-300.

⁶⁰ Edmund King, 'The Accession of Henry II', in *Henry II: New Interpretations*, eds. Christopher Harper-Bill and Nicholas Vincent (Woodbridge 2007), p. 32; Gillingham, *The Angevin Empire*, pp. 28-9.

can often result in the assumption that his authority was not as great there as in the kingdom of England because, after all, in France he was only a duke or count and never a king. Whatever the reality here, in this thesis the focus will be on Henry as ruler of the duchies of Normandy and Aquitaine and county of Anjou. The only discussion of Henry's role as King of England will be to highlight any similarities or interactions between his coinage in England and the monetary system in his French lands, thereby distancing this thesis from the Anglocentric focus that characterises most previous studies of Henry Plantagenet and his coinage.

The Duchy of Brittany

The title Duke of Brittany was never claimed by Henry Plantagenet. Therefore, if we define his French lands as those in which he held a title, Brittany was technically a separate domain. There were, however, historic links between the dukes of Normandy and the duchy of Brittany forged through political and marital alliances, the legacies of which persisted under Henry's rule.⁶¹ The links between Normandy and Brittany were further deepened in the twelfth century. In 1156, Henry's brother Geoffrey was named count of the city and county of Nantes. There followed a stand-off between the brothers, resolved, according to Robert of Torigni, when Nantes itself was yielded to Henry Plantagenet in 1158 by Duke Conan IV of Brittany, thereby securing the border of Brittany with Anjou and Poitou.⁶² In 1166, Conan IV was forced to abdicate and Henry gained control of Rennes, receiving homage from the Breton barons and essentially being recognised as their liege lord.⁶³ Judith Everard and Jean Dunbabin have both argued that from this point onwards Brittany was essentially under the control of the Plantagenets, even though there is no evidence that Henry ever used the title, 'duke of

⁶¹ Judith A. Everard, *Brittany and the Angevins: Province and Empire 1158-1203* (Cambridge 2000), pp. 9-10 citing: André Chédeville and Noël-Yves Tonnerre, *La Bretagne féodale, XIe-XIIIe siècle* (Rennes 1987), pp. 21-82; *Cartulaire de l'abbaye de Sainte-Croix de Quimperlé, Fascicule IV*, 2nd edn., eds. L. Maître, L. and P. Berthou (Rennes 1902), p. 105. No. cxi; Y. Hillion, 'Mariage et mécénat: deux aspects de la condition féminine aristocratique en Bretagne, au milieu du XIIIe siècle', in *Études sur la Bretagne et les pays celtiques: mélanges offerts à Yves Le Gallo* (Brest 1991), pp. 162, 165.

⁶² Everard, *Brittany and the Angevins*, pp. 34-40; Robert of Torigni, *Chronica*, in *The Chronicles of the Reigns of Stephen, Henry II, and Richard I*, ed. Richard Howlett (Cambridge, 2012) I, p. 312.

⁶³ Everard, *Brittany and the Angevins*, pp. 34-5, 44-5.

Brittany'.⁶⁴ Plantagenet authority over Brittany is most clearly apparent in the 1169 peace agreement of Montmirail in which Henry's oldest son and heir, Young Henry, did homage to Louis VII of France for Normandy, Anjou and Brittany, before in turn receiving the homage of his younger brother, Geoffrey, for Brittany.⁶⁵ By 1169, therefore, it appears that to both the Capetian kings of France and the Plantagenets, Brittany was viewed as part of the Plantagenet domains. However, Everard has also argued that Plantagenet control across Brittany as a whole was not comprehensive. Although Henry controlled Nantes from 1158 and Rennes and Cornuaille from 1166, control over Bröerec was not established until 1175, and over Léon not until 1179.⁶⁶ Despite never officially claiming the title Duke of Brittany, Henry's close interaction with the duchy arguably had an impact on the coinage, as the Guingamp denier, minted in Brittany, is one of the coinages named by Cook as likely to be found in any typical 'Angevin hoard'.⁶⁷ Therefore, whilst the differences between Brittany and the rest of Henry's domain should be highlighted, any study of the coinage of Henry's French lands must, to a certain extent, extend its scope to include Brittany.

The regions which comprised the 'French Plantagenet Lands' were each acquired in a different way, and this undoubtedly impacted Henry's relationship with each in turn. This thesis will explore how such relationship and regional disjunctions may be reflected in the coinage.

The Primary Source Evidence

Any study of the coinage has to focus primarily on the surviving numismatic evidence. Jean Duplessy's published catalogue of coin hoards provides details of hundreds of hoards and remains a vital source for this thesis, providing details of 100 individual hoards relevant for study. The hoards deemed most relevant to this thesis are those found within the borders of the French Plantagenet lands or that contain coins minted

⁶⁴ Everard, *Brittany and the Angevins*, p. 47; Dunbabin, *France in the Making*, pp. 331-3.

⁶⁵ Everard, *Brittany and the Angevins*, p. 47.

⁶⁶ Everard, *Brittany and the Angevins*, p. 77.

⁶⁷ Cook, *En Monnaie*, pp. 621-2.

within these same borders.⁶⁸ The majority of the hoards that meet these criteria can be dated to between c.1150 and c.1204 although, as will be discussed in chapter five, some hoards included in this thesis have been assigned an early-thirteenth century date. It is worth noting that for a large proportion of the hoards recorded in Duplessy's catalogue, details of their find context are missing as is information on the legends or motifs of the individual coins, due to poor record-keeping and/or the loss of the coins themselves. Jens Christian Moesgaard has produced an updated catalogue of coin hoards from Upper Normandy containing fifteen new hoards discovered through his own research, bringing the total number of relevant coin hoards to 115.⁶⁹ For the new coin hoards that Moesgaard records there are generally good details of the find context, legends and motifs, allowing for better numismatic study of the coins than is the case for those hoards with very few details. Details of one additional hoard, found during an archaeological excavation on the Capucins plateau just outside of Angers, have been shared with me by Thibault Cardon at CRAHAM (*Centre de Recherches Archéologiques et Historiques Ancienne et Médiévales, Université de Caen*), adding one final hoard to our data-set of 116 hoards containing between two and over 9,000 coins.

In addition to the hoards, the numismatic data-set for this thesis also includes just under 260 finds of individual coins. Due to the lack of a French equivalent to the English Portable Antiquities Scheme, all of the single find data has been shared with me by Thibault Cardon at CRAHAM. Because metal-detecting is illegal in France, published record of single finds is virtually unobtainable. What records there are, therefore, are of finds discovered as part of planned excavations carried out by the *Institut national de recherches archéologiques préventives* (INRAP). As will be discussed further in chapter five, all of the single find data is for the French Plantagenet lands north of the Loire, due to the lack of available evidence for the duchy of Aquitaine. The lack of single find data does not mean that no coins have been found in Aquitaine. Merely that they have been the result of illegal metal detecting, and consequently have gone un-recorded, or they are known about by numismatists in the region but not shared publicly. The lack of a

⁶⁸ See chapters three and five.

⁶⁹ Moesgaard, *Les Trésors monétaires*, pp. 5-6.

centralised database, for either hoards or single finds, is compounded by the fact that a significant proportion of the museum collections consist of coins sold to private collectors during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, many of which are still unavailable for study.⁷⁰ Whilst there is sufficient data to study the coinage in Henry Plantagenet's French lands, there is nothing like the abundance of such evidence for England. Furthermore, as will become clear in chapter five, the evidence is not equally distributed across the French Plantagenet lands, with the duchy of Normandy dominating all other regions.

In addition to the numismatic evidence the surviving written sources will also be examined. The charters offer a substantial body of evidence both for how money and coin was used and for which coins were in circulation in the different regions of the French Plantagenet lands. In order to study the largest range of charters possible, and hence to obtain a broad picture of coin and monetary use, published charter collections, such as those of Duchess Constance of Brittany and her Family, as well as *The Letters and Charters of Henry II* and the collections of the charters of Louis VII and Philip Augustus, Kings of France, have been consulted.⁷¹ Even so, the charters of rulers and those in the highest tiers of society cannot supply an accurate portrayal of coin and monetary use across society as a whole. Finding evidence of how the lowest tiers of society interacted with coin and money is difficult because their experiences are not regularly recorded in the written sources. By consulting the charters recorded in ecclesiastical cartularies it is possible to see how money and coin was used by a broader section of society. From published cartularies from religious houses within the French Plantagenet lands it is possible to examine whether the patterns seen in coin circulation, and the ways in which money was used, were consistent beyond the aristocracy. Whilst large numbers of charters survive in these collections, it is important to note that many have been lost to time. So that, once again, the distribution of evidence is not consistent across the different regions of Plantagenet France. In addition to the charter evidence, two Norman

⁷⁰ Moesgaard, *Les Trésors monétaires*, p.5.

⁷¹ *The Charters of Duchess Constance of Brittany and her Family, 1171-1221*, ed. Judith Everard and Michael Jones (Woodbridge 1999); *The Letters and Charters of Henry II, King of England 1154-1189*, ed. Nicholas Vincent, 7 vols (Oxford 2020-2024); *Layettes de Trésor des Chartes*, ed. Alexandre Teulet, vol. 1 (Paris 1863).

Pipe Rolls survive for the rule of Henry Plantagenet, for the years 1180 and 1184. These contain details of what money was spent by the exchequer and the types of payments owed by landholders in Normandy.⁷² The Norman Pipe Rolls are much more limited than their English equivalents. Nevertheless they can provide information on what money and coin was used for in the duchy. However, because the pipe rolls exist for Normandy but none of the other regions of Henry's French lands, an over-reliance on the pipe rolls would risk skewing the evidence to only show coin and monetary use within Normandy: a bias that this thesis was intended to avoid.

Alongside the uses of coin and money, I shall examine how money and coin was perceived, to gain a broader view of the context within which money and coin were used. To this end, a range of written sources will be examined, including chronicles, letter collections and contemporary literature from France as well as from England, providing as wide an understanding as possible of the context of monetary use. Due to their nature, chronicles will never match the level of detail about monetary transactions offered by the charters. But this in itself is revealing, as it tends to show what contemporaries considered worthy of record for posterity. Contemporary literature is a trickier source, because the references there to monetary use, whilst anchored in reality, remain works of fiction. Nevertheless, literature had to be understood by the audience and therefore it is possible that the examples of money and coin being used in the literature would have been recognisable to contemporaries. It is important to note that those writing these texts would not have been members of the labouring classes, more often than not they were members of the clergy. The attitudes of the clergy towards money is itself an interesting topic, as a number of ecclesiastical works actively advise the community on the right and wrong ways in which to interact with money, simultaneously reflecting the dangers of the sin of avarice.⁷³ Money could therefore mean different things to different societal groups. It might be regarded as a reflection of

⁷² *Magni Rotuli Scaccarii Normanniae sub regibus Angliae*, ed. Thomas Stapleton, 2 vols (London 1840-1844).

⁷³ Giles E.M. Gasper and Svein H. Gulbekk (eds.), *Money and the Church in Medieval Europe, 1000-1200: Practice, Morality and Thought* (Oxfordshire 2016); see: Aelred of Rievaulx, *Spiritual Friendship* (Kalamazoo 1974); *The Letters of St Bernard of Clairvaux*, ed. and transl. Bruno Scott James (Chicago 1953).

the political authority wielded by a ruler, as the commodity used to buy goods and services, or as a moral danger. By studying a variety of written sources it is therefore possible to build a more complete picture of the perception of money, linked to how money was used by all members of society, not merely by rulers or the aristocracy.

Thesis Structure

The structure of this thesis will be as follows. Chapter two will explore the context of twelfth-century monetary use within the French Plantagenet lands, and within Western Europe more widely. Following on from this, chapter three offers an overview of the coins found within the French Plantagenet lands during the rule of Henry Plantagenet, as well as an introduction to what is known about minting and coin production during this period. Chapter four will explore the written and numismatic evidence for the ways in which money and coin were used, with an examination of what is meant by money and whether it is possible to know when physical coins were actually used. Chapter five will present the numismatic data for the distribution of the different coinages found within the French Plantagenet lands, drawing out circulation patterns and their potential significance. Chapter six will present the charter evidence for the distribution of coin types, supplementing the numismatic data and deepening our understanding of the circulation patterns of the coinages found within Henry's French lands. The concluding chapter will bring together all the evidence, exploring the reasons behind the circulation patterns outlined in the preceding chapters and commenting on how a study of the coinage of Henry's French lands can contribute to the ongoing discussion over the 'Angevin Empire'.

Chapter 2 - The Context of Money and its use in the French Plantagenet Lands

In order to fully understand money and its use in the French Plantagenet lands during the second half of the twelfth century it is necessary to take into account the wider monetary context. In Western Europe the twelfth century was a period of profound social change.⁷⁴ The French Plantagenet lands did not exist in a vacuum, but formed part of a thriving European trade network fuelled by the frequent movement of people across dynastic borders and supplying opportunities for the transfer of ideas and knowledge. Over the course of the twelfth century the political composition of modern-day France changed significantly. The breakdown of Carolingian authority in the tenth century led to the formation of localised principalities which, over the course of the eleventh and twelfth centuries, began to merge together under the rule of individual dynasties.⁷⁵ Although the mid-twelfth century saw the emergence of two principal dynasties (the Plantagenets and the Capetians), the new political boundaries did not necessarily disrupt previous relationships between those under Plantagenet or Capetian rule. Hannah Boston has shown that the model of multiple allegiance was common on the continent during this period, especially along the Norman frontier, which saw individuals owing loyalty to lords on both or all sides of political borders.⁷⁶ The existence of a political border did not always result in a disruption to the flow of people and ideas between principalities. At a time when marriage alliances were formed to unite individual dynasties, the transfer of ideas and knowledge that accompanied such alliances should not be ignored, even if it is almost impossible to measure. Henry's Plantagenet's mother, Empress Matilda, for example, was married to Emperor Henry V whose lands stretched across parts of modern-day Germany, the Netherlands, Luxembourg, Switzerland, Austria, the Czech Republic, Belgium, eastern France, western Poland, Slovenia, and Italy.⁷⁷ The use of money and coin in all of these regions may have had an impact on

⁷⁴ R.I. Moore, *The First European Revolution, c. 970-1215* (Oxford 2000); Marc Bloch, *Feudal Society*, transl. L. A. Manyon (London & New York 1962); Thomas N. Bisson, *The Crisis of the Twelfth Century: Power, Lordship and the Origins of European Government* (Princeton 2009).

⁷⁵ Dunbabin, *France in the Making*.

⁷⁶ Hannah Boston, 'Multiple Allegiance and its Impact: England and Normandy, 1066-c.1204', *Haskins Society Journal*, 32 (2020), 115-133.

⁷⁷ Catherine Hanley, *Matilda: Empress, Queen, Warrior* (London 2019), p. 23.

Henry. As Thomas Bisson has shown, the methods used by European rulers to control and regulate their coinage were often similar, with ideas spreading from region to region.⁷⁸ It is important, therefore, to look beyond the Plantagenet borders.

The mid-twelfth century saw the emergence of what has been termed a 'commercial revolution' across Western Europe.⁷⁹ There was a significant upsurge in the quantity of coin in circulation and changes to the ways it was used, as well as innovations in bureaucracy including methods of accounting.⁸⁰ These changes were part of the increased monetisation of society which also saw higher levels of coin use among all tiers of the population, including the peasantry.⁸¹ Jacques Le Goff, in his anthropological studies of the role of money in the Middle Ages, has argued that money and its use increasingly defined social interactions. Le Goff argued that the church's attitude towards money significantly shaped the medieval attitude towards monetary use, essentially policing the exchange of money and imbuing it with a sense of Christian responsibility.⁸² The increasingly prominent role played by money within society led to money and its use finding its way into both ecclesiastical and contemporary literature. The discourse surrounding money in the literature can reveal how people thought about money and coin, what was considered good practice, and how widely money might have permeated society. By examining the context within which the use of coin and money took place, it is possible to more fully understand the written and numismatic evidence, and to place the French Plantagenet lands within their proper European context.

⁷⁸ Bisson, *Conservation of Coinage*.

⁷⁹ Andrew R. Woods, 'From Charlemagne to the Commercial Revolution (c. 800-1150)', in *Money and Coinage in the Middle Ages*, ed. Rory Naismith (Leiden 2018), p. 95.

⁸⁰ Spufford, *Money and its Use*, pp. 40-2; Grierson, *The Coins of Medieval Europe*, pp. 81-104.

⁸¹ Rory Naismith, 'Was there an early medieval monetary economy', IHR Early Middle Ages seminar 19 October 2022 : <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=kDFHCYAG44A> (Accessed: 10/01/24)

⁸² Jacques Le Goff, *Money and the Middle Ages: An Essay in Historical Anthropology* (Cambridge 2012), pp.14-33; Jacques Le Goff, *Your Money or Your Life: Economy and Religion in the Middle Ages*, transl. Patricia Ranum (New York 1990).

Monetisation and Coin Use

Any discussion of coinage and its use must inevitably interact with the discourse surrounding monetisation. There are two main terms used throughout the literature: 'monetisation' and 'money economy', which are related but have slightly different definitions. Monetisation refers to the valuation of non-monetary objects, as well as goods and services, using monetary terms.⁸³ A money economy, by contrast, is defined as an economy in which the infrastructure and accounting methods have developed to reflect the ways in which money had replaced barter as the principal means of exchange.⁸⁴ It is important to note that just because a society used money as the dominant means of exchange, this did not necessarily relate to the use of coined money, as coin was only one form that money could take, and anything that could be exchanged for a prescribed value, such as livestock (in Ireland and Cumbria for instance), un-minted silver, or other commodities could act as money.⁸⁵ Monetised societies did, however, see a greater use of coin, as financial transactions were easier when using payment methods with a set value.⁸⁶

One strand of numismatics involves modelling a medieval economy as a way to gauge how widely monetised an economy actually was. By using multipliers and estimated figures, numismatists attempt to define the volume of coins in circulation and their velocity, to establish how widely coin was being used, and therefore whether a monetary economy existed.⁸⁷ Studies of this nature have been carried out for twelfth-

⁸³ R. M. Kelleher, 'Coins, monetisation and re-use in medieval England and Wales: new interpretations made possible by the Portable Antiquities Scheme', unpublished PhD thesis, (Durham University 2012) p. 250; Woods, 'From Charlemagne to the Commercial Revolution', pp. 114-116.

⁸⁴ Henry Fairbairn, 'Was there a Money Economy in Late Anglo-Saxon and Norman England', *The English Historical Review*, 134 (2019), 1081; Jim L. Bolton, *Money in the Medieval English Economy* (Manchester 2012), pp. 22-3.

⁸⁵ Spufford, *Money and its Use*, pp. 1-3.

⁸⁶ Spufford, *Money and its Use*, pp. 240-263.

⁸⁷ Nicholas Mayhew, 'Money and the Economy', in *Money and Coinage in the Middle Ages*, ed. R. Naismith (Leiden 2018), pp. 203-230; Mark Blackburn, "'Productive' sites and the Pattern of Coin Loss in England 600-1180", in *Markets in Early Medieval Europe: Trading and 'Productive' sites, 650-850*, ed. Tim Pestell and Katharina Ulmschneider (Oxford 2019), pp. 20-36; Nicholas Mayhew, 'Modelling medieval Monetisation', in *A Commercialising Economy: England 1086-1300*, ed. R.H. Britnell and B.M.S. Campbell (Manchester 1995), pp. 55-77; Fairbairn, 'Was there a money economy', 1081-1135.

century England, most recently by Martin Allen.⁸⁸ But equivalent studies have not proved possible for the French Plantagenet lands due to the limited numismatic data and lack of surviving administrative sources. Léopold Delisle did attempt to quantify the public revenue of the dukes of Normandy during the twelfth-century, using the figures supplied by the Norman Pipe Rolls.⁸⁹ But the scope of the study was restricted both geographically and chronologically. The lack of surviving administrative sources means that our only evidence for the volume of currency circulating in the French Plantagenet lands derives from the numismatic evidence which, as already mentioned, is incomplete. The restrictions on metal detecting in France mean that most coin finds occur as part of archaeological excavations so the number of finds remains very low. There are 258 individual coins which have been unearthed within the historical boundaries of the French Plantagenet lands, minted at the dominant 'Angevin' mints, and 101 hoards which contain anything from two to over 5,000 coins.⁹⁰ Although there are many such finds, of both single coins and hoards, their distribution is geographically uneven, and the patchiness of the evidence poses challenges to any clear analysis of patterns of monetary. The number of coins still undiscovered is likely to be significant, especially if compared to the number of coin finds from twelfth-century England, so a purely numismatic study of monetary use could be carried out in the future only if additional finds come to light.⁹¹ At present it is only possible to extrapolate from the evidence we have, using the English evidence as a guide. This does provide insight into the levels of coin use, albeit nothing as conclusive as for the kingdom of England. Although precise figures for the numbers of coins in circulation cannot currently be calculated, the evidence does point to large numbers of coins existing in the French Plantagenet lands

⁸⁸ Martin Allen, 'Silver Production and the Money Supply in England and Wales, 1086-c.1500', *The Economic History Review*, 64:1 (Feb 2011), 114-131; Martin Allen, 'The Volume of the English Currency, c. 973-1158', in *Coinage and the North Sea World*, eds. B. Cook & G. Williams (Leiden 2005), pp.487-524; Martin Allen, 'Medieval English Die-output', *British Numismatic Journal*, 74 (2004), 39-49.

⁸⁹ Delisle, 'Des Revenues publics en Normandie'.

⁹⁰ See chapters three and five.

⁹¹ Allen, *Mints and Money in Medieval England*, p. 322; Martin Allen, 'The Volume of the English currency, 1158-1470', *Economic History Review*, 54 (2001), 598-607; Paul Latimer, 'The Quantity of Money in England 1180-1247: a Model', *Journal of European Economic History*, 32:3 (2003), 643; Martin Allen, 'The English Coinage of 1153/4-1158', *British Numismatic Journal*, 76 (2006), pp.260-3; T.C.R. Crafter, 'Monetary expansion in Britain in the late twelfth century', unpublished PhD thesis (University of Oxford, 2008), pp. 47-8, 59-60; Martin Allen, 'The Quantity of Money in England 1180-1247: New Data', *British Numismatic Journal*, 75 (2005), 44-5, 49.

during the second half of the twelfth century.⁹² Whilst data-driven studies are useful for providing figures for the quantity of coins being used by a particular society, the estimated nature of most of the data means they should be used with caution. For the French Plantagenet lands in the twelfth century there is simply not the evidence to estimate figures for how many coins were in circulation. The regionality of historical and numismatic practice in France also means that, beyond the work of Françoise Dumas, Jens Christian Moesgaard and Barrie Cook, few studies of the coinage of the French Plantagenet lands have been attempted, so it is necessary to piece information together from the studies focused on individual regions, or the royal French coinage.⁹³ It is a challenge, therefore, to form a comprehensive view of coin use in larger areas, such as the French Plantagenet lands, particularly if we rely solely on the numismatic evidence.

Given the limitations of the numismatic data, one way to examine the extent of monetisation is by looking at the charters and administrative sources. As will be discussed later on, in chapter four, the sources show that in the French Plantagenet lands, by the mid-twelfth century, land, revenue, taxes, rents, goods and services were all being valued in monetary terms.⁹⁴ The contemporary and ecclesiastical literature also provides numerous examples of money being mentioned. The permeation of money into literature reflects money's centrality to twelfth-century society.⁹⁵ What the written sources do not tell us, however, is whether the use of coins was as dominant as the use and understanding of money.⁹⁶ Even so, the written evidence suggests there was widespread use of money throughout society as a method of reckoning value, which strongly implies that a monetised society existed.⁹⁷ The evidence points to the French Plantagenet lands as being very much part of the 'commercial revolution' taking place in western Europe during the long-thirteenth century.⁹⁸

⁹² See chapters five and six for further details.

⁹³ See chapter one.

⁹⁴ See chapter four for further details.

⁹⁵ Rory Naismith, 'Money and Society', in *Money and Coinage in the Middle Ages*, ed. R. Naismith (Leiden 2018), pp. 179-202.

⁹⁶ See chapter four for further details.

⁹⁷ See chapter four for further details.

⁹⁸ Robert Lopez, *The Commercial Revolution of the Middle Ages, 950-1350* (Cambridge 1976).

The discovery of new sources of silver in modern day Germany, at Goslar and Freiberg, as well as in the Colonne Metallifere in Tuscany and the eastern Alps in Styria and Carinthia helped to meet the increased demand for coins.⁹⁹ New silver was not necessarily required for coin production, as coin could be made from recycled silver by melting down old specie. However, a higher availability of silver meant coins with a greater silver content could be minted, or a larger quantity of coins could be produced.¹⁰⁰ The silver from the new mines reached France towards the end of the twelfth century, at a time when Henry Plantagenet and his son, Richard the Lionheart, had begun minting new issues of previously immobilised coins.¹⁰¹ An increased demand for coins is generally believed to be indicated by a larger number of single finds, as a higher level of loss suggests more transactions were taking place in which coins are exchanged.¹⁰²

In England between 1158 and 1278 there was an increase in the use of denominational coinage (halfpennies and farthings) throughout all levels of society, suggesting that coins were being used to purchase smaller value items or services.¹⁰³ It is possible, therefore, that a similar shift towards denominational coin use was taking place in the French Plantagenet lands, but again the limited numismatic data is a barrier to stating this conclusively. It is worth noting that the monetary system in the French Plantagenet lands was different to that of England because coins with different values already existed. For example, a denier of Le Mans was equivalent in value to an English halfpenny; an Angevin denier would have been worth a quarter penny sterling, and obols of various deniers were minted so there was not necessarily a need to cut a denier to produce

⁹⁹ Spufford, *Money and its Use*, pp.109-116; Cook, 'En Monnaie', p. 620; Rory Naismith, *Making Money in the Early Middle Ages* (Oxford 2023), p. 326.

¹⁰⁰ Moesgaard, 'La Circulation de monnaies Anglaises' pp. 50-51; Cook, 'En Monnaie', p. 651; Dumas and Barrandon, *Le Titre et le poids*, p.47; Philip Augustus demonetised the 'Angevin' coinages to mint new *Tournois* type coins, for England see: Bolton, *Money in the Medieval English Economy*, p. 143.

¹⁰¹ See chapter three for details of the coinage (Angevin *denier*, Poitevin *denier*).

¹⁰² Michael Cuddeford, 'Single Coin Finds: Some Observations', *The Yorkshire Nummatist*, 3 (1997), 137-142; definition is: Jens Christian Moesgaard, 'Single Finds as Evidence for Coin Circulation in the Middle Ages', in *Single Finds: the Nordic Perspective*, eds.Helle W. Horsnæ and J.C. Moesgaard (København 2006), p. 228; Blackburn, 'Productive Sites', pp. 20-36, especially p. 23.

¹⁰³ Kelleher, 'Coins, monetisation and re-use in medieval England and Wales', pp. 107-110, 262-270; Bolton, *Money in the Medieval English Economy*, pp. 149, 174-187.

smaller value coins.¹⁰⁴ Coin use varied according to region, with a divergence between urban and agricultural areas. Although metal-detecting often reveals greater numbers of single finds in rural areas, at least in countries where it is a legal pastime, it was in urban areas that commerce and trade were most likely to have taken place. Fairs and markets provided the occasion for selling surplus produce or purchasing goods from merchants, and therefore greater opportunity for the exchange of coins to take place.¹⁰⁵ The twelfth century saw an increase in the numbers of fairs and markets, with many new market charters issued.¹⁰⁶ Whilst in cities the demand for, and use of, coin was more or less consistent across the year, those in more agricultural areas only tended to use coin when selling surplus harvest at fairs and markets.¹⁰⁷ It was only after selling their produce that peasants possessed the money needed to buy manufactured goods such as farming equipment and to pay taxes, rents and dues.¹⁰⁸

The French Plantagenet lands were part of a European trade network, their main exports including wine, wool, salt, herring, tin, lead, stone and grindstones.¹⁰⁹ Not only did participation in trade bring in silver for minting coins, it also provided opportunities for purchases and therefore the use of coin.¹¹⁰ The increased availability of coin meant that it was possible for more goods and services to be paid for using cash, as opposed to payment in kind. For example, Peter Spufford has looked at the emergence of money-rent rather than 'labour rent' in northern France over the course of the twelfth

¹⁰⁴ See chapter three.

¹⁰⁵ Cuddeford, 'Single coin finds: Some Observations', 137-142. Moesgaard, 'Single Finds as Evidence for Coin Use', p. 228; Blackburn, 'Productive sites' p. 23; Naismith, *Making Money*, pp. 337; Christopher Kilger, 'Coin Finds and the Idea of Monetary Space', *Nordisk Numismatisk Årsskrift 2000-2002: Nordic Numismatic Journal: 6th Nordic Numismatic Symposium Single Finds: The Nordic Perspective* (Stockholm 2006), p. 215.

¹⁰⁶ See chapter four; Naismith, *Making Money*, p. 337; Spufford, *Money and its Use*, pp. 138, 141, 193, 197, esp. 382-389.

¹⁰⁷ Spufford, *Money and its Use*, pp. 381-6; Bolton, *Money in the Medieval English economy*, pp. 189-190.

¹⁰⁸ Spufford, *Money and its Use*, p. 383; Fairbairn, 'Was there a Money Economy', 1098-1100.

¹⁰⁹ S K. Estreicher, 'Wine and France: A Brief History', *European Review*, 31:2 (2023), 91-179; Mathieu Arnoux, 'Border, Trade Route or Market? The Channel and the Medieval European Economy from the Twelfth to the Fifteenth Century', *Anglo-Norman Studies*, 36 (2013), 47; Edward Miller and John Hatcher, *Medieval England. Towns, Commerce and Crafts, 1086-1348* (London 1995), pp. 182-210; Lucien Musset, 'La pierre de Caen, extraction et commerce (XIe-XVe siècles)', in *Pierre et métal dans le bâtiment au Moyen Âge*, eds. Paul Benoit and Odette Chapelot (Paris 1985), pp. 219-35.

¹¹⁰ English wool (and other products) for German silver: Henry of Huntingdon, *Historia Anglorum: The History of the English People*, ed. and transl. Diana Greenway (Oxford 2007), I, pp. 10-11; Spufford, *Money and its Use*, pp. 132-156.

century.¹¹¹ He argued that it was only with the emergence of the market, which allowed rural peasants to sell their produce for cash, that the money-rent became more dominant, because coin became available for use by those lower down the social scale.¹¹² The availability of coin meant it was possible for rent as well as taxes to be paid in money rather than labour or kind.¹¹³ The adoption of coin for a greater variety of uses required the development of records and accounts which Jim Bolton has argued were necessary for a money economy to exist.¹¹⁴ Beyond the charters, which are largely preserved in cartularies and royal archives, the evidence for the accounts kept in twelfth-century France are limited. The Norman Pipe Rolls which survive for the years 1180, 1184, 1195, 1198 and 1203 are the only examples of accounting of this kind for the French Plantagenet lands.¹¹⁵ In order to find further records of income and expenditure we must scour the charters and letters to find any references to coin or money. Within these sources it is possible to find examples of lists of expenses. For example, a number of ecclesiastical cartularies include itemised lists of the amounts spent on provisions.¹¹⁶ There is also one famous example from England of a nobleman, Richard of Anstey, accounting for the cost of claiming his inheritance. This provides details of the payments he made for each stage of his litigation and attempt to prove himself the rightful heir.¹¹⁷ Although this particular case was for England and therefore was related to the costs associated with the English justice system which was not the same as in the French Plantagenet lands, it does show the form that a monetary account could take. Details such as these found within written sources can provide evidence of monetary use within twelfth-century society.¹¹⁸ It is not always possible to say if money meant coin in each instance, but the link between record-keeping and the development of a monetary economy that emerges from the surviving sources is significant.

¹¹¹ Spufford, *Money and its Use*, pp. 240-2 citing: Robert Fossier, *La Terre et les hommes en Picardie jusqu'à la fin du XIII siècle* (Paris-Louvain 1968), pp. 405, 588, 723.

¹¹² Spufford, *Money and its Use*, p. 242.

¹¹³ Spufford, *Money and its Use*, pp. 383-4; Delisle, 'Des Revenues publics en Normandie', 1, 173-219.

¹¹⁴ Bolton, *Money in the Medieval English Economy*, p. 31.

¹¹⁵ 'Exchequer of Normandy: Pipe Rolls', *The National Archives*: <https://discovery.nationalarchives.gov.uk/details/r/C6750> (Accessed 15/01/24).

¹¹⁶ See chapters four and six.

¹¹⁷ 'The Anstey Case', ed. Patricia M. Barnes, in *A Medieval Miscellany for Doris Mary Stenton*, ed. Patricia M. Barnes and C.F. Slade (London 1962), pp. 1-24.

¹¹⁸ See chapter four.

Money, Accounting and Authority

Accounting and record keeping were especially important to those members of society who received payments or dues from others. Whether this was a landlord owed rent by a tenant, the church receiving its tithes, or a count or duke owed military service or a proportion of revenue, keeping accurate accounts made it possible to ensure they received what was due to them. Exacting payments in the form of tithes, taxes or rents from a population was an exercise of power, and ensuring that all dues had been received was an important element of maintaining authority.¹¹⁹ Written accounts would have required the skills of someone literate as well as the ability to purchase the writing materials needed for creating the records. As such, written record keeping would not have been an option available to all tiers of society. Literacy levels did, however, increase parallel to the development of written records.¹²⁰

One example of the new forms of documentary records is the *enquête* which developed in Western France during the twelfth century.¹²¹ The *enquête* was the written record of an inquiry carried out to establish the 'truth' through investigation and the interrogation of witnesses. Both canon and Roman law used this method to resolve disputes over matters such as estate boundaries or who could claim certain rights.¹²² The conclusions of the *enquête* could result in the seizure of goods (including coins) in the form of a *taille*, and served as evidence that the winner of the dispute was in the right.¹²³ The financial gains of imposing a *taille* were not always significant, Richard Barton has therefore argued that the *taille's* value was symbolic rather than financial.¹²⁴ The ability to claim exactions of tax or tithe, or the legal confirmation of boundaries was fiercely

¹¹⁹ Bisson, *The Crisis of the Twelfth Century*.

¹²⁰ M.T. Clanchy, *From Memory to Written Record: England 1066-1307*, 3rd edn. (Chichester 2013) p. 19.

¹²¹ Richard E. Barton, 'Enquête, Exaction and Excommunication: Experiencing Power in Western France, c. 1190-1245', *Anglo-Norman Studies*, XLIII (2020), 177-196.

¹²² Barton, 'Enquête, Exaction and Excommunication', pp.178-180.

¹²³ Barton, 'Enquête Exaction and Excommunication', pp. 183-4.

¹²⁴ Barton, 'Enquête Exaction and Excommunication', pp 183-4.

protected.¹²⁵ The dukes of Normandy, for example, claimed the right to exact *monetagium*, a tri-annual tax paid to the duke in return for the coins of Normandy remaining unchanged. Two thirteenth and fourteenth century texts provide evidence of the practice of *monetagium*, the payment of which is documented from as early as the mid-twelfth century, although it is believed to have been practiced much earlier.¹²⁶ The *Summa de Legibus Normannie* contains one chapter ‘*De monetagio*’ and the *De Foagio Normannie*, written after the 1204 conquest of Normandy by Philip Augustus, provides details on how the tax was levied and collected. *Monetagium* was a tax paid every three years by all who had ‘movables or residence in lands in which money-tax is accustomed to be rendered’.¹²⁷ It was intended to compensate the duke for not changing the weight standards (especially the silver content) of the Norman *denier*. Members of the clergy and their servants, knights and their family, and widows with less than twenty shillings of annual income or forty shillings value in movables, were exempt.¹²⁸ The chapter on *monetagium* in the *Summa* ends by stating ‘*Et sciendum est quod omnis jurisdictio monete in Normannia ad ducem dignoscitur pertinere*’: ‘all jurisdiction over money in Normandy is deemed to pertain to the duke’.¹²⁹ The ducal right over the coinage in Normandy is first mentioned in article thirteen of the *Consuetudines et iusticie*, the result of an inquest by the sons of William the Conqueror following his death and the subsequent division of his lands.¹³⁰ The *Consuetudines* placed the right to mint coins

¹²⁵ On seigneurial authority see: Jane Martindale, “‘His Special Friend?’ The Settlement of Disputes and Political Power in the Kingdom of the French (tenth to mid-twelfth century)”, *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, 5 (1995), 21-57; Thomas Bisson, ‘Lordship and Dependence in Southern France (1050-1200)’, in *Señores, siervos, vasallos en la Alta Edad Media: XXVIII Semana de Estudios Medievales, Estella, 16 a 20 de julio de 2001* (Pamplona 2002), pp. 413-438.

¹²⁶ Bisson, *Conservation of Coinage*, p. 14.

¹²⁷ ‘*persolvetur, qui mobile habent vel residentiam in terriis in quibus monetagium solet redi*’ - *Le Grand Coutumier de Normandie: The Laws and Customs by which the Duchy of Normandy is ruled*, ed. Judith Everard (St Helier 2009), Ch. XV, pp.66-73; Bisson, *Conservation of Coinage*, p. 14.

¹²⁸ ‘*ex hoc tamen exempti sunt religiosi et clerici infra sacros ordines jam promote, et servientes ecclesiarum feodis et beneficiate, et omnes milites et omnes de milite de uxore propria procreati. Mulieres etiam viduaeque, sine sustentatore, non habent viginti solidos annui redditus vel quadraginta solidorum valorem de mobile, exceptis corporis indumentis et supellectilibus domus suae a solutione monetagii liberae remanent et immunes*’ - *Le Grand Coutumier*, pp. 68-9.

¹²⁹ *Le Grand Coutumier*, pp. 72-3.

¹³⁰ ‘*Nulli licuit in Normannia monetam facere extra domos monetarias Rothomagi et Baiocarum et illam mediam argenti et ad iustum pensum, scilicet .viii. solidos in helmarc. Et si aliquis alibi fecit monetam vel ibi fecit monetam falsam, de corpore suo fuit in misericordia domini Normannie. Et si aliquis extra predictas domos [fecit] facere monetam vel in predictis domibus fecit facere falsam, terram suam et pecuniam forisfecit. Hec autem que superius dicta sunt scripta sunt quia magis necessaria sunt. Remanet autem multum extra hoc scriptum de iusticia monete et reliquis iusticiis Normannie, sed*

firmly in the hands of the duke and forbade any mints other than those at Bayeux and Rouen from producing coins. What these two texts reveal is a system in which the duke was responsible for minting Norman coinage and expected to receive the profits associated with coin production, or be compensated for the loss of such profits.

The Norman Pipe Rolls, as the accounts of the duke, record all the payments made into and out of the ducal treasury at the exchequer court which, under Henry Plantagenet, was based in the castle at Caen.¹³¹ The 1180 and 1184 pipe rolls are the only ones to survive for Henry's rule. They show that *monetagium* was being collected throughout Henry's time as duke of Normandy (1150-1189).¹³² The continued collection of *monetagium* suggests that the ducal authority over minting persisted, even though the Norman coinage was no longer being produced, having been replaced by the Angevin denier in the mid-twelfth century. Alongside the records of payments of *monetagium*, there are also fines recorded for those who refused or withheld payment. The amount owed for *monetagium* seems to have varied. For example, in the 1180 pipe roll for Alençon the amount paid *de monetagio* varied from ten to forty *sous* and the fine for withholding payment was twenty.¹³³ The amount of *monetagium* retained by those who owed it is recorded at the end of the list of payments. For example, thirty-six *sous* were retained by six different people in the first entry relating to its payment in Alençon, and sixteen *sous* were retained by two people in the second entry.¹³⁴ *Monetagium* is recorded as being paid to the end of the twelfth century, with entries found in the pipe rolls for 1195 and 1198.¹³⁵ Such references are, however, rare, only being found in relation to Alençon and Montifiquet in the 1180 pipe roll, and Gisors in the 1184 roll.¹³⁶

propter hoc quod non scribitur nihil perdunt comes Robertus et rex Guillelmus de iusticia quam pater eorum habuit neque barones de hoc quod habuerunt tempore regis Guillelmi. - 'Consuetudines et iusticie of William the Conqueror', in *Norman Institutions*, ed. Charles Homer Haskins (Cambridge 1918), p. 277.

¹³¹ Delisle, 'Des Revenues public', p. 279.

¹³² For the distinction between *monetagium* (money-tax) and *focagium* (hearth-tax) see: *Le Grand Coutumiers*, pp. 72-3; *Magni Rotuli Scaccario Normanniæ*, I, pp. 21-2, 32, 110, 119, 246, 249, 252, 276, 285, II, pp. 342, 450-1, 466, 523, 554, 558.

¹³³ *Pipe Rolls of the Exchequer of Normandy: For the Reign of Henry II 1180 and 1184*, ed. Vincent Moss (London 2004), pp. 15-16.

¹³⁴ *Pipe Rolls of the Exchequer of Normandy*, pp. 15-16

¹³⁵ Bisson, *Conservation of Coinage*, p 18; *Magni rotuli scaccarii Normanniæ*, I, pp. 21-2, 32, 110, 199, 246, 249, 252, 276, 285, II, 342, 450-1, 466, 523, 554, 558.

¹³⁶ *Magni rotuli scaccarii Normanniæ*, I. pp. 21-2, 32, 110.

The limited number of references to the collection of *monetagium* could imply that its enforcement was not uniform throughout Normandy. There are, however, thirty-seven years of Henry's rule as Duke of Normandy unaccounted for in the pipe rolls so the lack of evidence does not necessarily reflect how widely *monetagium* was enforced. It might, for instance, have been subsumed in many places within the general rent collected and therefore owed to the Exchequer by each local *bailii*.

Monetagium was not the only customary tithe exacted by the twelfth-century dukes of Normandy. Léopold Delisle examined the public revenue in Normandy using the Norman Pipe Rolls and contemporary charters.¹³⁷ The majority of the ducal revenue was made up of payments from landholdings, customary tithes and judiciary payments. For example, *bernagium* was paid partly in money and partly in kind for the upkeep of the duke's hunting dogs, and *regardum* was a fiscal payment levied on the duke's forest.¹³⁸ These payments are examples of the monetisation of society within Normandy to the extent that the penalties for infringement were given monetary values. It is not clear what status of person within society those paying for their crimes were. It is not clear how far down the social ladder such fines extended, although to judge from naming patterns, few of those thus fined belonged in any sense to the social elite.

Beyond the frontiers of Normandy there are frequent references to customary rents, taxes, tolls and tithes rendered in cash sums to ecclesiastical institutions, recorded in charters, so that religious institutions could claim what was owed to them. For example, in the *Cartulaire Noir* of Angers Cathedral, a charter records a gift by Alberic of two fisheries which were held from the canons for sixteen *sous*, twelve of which, it is stated, were paid as tax.¹³⁹ Similarly, a charter in the cartulary of Orbestier (Vendée) records a gift of sixteen *deniers* of toll to the monks.¹⁴⁰ This charter is unusual as it explicitly

¹³⁷ Delisle, 'Des Revenues publics', p. 278,

¹³⁸ Vincent Moss, 'Normandy and England in 1180: The Pipe Roll Evidence', in *England and Normandy in the Middle Ages*, eds. D. Bates and Anne Curry (London 1994), p. 153; David Bates, *Normandy before 1066* (London 1982); the Norman Pipe rolls for 1180 and 1184 contain numerous references to payment of *bernagium*.

¹³⁹ *Cartulaire Noir de la Cathédrale d'Angers*, Canon Ch. Urseau (1908), No. CCXX, pp. 324-5.

¹⁴⁰ *Cartulaire de l'abbaye d'Orbestier: Vendée (1107-1454)*, ed. Louis de la Boutetière (Poitiers 1877), No. 2, pp. 4-5.

defines the sixteen *deniers* of toll as coins (*nummos*), making it clear that the toll was expected to be paid to the abbey in coin and that no other means of payment would be accepted. A more standard description of the money due for customary tolls or taxes is found in a charter in La Trappe which records a grant of land to the abbey charged with an annual render of two *sous* of Le Mans.¹⁴¹ Like the majority of references in the written sources, the monetary render is defined but there is no further mention of what form of money that took. A toll or tax could be levied on a large variety of produce such as wine, wool, grain or wheat, or on livestock or the movement of produce such as transporting wheat via water or wheat across a bridge.¹⁴² It was not just monastic institutions that recorded customary tolls and tithes due to them. The Norman Pipe Rolls contain many examples with values given in *livres*, *sous* and *deniers*. The detail provided in the pipe rolls varies. In some cases the entry does not specify the type of tithe due. For example, in the 1180 roll for Bessin it is recorded that a tithe of eighteen *sous* and nine *deniers* was due to the Abbot of Cerisy, but that is all the detail contained in that particular entry.¹⁴³ By contrast, an entry for Caen records that Richard fitz Henry accounted for four *livres* for two measures of wheat and six *sextares* of wild oats of old feudal tenure from land in the valley of Saint-George.¹⁴⁴ From the available evidence there appears to be no clear correlation between the type of tithe or toll being exacted and the form that payment took. What emerges from an examination of the charters and Norman Pipe Rolls, is a society in which tolls, taxes and tithes were valued in monetary terms but could be paid in coin or by other means.

From the written sources it appears that various office-holders were expected to keep accurate records as one of their official duties. The need to account for income and expenditure whilst in office is referenced in a letter to Pope Alexander III which narrates Arnulf of Lisieux's arraignment before his retirement.¹⁴⁵ The letter records Arnulf's

¹⁴¹ *Cartulaire de l'abbaye de Notre-Dame de la Trappe* (Alençon 1889), part M, No 1 p. 316.

¹⁴² List of different customs and tolls: *Cartulaire de Château-du-Loir* ed. Eugène Vallée (1905), No. 90 pp. 55-9, No. 94 pp. 65-7, No. 96 pp. 68-9; *Actes des Ducs de Bretagne (944-1148)*, ed. Hubert Guillotel (Rennes 2014), Right of salt & wheat via water No. 158, p. 510; Wool: *Cartulaire de l'abbaye cardinale de la Trinité de Vendôme*, ed. l'Abbé Ch. Métais (Paris 1893-5), No. DXXVII, pp. 366-7; Bridge - *Letters and Charters of Henry II*, II No. 770 (5100H), p. 23, IV No. 2353 (1614H), pp. 449-5.

¹⁴³ Moss, *Pipe Rolls of the Exchequer of Normandy*, p. 1; *Magni Rotuli Scaccario Normanniae*, I, p. 1

¹⁴⁴ Moss, *Pipe Rolls of the Exchequer of Normandy*, p. 39; *Magni Rotuli Scaccario Normanniae*, I, p. 54.

¹⁴⁵ *The Letters of Arnulf of Lisieux*, ed. Frank Barlow (London 1939), No. 137, pp. 208-210.

account of his expenditure and building activities whilst in office, as well as donations he secured for the church. Another letter, this time written to the Pope by Thomas Becket, dated September 1169, mentions that Henry Plantagenet no longer required an account of the money which Becket had received and spent whilst head of the royal chancery, but only of the money received from Henry whilst he was archbishop.¹⁴⁶ The king's request was not one that Becket wanted to grant because, as Becket wrote, he had already rendered an account for that period. This letter was written in the context of the dispute between Becket and Henry, as part of a bid to obtain papal protection for Becket's supporters. What is interesting in this particular instance is that providing an account of expenditure appears to have become one of the points of conflict between the King and his Archbishop. Becket was adamant he had provided all necessary accounts for his time in office, but Henry was insisting on another reckoning. Accounting for expenditure and income was one way for a lord to assert authority, ensuring that they received all payments due to them, which could be why this issue became such a sticking point in the dispute between Becket and Henry. The association between accounting and seigneurial authority is emphasised in the charters, which record many examples of homage, loyalty, and horse or knight service being owed to a lord, and when a person or property was exempt from such services.¹⁴⁷ In some cases the monetary value of the services due is specified. For example, we find the specific services owed by the vassals of La Suze-sur-Sarthe (Sarte) individually itemised. According to this list Laurent Mancian owed men, loyalty and services to the lord to a value of twelve *deniers* due at Christmas and twenty-one at the feast of St John the Baptist.¹⁴⁸ It is possible that the twelve *deniers* were the cost of commuting the services due, which was a practice which became increasingly common over the twelfth and thirteenth centuries.

The records discussed above reveal the link between accounting and authority, and the role that money could play within that relationship. The sources are full of examples of records of customary payments claimed by individuals or institutions and some even

¹⁴⁶ *The Correspondence of Thomas Becket Archbishop of Canterbury 1162-1170*, ed and transl. Anne Duggan (Oxford 2000), II No. 234, pp. 1006-1009.

¹⁴⁷ *The Letters and Charters of Henry II*, III No. 1441 (1944H), pp. 90-1; *Cartulaire de l'Abbaye de la Luzerne*, ed. M. Dubosc (Saint-Lo 1878), No. VI, XI, pp. 4-6, 9-10.

¹⁴⁸ *Cartulaire de Château-du-Loir*, No. 96, pp. 68-9.

directly reference the importance of keeping records. The ability to exact monetary payments was a key aspect of authority in the twelfth century. Keeping hold of these rights was vital, which is where record keeping came in.

Money and Morality in the Sources

The monetisation of society and the prominence of money in everyday life, resulted in the emergence in contemporary literature of commentary on the dangers posed by money.¹⁴⁹ One of the dominant themes that emerges from the written sources is that of morality and the importance of avoiding the sin of avarice when interacting with money. Money and Christianity are intricately linked, with many passages in the Bible referring to money: a fact which Rory Naismith has argued lead to money frequently being treated metaphorically in discussions of morality during the medieval period.¹⁵⁰ Despite the potential moral danger money posed, we know from the charter evidence that, as significant landowners, ecclesiastical institutions frequently interacted with money. Furthermore, those holding ecclesiastical offices within religious institutions were responsible for managing the estate, including its revenue, in the same way as any lay landowner. Money therefore, although dangerous, was essential because ecclesiastical institutions had to accumulate revenue producing land and money in order to purchase goods and to function.¹⁵¹ As a result money and its use is a frequent trope found within clerical sub-genre of texts on the vices and virtues. The charters provide significant evidence for how money and coin was used in practice by monastic institutions, but it is the written sources which reveal the context within which monetary exchanges took place.

¹⁴⁹ Naismith, *Making Money*, pp. 327-336.

¹⁵⁰ Naismith, *Making Money*, pp. 19, 46, 62; Rory Naismith, 'Turpe Lucrum? Wealth, Money and Coinage in the Millennial Church', in *Money and the Church in Medieval Europe, 1000-1200: Practice, Morality and Thought*, ed. Giles E M Gasper and Svein H Gullbekk (Oxfordshire 2016), pp.13-29.

¹⁵¹ Naismith, 'Turpe Lucrum', pp. 15-18, Giles E.M.Gasper, 'Contemplating Money and Wealth in Monastic Writing c.1060-c.1160', in *Money and the Church in Medieval Europe, 1000-1200: Practice, Morality and Thought*, ed. Giles E M Gasper & Svein H Gulbekk (Oxfordshire 2016), pp. 39-76.

In the eleventh century Peter Damian, a leading force in the Gregorian reform movement, referred to coined money as a 'universal peril for the souls of all men', implying that the very existence of coins was a danger. His approach to money was so hard-line that he believed merchants, by simply carrying out their work, were unable to function without sin.¹⁵² If his approach had been taken as the rule for ecclesiastical institutions it would not have been possible for any member of the clergy to use coined money without the risk of corruption. The written sources aimed at the clergy therefore had to develop a more nuanced approach to the use of money. Thus, a more complex perspective was revealed almost a century later by Aelred of Rievaulx, who wrote about money's ability to deceive and corrupt. To Aelred, money itself was not evil if used for good. Rather, it was the coveting of wealth (the sin of avarice) where the trouble lay. Pursuing a similar approach, William of St Thierry in his *Golden Epistle*, explained that although spending money on building beautiful churches full of the work of skilled craftsmen 'delight(s) ...our eyes', it took money away from 'the alms of the poor' which was a more important obligation. Serlo of Bayeux, writing in the early twelfth century, placed the blame for the rapid capture of the city of Bayeux during Henry I's invasion of Normandy on the citizens' penchant for usury, and their coveting of money and expensive possessions in preference to honesty.¹⁵³ In Serlo's opinion the humiliating fall of Bayeux was a direct result of the sins committed by the citizens of Bayeux who had favoured money. These accounts suggest that the use of money itself was not immoral or corrupting. Rather, it was only when money was desired or valued above the giving of alms, for example, that moral danger arose. As the charter evidence will show, money was used frequently by ecclesiastical institutions in the twelfth century.¹⁵⁴ The language of these charters, especially in their references to '*caritas*', was used by the monasteries to disguise economic transactions as Christian or moral endeavours. Rather than being solely for financial gain, the ways that the ecclesiastical institutions used money is presented as furthering their religious aims. Giles E Gasper has argued that there was a

¹⁵² Lester K. Little, *Religious Poverty and the Profit Economy in Medieval Europe* (London 1978), p. 38 citing: Peter Lombard, *Sententiarum* iv (Rome 1916), 16.2, PL, CXCII, p. 878.

¹⁵³ Serlo of Bayeux, *The Capture of Bayeux*, ed. and transl. Moreed Arbabzadah, in Elisabeth Van Houts, 'The Fate of Priests' Sons in Normandy with Special Reference to Serlo of Bayeux', *Haskins Society Journal*, 25 (2013), 57-106.

¹⁵⁴ See chapters four and six.

contradiction inherent in the workings of ecclesiastical institutions because of their need for money to perform their duties, itself at odds with their moral stance on the corrupting power of money.¹⁵⁵

A number of studies have investigated the use of, and approach towards, money by the Cistercians during the twelfth century. The Cistercian order emerged in the eleventh century and as time wore on became more widespread throughout Europe, including in both England and France. Janet Burton and Julie Kerr have studied the Cistercian economy and have shown that, despite initially being founded as a move away from the wealth of eleventh-century abbeys, by the twelfth century the Cistercians were engaged in complex economic transactions which often involved mortgaging and leasing lands, pawning valuables, and the exchange of gifts.¹⁵⁶ By this point even those forms of income which were technically forbidden to the Cistercians, such as the acquisition of tithes, were being solicited by them.¹⁵⁷ Burton and Kerr have also shown that the Cistercians were involved in commerce and the development of towns.¹⁵⁸ Their findings support the views of Constance Bouchard, who has argued that the separation between spirituality and economics assumed by most scholars studying the Cistercians was never a reality, and that the Order was never as opposed to economic transactions as previously supposed.¹⁵⁹ In Bouchard's view, the evidence from the Cistercian monasteries in Burgundy, shows that they were involved in economic activity from their foundation, and that the emergence in the thirteenth century of rules governing the types of transactions or land purchases the Cistercians could carry out was due to economic developments which made certain transactions possible, such as loans and mortgages. Bouchard has made the case for the Cistercians in the twelfth century becoming successful managers of their money whilst also being seen as holy men by

¹⁵⁵ Gasper, 'Contemplating Money and Wealth', p. 19.

¹⁵⁶ Janet Burton and Judith Kerr, *The Cistercians in the Middle Ages* (Woodbridge 2016), p. 166.

¹⁵⁷ Burton and Kerr, *The Cistercians in the Middle Ages*, pp. 3-5, 161, Constance B. Bouchard, *Holy Entrepreneurs: Cistercians, Knights, and Economic Exchange in Twelfth Century Burgundy* (London 1991), pp. 171-2.

¹⁵⁸ Burton and Kerr, *The Cistercians in the Middle Ages* pp. 182-183

¹⁵⁹ Bouchard, *Holy Entrepreneurs*.

those around them.¹⁶⁰ Bouchard's view is supported by the evidence which shows the Cistercians' significant interactions with money.

The vast amounts of money that ecclesiastical institutions accumulated through gift, land, revenue or tithes, meant that they had their own treasuries. A letter of Marie of France, Countess of Champagne and Troyes, dated 1186, makes it known that Count Henry had assigned two priests as custodians of the treasury of Saint-Etienne at Troyes, for which they were paid six *modios* (forty-eight gallons) of wine from the cellar of Troyes and 100 *sous* and sixty *sesters* of oats at Villeros in annual rents.¹⁶¹ Not only does this letter reveal the existence of an ecclesiastical institution with its own treasury, it also tells us that the treasury's custodians were paid for their activities. Additionally, the payment in this letter came in the form of a mixture of coined money (100 *sous*) and goods (wine and oats) which is evidence of the multiple forms that money could take within medieval society.¹⁶²

The money held by the monasteries was often loaned to nobles.¹⁶³ We see examples of this appearing in the charter evidence, but it is also revealed from other written sources.¹⁶⁴ For example, a letter of Guy de Lusignan and Sybilla of Jerusalem makes it known that they received a loan of 111 silver marks from the hospital of St Mary of the Teutons by the hand of brother Severin, who was a Hospitaller at the time.¹⁶⁵ In return they pledged one of their towns to the hospital on the condition that if they did not redeem it (presumably by paying back the loan) they would release it into the ownership of the Hospitallers. To ensure this did not look like a purely economic transaction, the letter goes on to explain that if the town did end up being transferred to the Hospitallers then this was 'for the salvation of our souls and of our predecessors to the maintenance

¹⁶⁰ Bouchard, *Holy Entrepreneurs*, pp. 194-6.

¹⁶¹ *Histoire des Ducs et des Comtes de Champagne, depuis le VIe s. jusqu'à la fin du XIe*, ed. H. D'Arbois de Jubainville (Paris 1861), III, No. 153, p.472.

¹⁶² For forms of money see chapters one and four.

¹⁶³ Burton and Kerr, *The Cistercians in the Middle Ages*, pp. 165-166; Bouchard, *Holy Entrepreneurs*, pp. 32-65.

¹⁶⁴ See chapter four for additional examples.

¹⁶⁵ 'From Guy de Lusignan and Sybilla of Jerusalem to the public, 7 March 1186' in *Tabulae Ordinis Theutonici ex Tabularii Regii Berolinensis Codice Potissimum*, ed. Ernestus Strehlke (Berlin 1869), No. 20, p.18.

of the sick and poor'. Whilst usury (making a profit from loaning money) was considered both a sin and a crime, it seems that loaning money and receiving property as surety was acceptable, either because no profit was made, or at least because profit was not explicitly written into any such transaction. Penelope Johnson has shown that the abbey of la Trinité in Vendôme regularly used its money to extend credit to lay neighbours in need of coin.¹⁶⁶ The abbey also increased the number of rent-paying properties within its portfolio of holdings, as well as taking mortgages on properties.¹⁶⁷ Here, and elsewhere, we find ecclesiastical institutions actively increasing their interaction with money.

Not only did ecclesiastical institutions regularly use money, but there is evidence of their involvement in the minting of coin. Within the French Plantagenet lands there are examples of coins minted by ecclesiastical institutions such as Saint-Martial at Limoges and Saint-Martin at Tours, both of which minted coins under their own authority.¹⁶⁸ Not only did such minting remind those using coin of the importance of those who had minted it, but possession of a mint also ensured the owner received the profits of minting. Although it could be assumed that coins produced under the church's authority would have been minted legally and to standard, this appears not always to have been the case. A letter of Arnulf of Lisieux to Simon, Bishop of Meux, dated to 1179, explains that a cleric named Henry had been accused of false moneying and spending his illegally-produced coins in Bayeaux, a crime to which he had confessed.¹⁶⁹ The guilty party was imprisoned by officials until he had worked off the penalty for his crime and was freed by the bishop of the city.¹⁷⁰ It is not clear if Henry was an official moneyer as 'false moneying' could imply minting illegally or producing false coins whilst working as a moneyer. This letter is nonetheless interesting because, as the crime was committed by a cleric, it shows the interaction of both the ecclesiastical and lay officials in punishing false moneying. The importance of safe-guarding the production of good coin therefore

¹⁶⁶ Penelope D. Johnson, *Prayer, Patronage, and Power: The Abbey of la Trinité, Vendôme, 1032-1187* (New York 1981), pp. 60-1; Robert Genestal, *Rôle des monastères comme établissements de crédit étudié en Normandie* (Paris 1901), pp.2-5.

¹⁶⁷ Johnson, *Prayer, Patronage, and Power*, p. 61.

¹⁶⁸ See chapter three.

¹⁶⁹ '*Postmodum autem, procedente tempore, multis flagitiis inuolutus, de falsa publice moneta conuictus est et confessus, quam per totam civitatem Baiocensem publice non timebat expendere, et incautos detestabili militia defraudare*' - *The Letters of Arnulf*, No. 114, pp. 176-7.

¹⁷⁰ *The Letters of Arnulf*, No. 114, pp. 176-7.

appears to have been a priority for both. The evidence points very clearly to ecclesiastical institutions interacting with money and coin. They were involved in the production of coins, kept accounts of their money, and had stores of coin in their treasuries which could be loaned out to laymen in need of cash.

Given the high levels of monetary use amongst the clergy, contemporary texts that supply examples of how to use money whilst avoiding sin and corruption acquire even greater significance. Such texts give us an idea of the ideological context within which the use of money took place. Some of the ecclesiastical writing on money was intended as a guide for rulers and not just members of the clergy. For example, John of Salisbury's *Policraticus* contains a chapter titled 'That the prince must be chaste and shun avarice'.¹⁷¹ In this chapter the 'prince' is told:

'Do not have a large weight of silver and gold as God forbids rulers to gather for themselves treasure of silver and gold, acquiring wealth by means of deceit, seeking abundance in the poverty of others, procuring affluence from rapine, and erecting their own individual happiness upon the ruin of the multitude...princes are not forbidden riches but only avarice.'¹⁷²

This passage suggests that the approach of rulers towards money was expected to match that of the clergy. It was not necessarily wrong to have wealth, so long as it was gained fairly and never desired above all things. John of Salisbury goes on to say that 'nothing is more iniquitous than to love money', as it is justice and giving generously to others that will beget greater loyalty than exacting high taxes to amass wealth. By accumulating and spending money in the correct way, therefore, rulers could ensure the loyalty of their followers and avoid the sin of avarice.

Richard fitz Nigel in the *Dialogus Scaccario* suggested that it was vital for a king to have money because wealth 'empowers them...[and] wealth or poverty can raise up princely power or cast it down: the poor become a prey to their enemies, while the wealthy will prey upon their foes'.¹⁷³ Fitz Nigel made it clear that, due to their divine status, kings

¹⁷¹ John of Salisbury, *Policraticus*, ed. Cary J. Nederman (Cambridge 2007), IV, p. 38.

¹⁷² Salisbury, *Policraticus* p. 38.

¹⁷³ 'Ille enim illustrant, hec subueniunt. Porro mobilium copia uel defectus principum potestates humiliat uel exaltat. Quibus enim hec bdesunt hostibus preda fiunt, quibus autem hecb suppetunt his

should never be questioned, no matter how they might have accumulated their money. He caveats this, however, by suggesting that those responsible for acquiring riches should be 'diligent in gathering, conserving, and spending, for they must account for the state of the kingdom, whose security depends on its wealth'.¹⁷⁴ Fitz Nigel wrote that the money accumulated by rulers in wartime should be spent on fortifying castles, paying soldiers and other expenses related to safeguarding the realm, whilst in peace spending should be on building castles, feeding and clothing the poor, and distributing money to charity.¹⁷⁵ The point being made is clear: money gained by a ruler should not be hoarded, but spent on causes which supported the church, protected the realm, or helped the poor.¹⁷⁶ The importance of a king distributing his money to those in need is not just found in the written sources. One of the images contained in the twelfth-century illuminated Eadwine Psalter depicts King Henry I giving weighed amounts of coins to his followers.¹⁷⁷ Checking the value of the coin by weight rather than by counting the number of coins guaranteed that the correct amount of silver or gold was being paid regardless of the fineness of the individual coins. Depicting the coins being weighed before being distributed could also be a way of emphasising how vital it was for a king to keep accurate accounts of spending, ensuring he always knew how much coin he had. By illustrating this particular scene, even those who were illiterate could be shown the importance of a king giving money to his people.¹⁷⁸

Fig. 1 – King Henry I giving coins to his followers in *Tripartitum Psalterium Eadwini* (Eadwine Psalter)

hostes in predam cedunt' - *Dialogus de Scaccario: The Dialogue of the Exchequer: Constitutio Domus Regis: Disposition of the King's Household*, eds. Emilie Amt and S.D Church (Oxford 2007), pp. 2-3.

¹⁷⁴ *Dialogus de Scaccario*, p. 3.

¹⁷⁵ *Dialogus de Scaccario*, p. 3.

¹⁷⁶ *Dialogus de Scaccario*, pp. 4-5.

¹⁷⁷ Cambridge, Trinity College, MS R.17.1 *Tripartitum Psalterium Eadwini* (Eadwine Psalter), f.229r.

¹⁷⁸ For a discussion of imagery surrounding coin use and morality see Naismith, *Making Money*, pp. 326-333.



A more hard-line approach to a ruler's interaction with money is found in Aelred of Rievaulx's *Life of St Edward, King and Confessor*, written to emphasise the holiness of Edward's life. Aelred said of King Edward that he 'scorned money beyond human custom and seemed neither sadder when he lost it, nor more cheerful when he gained it.'¹⁷⁹ The apathy with which King Edward interacted with money seems, in this instance, to emphasise his holiness. Another of Aelred's works, *Spiritual Friendship*, also deals with money. In it he proclaims that one should always be willing to 'lose your money for your friend'.¹⁸⁰ Coveting money, according to Rievaulx, leads to avarice and deceit, so one should never want money and should always be willing to give it away to those in need. Similarly, in a letter of Bernard of Clairvaux to Odo, abbot of Marmoutier, he states that you should never 'value coins more than friends, money more than justice, and property more than charity.'¹⁸¹ Giving money to those in need, in the form of alms or charity, is a prominent feature of ecclesiastical writing on the topic. It seems, therefore, that in both

¹⁷⁹ Aelred of Rievaulx, *Life of King Edward* in *Aelred of Rievaulx: The Historical Works*, ed. Marsha L. Dutton, transl. Jane Patricia Freeland (Kalamazoo 2005), p.6.

¹⁸⁰ Aelred of Rievaulx, *Spiritual Friendship* (Kalamazoo 1974), pp. 77-78, 107-8, 118.

¹⁸¹ *The Letters of St Bernard*, Letter 429, p. 500.

lay and ecclesiastical circles the moral approach towards money was the same. Money should be spent on essentials, given to others in alms, and generally be spent on doing good, whereas gaining money illicitly, hoarding or coveting it put one's soul in peril.

Such texts dealing explicitly with the correct ways of using money in order to avoid corruption suggest levels of monetary use were high enough for such moral instruction to be necessary. There would have been no need for such things were money was not used. Although it is not possible to know exactly how widespread their readership was, the ideas they put forward suggest that there was regular discourse around the correct and incorrect ways to use money, provoked by a concern for morals and the avoidance of sin. These ideals were aimed at the clergy as well as at rulers and, by extension, potentially all members of Christian society who were using money.

Setting a Good Example

The written sources offering guidance on the correct ways to use and spend money are distinct from those which provide more subtle judgements through the use of examples. Contemporary literature often included examples of the good and bad uses of money which indirectly provided moral guidance on how money should be used. How money is presented in contemporary literature is not a subject that has been widely studied, despite articles by both Urban T. Holmes and R. Howard Bloch on representations of money in Old French literature. Holmes studied references to particular coin types within the literature, arguing that particularly low value coins were being cited here in order to emphasise things of negative or poor quality, so that the audience's understanding of the different values and types of coinage added strength to the description.¹⁸² Bloch took a slightly different approach and studied the use of money as a metaphor and how it could be a mediation of social difference in Old French Romance texts.¹⁸³ He argued that literature could be used to explore geographical and social

¹⁸² Urban T. Holmes Jr., 'Coins of Little Value in Old French Literature', *Medieval Studies*, 19 (1957), 123-128.

¹⁸³ R. Howard Bloch, 'Money, Metaphor, and the Mediation of Social Difference in Old French Romance', *Symposium*, 35:1 (1981), 18-33.

boundaries in ways that were not always possible in administrative sources, and that as money and accounting developed at the same time as writing and literature, their evolutions were linked.¹⁸⁴ Whilst the approaches taken by both Bloch and Holmes are distinctive, the significance they both place on how money was presented within literature is important as it emphasises that literature can reflect societal values. Whilst many different texts contain references to money being used, two thirteenth-century texts in particular contain a significant number of references to money. The *Histoire de Guillaume le Marechal* and *Aiol*, one of the poems that made up the *Geste de Saint Giles*, contain many examples of the main characters' interactions with money, sufficient to suggest that it was a theme intentionally addressed by the authors of these romances. The titular characters of both of these works provide an example to the audience of the correct way to gain, spend, and more generally interact with money.

The *Histoire* is a verse biography of William Marshal (c. 1147-1219), a prominent figure at the Plantagenet court throughout the rules of Henry Plantagenet and his sons.¹⁸⁵ Written by a Frenchman from the Plantagenet heartlands, it was commissioned by the Marshal's sons and supporters following his death in 1219. As such, the poem is intended to praise the Marshal and to celebrate his life and achievements.¹⁸⁶ Whilst the account of the events described may not be completely truthful, especially in respect to those events that took place during the rules of Kings Stephen and Henry Plantagenet, the way the Marshal is described can be seen to reflect Plantagenet courtly ideals.¹⁸⁷ Nigel Bryant, in the introduction to his translation of the *Histoire*, writes that the portrayal of the Marshal throughout the poem remains 'extremely consistent', with the Marshal himself always keen to put on a good performance, whether at tournaments or in caring for Henry's son.¹⁸⁸ Bryant suggests that any thought of profit or financial gain throughout the Marshal's lengthy and successful career was 'an afterthought' and that it

¹⁸⁴ Bloch, 'Money, Metaphor, and the Mediation of Social Difference', 20.

¹⁸⁵ *William Marshal: Knighthood, war and Chivalry, 1147-1219*, ed David Crouch (Edinburgh & London 2002), p. 1.

¹⁸⁶ Crouch, *William Marshal*, pp. 1-4.

¹⁸⁷ Crouch, *William Marshal*, p. 4.

¹⁸⁸ *The History of William Marshal: The True Story of England's Greatest Knight*, transl. Nigel Bryant (Woodbridge 2018), pp. 17-20.

was his reputation as a loyal knight that was most important to him. Certainly this is the image that is presented of the Marshal throughout the poem.

Time and again we are shown the Marshal succeeding, and being rewarded handsomely for his skills. The poem describes how, after being made a knight in the service of the Chamberlain of Tancarville and helping with the recapture of Tancarville castle, the Marshal joined the rest of the Chamberlain's retinue in attending tournaments.¹⁸⁹ Here we are told that the Marshal could not afford to kit himself out for a tournament because he 'had nothing to give and no source of wealth'. In fact 'he had to sell one of his cloaks' for the sum of 'twenty-two *sous* in coin/ in Angevin currency' (*por .xx.ii. sols de deniers/ de la moneie as Angevins*) so he could buy a pack-horse.¹⁹⁰ The Marshal had to be provided with a horse for the tournament by the Chamberlain, who spared no expense.¹⁹¹ The poem describes the Marshal's significant success at tournaments. Thereafter, he travelled throughout France gaining prestige, eventually travelling to England where he joined the retinue of Henry Plantagenet.¹⁹² As one aspect of the tournaments, which acted like giant markets in which money played a significant role, the Marshal frequently won prizes and booty although it is unclear what form this took.¹⁹³ After fighting on behalf of King Henry in his French lands, during which time the Marshal was taken prisoner, he was released and handed over to Queen Eleanor (of Aquitaine).¹⁹⁴ The poem describes how Queen Eleanor arranged for the Marshal to be given 'horses, arms, money,/ and fine clothes' (*chivals e armes e deniers e beles robes*).¹⁹⁵ Despite having been provided with all he needed, the poem states that the Marshal had 'never been inclined to sloth' so went 'through many lands to seek fame and fortune' from which he would often return a 'rich man' (*souvent s'en reveleit riches*).¹⁹⁶ The generosity of the Marshal is a theme throughout the poem, where it is repeatedly reported that he compensated his men, sharing his wealth with them so that

¹⁸⁹ *History of William Marshal*, ed. A.J. Holden, (London 2002), I, pp. 56-9

¹⁹⁰ *History of William Marshal*, I, vv. 1185-1198, pp. 64-5.

¹⁹¹ 'un bon e bel, que k'il me cost,/ Ja ne remendra por nul cost' - *History of William Marshal*, I, vv. 1264-1266, pp. 64-5.

¹⁹² *History of William Marshal*, I, pp. 78-80.

¹⁹³ Le Goff, *Money and the Middle Ages*, p. 48.

¹⁹⁴ *History of William Marshal*, I, vv. 1604-1876.

¹⁹⁵ *History of William Marshal*, I, vv. 1876-1880, pp. 96-7.

¹⁹⁶ *History of William Marshal*, I, vv. 1893-1900, pp.96-7.

they ‘considered themselves very well rewarded’.¹⁹⁷ The military success of the Marshal, as well as his good reputation, led to him being appointed to teach Henry’s heir, the Young Henry, for which the Marshal refused to negotiate a price (*icic n’a mot de bargainnier*).¹⁹⁸

Although the emphasis of the poem is on the Marshal’s prestige as a knight, a significant undertone is the Marshal’s generosity in sharing out his wealth, it is not always evident if this took the form of money or expensive possessions such as arms, horses and clothing. The Marshal’s ambivalence towards money (and wealth more generally) is prominent; he is often described refusing payment for his fighting skills.¹⁹⁹ The poet admits that the Marshal’s success meant he led a ‘very fine,/ sumptuous and magnificent/ existence’ (*molt richement/ E molt bel e mlt noblement*).²⁰⁰ Even when at the height of his prestige, however, the Marshal refused large amounts of money from French nobles (500 *livres* in income from an estate), and even offers of marriage, choosing instead to go on a pilgrimage.²⁰¹ Despite consistently refusing offers of money the Marshal is said to have had access to ‘ready money’ (*deniers porveu*), for example when buying back his stolen horse, implying the ability to translate the riches and wealth he gained into coined money.²⁰² The term ready money is used on a few occasions throughout the poem, suggesting that there was a recognised difference between having money (possessions or property that had a monetary value) and ‘ready money’ which took the form of coin.²⁰³ The Marshal’s ambivalence towards money and wealth, as well as his generosity in sharing it amongst his men, is contrasted with the spending habits of his student, the Young Henry. Despite being a good fighter with a large following of knights, the Young Henry is said to have ‘spent lavishly’ (*molt despendi*), incurring debts of hundreds of *livres* wherever he went which had to be guaranteed by the Marshal whose good name

¹⁹⁷ *History of William Marshal*, I, vv. 1893-1900, pp. 96-7.

¹⁹⁸ *History of William Marshal*, I, p. 99.

¹⁹⁹ *History of William Marshal*, vv. 4063-4066, 6163-6178, pp. 207, 312-315.

²⁰⁰ *History of William Marshal*, vv. 6299-6301, pp. 320-321.

²⁰¹ ‘*Cinq cenz l’oient e ge l’oi*’ - *History of William Marshal*, p. 315.

²⁰² *History of William Marshal*, esp. vv. 4263-427, pp. 209-13,

²⁰³ ‘*Misires n’a pas ci deniers*’ - *History of William Marshal*, vv. 5071-5094, pp. 258-9.

satisfied the debtors, despite his lack of a fixed income.²⁰⁴ Young Henry's lavish spending and ability to squander money led, in part, to the subsequent conflict with his father.²⁰⁵

Although the focus of the *Histoire* is very much on the story of the Marshal and all his chivalric knightly successes, the treatment of money is a prominent theme. The poet includes comments in his work on money, greed and avarice. For example, when describing how various nobles rebelled against Henry Plantagenet, he states that they got their just punishment by losing all of their money and having to resort to selling everything they had as they did not have a penny to spend (*wu'il n'orent denier a despendre*).²⁰⁶ The poet states: 'He whose rise is due to his great wealth/ is reduced to disgrace when he loses it'.²⁰⁷ Here he seems to be suggesting that a good noble should be able to retain his wealth and not be reduced to the humiliation of poverty. At another point in the poem we are told 'Avarice, which entices men/ to hold on to their money, teaches them/ that one should not be too hasty/ to spend and squander one's wealth.'²⁰⁸ One of the knights in Young Henry's retinue, Sir Roger de Jouy, is described as a strong knight very good at winning booty (*gaaing*) but, the poet writes, 'prone to greed'.²⁰⁹ The poet instantly contrasts the greed of Sir Roger with the generosity of the Marshal, whose skills as a knight also won him a lot of booty at tournaments. The Marshal 'shared out the booty/ with crusaders and prisoners,/ and he released from imprisonment many of the knights he had captured;/ for this he was considered a very worthy man.'²¹⁰ Whilst the winning of 'booty' was part and parcel of success at tournaments, the way that this booty was dealt with is what the poet used to emphasise the Marshal's goodness.

²⁰⁴ *History of William Marshal*, vv.1967, 1971-4, 1979-1983, 5071-5094, 5102-4.

²⁰⁵ *History of William Marshal*, pp. 102-114-5.

²⁰⁶ 'Quer bien savez, quant avoir falt,/ Que par ce decline e defalt/ Orguil: qui par grant avoir monte...' - *History of William Marshal*, pp. 114-5.

²⁰⁷ 'Quer bien savez, quant avoir falt,/ Que par ce decline e defalt/ Orguil: qui par grant avoir mone' - *History of William Marshal*, pp. 114-5.

²⁰⁸ 'E si lor ansengne avarice, Qui del lor garder les entice,/ Que l'om ne se deit pas haster/ Del suen despendre ne gaster.' - *History of William Marshal*, vv. 4307-4310, pp. 209-213.

²⁰⁹ *History of William Marshal*, p. 173.

²¹⁰ 'li Mareschal out le pris/ E de gaaing rout il sa part; Mai smolt largement le depart/ E as croisiex e as prisons, / E molt quita de lor prisons/ Des chevaliers qu'il avaiet pris,/ Qu'en li torna a grant pris.' - *History of William Marshal*, I, vv. 3554-3562, pp.180-1.

Usury is also dealt with in the poem. On his travels the Marshal is said to have come across a monk in disguise who was voyaging to a foreign land in the company of a woman, revealed to be the sister of Sir Ralph de Lens of Flanders, who admitted to the Marshal she was in 'great trouble'.²¹¹ The Marshal asked the monk 'have you got coins or other money to provide for and support yourselves?', which the monk confirmed they did, showing him a 'very fat purse' (*un molt gros gorle*) said to contain forty-eight pounds.²¹² The monk's plan was to travel to a town where they were not known and 'advance them [the coins] to others to make a profit and live on the interest' (*A gaaingnier les baillison,/ E del gaaing nos vesquisson*).²¹³ This, as the Marshal exclaimed, was usury (*usure*), which the Marshal was determined to prevent.²¹⁴ All of the examples found in this poem of the Marshal's interactions with money present a figure who, due to his military prestige, gained wealth in the form both of money (goods and possessions with a monetary value) and coin, but his generosity in sharing his winnings with his followers emphasised the Marshal's ambivalence towards money and his complete rejection of greed or avarice. Bryant's opinion of the Marshal's attitude towards money is thus confirmed. The poet was, however, writing to present the Marshal in the best possible light, so that how he interacted with money would have been a part of this encomium.

David Crouch has examined the Marshal's charters and entries relating to his estate in the patent rolls. From these documents Crouch argued that money was important to the Marshal and was, indeed, a key component of his exercise of lordship and patronage.²¹⁵ Crouch paints a portrait of the Marshal as an astute estate manager who kept a 'chamber', much like the king's exchequer, where he received money and issued receipts. There is also evidence for the Marshal having dealings with Jewish moneylenders in the 1180s and 90s, although by the early 1200s it seems that, rather than borrowing money from them, he was enjoying the profits of moneylending carried

²¹¹ *History of William Marshal*, pp. 341-5.

²¹² *History of William Marshal*, vv.4795, 6786-90, pp. 345-7.

²¹³ *History of William Marshal*, vv. 6801-4, p. 346.

²¹⁴ *History of William Marshal*, vv. 6805-6816, pp.346-7.

²¹⁵ *William Marshal*, ed. Crouch, pp. 176-178.

out by Vives de Chambay.²¹⁶ Profiting from moneylending, which was the definition of usury according to the customs of Normandy, thus contradicts the image of the Marshal as presented in the poem, where he is said to have spoken out against usury.²¹⁷ The Marshal's success as an estate manager meant he had enough money in his possession to advance sums to King John in 1204, having already loaned him money for his campaign against the Welsh in 1194.²¹⁸ He was also able to invest in town planning within the lordship of Leinster and developed boroughs at Kilkenny, Carlow and New Ross, which Crouch argues was a way to profit from trade by selling the produce of his estates.²¹⁹ The image that emerges here is of a shrewd businessman, able to manage his lands in such a way that generated surplus revenue. Whilst the Marshal's position as a member of the landowning elite is hinted at in the poem, the author's emphasis there is very much on the Marshal's skills as a knight and an unfailingly loyal liegeman. There is a significant difference here between the Marshal's interaction with money as depicted in the poem and the evidence presented by Crouch. It suggests that the audience of the poem idealised ambivalence towards financial gain, and spending money on others, rejecting any hoarding. In reality, however astute he was as a businessman, it was his loyalty to his lord and his skills as a knight that were memorialised in the poem, not his impressive accumulation and management of money. The literature circulating among the elite carried many of the same messages in respect to money and its use as the clerical sources.

The desire to be a good and loyal knight rather than one in possession of lots of money is also found in *Aiol*. Much like the *Histoire*, this poem follows the protagonist's attempts to become a skilled knight and his acquisition of a reputation for integrity and loyalty, lavished with riches to which he remained aloof. Written around the same time as the *Histoire*, this poem originated in Capetian France, so perhaps reflects the attitudes towards money and its use which existed in the Capetian rather than Plantagenet

²¹⁶ *William Marshal*, ed. Crouch, p. 177 citing a 1201 grant in Normandy from King John: *Rotuli Litterarum Patentium in Turri Londinensi*, ed. Thomas Duffy Hardy (London 1835), I p. 3.

²¹⁷ *Coutumiers de Normandie*, Ch. IXX, pp. 52-5; *William Marshal*, ed. Crouch, p. 98.

²¹⁸ *William Marshal*, ed. Crouch, p. 178.

²¹⁹ *William Marshal*, ed. Crouch, p. 178.

court.²²⁰ Much like the Marshal, the poem's protagonist Aiol, begins his career as a poor knight possessing nothing but a small cache of coins, a crooked lance, old shield, unburnished hauberk, and unpolished helmet.²²¹ He embarks on a quest to regain his father's lands from which his mother had been wrongly exiled.²²² Despite his appearance (he is often described as 'poorly clothed and destitute') Aiol perseveres and, in spite of adventures with townspeople, such as 'big bellied Hersent' who had accumulated money and influence in Orleans through usury and corruption, eventually manages to serve the king, for which he was rewarded handsomely.²²³ In recognition of Aiol's service the king promised to pay for whatever Aiol wishes to buy from the tradesmen of the town, whether clothing, horses, food or even 'solid gold, silver and deniers' (*et l'or fin et l'argent et les deniers*).²²⁴ Despite having whatever he wants at his fingertips (expensive possessions and money), Aiol does not ask for a *denier* for himself. Instead he prefers to send gifts to those who had helped him on his journey to become a successful knight and who had not judged him harshly when he was poor.²²⁵ We are told that Aiol asked for 'one hundred marks of good deniers (*boin[s] deniers*)', as well as 'a warhorse....luxurious, costly clothes of scarlet/ lined with ermine' and spent a hundred *livres* of Orléans coins buying embroidered robes, 'luxurious bed clothes' and some 'solid gold and silver', but none of these items were for himself. Thus, although the poem shows Aiol spending money buying luxurious items, like the Marshal, the money he had access to he chose to give to others.

In much the same way that the Marshal's interaction with money was contrasted with that of Young Henry, in 'Aiol', the hero is contrasted with his enemy Makaire. We are told how Makaire was unscrupulous and used his money to betray the king and persuade his followers to 'renounce Lord God the Father' in order to gain money and land.²²⁶ The comparison between Aiol, the hero of the story who would rather renounce all his

²²⁰ *Aiol: A Chanson de Geste*, ed. and transl. Sandra C. Malicote and A. Richard Hartman (New York 2014), p. IX.

²²¹ *iiii. saus porterés, fieus, de deniers' - Aiol*, ed. Malicote, vv.239-146, pp. 14-15.

²²² *Aiol*, ed. Malicote, vv. 767-9, pp. 42-3.

²²³ *Aiol*, ed. Malicote, vv. 448, 2660-2673, 3734-3747, pp. 26-7, 148-9, 206-7.

²²⁴ *Aiol*, ed. Malicote, vv. 3734-3747, pp. 206-7.

²²⁵ '*Ne demandés Aiol .1. seul denier' - Aiol*, ed. Malicote, vv. 3750-3756, pp. 206-7.

²²⁶ *Aiol*, ed. Malicote, vv. 8327-8330, 9435-9468, 8327-8330, pp.454-6, 518-21.

money and possessions in service to his lord, and those who would betray the king and God solely for monetary gain is stark. It seems that in this poem we are once again presented with the ideal of a loyal knight who cared nothing for money. If we presume that the themes found in contemporary literature reflected the ideals of the society in which they were created, then it would be reasonable to suggest that the contemporary literature promotes the idea that monetary gain should never be a priority. Even when in possession of large amounts of money, this money should always be given away willingly to followers and those in need; it should never be valued for its financial power.

In a predominantly Christian society it is perhaps unsurprising that similar ideals around the morality of money and its use should infuse the contemporary literature. Writers had been commenting on the moral dangers posed by money since the eleventh century, so the views presented in the texts above were not new, but promote a continued and widespread disdain for money and wealth as a Christian virtue.²²⁷ Both of the poems discussed here were intended for those at, or closely connected with, the court who would themselves have had access to significant stores of money, and who were therefore most at risk of the corrupting power of money. Perhaps because of this, the literature emphasises the importance of giving money away to others and not keeping it for yourself. Those lower down the social hierarchy may have used money primarily for paying rent, taxes and other essential costs, they would not necessarily have had enough money to consider spending it on luxuries. By contrast, those who received the taxes and revenue from the lands worked by others had the potential to amass treasuries full of money, like the monasteries or William Marshal, from which they could draw funds when needed. It was this social elite, therefore, that was potentially most at risk from the corruption money could cause and so in need of literary and moral advice that might subtly reinforce what the church was already telling them.

²²⁷ Naismith, *Making Money*, pp. 326-333.

Conclusions

The French Plantagenet lands were very much a part of the social changes occurring across Western Europe in the twelfth century. One aspect of these changes was the significant developments in the role that money played. Money impacted all aspects of society; it governed social interactions by defining relationships in monetary terms, seigneurial obligations were discharged at a price, and judicial exactions and taxes were reckoned in monetary terms.²²⁸ Coin use did increase during the twelfth century, but this did not mean that whenever a monetary value was given for an item or service, that coined money actually changed hands.²²⁹ Even so, the idea and understanding of money was pervasive throughout society. The ability of those in power (both lay and ecclesiastical) to exact taxes, tithes and rents from those who worked their land increasingly associated money with seigneurial authority. The growth in written records during this period reflected the importance placed upon the ability of a lord to legally claim monetary revenue and to account for expenditure and debts owed. The purchasing power of money was important because, as Richard fitz Nigel put it, money had the ability to empower those who possessed it. Money could buy the services of knights, be used to fortify strongholds, or improve the infrastructure of a town, it could also be the way that rent and agricultural revenues were reckoned.²³⁰ Whilst coins might not have been ubiquitous throughout all tiers of society across the French Plantagenet lands, the evidence strongly suggests that an understanding of money was.

With the growing prevalence of money in every-day life, the preoccupation with the morality of its use appears to have deepened. Ecclesiastical literature provided guidance for both the clergy and secular rulers on how to avoid sin whilst interacting with money, as well as warning of the dangers associated with greed and money's ability to deceive. From this emerges the literary ideal of the generous lord who, despite having access to significant quantities of money, chooses to distribute it charitably amongst his followers, or gift it to the church in alms. A lord, whilst lawfully enforcing his rights to monetary

²²⁸ See chapter four for additional evidence and discussion.

²²⁹ Renée Doehaerd, *The Early Middle Ages in the West: Economy and Society*, transl. W.G. Deakin (Amsterdam 1978), pp. 237-9.

²³⁰ See chapter four.

revenue, should never be unjust in his pursuit of money or exploit those below him. Opinions on the correct way to approach money also found their way into contemporary literature, most obviously in the texts discussed above which were intended for the Plantagenet and Capetian courts. There is less evidence of guidance being provided to the lower social classes, but it is certainly possible that the church's views on money and its use trickled down throughout society. The best guide here would be the sermon literature. But of this, we have precious little in print before the turn of the thirteenth century.

As will be seen throughout this thesis, the richest evidence survives for the use of money and coins for the social elite, it is much harder to piece together just how widespread monetary use was beyond these groups. What the sources studied in this chapter seem to suggest is that there was a monetary culture in the twelfth century in which discussions took place about the right and wrong ways of using money, and the dangers of usury and avarice. The way money is referred to in the contemporary literature nonetheless suggests that it played a role in daily life for a large proportion of the population. Looking beyond the numismatic data and studying how money was represented in the written sources can help to inform our understanding of the role money played more generally in the French Plantagenet lands.

Chapter 3 - Coinage and Mints in the French Plantagenet Lands

In the twelfth-century French Plantagenet lands the dominant coin was the silver *denier*, with obols also produced at half the value of a *denier*.²³¹ The silver *denier* had been the dominant coinage for centuries, having been initially introduced by the Carolingians in the mid-eighth century.²³² Over the course of the tenth and eleventh centuries, the minting of coins became increasingly devolved, with individual local lords producing their own coins. Minting gradually ceased to be an exclusively regalian right.²³³ According to the 864 Edict of Pîtres, responsibility for ensuring the uniformity of the royal coinage lay with the counts and princes who, as Carolingian authority broke down during the tenth century, stepped in and ensured the preservation of coinage by producing their own.²³⁴ Initially the coins produced by local lords mimicked the royal coinage of the period, employing similar imagery and continuing either to use the name of the king or minting anonymously.²³⁵ The eleventh century, however, saw the increased use of individual rulers' names on their coins.²³⁶ The coins produced by local rulers were often immobilised from this point on, so any changes in the design of the coinage, for example to reflect the name of the current ruler of a region, happened rarely. This makes it difficult to know who held minting rights during the eleventh and twelfth-centuries. Royal coinage was not re-introduced beyond the Capetian demesne until the thirteenth century, under the rule of Philip Augustus (r.1180-1223).²³⁷

²³¹ Cook, 'En Monnaie', pp. 619-620.

²³² Woods, 'From Charlemagne to the Commercial Revolution', p. 94-5; Peter Spufford, *Handbook of Medieval Exchange* (London 1986), pp. xix-xxi.

²³³ Mayhew, *Coinage in France* (London 1988), pp. 19-21.

²³⁴ Spufford, *Money and its Use*, p. 55; *Capitularia Regum Francorum: Monumenta Germaniae Historica* vol II, ed. Alfred Boretius and Victor Krause (Hanover 1897), No. 273, No.13. pp. 310-28, see pp. 315 onwards; Bisson, *Conservation of Coinage*, pp. 2-3; Mayhew, *Coinage in France*, pp. 19-29.

²³⁵ Spufford, *Money and its Use*, pp. 55-7; Bisson, *Conservation of coinage*, p. 3; Françoise Dumas-Dubourg, *Le Trésor de Fécamp et le monnayage en Francie occidentale pendant la second moitié du Xe siècle* (Paris 1971), p. 193; Belaubre and Collins, *Les Monnaies de France*, pp. 27-9; Roberts, *The Silver Coins of Medieval France*, pp. 230-1.

²³⁶ *Ibid.*

²³⁷ Mayhew, *Coinage in France*, pp. 29, 68-72.

Throughout Western Europe in the twelfth century the *denier* and *obol* coins were the only physical coins to be produced, but there were widely accepted monetary units comprised of *deniers*.²³⁸ In every circumstance one *obol* was worth half a *denier*, twelve *deniers* made up one *solidus (sou)*, twenty *sous* formed a *livre*, and a mark was a weight of silver (or gold) that could be made up of 160 *deniers* (thirteen *sous* and four *deniers*), equivalent to two-thirds of a *livre*.²³⁹ Each individual *denier* had its own value directly proportional to the silver content in the coin. So whilst the number of *deniers* in a *sous* might remain constant, what that *sous* was worth would vary from region to region according to the local coin standards, as would the *livre* or mark.²⁴⁰ A coin that is referred to in the written sources but has not yet been found in any hoards is the gold bezant: a unit of currency, Byzantine in origin, foreign to Western Europe. As Barrie Cook has shown, the frequency of references to gold bezants in the written sources provides evidence of the demand for, and use of, bezants in substantial numbers despite their absence from the archaeological record.²⁴¹ The numismatic evidence would supply no evidence for the use of such coins in the French Plantagenet lands, but references in the Norman Pipe Roll of 1180 to bezants do suggest that they were an accepted form of money in twelfth-century Normandy.²⁴² For example, in the roll for Cérences (Manche) it is recorded that Robert Albi's debts to the Exchequer amounted to 'summa xxxix li. Xjs et xjd et ij bisancia', that is thirty nine *livres*, eleven *sous*, eleven *deniers* and two bezants. Similarly, in the roll for Vire (Calvados) the amount owed is listed as sixty-seven *livres*, five *sous* and 'xx bisancia' (twenty bezants). A slightly ambiguous entry is found in the 1180 roll for Caen which records that Roger fitz Tioldi paid into the exchequer 174 *livres*, eight *sous*, four *deniers* and three marks of gold.²⁴³ In this instance payment was not specified in bezants, but as they were the only gold coin that appears to have circulated in the French Plantagenet lands it is possible that this entry could be evidence of a

²³⁸ See below.

²³⁹ Cook, 'En Monnaie', p. 620; Spufford, *Money and its Use*, pp. 223-4; Pamela Nightingale, 'The Evolution of Weight-Standards and the Creation of New Monetary and Commercial Links in Northern Europe from the Tenth to the Twelfth Century', *Economic History Review*, xxxviii (1985), 192-209; Delisle, 'Des Revenues publics en Normandie', 194-201; Spufford, *Handbook of Medieval Exchange*, pp. xxii, 198; Lerquet, 'La Fabrique monétaire de la forteresse du Montreuil-Bonnin'.

²⁴⁰ Spufford, *Handbook of Medieval Exchange*, pp. 206-208; Lerquet, 'La Fabrique', pp. 6-7.

²⁴¹ Barrie Cook, 'The Bezant in Angevin England', *The Numismatic Chronicle*, 159 (1999), 255-275.

²⁴² Bezants are not found in hoards but gold dinars are; see chapter five for details.

²⁴³ *Magni Rotuli Scaccarii*, ed. Stapleton, I, p. 56.

payment being made in bezants, although payment could equally have been in un-minted gold.

Based on references to the bezant found in medieval documents, Léopold Delisle argued that the bezant was introduced into Normandy in the eleventh century and that, by the twelfth, was being used on a large scale.²⁴⁴ From references to transactions in bezants recorded in the Norman Pipe Rolls and various charters, Delisle argued that in 1195 and 1198 the bezant was equivalent to seven *sous* Angevin, but by 1201 and 1203 had risen in value to eight *sous*.²⁴⁵ Such references to the value of a bezant calculated in Angevin *sous* does indeed imply that bezants were in use in twelfth-century Normandy, at least as a money of account. The fluctuating value of the bezant over time perhaps reflects the changing value of gold against silver, as was the case in England, once again implying that minted coins were in use.²⁴⁶ Delisle also pointed to the mention of deniers of gold in a charter of Archbishop John at Gisors, and the gift of two bezants by William I to Richard of Chroliei at the abbey of Préaux.²⁴⁷ He also referenced Duke Robert the Great's supposed use of a bezant during his pilgrimage, as recorded in Wace's *Roman de Rou*.²⁴⁸ Pilgrimage would have brought individuals into contact with the monetary systems of foreign lands that, to the south and east, were based on dinars and bezants.²⁴⁹ The possession of a gold coin by a pilgrim is also referenced in the thirteenth-century poem *Aiol*, discussed in chapter two, which recounts the protagonist's encounter with a pilgrim, later discovered to be the Duke of Gascony. Remarking upon Aiol's destitute appearance, the pilgrim presented him with a 'gold byzantine coin' as a symbol of good

²⁴⁴ Deslisle, 'Des Revenues Publics' 207-8 citing : Wace, *Le Roman de rou et des ducs de Normandie*, ed. Frédéric Pluquet (Rouen 1837), vv.8319, 8339; Thomas Stapleton, 'Observations on the Great Rolls of the Exchequer of Normandy', in *Magni Rotuli Scaccarii Normanniæ sub Regibus Angliæ*, ed. Thomas Stapleton, I (London 1840), pp. ix-ccxxxvii; *Magni Rotuli Scaccarii Normanniæ*, II, pp. v-cccxxx.

²⁴⁵ Deslisle, 'Des Revenues Publics', 207-8; *Magni Rotuli Scaccarii*, I, pp 169, 226, II, pp. 295, 297, 378, 532; Daniel Power, 'Les Dernières années du regime angevin en Normandie', in *Plantagenêts et Capétiens: confrontations et héritages*, eds. Martin Aurell and Noël-Yves Tonnerre (Turnhout 2006), p. 172.

²⁴⁶ Cook, 'The bezant', pp. 257-63.

²⁴⁷ Delisle, 'Des Revenues publics', 207; 'Eodem Willelmo régnante dédit ei (Richardo de Chroliei) abbas [de Pratellis] illius loci societatem, et unum mulum et duo candelabra argentea et duo bizantia auri.' - *Gallia Christiana in Provincias Ecclesiasticas Distributa*, ed. Denis de Sainte-Marthe (1759), XI, instr., c 201; Stapleton, 'Observations', in *Magni Rotulii Scaccarii*, II p. xxxvn.

²⁴⁸ Wace, *Roman de Rou*, vv. 8319, 8339, pp.412-413.

²⁴⁹ Spufford, *Handbook of Medieval Exchange*, p. xxii.

luck.²⁵⁰ Although clearly a valuable coin, this was not given to Aiol to be spent but to act as a talisman. Its high value would have made it very difficult to use a gold bezant for any ordinary financial transaction, not least buying the types of provisions Aiol needed. This literary reference thus echoes those found in the administrative sources, in this particular instance suggesting a coin that was of symbolic rather than direct monetary use. Meanwhile, whatever the exoticism of such references, the monetary system of the French Plantagenet lands remained predominantly centred around the silver *denier*.

The Minting and Exchanging of Coins

Silver *deniers* were hammered coins produced by striking a nominal silver flan between an obverse and reverse die.²⁵¹ How the minting system worked in the French Plantagenet lands is not well understood, as few documents survive to show how dies were supplied or how mints were organised. Under the Carolingians, the name of the moneyer appeared on the coins. However, none of the seigneurial coinages produced from the tenth century onwards carried this information.²⁵² The production of the coins was overseen by a *monetarius* who was master of the mint and the individual whose name would, until the eleventh century, have appeared on the coins.²⁵³ Very little is recorded about who the moneyers were in the French Plantagenet lands during the twelfth century. A few traces are found in the documentary sources. For example, from the charters of La Trinité Vendôme we have a charter witnessed by an individual named as *Stephanus monetarius* (Stephen the moneyer).²⁵⁴ There is also a reference in the charter rolls of King John that, in 1199, Savaric the Younger was made master of the mint in Poitiers.²⁵⁵ Yet beyond the names of Savaric and Stephen, nothing is known about these two individuals. It is generally accepted that the *monetarius* was a relatively high-status individual, who oversaw the production of the coins.²⁵⁶ This was certainly the case

²⁵⁰ *Aiol*, eds. Malicote and Hartman, p. 37-40, vv.1590-1603.

²⁵¹ Allen, *Mints and Money*, pp. 108-117, 122-3; Spufford, *Money and its Use*, pp. 38-40.

²⁵² Woods, 'From Charlemagne to the Commercial Revolution', pp.110-111.

²⁵³ Woods, 'From Charlemagne to the Commercial Revolution', p.97.

²⁵⁴ *Chartes Vendomois*, ed. Ch. Metais (Vendôme 1905), XCII, pp. 117-18.

²⁵⁵ *Rotulorum Chartarum*, ed. TD Hardy (London, 1835), p. 11.

²⁵⁶ Woods, 'From Charlemagne to the Commercial Revolution', p. 97.

in England where the principal moneyers after the Norman Conquest were from the rank of the burgesses, with various of those active in London in the first half of the twelfth century achieving status as aldermen.²⁵⁷ The individuals who actually struck the coins were more likely to be of lower status. However, little to no information survives about who they were. Two moneyers are recorded as having been brought to England in 1180, but we only know the name of Philip Aimer who came from Tours, the moneyer from Le Mans is never named.²⁵⁸ After arriving in England, Philip Aimer worked in the London exchange, producing coins with FIL.AIMER on the reverse. He was paid sixteen pence per day, double the salary of other exchangers listed in the rolls.²⁵⁹ Philip Aimer's higher salary has suggested to JD Brand that he was a 'supervisor of all exchangers at all exchanges', the implication being he was more senior than others working at the mints.²⁶⁰ Apart from his salary, the fact that he was from Tours, and that he travelled to London in 1180, nothing else is known about Philip Aimer, a moneyer important enough to be summoned to England to assist with the 1180 recoinage. This highlights just how sparse the evidence is for twelfth-century minting practices.

As so little evidence has survived for the minting system in Plantagenet France, it is often useful to look to England for comparisons, especially as Henry Plantagenet was ruler of both domains from 1154.²⁶¹ In the kingdom of England Henry oversaw two complete national recoinages, the first in 1158 which introduced the Cross and Crosslets coinage that was the first to carry his name, and the second in 1180 which re-minted the coinage into the Short Cross type.²⁶² As part of the 1180 reforms, Henry increased the centralisation of minting, reduced the numbers of moneyers and minting towns, and separated out the previously combined roles of moneyer and exchanger, introducing

²⁵⁷ Allen, *Mints and Money*, p. 8; M. Biddle (ed.), *Winchester in the Early Middle Ages: An edition and discussion of the Winton Domesday*, *Winchester Studies I* (Oxford 1976), pp. 402, 421, 443–4.

²⁵⁸ See below; J.D Brand, 'Philip Aimer – Exchanger and Moneyer', *Spink's Numismatic Circular*, 81 (1973), 372.

²⁵⁹ Brand, 'Philip Aimer', 372.

²⁶⁰ Brand, 'Philip Aimer', 372.

²⁶¹ Stewart, 'The English and Norman Mints', pp. 1-82.

²⁶² J.J. North, *English Hammered Coinage: Vol. I Early Anglo-Saxon to Henry III c. 600-1272* (London 1994), pp. 217-220; Cook, 'En Monnaie', p. 626; Some of the coins minted during the 'Anarchy' carry the name of Henry of Anjou which have been attributed to Henry Plantagenet, but the cross and crosslets were the first official coinage of his as king of England.

penalties for any moneyers exchanging without a mint appointment.²⁶³ There are forty-three examples in the pipe rolls, between 1180 and 1185, of moneyers being fined for breaking this rule.²⁶⁴ However, despite the separation of the roles of moneyer and exchanger, it appears that it was possible for a single individual to occupy both roles. In arguing his case for this, Martin Allen employs the example of a loan of £300 sterling extended to five citizens of York, recorded in the 1208 pipe rolls, intended to support the work of the exchangers. Of the five individuals listed, Allen has identified four of them with the same names as moneyers active in the 1180s suggesting that these individuals were both moneyers and exchangers.²⁶⁵ Furthermore, the account describing two moneyers being brought to England in 1180 uses the term '*cambiator*' or exchanger.²⁶⁶ The named individual, Philip Aimer of Tours, is known to have become a moneyer in the mint at London, so presumably was both a moneyer and an exchanger in Tours. This supports Allen's argument that one person could carry out both roles.²⁶⁷ It is impossible to state conclusively whether similar practice applied throughout Plantagenet France as the evidence is so thin. As will be apparent throughout this chapter, the degree of separation between coin production and exchange in the French Plantagenet lands is impossible to establish, although it remains possible that the two processes took place in separate locations.²⁶⁸

Another obscure aspect of coin production in the French Plantagenet lands is the system by which the local mints received their dies. In England, for most of the twelfth century, all dies were produced centrally and distributed to the local moneyers to ensure that all coins were minted to the official coin designs, guaranteeing a uniform royal coinage.²⁶⁹ In Plantagenet France, by contrast, the majority of the coins in circulation were originally produced by a variety of minting authorities which, presumably, oversaw the production

²⁶³ Allen, *Mints and Money*, pp. 3, 49; Mayhew, 'From Regional to Central Minting', pp. 92-5; Henry I's writ of 1100 states that only a moneyer could exchange money see: *Regesta Regum Anglo-Normannorum, 1066-1154*, eds. H.W.C. Davis, C Johnson, and H.C. Cronne, (Oxford 1975), II, no. 501 p. 4.

²⁶⁴ Allen, *Mints and Money*, p. 50.

²⁶⁵ Allen, *Mints and Money*, p. 52; *The Great Roll of the Pipe for the tenth year of the reign of King John Michaelmas 1208 (Pipe Roll 54)*, Pipe Roll Society new series 23 (London, 1945), p. 158.

²⁶⁶ Moesgaard, *Les Trésors monétaire*, p. 107.

²⁶⁷ Moesgaard, *Les Trésors monétaires*, p. 107.

²⁶⁸ See below.

²⁶⁹ Allen, *Mints and Money*, pp. 122-3; Allen, 'The English Coinage of 1153/4-1158', 254-5.

of their own coin dies. Whilst various neighbouring coinages were similar, and may potentially have shared dies or taken inspiration from each other, each coin type was ultimately unique implying a much more localised die production.²⁷⁰ One aspect of the monetary system in England relevant to a study of the French Plantagenet coinage is that it was possible for multiple mints to produce the same coinage: a practice that had been familiar on the continent under the Carolingians.²⁷¹ The majority of what is known about English minting practices has to be deduced from records of restrictions placed on moneyers, from references made in administrative sources, and from studying the coins themselves. For example, an Anglo-Saxon lawcode of King Æthelstan (*d.*939) states that moneyers were forbidden from minting outside of a town, the implication being that various moneyers had done this in the past but that each moneyer was expected to be linked to a town for which they provided the locals with coins.²⁷² These moneyers had individual workshops situated wherever the moneyer was, whether at home or elsewhere, but they do appear to have been moveable.²⁷³ Similarly, in the *Leges Henrici Primi* we find it specified that no moneyer could issue coins beyond his own shire, implying that minting might take place anywhere within the shire and not just at the town named on the coin.²⁷⁴ Both the lawcodes and the numismatic evidence points to multiple moneyers being associated with mint towns in both Anglo-Saxon and Norman England. During the same period mints were focused around areas which had a steady silver supply and a demand for coin; for example, trading centres that had fairs and markets, places where renders and taxes had to be paid, or locations near to active silver mines.²⁷⁵ It might be that the early comital mints in the French Plantagenet lands were

²⁷⁰ For example, the similarities between all the Chartres-Blois type coins see: Cook, '*En Monnaie*', pp. 656-663.

²⁷¹ Woods, 'From Charlemagne to the Commercial Revolution', p. 97.

²⁷² Allen, *Mints and Money*, p. 1 citing: David Metcalf, 'The Ranking of Boroughs: Numismatic Evidence from the Reign of Aethelred II', *British Archaeological Reports*, 59 (1978), 160-1; J.D. Brand, *Periodic Change of Type in the Anglo-Saxon and Norman Periods* (Rochester 1984), p. 45; 'II Aethelstan' in F.L. Attenborough, *Laws of the Earliest English Kings* (Cambridge 1922), p. 135.

²⁷³ Allen, *Mints and Money*, p. 1 citing Metcalf, 'The Ranking of Boroughs', 160-1; Brand, *Periodic Change of Type*, p. 45.

²⁷⁴ Allen, *Mints and Money*, p. 3 citing: *Regesta Regum Anglo-Normannorum*, II, no. 501, p.4; Stewart, 'The English and Norman Mints', p. 547; D.J. Symons, 'Aspects of the Anglo-Saxon and Norman Mint of Worcester, 975-118', unpublished PhD thesis (University of Birmingham 2003), pp. 169, 3102; D.J. Symons, 'The Moneyers of the Worcester mint, 1066-1158: Some Thoughts and Comments', in B.Cook and G. Williams eds., *Coinage and History in the North Sea World, c.AD 500-2000. Essays in honour of Marion Archibald* (Leiden 2006), p. 547.

²⁷⁵ Allen, *Mints and Money*, p. 17.

established with similar principles, so that each region had a moneyer, or multiple moneyers, operating where there was most demand, supplying coins for the local population as needed.²⁷⁶

As part of the English recoinage of 1158, moneyers appear to have been forbidden from sharing a mint building, as the 1166/7 the pipe roll records that the Winchester moneyers were each fined 100 shillings for working together in the same building, the implication being that each moneyer was expected to work alone.²⁷⁷ At the same time each borough had a set quota of moneyers, and there are records of allowances against the farm of individual boroughs 'in default of moneyers', presumably because those who were not active represented a drain on the generation of revenue and hence a reduction in the borough's ability to meet its obligations to the Exchequer.²⁷⁸ In Martin Allen's estimate of mint town and moneyer numbers there are certain mint towns, for example, Canterbury, London, and Norwich, which Allen suggests had multiple moneyers.²⁷⁹ If each of these moneyers, according to the regulations, had to work on their own, then presumably they each would have had their own individual mint workshop which they could set up wherever there was a need for coin, allowing for regular movement between locations or even between towns. If this was the case, then each of the seven moneyers active in Canterbury, for example, would have been producing coins in their own mint workshop all of which carried the name of the 'Canterbury' mint, the only difference between the coins being the name of the moneyer despite the coins being produced in a variety of locations within Canterbury. The English minting system thus suggests the possibility that multiple mint workshops existed simultaneously within a single town, all producing the same design of coin under the name of the principal mint. If in Henry's French lands there was a practice of centralised die production similar to the system that existed in England, then all the dies of a single coinage could have been

²⁷⁶ Rory Naismith, 'The Moneyers and Domesday Book', *Anglo-Norman Studies*, XLV (2023), 181-274, especially 194-196.

²⁷⁷ Allen, *Mints and Money*, p. 46.

²⁷⁸ Allen, *Mints and Money*, p. 47.

²⁷⁹ Allen, *Mints and Money*, p. 43.

produced in the same die workshop but used in different mints, thereby explaining why all of the coins of one type had the same overall design.²⁸⁰

As will be discussed later in this chapter, the argument for the existence of multiple mints for a single coinage often depends on differences between the legends found on individual coins, the implication being that each variation in legend was the work of a different mint workshop using its own die(s). Alternately, it could have been that each 'mint' had multiple moneyers associated with it who could take the master die and use it to produce coins as and when needed. It is not known whether the minting and exchanging practices of the French Plantagenet lands were the same as in England. However, the fact that two French moneyers are recorded as having been brought over to England by Richard of Ilchester to assist with the 1180 recoinage might suggest that they were being brought across the Channel to provide knowledge and experience of coin standards and minting practices in place in the French Plantagenet lands but lacking in England.²⁸¹ The fact that Philip Aimer was able to take over supervision of English exchanges and mints might imply that these worked in a similar way to those of his native Tours. It is possible, therefore, that there were similarities between the English and Norman minting practices, although the evidence is not available to prove this conclusively.

The currency of the French lands of Henry Plantagenet included a large number of different coin types, only some of which are found in the hoard evidence in significant numbers. Each individual coin type had its own circulation pattern. However, over the course of the twelfth century, some coinages became more dominant than others. Within the duchy of Normandy and the county of Anjou the coin types found in the hoards in the greatest numbers were those minted at Angers, Le Mans, Tours, Châteaudun, Vendôme, Gien and Guingamp, all of which Barrie Cook has labelled as 'Angevin' coinages.²⁸² Cook also includes the English Short Cross coins as an 'Angevin'

²⁸⁰ Allen, *Mints and Money*, pp. 103-122.

²⁸¹ J.P. Mass, *Sylloge of Coins of the British Isles 56: The JP Mass Collection: English Short Cross Coins, 1180-1247* (Oxford 2001), p. 1; Dumas, 'Des Revenues publics', 53; Cook, 'En Monnaie', p. 624.

²⁸² Cook, 'En Monnaie', p. 622.

coinage. However, as these are not found in significant numbers in Plantagenet France until after the death of Henry Plantagenet, for this thesis only the previously mentioned coin types will be considered as the 'Angevin' coinages. Within the duchy of Aquitaine the coins found most often in the hoards are those minted at Angoulême, Limoges, Poitou and Bordeaux, with very few finds of any of the Angevin coinages. The division between the 'Angevin' and 'Aquitanian' coinages will be discussed in further detail below, this chapter supplying first an overview of each of these coin types including a history of their production.

The Angevin Coinages Produced North of the Loire

The Angevin denier

The Angevin denier was the coinage originally minted by the counts of Anjou in their capital of Angers, from the eleventh century until it was demonetised in 1204.²⁸³ Initially minted to carry the name of count Geoffrey (I, II or III, most likely Geoffrey II 'Martel', 1040-60), the coins changed in type in the 1150s, with the name on the coins changed to that of count Fulk (probably Fulk V, 'le Jeun').²⁸⁴ Until recently it was widely accepted that, as there were two counts of Anjou called Geoffrey and two called Fulk over the course of the eleventh and early-twelfth centuries, the two types of Angevin deniers alternated between Geoffrey and Fulk to reflect the name of the current ruler.²⁸⁵ But this would have been peculiar, given the prevailing tradition of immobilised coinages at this time. This belief, initially advanced by French numismatist Faustin Poey d'Avant, has been disproved by both Barrie Cook and Jens Christian Moesgaard who have argued for the 'Fulk' and 'Geoffrey' type deniers being two separate phases of the coinage.²⁸⁶ Using

²⁸³ Françoise Dumas, 'La monnaie dans le domaine plantagenet', *Cahiers de civilisation Médiéval*, 29 (1986), p. 57. ; Cook, 'En monnaie', p. 625

²⁸⁴ Cook, 'en monnaie', p. 631.

²⁸⁵ Faustin Poey d'Avant, *Monnaies féodales de France*, V. 1 (Paris, 1858), pp. 199-206.; Cook, 'en monnaie', p. 631; J. Belaubre, *Administration des monnaies et médailles. Les collections monétaires II. Monnaies Médiévales 2: L'époques du denier*, (Paris, 1987), pp. 173-5; L.A. Lawrence, 'The Lark Hill (Worcester) find', *Numismatic Chronicle*, 19 (1919), p. 49-52; Lord Grantley and L.A. Lawrence, 'On a find of French deniers and English pennies of the twelfth century', *British Numismatic Journal*, 14 (1918), pp. 41-54.

²⁸⁶ Poey d'Avant, *Monnaies féodales de France*, (1961); Cook, 'En monnaie', p. 631.

the hoard evidence, Cook has shown that the 'Geoffrey' type deniers were the only ones found in hoards dating to the early twelfth century, most of which carry the reverse legend VRBS AIDCCV, which Jean Duplessy has assigned to the rule of Fulk IV (1060-1109).²⁸⁷ The Nogent-le-Rotrou hoard, dating to 1140 X 1150, is the earliest recorded hoard to contain more deniers in the name of Fulk than Geoffrey, with 388 and fifty-seven respectively, marking the start of the dominance of the 'Fulk' type Angevin denier.²⁸⁸ Due to the bullion shortage across Europe during the mid-twelfth century, Cook argued that the only way to meet the demand for the production of the new 'Fulk' deniers would have been to re-mint the existing 'Geoffrey' deniers, hence their disappearance from the hoards dating from 1150 onwards.²⁸⁹ Jens Christian Moesgaard has also looked at the reverse legends found on these coins and categorised them into three main groups: those with the legends ANDEGAVENSIS, VRBS AIDCCSV or VRBS ANDEGAVIS (and variants), which he has dated to 1130, c.1140 X 1150 and c.1150 X 1170 respectively.²⁹⁰ Moesgaard's dating of the reverse legends is similar to Cook's, as Cook argued that all of the main reverse legends (VRBS AIDCCSV, ANDEGAVENSIS, VRBS ANDEGAVIS, ANDEGAVS) were in use by the mid 1150s. However, Cook suggests that the 'Fulk' type coins with the VRBS AIDCCSV legend are potentially the earliest issue due to their similarity to the Geoffrey type coins.²⁹¹ Despite being able to prove that the 'Geoffrey' and 'Fulk' type deniers were two separate phases of the Angevin denier, and that the change from 'Geoffrey' to 'Fulk' occurred under the Plantagenets, the immobilisation of the coins from the 1150s onwards poses problems in establishing any firm chronology or in associating particular variations of the coins with the individual Plantagenet rulers of Anjou.

During the rule of Henry Plantagenet the use of the Angevin denier extended well beyond the boundaries of Anjou, so that it became the official coinage of the French

²⁸⁷ Cook, 'En monnaie', p. 632; Jean Duplessy, *Les Trésors Monétaires Médiévaux et Modernes Découvertes en France*, (Paris, 1985); Jean Duplessy, *Les Monnaies Françaises Féodales*, (Paris, 2004).

²⁸⁸ Cook, 'En monnaie', p. 633; Duplessy, *Les Trésors Monétaires*, pp. 95-6.

²⁸⁹ Cook 'En monnaie', pp. 632-3.

²⁹⁰ J.Moesgaard, 'La Chronologie des deniers du comte d'Anjou', 17-22; Moesgaard, *Les Trésors monétaires*, p. 91.

²⁹¹ Cook, 'En Monnaie', p. 634.

Plantagenet lands, especially those north of the Loire.²⁹² The increased use of the Angevin denier is reflected in the higher number of finds from the mid-twelfth century onwards.²⁹³ Regardless of where these coins are found, whether in Brittany or Poitou, they all carry the name of Angers as the mint, raising the possibility that not every such coin originated from a single mint in the town of Angers. In order to meet demand, the Angers mint would have had to produce a massive quantity of coins, which would then have had to travel hundreds of kilometres to reach where they were subsequently found in hoards and single finds.²⁹⁴ It is possible therefore, that, even though all Angevin deniers had the town of Angers as their mint name, a proportion of these coins could have been produced beyond the town itself.

The possibility that multiple mints were actively producing the Angevin denier was first suggested in the mid-nineteenth century by Léopold Delisle who argued for a broader definition of written references to the 'money of Rouen'.²⁹⁵ Delisle's argument was based on surviving references to the money of Rouen (the *roumois* denier) beyond the mid-twelfth century, when the Angevin conquest of Normandy had terminated the production of these Norman coins.²⁹⁶ Delisle highlighted a letter of Pope Alexander III (1153-1181) to the Dean of Bayeux which mentions a payment of six *livres* to be made in either the money of Angers or of Rouen. He also pointed to an 1170 charter of Robert, Abbot of Fontenay, which refers to a rent of two *sous* of Angers, or an equivalent sum in the money of Rouen.²⁹⁷ The basis of Delisle's argument was that the written evidence contradicts the numismatic evidence, in which we find no *roumois* deniers in hoards dateable to after the mid-twelfth century. Delisle was persuaded by the numismatic evidence to conclude that 'money of Rouen' did not in fact mean money minted at Rouen, but rather the money commonly found in Rouen, which would most likely have been the Angevin denier, as this was the main coinage found in Normandy and had the

²⁹² Cook, 'En Monnaie', pp. 637-8.

²⁹³ Duplessy, *Les Trésors monétaires*; Cook, 'En Monnaie', pp. 620-638.

²⁹⁴ Cook, 'En Monnaie', p. 685; Duplessy, *Les Trésors Monétaires*.

²⁹⁵ Delisle, 'Des Revenues publics', 186.

²⁹⁶ Delisle, 'Des revenus publics', 183-4; Dutton, 'Geoffrey, Count of Anjou', pp. 206-11.

²⁹⁷ Delisle, 'Des revenus publics', 186-7; *Cartulaire de la seigneurie de Fontenay le Marmion : provenant des archives de Matignon*, ed Gustav Saige (Monaco 1895), p. 12; Stapleton, 'Observations', *Magni Rotuli Scacarii*, I, p. XVI.

same value as the *Roumois*.²⁹⁸ What Delisle did not mention, although it would have strengthened his argument, was that, prior to the 1140s, the *roumois* denier is known to have been minted at Bayeux as well as Rouen, although there is no evidence of the mint name on the coin being changed to reflect this fact.²⁹⁹ It is possible, therefore, that the phrase ‘money of Rouen’ could have been used in the early-twelfth century to refer to coins carrying the mint name of Rouen, produced at mints located in Rouen but also in Bayeux.³⁰⁰ It might also be suggested that references to the ‘money of Rouen’ in later twelfth century charters were the result such charters merely repeating terminology found in earlier charters, by this time in practice technically redundant. There are examples from the written sources for twelfth-century Normandy of payments being specified in the money current in Normandy (*communis monetæ in Normania*) or in public money (*publice monete*) rather than specifically in Angevin deniers.³⁰¹ Phrases like this were a means of specifying that payment should be made in the coinage found and used in any particular area, rather than specific proof for the circulation of distinctively Norman coinage.³⁰² As such phrases are found in documents contemporary with those highlighted by Delisle, it is curious that several of them refer to ‘the money of Rouen’ rather than current or common money, even though Delisle was essentially arguing that ‘money of Rouen’ meant the same thing. Delisle’s argument does not explicitly require the existence of multiple mints, but by questioning the terminology used in the written sources he proposed a more flexible definition of the term ‘money of Rouen’: one that could be used to mean any coin circulating within Rouen rather than only coins minted at the Rouen mint.

A more numismatic approach to the question of multiple mints was adopted around the same time by Poey D’Avant who argued that the name of the city found on the coins, specifically in reference to the Angevin deniers, was that of the principal mint and was

²⁹⁸ Delisle, ‘Des revenus publics’, 186.

²⁹⁹ Cook, ‘*En Monnaie*’, p. 637; F Dumas, ‘Les monnaies Normandes’, 87, 93

³⁰⁰ Cook, ‘*En Monnaie*’, p. 637; Dumas, ‘Les monnaies Normandes’, 87, 93

³⁰¹ *Cartularius Ecclesiae Baiocensis (Livre Noir)*, ed. Abbé V. Bourienne (1902), No. LXXIV, p. 93; *Le Cartulaire de l’abbaye bénédictine de Saint-Pierre-de-Préaux*, ed. Dominique Rouet (Paris 2005), No. A123, p. 116; *Chartes de l’abbaye de Jumièges (v.825-1204) conservés aux archives de la seigneurie inférieure*, ed. J.J. Vernier (Paris 1916), No. CXV, pp. 36-8; see chapter six for additional examples and discussion.

³⁰² See chapter six for further discussion.

not an indication that all the coins carrying that mint name were actually produced there.³⁰³ Instead, it was Poey D'Avant's contention that the Plantagenets would have minted their deniers at mints in neighbouring regions, as suggested by the existence of variations in legends found on the coins.³⁰⁴ Poey d'Avant argued that, as the Angevin denier was a symbol of Plantagenet power and authority, it would not have been incorrectly minted with inaccurate legends.³⁰⁵ Poey d'Avant ultimately believed that the Plantagenets possessed sufficient authority over minting to enforce uniformity of design, so that mistakes in reverse legends would presumably not have been acceptable. The existence of variations in legends on the Angevin deniers could only align with the strong monetary control assumed by Poey d'Avant if such coins were in fact the products of different mints and not the result of mistakes made by moneyers at the Angers mint. The argument advanced by Poey D'Avant, that different legends might be the product of individual mints, is significant, and has helped shape the subsequent explorations of this topic. However, the evidence used to support his hypothesis remains vague. For example, in relation to where these additional mints might be located, Poey D'Avant suggested that they would have been in 'neighbouring regions' which would presumably mean Maine, Normandy, and Touraine to the north-east, and Poitou and Brittany to the south and west. However, each of these regions (apart from Normandy) already had their own coinage being produced so it is unclear whether Poey D'Avant was therefore suggesting that a single region might have rival mints, one producing their local coinage, and another producing the Angevin coinage. Either this, or a single mint producing two distinct coin types.

In the debate over the possibility of multiple mints producing the Angevin denier, the next contribution was made by Dieudonné who, like Poey d'Avant before him, found it strange that the official coinage of the Plantagenet dynasty had multiple variations in legend, and was immobilised in the name of previous counts of Anjou.³⁰⁶ Dieudonné suggested that Angevin deniers were minted at Rouen and Nantes, as well as at Angers,

³⁰³ Poey D'Avant, *Monnaies féodales de France*, I, pp. 203, 205-6.

³⁰⁴ Poey D'Avant, *Monnaies féodales de France*, I, pp. 203-6.

³⁰⁵ Poey D'Avant, *Monnaies féodales de France*, I, p. 203-6.

³⁰⁶ *Manuel numismatique Française: vol IV Monnaies féodales Françaises*, eds. A. Dieudonné and A. Blanchet (Paris 1912-1936), p.73.

hence the variations in legends, but offered no reasoning for suggesting these particular locations. It is possible that his suggestion derived from the fact that both Nantes and Rouen are known to have been established centres of minting in the first half of the twelfth century, and they were then the closest mints to Anjou not already producing their own local coinage (the mints in Tours and Le Mans being already occupied with their own coinage).³⁰⁷ This is mere conjecture. However Dieudonné arrived at his conclusion, like Poey d'Avant before him, he clearly assumed that the Plantagenets had such strong control over the production of their coinage that any variations in legends must be attributed to the existence of multiple mints and not to mistakes or choices made by moneyers.

The twenty-first century has seen a further examination of the question of whether multiple mints producing the Angevin denier existed. Moesgaard's work on the denier's chronology already mentioned above includes an appendix in which Moesgaard suggests that the three reverse legend variants of 'Fulk' deniers could in fact have been the products of different mints.³⁰⁸ He concludes that, without a comprehensive study comparing the legends on single finds, this hypothesis remains impossible to prove. Moesgaard's suggestion that different legends might reflect production in different mints was already implied by Poey D'Avant and Dieudonné, despite their failure to analyse the legends in support of their arguments. Cook has also argued that the different legends on the 'Fulk' deniers might have been the products of different mints.³⁰⁹ Cook suggests that it is possible to assign the VRBS AIDCCSV and ANDEGAVENSIS legends to the area around Anjou, as they are similar to the VRBS AIDCCSV legend found on the later 'Geoffrey' issues and they are often found together in the hoards in that area.³¹⁰ The other two legends (VRBS ANSDEGAVIS and VRBS ANDEGAVS) could have been produced in Normandy, potentially at the mint in Rouen which was known to have been active until 1140, as there are three Norman hoards (Aviron, Saint-Fraimbault-sur-Pisse, and Saint-Martin-de-Tallevende) that only contain

³⁰⁷ *Monnaies féodales Françaises*, p. 73; Mayhew, *Coinage in France*, p. 29.

³⁰⁸ Moesgaard, 'La chronologie des deniers', 22.

³⁰⁹ Cook, 'En Monnaie', p. 638.

³¹⁰ Cook, 'En Monnaie', p. 639.

coins with these two legends, or only VRBS ANDEGAVIS.³¹¹ However, like those before him, Cook acknowledges that his suggestions are conjectural, and perhaps stretch the evidence beyond any reasonable hope of proof. The only way to develop this argument further would be to carry out more detailed analysis of the finds of Angevin deniers, both as single finds and in hoards, focusing on variations in legend, find location and any evidence of die-linking. Only then will it be possible to answer the question of whether or not the Angevin denier was produced in multiple locations throughout the Angevin domains and not just in Angers.

The Le Mans denier

The coinage of Le Mans, known as the *mansois* denier, was introduced c.1030 by Herbert I, Count of Maine in whose name the coinage became immobilised for the next two centuries.³¹² There was an earlier coinage of Le Mans which is found in the Fécamp hoard that dates to the first half of the tenth century.³¹³ This early coinage was the first post-Carolingian coinage minted in Maine and there has been some debate over whether it was ecclesiastical or comital, due to the use of a temple on the coin die.³¹⁴ It is now generally agreed by numismatists that the temple design on the coin was in fact a reference to the imagery of Carolingian coins, and therefore a way for the count of Maine to lend authority to his coinage by imitating the Carolingians.³¹⁵ In his study of lordship in Maine, Richard Barton has argued that the counts had probably assumed minting rights at Le Mans in the tenth century and retained them all the way through to the Plantagenet annexation of Maine in 1110.³¹⁶ The unrest of the tenth century provided, in Barton's view, the perfect opportunity for the counts to step in and claim the authority to mint their own coins.³¹⁷ However, it was not until the introduction of

³¹¹ Cook, *'En Monnaie'*, pp. 638-9.

³¹² Cook, *'En Monnaie'*, p. 653.

³¹³ Spufford, *Money and its Use*, p. 60.

³¹⁴ Roberts, *The Silver coins of Medieval France*, p. 245; Dumas, 'Les Monnaies Normandes', 100-1.

³¹⁵ *Manuel de numismatique Française, II*. Fig. 162, p. 289; Spufford, *Money and its Use*, pp. 199-200; Richard E. Barton, *Lordship in the County of Maine, c.890-1160* (Woodbridge 2004), pp. 54-5.

³¹⁶ Robert Latouche, *Histoire du comté du Maine pendant le Xe et le XIe siècles* (Paris 1910), pp. 20-1.

³¹⁷ Barton, *Lordship in the County of Maine*, pp. 53-4; *Capitularia Regum Francorum*, II, No. 273, No.13. pp. 310-28 esp. pp. 315.

the Herbert deniers of Le Mans that the comital connection was confirmed by the legend COMES CENOMAN[N]IS found on the *mansois* deniers.³¹⁸

The mint which produced the *mansois* deniers is generally believed to have been situated in the town of Le Mans, which remained the economic and political centre of Maine and would therefore have been a key nexus of wealth and prestige for the count.³¹⁹ It would certainly make sense for there to have been a mint at Le Mans, where demand for coin was presumably highest, due to the large number of transactions taking place there, including the collection of tithes and taxes.³²⁰ However, the legend on the coins is COMES CENOMAN[N]IS which would translate as ‘Count of Maine’ rather than ‘Count of Le Mans’, even if until 1204 the Count of Maine, in practice the counts of Angers from 1110, usually controlled the town itself.³²¹ In contemporary documents, the *mansois* denier is referred to as the money of *Cenom* or *Cenomanses* which tends to be translated as ‘the money of Le Mans’.³²² Due to the similarity between the Latin names for Le Mans and Maine these documentary references could in fact refer to the money of Maine rather than specifically to money minted in Le Mans.³²³ It is possible, therefore, albeit unlikely, that the mint was not located in Le Mans, or that there were multiple mints located elsewhere in ‘Maine’ producing the same coin type.

Under Henry Plantagenet there is also assumed to have been an exchange at Le Mans, because an exchanger (*cambiator*) was summoned from Le Mans to England in the company of Philip Aimer of Tours, in 1180, to help with the recoinage.³²⁴ The text preserving these details describes Philip Aimer’s companion as being from ‘*Cenom*’,

³¹⁸ Barton, *Lordship in the County of Maine*, pp. 53-4; Cook, ‘*En Monnaie*’, pp. 53-5.

³¹⁹ Barton, *Lordship in the County of Maine*, pp. 53-4.

³²⁰ *Cartulaire de l’évêché du Mans (936-1790)*, ed. Comte Bertrand de Broussillon (Le Mans 1900), pp. 8, 11.

³²¹ Richard E. Barton, ‘Remembering Female Lordship: The Case of Berengaria, Lord of Le Mans (1204/1205 -1230)’, in *Gender, Memory and Documentary Culture c.900-1300*, ed. Laura Gathan and Charles Insley, (Woodbridge forthcoming 2025).

³²² *Cartulaire de l’évêché du Mans*, p. 8; *Cartulaire du chapitre royal de Saint-Pierre-de-la-cour, du Mans*, ed. Vicomte Menjoy d’Albenne and Abbot L.J. Dennis (Mans 1903-7), pp. 28-9, 30-2.

³²³ *Chartes Vendomois*, p. 211; *Cartulaire du chapitre royal de Saint-Pierre*, pp. 28-9, 30-2; *Cartulaire de l’évêché du Mans*, p. 8.

³²⁴ Cook, ‘*En Monnaie*’, p. 624; *In passagio episcopi Wint’ et cambitorum Regis de Turon’ et de Cenom’ - Magni Rotuli Scaccariae*, I, p. 38.

which again may imply Maine rather than specifically Le Mans. But since Philip Aimer was an exchanger from Tours it might have been that the exchanger from Maine was also from the region's capital as presumably they would have had similar levels of experience working in a busy exchange. Nothing is known of the specific identity of the exchanger from Maine, which might well have had an exchange smaller than that of Tours. The presence of an exchange nonetheless raises the question of whether exchanges existed in the same location as a mint and whether, in the French Plantagenet lands, the roles of exchanger and moneyer might be held by the same person. If the exchanges were more centralised than the mints, and were therefore located where there was the most demand for coins to be changed, then Le Mans would have been the most likely location for such an office, as a trade centre attracting merchants with purses full of non-local coinage.

Despite the immobilisation of the *mansois* coinage, Cook has argued that most of the *mansois* deniers in circulation in the late-twelfth century were newly issued, a result of the influx of new silver reaching the mints in the 1160s and 70s, which allowed for the production of new coins.³²⁵ Although the type never officially changed, there are examples of variations in design of the monogram. By contrast to the Angevin deniers there has not yet been an examination of the variations in legends found on the *mansois* deniers that might potentially denote different mints producing these coins. Throughout the twelfth century the *mansois* denier was the highest value coin minted within the French Plantagenet lands weighing 565mg fine.³²⁶ There is evidence of an exchange rate between the Angevin and *mansois* deniers a ratio of two to one: identical to the exchange rate established in 1106 between the *mansois* and *roumois* deniers. Cook has suggested that the relationship between the *mansois* and Angevin coinage was stabilised when the Angevins took control of Maine in 1110, as they would have needed a way for both the currencies to function together.³²⁷

³²⁵ Cook, 'En Monnaie', p. 654.

³²⁶ Dumas, 'La Monnaie dans les domaines Plantagenet', 56; Lerquet, 'La Fabrique monétaire de la forteresse du Montreuil-Bonnin', p. 10.

³²⁷ Cook, 'En Monnaie', p. 653; Delisle, 'Des Revenues Publics', p. 197.

The *mansois* denier survived the 1204 Capetian takeover of Normandy, with minting continuing until Louis IX's brother Charles was appointed Count of Anjou and Maine in 1246, at which point he introduced his own coinage.³²⁸ Even though *mansois* deniers continued to be produced after 1204, the status of the mint between 1204 and 1246 is uncertain. In 1204 Philip Augustus granted Le Mans to Berengaria of Navarre, Richard the Lionheart's widow, in exchange for her dower lands in Normandy.³²⁹ It is unclear whether, as ruler of Le Mans, Berengaria controlled the mint, presuming that the mint definitely was located in Le Mans, or whether the mint producing the *mansois* deniers would have remained under Philip's authority, or at least that of his officials.³³⁰

The Denier of Saint-Martin of Tours

During the twelfth century the main coinage known to have been minted in Tours was the *tournois* denier which was produced anonymously in the name of Saint-Martin, differing from many other contemporary coinages as it claimed a patron saint as its minting authority rather than the lay ruler of the region. The mint producing these deniers is believed to have been established in the tenth century, if not before, as a copy of a charter of Charles the Simple dating to 27 June 919 has survived confirming the grant of minting rights which his predecessors had made to the Abbey and community of Saint-Martin.³³¹ It states that the community of Saint-Martin of Tours had previously been given permission to have their own coin (*propeiam monetam*) which they could mint themselves (*percussionem propria numismatis*) and from which they might receive the annual profits.³³² In mentioning this act, Peter Spufford suggests that the confirmation was only made because the community of Saint-Martin of Tours convinced Charles the Simple that they had previously possessed an ancient privilege to mint their

³²⁸ Cook, 'En Monnaie', p. 655.

³²⁹ Cook, 'En Monnaie', p. 655; see chapter five in: Ann Trindade, *Berengaria: in search of Richard the Lionheart's Queen* (Dublin 1999); Barton, 'Remembering Female Lordship'.

³³⁰ For Le Mans under Berengaria, see: Richard E Barton, 'Enquête, Exaction and Excommunication: Experiencing Power in Western France, c. 1190-1245', *Anglo-Norman Studies*, XLIII (2020), 177-196; Gabrielle Storey, *Berengaria of Navarre: Queen of England, Lord of Le Mans* (Abingdon 2024).

³³¹ *Recueil des actes de Charles III le simple: roi de France 893-923*, ed. Philippe Lauer (Paris 1940), I, No. CI, pp. 231-40.

³³² *Recueil des actes de Charles III*, p. 237-8 No. CI, p. 231.

own coins.³³³ Spufford casts doubt on the truth of this assertion, implying rather that Charles the Simple was strong-armed by the lay abbot of Saint-Martin, Robert Marquess of Neustria, who shortly afterwards removed Charles from the throne.³³⁴ Even if the 919 confirmation marks an initial takeover of minting rights by the community of Saint-Martin rather than a confirmation of previously held rights, it is still useful in confirming the existence of an independent ecclesiastical mint under the authority of the community of Saint-Martin.

Nearly every numismatist who mentions the *tournois* denier states that it was minted at the abbey of Saint-Martin of Tours. Whilst the 919 charter may at first glance appear to prove that this was the case, on further examination it is actually unclear whether the mint was granted to the abbey, or to the community of canons at Tours. Kathryn Dutton has noted that within Tours there were in fact three separate foundations in the name of Saint-Martin: the secular college of canons, the abbey of Marmoutier, and the Cathedral of Saint-Maurice.³³⁵ Dutton argued that the mint which produced the *tournois* deniers was under the authority of the Canons of Saint-Martin within the secular college which housed the relics of Saint-Martin and was located outside the city walls.³³⁶ If Dutton's view is correct then the numismatists who place the mint within the abbey are actually incorrect as the abbey and the canonical college of Saint-Martin represent two entirely distinct ecclesiastical sites.

Dutton's argument is based on the work of Pierre Gasnault on the tomb of Saint-Martin of Tours. Gasnault has argued that the body and relics of Saint-Martin were transferred to the chapter of the brothers of Tours which was the reason for the charter of Charles the Simple being made in 919 confirming their rights, including the right to mint coins.³³⁷ Gasnault based his argument on a text printed in the *Gallia Christiana* which mentions

³³³ Spufford, *Money and its Use*, p. 60.

³³⁴ Spufford, *Money and its Use*, p. 60.

³³⁵ Dutton, 'Geoffrey, count of Anjou,' p. 76; Kathryn Dutton, 'Authority, Administration and Antagonism on the Margins: Tours under Count Geoffrey V of Anjou (1129-1151) and the Capetian kings', *French Historical Studies*, 37:2 (Spring 2014), 215-6; Cook, 'En Monnaie', p. 621.

³³⁶ Dutton, 'Geoffrey, Count of Anjou', p. 76.

³³⁷ Pierre Gasnault, 'Le Tombeau de Saint Martin et les invasions Normandes dans l'histoire et dans la légende', *Revue d'histoire de l'Église de France*, 144 (1961) p. 64.

an agreement made between Robert, Abbot of Saint-Martin and the canons of the community of Saint-Martin in the city of Tours. This agreement was witnessed by Gerontius in 910 'in the chapter of the brothers, beside the building in which the body of Saint-Martin rested' (*capitulo fratrum ad latus domus in qua corpus B. Martini quiescit*).³³⁸ If this can be taken literally, then the secular college of the canons of Saint-Martin was located in the same place as the tomb which held the body and relics of Saint-Martin of Tours, although the tomb was potentially in a separate building as the chapter is described as situated next to it. Furthermore, the agreement was made between the canons of Saint-Martin and the Abbot of Saint-Martin (i.e. Marmoutier) which would certainly suggest that they were not the same institution, making it possible that, if the Canons had minting rights, then the mint would probably not have been located in the abbey. Charles the Simple's 919 diploma does not shed much light on the matter, as whilst there are references to the abbot of Saint-Martin (*sancti Martini abbas*) in the introductory section of the charter, there are also mentions of the community (*communem*), the basilica (*basilicum*) and of the brothers (*fratres*) of Saint-Martin in relation to the minting rights.³³⁹ Potentially the absence of any reference to monks (*monachi*) could be evidence that the act refers to the secular college rather than the abbey of Marmoutier. However, the entire text is confusing as it seems to address the rights of multiple communities in one document. The only thing that the 919 act proves is that there was a confirmation by Charles the Simple of the right to mint coins in the name of Saint-Martin, early in the tenth century.

To complicate the situation further, Poey D'Avant argued for two mints existing simultaneously at Tours: the ecclesiastical mint of Saint-Martin, and a mint under the authority of the vicomte of Touraine.³⁴⁰ The comital mint, according to Poey D'Avant, originated as a Carolingian royal mint which operated from the reign of Charlemagne (768-814) until the start of the tenth century, when the vicomte usurped the right of

³³⁸ Gasnault, 'Le Tombeau de Saint Martin' 64; *Gallia Christiana in provincias ecclesiasticas distribute* vol.2, ed. Denis de Sainte-Marthe (Paris 1720), col. 34-5, p. 29; Dumas-Dubourg, *Le Trésor de Fécamp*, p. 194.

³³⁹ *Recueil des actes de Charles III*, pp. 237-8, 240.

³⁴⁰ Poey D'Avant, *Monnaies féodales de France*, I, p. 219.

minting coins and produced his own, imitating the contemporary Carolingian coinage.³⁴¹ Poey D'Avant argued that eventually the comital mint closed and was absorbed by that of Saint-Martin at which point the coins all began to carry a legend referring to Saint-Martin rather than TVRONVS CIVITAS (the city of Tours).³⁴² Once again, Poey D'Avant's argument for an additional mint relies on the differing legends on the coins of Tours, with very little by way of supporting evidence. Nevertheless, both Nicholas Mayhew and Barrie Cook have accepted Poey D'Avant's argument for the existence of two mints at Tours.³⁴³ They have both argued that the ecclesiastical mint at Tours became the only active mint following the 1042 victory of the Count of Anjou over Blois and the introduction of the Angevin denier into Tours.³⁴⁴ Poey D'Avant, Mayhew and Cook all agree that over the course of the tenth and early eleventh centuries there were two active mints in Tours, but that from then onwards only the ecclesiastical mint survived. The mint of Saint-Martin of Tours appears to have continued minting despite changes to the ruling authority all the way through to the thirteenth century. Potentially its position as an ecclesiastical mint gave it a certain level of independence in the various power struggles over Tours, most notably in those between the Plantagenet and Capetian kings. Perhaps as a result, the *tournois* denier was one of the few Angevin coinages to survive the debacle of 1204.³⁴⁵

Françoise Dumas in her study of the weights and silver content of royal French coinage suggests that in the early-thirteenth century there were again two separate mints at Tours; one producing the ecclesiastical *tournois* deniers, the other minting the new royal currency of Phillip Augustus.³⁴⁶ Dumas's argument for two mints is based on differences in the design and weight standards of the thirteenth-century *tournois* deniers, some of which are inconsistent with the coinage of the French king. If Dumas's argument is correct, then it would seem that in the thirteenth century there was again a second mint at Tours, which begs the question of whether for the period from 1042 onwards the

³⁴¹ Poey D'Avant, *Monnaies féodales de France*, I, p. 220.

³⁴² Poey D'Avant, *Monnaies féodales de France*, I, pp. 219-20.

³⁴³ Cook, 'En Monnaie', pp. 621, 649-51; Mayhew, *Coinage in France*, p. 34.

³⁴⁴ Mayhew, *Coinage in France*, p. 34.

³⁴⁵ Cook, 'En Monnaie', p. 651.

³⁴⁶ Dumas and Barrandon, *Le Titre et le poids*, p.47.

comital mint was inactive, or whether it minted other coins, perhaps the Angevin denier. Cook has argued that, following the 1204 Capetian conquest, the anonymous *tournois* deniers of Saint-Martin replaced the Angevin deniers in the newly acquired lands of Philip Augustus across north-west France, acting as a temporary 'Capetian' coinage until Philip was able to mint his own deniers at Tours in his own name.³⁴⁷ Cook rejects the argument that Philip managed to introduce his own coinage soon after 1204, due to the lack of supporting find evidence.³⁴⁸ The significant increase in numbers of finds of the anonymous Saint-Martin deniers suggests to Cook that the decommissioned Angevin coinages were re-minted into the *tournois* deniers, allowing Philip time to produce sufficient quantities of his own royal *tournois* deniers.³⁴⁹

Another aspect of the minting of the *tournois* deniers which needs to be considered is how the mints may have interacted with the exchange located at Tours. According to the Norman Pipe Rolls, in 1180 Philip Aimer of Tours was brought over to England to help with the recoinage, after which he became a royal exchanger and a moneyer in the London mint.³⁵⁰ It is from this reference to the '*cambiator*' (money-changer) of Tours that numismatists and historians have argued for the existence of an exchange within the town of Tours. However, beyond this single mention nothing further is known of such an exchange, including where precisely it might have been located or how it functioned in relation to the mint. It is tempting to argue that the exchange at Tours could have functioned in a similar way to those in England after the 1180 reforms, as why else would an exchanger from France have been brought across the Channel? If this was the case, then it might be assumed that, as in England, the mint and exchange were located in separate buildings, which would mean that the town of Tours might have possessed a minimum of at least two separate establishments producing coins.³⁵¹ Alternatively, it could have been that the mint which produced the *tournois* deniers was separate from the exchange but linked to the comital mint at Tours. Once again, without

³⁴⁷ Cook, '*En Monnaie*', p. 651.

³⁴⁸ Cook, '*En Monnaie*', p. 652.

³⁴⁹ Cook, '*En Monnaie*', p. 652-3; Dumas, *Le Titre et le Poids*, p. 47.

³⁵⁰ Cook, '*En Monnaie*', p. 624; *Magni Rotuli Scaccariae Normanniae*, I, p. 38.

³⁵¹ Allen, *Mints and Money*, p. 53.

further insight into the practice of minting and exchanging at Tours it is impossible to know how the monetary system was organised.

The *tournois* denier survived the Capetian takeover of Normandy by Philip Augustus in 1204. Instead of demonetising it as an Angevin coinage, Phillip Augustus drew on the ancient relationship between the Capetian kings and the abbey of Saint-Martin of Tours and chose to mint *tournois* deniers in his own name. These royal French *tournois* deniers do not begin appearing in hoards until several years after the Capetian conquest of Normandy. Until then, the anonymous *tournois* deniers of Saint-Martin of Tours acted as the main coinage in the newly acquired duchy of Normandy as they were already an accepted coinage in the region. The Saint-Michel-en-l'herm hoard, dating to 1206 X 1213, is pinpointed by Cook as the turning point at which the *tournois* deniers struck in the name of Philip began to outnumber the anonymous deniers of Tours.³⁵² Whilst the anonymous *tournois* denier continued to circulate alongside the new royal French *tournois* deniers, from the mid-thirteenth century onwards the royal French deniers became dominant in Normandy.

The Guingamp denier

The *guingampois* denier was introduced by Count Stephen of Penthièvre (1093-1125) in whose name they were minted until the reign of Alain of Goello (1184-1212).³⁵³ The deniers were minted in Guingamp in northern Brittany, which was held by the junior branch of the Breton ducal dynasty who claimed their own independent authority in this region.³⁵⁴ Although technically minted outside the French Plantagenet lands, the Guingamp denier was fully integrated into the Angevin monetary system.³⁵⁵ In the eleventh century, when they were first minted, the right to mint coins rested primarily with the dukes of Brittany, with the counts of Penthièvre the only ones with authority to

³⁵² Cook, 'En Monnaie', pp. 650-1; Duplessy, Les Trésors monétaires, p. 116; Jean Lafaurie, 'le Trésor de Saint-Michel-en-l'herm', *Bulletin de la Société Française Numismatique*, (1958) 211-212.

³⁵³ Jens Christian Moesgaard, 'Variante inédite du denier de Penthièvre (XII siècle)', *Bulletin de la Société Française de Numismatique*, 56 (2001), 60; Cook, *En Monnaie*, p. 641.

³⁵⁴ Everard, *Brittany and the Angevins*, p. 13.

³⁵⁵ See chapter five.

mint their own coins.³⁵⁶ Following Count Stephen's death his lands were divided between his two sons and it is not clear whether the mint remained within the barony of Tréguier.³⁵⁷ Who held authority over the mint at Guingamp during the succession struggles of the mid-twelfth century is not known. However, at some point during this period, the barony of Tréguier and the mint at Guingamp were brought back under ducal control.³⁵⁸ By the time of Duke Conan IV's forced abdication in 1166, he held both Tréguier and Guingamp, which would presumably have ensured his control over the Guingamp mint.³⁵⁹ As part of his agreement with Henry Plantagenet, Conan IV retained various rights, for example to use the title '*dux Britannie et comes Richemundie*', as well as to seignorial authority over the barony of Tréguier.³⁶⁰ As the mint of Guingamp had first been established independently of ducal authority, it is possible that, following his abdication, Conan IV continued to possess minting rights within the barony. Barrie Cook has questioned whether the mint at Guingamp was in fact under Duke Conan IV's direct control or that of Henry's officials, which would have allowed Henry to receive profits from the mint rather than Conan.³⁶¹ Cook has argued that, following the Angevin campaigns in Brittany in the late 1160s and early 1170s, production of the official ducal coinage ceased, which resulted in the Guingamp mint becoming the only one active in Brittany at this time.³⁶² But whether under the control of the abdicated duke or the new Plantagenet rulers of Brittany remains uncertain.

Following Conan IV's death in 1171, the barony of Tréguier was restored to the counts of Penthièvre with whom it remained until c.1182-3 when Duke Geoffrey II (Henry's son) seized it in the name of his wife, Constance of Brittany, who was the heir to the senior Penthièvre line.³⁶³ During his time as Duke of Brittany, Geoffrey minted his own coinage but this enjoyed only limited circulation.³⁶⁴ A newly anonymous ducal coinage began to be produced which eventually replaced the *guingampois* denier, although there is

³⁵⁶ Everard, *Brittany and the Angevins*, p. 13.

³⁵⁷ Cook, '*En Monnaie*', p. 641.

³⁵⁸ Cook, '*En Monnaie*', p. 645-6.

³⁵⁹ Cook, '*En Monnaie*', p. 641.

³⁶⁰ Everard, *Brittany and the Angevins*, p. 44.

³⁶¹ Cook, '*En Monnaie*', p. 642.

³⁶² Cook, '*En Monnaie*', p. 641.

³⁶³ Cook, '*En Monnaie*', p. 642.

³⁶⁴ Dumas, '*La monnaie dans les domaines Plantagenêt*', p. 55.

disagreement among numismatists over when precisely these new coins were introduced.³⁶⁵ Duplessy and Jézéquel suggested the period following Geoffrey's death in 1186.³⁶⁶ However, this coinage is absent from Angevin hoards of the period, and likewise from the period immediately after 1204, whilst the coins themselves have left no trace in the charter evidence. The first hoard in which this new ducal coinage was found dates to 1213-15, leading Cook to argue that the ducal coinage enjoyed no revival until the complete termination of Angevin influence in Brittany, possibly after Guy de Thouars, Duchess Constance's second husband, accepted Philip Augustus as overlord in 1206.³⁶⁷ The significant interaction between the *guingampois* denier and the other Angevin coinages reflects the high levels of Angevin influence in Brittany, as it was the only mint beyond the boundaries of the Plantagenet lands, not under the direct rule of Henry Plantagenet to become a core element within the Angevin monetary system.³⁶⁸

In 1987 Jean Belaubre attempted to classify the *guingampois* deniers into six different types based on the evolution of letter forms and the images of the busts which corresponded to the chronology of minting.³⁶⁹ Belaubre's classification was reworked by Yannick Jézéquel but ultimately the sequence of types remained the same.³⁷⁰ More recently, Jens Christian Moesgaard has identified a new variant of *Guingampois* denier which can potentially be placed within Belaubre's first or second classification. Moesgaard did not challenge Belaubre's view that each type was sequential from the other. It might therefore be possible that each type was simply from a new batch of dies produced by the same mint at Guingamp. As the *guingampois* denier had such widespread distribution, a single mint producing such large quantities of coins seems implausible. A more detailed analysis of where coins bearing the different legend variations have been found might reveal alternative locations for another mint. Meanwhile, the *guingampois* coinages generally assumed to have emerged from one,

³⁶⁵ Cook, 'En Monnaie', p. 646.

³⁶⁶ Y. Jézéquel, *Les Monnaies des comtes et ducs de Bretagne Xe au XVe siècle* (Paris 1998), pp. 32-4; Duplessy, *Les monnaies Françaises féodales*, I, pp. 25-6.

³⁶⁷ Cook, 'En Monnaie', p. 645.

³⁶⁸ Cook, 'En Monnaie', pp. 641-2.

³⁶⁹ Cook, 'En Monnaie', p. 642 citing: Jean Belaubre, *Administration des monnaies et médailles: les collections monétaires. II Monnaies Médiévales: L'Époque du denier* (Paris 1987), pp. 182-193.

³⁷⁰ Cook, 'En Monnaie', p. 642; Jézéquel, *Les Monnaies des comtes*, p. 244-5.

rather than multiple mints. Nearly all of the numismatic literature relating to the *guingampois* denier refers to the mint (singular) at Guingamp, when in reality there may have been multiple mint workshops existing within the town. Within Brittany there were two known Carolingian mints, one at Nantes and another at Rennes which produced the first Breton coinage.³⁷¹ It is unclear whether minting activities continued in these locations into the twelfth century, especially during the years after 1160 when Plantagenet control over Brittany increased. Even before the Angevins gained official influence over Brittany through Henry's son Geoffrey, Nantes was added to their domain in 1156 and remained the location in which Plantagenet authority in Brittany was perhaps strongest.³⁷² Nantes was administered in a similar way to Henry's other Norman territories, with his own Plantagenet seneschal from 1158 onwards who governed the region in Henry's place.³⁷³ As Angevin control of Nantes was strong and there had previously been a mint there, it is a possibility that the minting at Nantes continued but now producing one or more of the other Angevin coinages. This might explain why the Angevin denier managed so successfully to permeate Brittany. Dumas and Mayhew both argue that, after 1204, Philip Augustus minted coins at Rennes and Guingamp, and potentially Nantes, which would support the view that minting never stopped during the period of Angevin control over Brittany, but that the moneyers changed the types of coins they produced.³⁷⁴

The Smaller Angevin Coinages

A few smaller coinages are found in hoards from the Angevin lands north of the Loire: those of Châteaudun, Vendôme and Gien. All three of these coinages had a fairly limited role, although there is evidence of some use beyond their local area. The vicomté of Châteaudun was held by the junior branch of the Rotrou counts of Perche who were vassals of the Angevins for lands in both Normandy and England, as well as vassals of the kings of France and the counts of Blois.³⁷⁵ Technically outside of the Angevin domain,

³⁷¹ Mayhew, *Coinage in France*, pp. 29-30.

³⁷² Everard, *Brittany and the Angevins*, p. 34.

³⁷³ Everard, *Brittany and the Angevins*, pp. 78-9.

³⁷⁴ Mayhew, *Coinage in France*, p. 30; Dumas, *Le Titre et le poids*, p. 52.

³⁷⁵ Cook, 'En Monnaie', p. 656.

Châteaudun was located in a region where the Plantagenet and Capetian monetary zones met.³⁷⁶ The coinage of Châteaudun was derived from the Chartres-Blois deniers in use in the surrounding area, but due to the denier's reverse legend CASTRVMDVNI, the mint is believed to have been located in Châteaudun itself.³⁷⁷ The coins were first minted in the mid 1150s, potentially as a result of the closure of the neighbouring mints of Blois and Chartres, which led to the Châteaudun deniers being the principal local coinage.³⁷⁸ Based on the limited number of coin finds, they do not seem to have played a significant role in any wider monetary system until the 1190s, at which point hoard finds increase and references to the coinage of Châteaudun begin to be found in charters.³⁷⁹ As the source of a mainly local coinage it is possible that a single mint located in Châteaudun would have been capable of producing enough coins to satisfy any demand for this particular coinage. According to the analysis carried out by Dumas and Barrandon, there was a possible reduction in the silver content of the *dunois* denier from forty to thirty percent but an increase in the weight, potentially to bring the coinage more in line with the Angevin currencies and therefore make it easier to use within the Angevin monetary zone.³⁸⁰

The counts of Perche had close ties with the Angevin world and certainly with their neighbours, the counts of Vendôme who had their own coinage which was also derived from the Blois-Chartres type coins.³⁸¹ Vendôme lay on the frontier of the French Plantagenet territories to the east of Maine and Touraine. The Vendôme coinage carried the legend VINDENS CASTRO which suggests that we should locate the mint itself in Vendôme.³⁸² It is unclear whether the CASTRO on the legend places the mint specifically within the castle of Vendôme or refers instead to the walled city. However, either translation would locate the mint within the town of Vendôme. Like the Châteaudun denier, those of Vendôme also had a fairly local circulation. However, from the mid-

³⁷⁶ Cook, *'En Monnaie'*, pp. 656-8.

³⁷⁷ Cook, *'En Monnaie'*, p. 656.

³⁷⁸ Cook, *'En Monnaie'*, p. 657-8; Duplessy, 'Observations sur les monnayage', pp. 5-6.

³⁷⁹ Kathleen Thompson, *Power and Border Lordship in Medieval France: The County of Perche 1000-1226* (Woodbridge 2002), p. 128; Cook, *'En Monnaie'*, p. 658.

³⁸⁰ Dumas and Barrandin, *Le Titre et le poids*, p. 90; Cook, *'En Monnaie'*, p. 659.

³⁸¹ Cook, *'En Monnaie'*, pp. 657, 661; Mayhew, *Coinage in France*, p. 34.

³⁸² Cook, *'En Monnaie'*, p. 661.

twelfth century onwards they are increasingly found in hoards from the northern Plantagenet lands.³⁸³ The deniers of Vendôme and Châteaudun are often found together in hoards suggesting they circulated together, both locally and further afield.³⁸⁴ Despite having their own local coinages, both Vendôme and Châteaudun appear to have used the Angevin deniers as the main accounting medium in the second half of the twelfth century, and in charters it is frequently specified as the chosen payment method.³⁸⁵ Despite the development of the Châteaudun and Vendôme deniers beyond purely local currencies, they remained fairly minor in comparison to the remaining Angevin coinages.

The coinage of Gien was a minor coinage struck by the lords of Donzy and Gien and was originally derived from the 'Geoffrey' type Angevin denier, with which they shared similar weights and silver content.³⁸⁶ The *giennois* was valued in a 1202-3 account at a ratio of one and a half deniers *giennois* to the *parisis* denier. However, analyses of the coins suggests they were 3.5 deniers fine with a silver content of c. 0.315g. Nicholas Mayhew has argued that the production of these deniers began under Count Geoffrey III (1120-60) of Donzy, rather than Geoffrey II, as they had a very small presence in the hoards of Nogent-le-Rotrou and Massay, a conclusion which Duplessy also reached, as revealed by his dating of the coins in his catalogue.³⁸⁷ The hoard evidence shows that these deniers played a very limited local role, only reaching Brittany, Poitou and Lower Berry.³⁸⁸ The mint where these deniers were produced is believed to be in Gien itself, which is supported by the fact that when Philip Augustus gained Gien in 1191 the *giennois* deniers stopped being produced and were replaced by Philip's own coinage.³⁸⁹ If the deniers had been produced somewhere other than Gien then the acquisition of the region by Philip would not necessarily have signalled their end. As these three coinages had such a small circulation, none of them have been studied in depth by numismatists.

³⁸³ Cook, 'En Monnaie', pp. 661-2.

³⁸⁴ Cook, 'En Monnaie', p. 662.

³⁸⁵ Cook, 'En Monnaie', pp. 659, 662.

³⁸⁶ Cook, 'En Monnaie', p. 664; Dumas, *Les Titres et le poids*, pp. 23, 25; Mayhew, *Coinage in France*, p. 43.

³⁸⁷ Mayhew, *Coinage in France*, p.43; Duplessy, *Les Trésors monétaires*, p. 144; Cook, 'En Monnaie', p. 664.

³⁸⁸ Cook, 'En Monnaie', p. 664.

³⁸⁹ Cook, *En Monnaie*, p. 664.; Belaubre, *Administration des monnaies*, p. 139.

Compared to the larger coinages of Angers or Tours, their use was never particularly significant under the rule of Henry Plantagenet.

The Aquitanian Coinages Produced South of the Loire

The Poitevin denier

The coinage of Poitou was originally produced at a Carolingian mint in Melle, the location of the silver mines which were very productive between the eighth and tenth centuries.³⁹⁰ The coins minted there can be identified by variations of the legend METALO found on their reverse, and they carried the name of Charles the Bald.³⁹¹ Nicholas Mayhew, using the work of Blanchet and Dieudonné, has argued that some of the coins with METALO on the reverse were actually struck at alternative mints, at Saint-Jean-d'Angély, Niort and Mauléon, all of which are within 100 kilometers of Melle.³⁹² The Melle type denier was immobilised from the mid-ninth to the twelfth century when Richard the Lionheart introduced his own coinage carrying his new title as King (of England), replacing the legend METALO with the bilinial legend PICTAVIENSIS.³⁹³ Richard the Lionheart's new coinage, introduced in 1189, soon became dominant in much of Aquitaine, and was equivalent in value to the coins of Angoulême and Limoges.³⁹⁴ According to Émile Caron and Poey D'Avant, Richard's Poitevin coinage was minted principally at Montreuil-Bonnin, and possibly at Salle-le-Roy, but not at the Carolingian mint at Melle.³⁹⁵ Poey D'Avant argued that it was impossible for all of Richard's Poitevin coinage to have been minted at the castle of Montreuil-Bonnin.³⁹⁶ However, the only basis for this view appears to be the large number of coins produced. Caron's argument

³⁹⁰ Dumas, 'La Monnaie dans les domaines Plantagenet', p. 55; Mayhew, *Coinage in France*, p. 45.

³⁹¹ Émile Caron, *Monnaies féodales Françaises*, p. 127; Dumas, 'La Monnaie dans les domaines Plantagenet,' p. 55.

³⁹² Mayhew, *Coinage in France*, p. 45-6; Blanchet and Dieudonné, *Manuel de numismatique Française*, IV, Ch. XXXIX, pp. 334-5, 38; Étienne Fournial, *Histoire monétaire de l'occident médiévalé* (Paris 1970), p. 175.

³⁹³ Dumas, 'La Monnaies dans les domaines Plantagenet', p. 55; Caron, *Monnaies féodales Françaises*, p. 127; Withers, *Anglo-Gallic coins*, pp. 150-4.

³⁹⁴ Cook, 'En Monnaie', p. 668; Dumas, *Les Titre et le Poids*, p.66.

³⁹⁵ Caron, *Monnaies féodales Françaises*, p. 138; Poey d'Avant, *Monnaies féodales de France*, II, p. 29; Lerquet, 'La Fabrique monétaire de la forteresse du Montreuil-Bonnin', p. 3.

³⁹⁶ Poey D'Avant, *Monnaies féodales de France*, II, pp. 28-9.

for the existence of a second mint at Salle-le-Roy is based on a letter dating to 23 September 1784 in which Lord Besnard reports that he found evidence of a mint while carrying out a survey of the area.³⁹⁷ Besnard reportedly found evidence of buildings, furnaces, crucibles, hammers and pliers as well as a coin with REX on the obverse and PICTAVIA on the reverse.³⁹⁸ However, Besnard's findings should not be taken as conclusive proof there was a mint at Salle-le-Roy as finds of coins are very unusual at excavated mint sites. According to Caron, the area of Salle-le-Roy was a favoured hunting ground for Richard and could therefore have also hosted a mint that produced his Poitevin coinage.³⁹⁹ If silver deposits were found near to Salle-le-Roy then this might explain why the mint for Richard's Poitevin coinage moved from Melle, as such southern mints were generally located near to where silver was readily available.⁴⁰⁰ Caron's argument is more convincing than Poey D'Avant's since it has at least some supporting evidence. However, there is no firm proof that the twelfth century Poitevin coinage was minted anywhere other than Montreuil-Bonnin.

Isabelle Lerquet, who has produced a study of the Montreuil-Bonnin mint between 1181 and 1346 argued for the importance of the role it played in the production of Poitevin coinage and makes no mention of a mint at Salle-le-Roy. Lerquet argued that, over its lifetime, the mint at Montreuil-Bonnin produced Poitevin, *tournois*, and royal *tournois* deniers and obols.⁴⁰¹ Archaeological excavations at the site between 2005 and 2009 have revealed evidence of minting activity in the form of ingots and crucibles, as well as finds of coins which point to the existence of a significant and prolonged minting operation within a key administrative centre.⁴⁰² Montreuil-Bonnin was a castle held by the counts of Poitou from the eleventh century onwards. It was not, however, until 1181 that a mint was installed at the site on the orders of Richard.⁴⁰³ Lerquet argued that Montreuil-Bonnin became the dominant Poitevin mint around 1189 when the mint at

³⁹⁷ Caron, *Monnaies féodales Françaises*, pp. 137-8.

³⁹⁸ Caron, *Monnaies féodales Française*, p. 138.

³⁹⁹ Caron, *Monnaies féodales Française*, p. 138.

⁴⁰⁰ Spufford, *Money and its Use*, pp. 135-40.

⁴⁰¹ Lerquet, 'La Fabrique monétaire de la forteresse du Montreuil-Bonnin', p. 304.

⁴⁰² Lerquet, 'La Fabrique monétaire de la forteresse du Montreuil-Bonnin', p. 11; F. Téreygeol, 'Montreuil-Bonnin (Vienne) Château', *Archéologie médiévale*, 37 (2007).

⁴⁰³ Lerquet, 'La Fabrique monétaire de la forteresse du Montreuil-Bonnin', p. 12-15.

Melle was decommissioned, with minting activities being distributed thereafter between the smaller more local mints at Poitiers, Niort, St-Jean d'Angély, which were producing coins until the end of the twelfth century, leaving Montreuil-Bonnin as the only large-scale mint.⁴⁰⁴ After establishing the Montreuil-Bonnin mint, it was not until 1189, after becoming king of England, that Richard the Lionheart changed the design of the Poitevin coinage to carry his new title of 'Rex'.⁴⁰⁵ The Poitevin coinage continued to be produced under John, and there is evidence for a mint being located at Poitiers in 1199.⁴⁰⁶ After the death of Eleanor of Aquitaine in 1204, the county and castle of Montreuil-Bonin passed to Philip Augustus of France, who installed a mint which may well have produced the *tournois* deniers minted in his name. This mint remained active even after his death, through to the early 1240s.⁴⁰⁷

The Aquitanian denier

The Aquitanian denier was minted at Bordeaux in the name of Duke William of Aquitaine and generally weighed c.1.05g-1.15g.⁴⁰⁸ There were slight variations between the issues of William IX (1086-1127) and William X (1127-37) of Aquitaine, but the type remained unchanged during this initial period of production.⁴⁰⁹ Following Eleanor of Aquitaine's marriage to Louis VII of France, Aquitanian deniers were minted carrying the legend LODOICVS REX ET DUX across the coin, highlighting Louis VII's authority over Aquitaine, claimed through his wife during the period (1137-1152).⁴¹⁰ Aquitanian deniers found in hoards after the end of Eleanor and Louis's marriage only appear to contain deniers minted in the name of William of Aquitaine, suggesting those in the name of Louis were removed from circulation.⁴¹¹

⁴⁰⁴ Lerquet, 'La Fabrique monétaire de la forteresse du Montreuil-Bonnin', p. 15; O. Jeanne-Rose, 'Note sur un trésor médiéval inédit découvert à Poitiers en juillet 1885', *Bulletin de la Société des antiquaires de l'Ouest et des musées de Poitiers*, (1990), 836-941.

⁴⁰⁵ Lerquet, 'La Fabrique monétaire de la forteresse du Montreuil-Bonnin', pp. 15-17.

⁴⁰⁶ *Rotulorum Chartarum*, ed. TD Hardy (London 1835), p. 11.

⁴⁰⁷ Lerquet, 'La Fabrique monétaire de la forteresse du Montreuil-Bonnin', p. 17.

⁴⁰⁸ Caron, *Monnaies féodales Françaises*, pp. 158-9.

⁴⁰⁹ Round, *The Silver Coins of Medieval France*, p. 252.

⁴¹⁰ Caron, *Monnaies féodales Françaises*, p. 160; see Droux hoard in: Duplessy, *Les Trésors monétaires*, p. 59; Poey d'Avant, *Monnaies féodales de France*, II, pp. 79-80.

⁴¹¹ Duplessy, *Les Trésors monétaires*, see Confolens hoard, p. 53 or Chabanais hoard, pp. 44-5; see chapter five for further discussion.

There are other Aquitanian deniers, however, minted in the name of Henry. It has not been conclusively proved whether these were minted by Henry Plantagenet or by his grandson, Henry III, who was also King of England and Duke of Aquitaine.⁴¹² Paul and Bente Withers have argued that, due to their stylistic similarities to the Aquitanian deniers of Louis VII, that the Henry coins were likely to have been issued by Henry Plantagenet rather than Henry III, by whose time the style of the deniers had changed.⁴¹³ There are documentary references to Henry III's coinage in Bordeaux which suggest that he was minting coinage in the region. However, as no particular Aquitanian deniers can be matched to this period using the hoard evidence, it is not possible decisively to establish which Henry was responsible for the Henry-type Aquitanian deniers. Eleanor's son, and nominated heir to Aquitaine, Richard, issued Aquitanian deniers in his name after becoming Duke 1168.⁴¹⁴ Richard's Aquitanian coinage carried the legend RICARDVS DVX AQUITANIE, although a number of variations on this legend exist.⁴¹⁵ The Withers identified six different spellings of Richard, and eleven variations in the spelling and design of Aquitaine. However, they offers no opinion on whether they were potentially the products of different mints or resulted simply from changes to the dies used over time.⁴¹⁶

Some of the Aquitanian deniers have the legend DVCISIT or DUCISIA (a variation on DUCISIT), and these have been attributed to Eleanor of Aquitaine by Dumas, Poey d'Avant and Caron.⁴¹⁷ Eleanor spent extended periods of time in the duchy of Aquitaine, co-ruling alongside Richard between his ascension in 1168 and the rebellion of 1173, after which she was imprisoned, and again from 1189 until her death in 1204.⁴¹⁸ If these

⁴¹² Poey d'Avant, *Monnaies féodales de France*, II, pp. 80-1; Withers, *Anglo-Gallic coins*, p.28.

⁴¹³ Withers, *Anglo-Gallic coins*, p. 28.

⁴¹⁴ Poey d'Avant, *Monnaies féodales de France*, II, pp. 81-2.

⁴¹⁵ Poey d'Avant, *Monnaies feodales de France*, II, pp. 81-2.

⁴¹⁶ Withers, *Anglo-Gallic Coins*, p. 29.

⁴¹⁷ Withers, *Anglo-Gallic coins*, p. 30; Poey d'Avant, *Monnaies féodales de France*, II pp. 78-9; Caron, *Monnaies feodales Francaies*, p. 159; Dumas, 'La Monnaie dans les domaines Plantagenet'; Round, *The Silver coins of Medieval France*, p. 252.

⁴¹⁸ Nicholas Vincent, 'Patronage, Politics and Piety in the Charters of Eleanor of Aquitaine', in *Plantagenêts et Capétiens: confrontations et heritages*, eds. M. Aurell and N-Y. Tonnerre (Turnhout 2006), p. 19; Turner, *Eleanor of Aquitaine*, p. 231.

coins were issued under Eleanor's authority this would emphasise her own power in the region as the daughter of William X Duke of Aquitaine. As the Withers made clear in their study of the Aquitanian coins, it is certainly possible that the DVCISIT coins were minted for Eleanor, even suggesting that DVCISIT could be a shortened version of '*Ducissa iterum*' (Duchess again i.e. after 1189), but there is no evidence to substantiate this case.⁴¹⁹ The form of the letter G on the reverse of the DVCISIT coins, which has the legend AGVITANIE, has been identified by the Withers as matching one variation of Richard's Aquitanian coinage, as has the form of the T, leading the Withers to argue that the two coins were sequential. However, the order in which they were produced is unclear. If the DVCISIT coins were minted under Eleanor's authority then there would be a strong argument for them having been produced in 1199 when Eleanor was, briefly, sole ruler of Aquitaine.⁴²⁰ There is documentary evidence that survives for Eleanor's involvement with mints during this period, as her charter of 1199 survives, granting a mint to the men of Saintes.⁴²¹ The charter was issued after the death of Henry Plantagenet and her son Richard which resulted in Eleanor briefly being sole ruler of the duchy.⁴²² Unlike most other coinages circulating within Plantagenet France, the Aquitanian deniers seem to have changed type fairly frequently to reflect who held authority over Aquitaine from the mid-twelfth century onwards.

The Limousin deniers

Within Limousin there were three different coinages minted by the vicomtes of Limoges, the lords of Turenne, and the abbey of Saint-Martial of Limoges.⁴²³ By the twelfth century the principal coinage of Limoges was that of the abbey of Saint-Martial, which carried the legend MARCIAL / LEMOVICENSIS and was known for its high silver content.⁴²⁴ Anatole Barthélemy argued that all the coins minted in Limoges from the

⁴¹⁹ Withers, *Anglo-Gallic coins*, pp. 30-1.

⁴²⁰ Vincent, 'Patronage, Politics and Piety'.

⁴²¹ *Memoires de la Société de Antiquaires de l'ouest*, 5th series viii (Poitiers 2002), No. 1, pp. 139-42; Vincent, 'Patronage, Politics and Piety', pp. 17-60.

⁴²² Vincent, 'Patronage, Politics and Piety'.

⁴²³ Poey d'Avant, *Monnaies féodales de France*, I, p. 352.

⁴²⁴ Caron, *Monnaies féodales Françaises*, p. 117; Dumas, *Le Titre et le poids*, p. 67.

late-ninth to the end of the thirteenth century were minted at the abbey's mint.⁴²⁵ However, Poey D'Avant and Caron have both argued that there was a coinage minted by the vicomtes of Limoges from the Carolingian period to the end of the eleventh century, which was an immobilised royal type in the name of Eudes.⁴²⁶ Poey D'Avant argued that the coinage of the abbey of Saint-Martial was initially a '*barbarin*' version of the coinage of the vicomtes of Limoges which removed the name of Eudes and replaced it with that of their patron saint.⁴²⁷ This '*barbarin*' coinage eventually became the dominant coinage during the twelfth century, eclipsing that of the vicomtes, whose coinage did not re-emerge until the end of the thirteenth century, when a new type was minted in their name.⁴²⁸ It would seem that the situation in Limoges may have been similar to that of Tours, where a comital mint and an ecclesiastical mint both produced their own coinage. In both cases, the twelfth century appears to have seen the ecclesiastical mint become the main producer of coinage, producing most of the coins found since.

The Angoulême denier

The oldest known coinage of Angoulême, which appeared in the tenth century, was an immobilised royal type in the name of Louis IV with the monogram of Eudes.⁴²⁹ Poey D'Avant argued that there were references to the money of Angoulême as early as 954, but no coins from that period survive, although he was in no doubt that they were minted.⁴³⁰ In his opinion, tenth-century developments in the coinage of neighbouring Limoges would have influenced those with an interest in coinage at Angoulême, who could have then minted coins of Limoges at a mint in Angoulême, a practice he argued was not unusual at this time and which might have been justified by commercial need.⁴³¹ According to the chronicle of Adhemar of Chabanais, an eleventh century monk of Saint-Cybar, Louis the Pious had coins minted in his name at both Angoulême and Saintes. As a

⁴²⁵ Poey d'Avant, *Monnaies féodales de France* p. 353 citing: Anatole Barthélemy, *Nouveau Manuel Numismatique ancienne: atlas (1821-1904)* (Paris, 1851).

⁴²⁶ D'Avant, *Monnaies féodales de France*, p. 352; Caron, *Monnaies féodales Françaises*, p. 118.

⁴²⁷ Poey d'avant, *Monnaies féodales de France*, p. 356.

⁴²⁸ Poey d'avant, *Monnaies féodales de France*, p. 356.

⁴²⁹ Caron, *Monnaies féodales Françaises*, p. 147; Poey D'Avant, *Monnaies féodales de France*, II, p. 49; Mayhew, *Coinage in France*, p. 46.

⁴³⁰ Poey D'Avant, *Monnaies féodales de France*, II, p. 49; Caron, *Monnaies féodales Françaises*, p. 147.

⁴³¹ Poey D'Avant, *Monnaies féodales de France*, II, p. 49.

result the coins of Angoulême were initially attributed by various numismatists to Louis the Pious who was responsible for establishing the counts of Angouleme in 839.⁴³² However, Poey D'Avant doubts the reality of Adhemar's chronicle and instead argues that these Angoulême deniers referenced Louis IV (920/1-954) and not Louis the Pious, a view that is upheld by modern numismatists.⁴³³ Rowan Charles Watson has argued that the presence of Louis IV's name on the coins of Angoulême signified that it was during his reign (920/1-954) that the mint of Angoulême came under comital control, as otherwise the name of the ruler on the coin would have changed after Louis's death to that of his successor rather than becoming immobilised.⁴³⁴ Watson demonstrated that the mint at Angoulême was under the control of a *monetarius*, which became a hereditary office in the twelfth century, initially held by the Rannulf family, who enjoyed a share in the minting profits.⁴³⁵ Watson's argument for this is based on references in two documents in the Angoulême cathedral cartulary in which various of the witnesses are attributed the title of '*monetarii*', i.e. as 'moneyer' or 'master of the mint'.⁴³⁶ In the same document another witness is labelled as '*militii*' which would support the view that these additional soubriquets refer to occupation and could therefore be evidence of at least three different people holding the title of moneyer in Angoulême. Following the marriage of Hugh IX, Count of La Marche, and Matilda, daughter of Wulgrin III of Angoulême, a new type of Angoulême coinage was introduced with a reduced silver content, bringing it more in line with the coinage of La Marche.⁴³⁷ This type continued until it was changed again in the later-thirteenth century, to reflect the increased English influence over the region.⁴³⁸

⁴³² Poey D'Avant, *Monnaies féodales de France*, II, pp. 48-9; Adémar de Chabannes, *Chronique*.

⁴³³ Poey D'Avant, *Monnaies féodales de France*, II pp. 49-50; Caron, *Monnaies féodales Françaises*, p. 147; Mayhew, *Coinage in France*, p. 46.

⁴³⁴ Rowan Charles Watson, 'The Counts of Angoulême from the 9th to the mid-13th Century: with a Catalogue of Comital Documents from 882/3 to 1246', unpubl. PhD Thesis (University of East Anglia, 1979), p. 175.

⁴³⁵ Watson, 'The Counts of Angouleme', p. 107, 175; *Cartulaire de l'Eglise d'Angouleme*, No. LXXXIII, CXXI); Reinaudo de Moneta.... Et Willelmo Gaufrido et Elia Ramnudlfi et Geraudo, fratre suo, monetariis' mentioned as some of the lay knights/soldiers testifying the charter (P. 135 No. CXXI – July 1138 ; LXXXIII (P. 76-7) – one of the testifiers is '*Ramnulfi Monetarii*' May 1097

⁴³⁶ *Cartulaire de l'Eglise d'Angoulême*, ed. J. Nanglard (Angouleme 1900), Nos. LXXXIII, CXXI, pp. 76-7, 135.

⁴³⁷ Mayhew, *Coinage in France*, p. 46; Poey D'Avant, *Monnaies féodales de France*, II, p. 49.

⁴³⁸ Caron, *Monnaies féodales Françaises* p. 147.

Various additional smaller coinages also circulated within the duchy of Aquitaine, such as the coinage of Turenne. In Turenne, the dukes of Aquitaine recognised the right of the vicomtes of Turenne to mint their own money based on the coinage of Limoges. Poey D'Avant argued that there were references to the money of Turenne dating to the eleventh century, a coinage which was later confirmed by Queen Blanche in 1251.⁴³⁹ The deniers of Turenne were immobilised and minted in the name of Raymond until the thirteenth century, which Caron has argued referred to Raymond II (1143-1190) of Turenne not Raymond I (1090-1121).⁴⁴⁰ The deniers were officially allowed to circulate within the dioceses of Cahors, Limoges and Perigeux. However, they are found in hoards beyond these dioceses, appearing in almost all the hoards of Western France, for example in the hoard of Saint-Saviol (buried before 1199) which contains approximately 1,400 deniers of which 987 were Poitevin deniers of Richard the Lionheart, ninety-five of Melle, fifty-five of Angoulême and four of Turenne with the monogram of Eudes and the legend RAIMVNDVs DE TVRENA on the reverse.⁴⁴¹ According to an order by Raymond II in 1190, and preserved in the cartulary of Beaulieu, all money minted in his lands had to be minted in the town of Beaulieu, with the abbey receiving the resulting tithes.⁴⁴² From the thirteenth century onwards the Turenne deniers cease to appear in hoards. It has not been proved whether this was a result of the conquest of Poitou by Philip Augustus in 1204/5 or, as Caron has argued, if the 1190 act of Raymond II had effectively ended the production of the Turenne deniers by moving the minting location to Beaulieu.⁴⁴³ Whilst the finds of Turenne deniers in the hoards are common during the rule of Henry Plantagenet, the numbers of individual coins in each of the hoards is never significant enough to constitute a dominant coinage.

As will be discussed in further detail in chapter five, the composition of the coinage of the duchy of Aquitaine was less cohesive than of the duchy of Normandy. So whilst the coinages of Angoulême, Limoges, Poitou and Aquitaine are dominant in the hoards from

⁴³⁹ Poey d'Avant, *Monnaies féodales de France*, I pp. 363-5.

⁴⁴⁰ Caron, *Monnaies féodales françaises*, pp. 121-2.

⁴⁴¹ Duplessy, *Les Trésors monétaires*, p. 119; Lecointre-Dupont, "Rapport sur une découverte de monnaies du Moyen Age", *Memoires de la Société des Antiquaires de l'Ouest*, III (1837), pp. 191-2.

⁴⁴² Caron, *Monnaies féodales Françaises*, p. 122; Roberts, *The Silver Coins of Medieval France*, p. 544.

⁴⁴³ Caron, *Monnaies féodales Françaises*, p. 122.

Poitou and central Aquitaine, further south the hoards contain the coinages of Cahors, Déols and Rodez in greater numbers.⁴⁴⁴ The currency in the formerly independent duchy of Gascony was different from that of Poitou and Aquitaine and from a brief examination of the evidence suggests that the authority of the Duke of Aquitaine varied region by region, south of the Garonne. Further study could be carried out to establish whether separate monetary zones existed within the duchy of Aquitaine during the rule of Henry Plantagenet, specifically whether a divide can be seen between Aquitaine and the former duchy of Gascony which was gained by the dukes of Aquitaine in the eleventh century.⁴⁴⁵ The focus of this thesis, however, is primarily on the divisions in the coinage between the duchy of Aquitaine and duchy of Normandy, so it has not been possible to focus on more southerly parts, although various regional variations will be discussed in chapter five.

Conclusions

The purpose of this chapter has been to provide a comprehensive overview of the dominant coinages circulating within the French Plantagenet lands. The monetary system in Henry Plantagenet's French domains was a far-cry from the tightly controlled single-coin system found in the Kingdom of England. Instead, it constitutes a web of inter-woven coinages all originally issued by independent authorities. Under Henry many of the coinages mentioned in this chapter became more closely interlinked, with exchange rates more or less firmly established and evidence that many of the coinages circulated together, whilst some previously common coinages disappeared from use. What also becomes clear, and will become clearer still as this thesis progresses, is that there was a division between the coinages found north and south of the Loire. It should not be assumed that, because Henry Plantagenet did not produce a single coinage issued in his name, he had no involvement in the minting process. Evidence survives of Henry acquiring rights over mints and exchanges within his French domains. For example, a

⁴⁴⁴ See chapter five.

⁴⁴⁵ Dunbabin, *France in the Making*, pp. 340-346; Nicholas Vincent, 'The Plantagenets and the Agenais (1150-1250)', in *Les seigneuries dans l'espace Plantagenêt : (c.1150-c.1250)*, eds. M. Aurell and F. Boutoulle (Bordeaux 2009), pp. 417-56.

charter dating to 1155 X 1158 records Henry's acquisition of the exchange at Gisors from the Archbishop of Rouen in return for half the manor.⁴⁴⁶

Personal involvement with the grants of minting rights continued under Henry's son Richard, as shown by a charter issued when he was Count of Poitiers and Duke of Aquitaine, which records his grant of a mint at Agen to the Bishop Bertrand of Agen, previously granted to his predecessors.⁴⁴⁷ As has already been mentioned, examples survive of Eleanor of Aquitaine granting mints or minting rights during her time ruling as Duchess of Aquitaine.⁴⁴⁸ It appears therefore, that the Plantagenets were involved with the production and circulation of coinage across their French domains. However, the limited surviving evidence makes it difficult to establish exactly what role they played. Comparisons with the English monetary system are useful, proving that Henry possessed the knowledge required to introduce a new uniform coinage, and to reform the minting and exchanging practices. The apparent lack of such reforms in his French domains therefore has to be seen as a deliberate choice to uphold monetary practices customary on the continent. Henry's decision to bring moneyers from his French lands to England to assist with the implementation of the 1180 monetary reforms is almost certainly significant. There were plenty of experienced moneyers in the kingdom of England, some of whom had been in place under the rule of Henry's predecessor. Therefore the only benefit of bringing French moneyers from across the Channel was presumably their knowledge of systems and coin standards not in place in England, and perhaps too their independence from the English moneyers.⁴⁴⁹ The English practice of frequently reminting the coinage, which had been the norm during the Norman period, was replaced by almost two centuries of immobilised coinage with only one major change in type between 1158 and 1247.⁴⁵⁰ It can certainly be argued, therefore, that Henry Plantagenet was bringing more traditionally 'European' minting practices to the kingdom

⁴⁴⁶ Cook, 'En Monnaie', p. 624 citing: *Recueil des Actes d'Henri II, roi d'Angleterre et duc de Normandie concernant les provinces françaises et les affaires de France*, ed. Léopold Delisle (Paris 1909-1927), I, LII, p.154.

⁴⁴⁷ Vincent, 'The Plantagenets and the Agenais', No. 4, p. 445.

⁴⁴⁸ See above.

⁴⁴⁹ Martin Allen, 'The Mints and Moneyers of England and Wales, 1066-1158', *British Numismatic Journal*, 82 (2012), 1-40.

⁴⁵⁰ Allen, 'Henry II and the English Coinage', pp. 257-277, especially p.260; Grierson, *The coins of Medieval Europe*, pp. 89-90.

of England rather than attempting to impose English minting practices on his French lands.

Chapter 4 - Uses of Money and Coin in the French Plantagenet Lands

Chapters two and three have already examined the coin types which circulated within the French Plantagenet lands during the rule of Henry Plantagenet, and the context within which the use of money and coin must be set. The purpose of this chapter is to bring together the numismatic and written evidence to explore how money and coin were used. By examining the ways in which money was used it is possible to explore the question of the extent to which society was monetised in twelfth-century Plantagenet France.⁴⁵¹ The majority of the evidence that will be studied in this chapter will be drawn from the written sources because the information they can provide about how precisely money was used is more detailed than the numismatic evidence. For example, they might outline the exact nature of a transaction taking place between two individuals, or between an individual and an ecclesiastical institution, including details on the coin types requested. When focusing on what the coins themselves can tell us about how money was used we are wholly reliant upon the survival of detailed evidence of provenance and the archaeological context in which such coins were found.⁴⁵² The archaeological context can reveal how the coins may have been used by their owner. For example, a single coin found in a church, or within the fabric of a house, might suggest that they were devotional offerings placed intentionally by the owner to bring luck or prosperity.⁴⁵³ Alternately, the internal composition of a hoard can potentially reveal whether it could have been a single purse, or if it was a savings hoard accessed infrequently by the owner with coins divided up into smaller purses, maybe to pay for rent or unexpected costs. Unfortunately only one of the hoards within my data-set has the necessary archaeological details to draw even tentative conclusions as to how the hoard was used.⁴⁵⁴ As a result, the evidence for the use of money within the French Plantagenet lands lies predominantly within the written sources, including charters and administrative sources, as well as contemporary literature and letters. By bringing

⁴⁵¹ See chapter four.

⁴⁵² See chapter five.

⁴⁵³ See chapter five.

⁴⁵⁴ *Le depot monétaire du Plateau des Capucins*, ed. Thibault Cardon, Rapport d'étude archéo-numismatique: Angers (49 007), Maine-et-Loire, (INRAP 2010), pp. 55-57, 65-70.

together all of these different types of written sources it is possible to build a more comprehensive picture of how money and coins were used in the French Plantagenet lands during Henry's rule, and the extent of monetisation. As already noted, whilst the written sources reveal a wide range of uses of money, the evidence for how coins were used is more obscure because in most cases the sources do not specify whether payment was made in coined money or in kind.⁴⁵⁵ The focus of this chapter is therefore on the uses of money and not just of coin because the limited numismatic and administrative evidence for the French Plantagenet lands makes a comprehensive examination of coin use impracticable.

This chapter will examine money's role in the purchase of goods or services, how money was a measure of value and how this impacted its use in relation to property, the judicial process, travel, and diplomacy. Finally, I turn to what the numismatic evidence can reveal about monetary use.

The Purchase of Goods and Services for Money

One of the most straightforward and recognisable uses of money was its exchange in return for the purchase of goods. In these cases, an agreed-upon amount of money was handed over in return for the transfer of ownership of a particular item or items. At the most basic level this could involve the handing over of a single silver *denier* in return for a ham or a quantity of wine. These types of transactions are not often recorded in the written sources. However, various traces survive in the charters. For example, one of the documents printed in the factitious *Cartulaire de Château-du-Loir* is a list of tolls and customs levied in the comital castelry under Geoffrey Plantagenet, Henry Plantagenet and his sons. It also records the costs of the sale of various items.⁴⁵⁶ For example, one ham '*bacone*' sold in the market is listed as costing one *denier* or '*jocia*'; half a ham sold in the market cost an obol, one '*mode*' of wine sold in the tavern cost two *deniers*, or half a '*mode*' was sold for one *denier*. These costs would have been apportioned so as to

⁴⁵⁵ See chapter one.

⁴⁵⁶ *Cartulaire de Château-du-Loir*, No. 90, pp. 55-9. This cartulary is 'factitious' as it was not originally composed as a cartulary but is an assemblage of documents.

align with the value of the coins in use to make up the specified value and negate the need to cut a coin into smaller pieces. This particular source appears to supply evidence of the direct exchange of money, which in these low quantities was very likely paid in coin, for food and drink. Although not direct evidence of purchases, this document also describes the money that was due as toll on specific items. For example, the tolls due on a quarter *onerata* of wheat, wine, salt and nuts are all listed as two *deniers* each, whilst a quarter *onerata* of bread and a similar amount of thread was taxed at four *deniers*. For livestock, three sheep would incur a charge of a single *denier* as would three rams or one horse, whilst a destrier was charged a quarter of a *denier* and a bull an obol. Although an exchange was not necessarily taking place, money was being handed over and the amount of money due was directly related to the value of the items owned (sheep, a bull, wheat etc, albeit that elite items such as bulls and destrier seem to have been charged at deliberately favourable rates). Because all of the amounts listed are small and are given in *deniers* which were minted coins, it is highly likely that this document supplies evidence of coined money being paid for the items listed, even if this is not possible to prove conclusively.

Markets and Fairs as Opportunities for Monetary Use

When specifying the cost for a ham, the list of tolls and customs mentioned above states that this cost was incurred for ham purchased in the market, in contrast to the wine which was sold at the tavern. Weekly markets and annual fairs provided an opportunity for transactions like this to take place as they were trade centres which offered the chance for money to change hands. As Peter Spufford and Jacques Le Goff have both argued, markets were crucial to the developing use of money within society.⁴⁵⁷ Markets and fairs were prime opportunities for money and coin to change hands, as surplus produce could be brought to the market to be sold for cash which could then be used to buy additional items or produce.⁴⁵⁸ Fairs and markets feature regularly in the charter

⁴⁵⁷ Spufford, *Money and its Use*, pp. 240-2 citing: Fossier, *La Terre et les hommes en Picardie*, pp. 588, 723, 405; Le Goff, *Money and the Middle Ages*, pp. 15-18.

⁴⁵⁸ Cuddeford, 'Single coin finds: Some Observations', 137-142; Moesgaard, 'Single finds as evidence', p. 228; Blackburn, 'Productive Sites and the Pattern of Coin Loss', p. 23; Naismith, *Making Money*, pp. 337; Kilger, 'Coin finds and the Idea of Monetary Space', p. 215.

evidence. A charter in the cartulary of Saint-Victor at Le Mans, for example, confirms the possessions of the priory which included the tithes and benefits of the market of Saint-Berthevin-la-Tanniere.⁴⁵⁹ Similarly, in the cartulary of La Trinité Vendôme, a charter of John, Count of Vendôme, grants to the abbey part of the forest of Gâtines together with revenues from the fair of Saint-Bienheureé and fisheries of the Loire.⁴⁶⁰ These two charters are not clear about how the revenues from the market and fair were calculated, or even whether this took the form of coined money, but they do emphasise that fairs and markets were not just opportunities for commerce but also a source of revenue. Markets and fairs were also times when accounts were settled, debts paid, and during which officials could carry-out checks on the quality of the coinage.⁴⁶¹ So, economically speaking, they were very important. In the Cartulary of Saint-Etienne Caen there are two charters which reference payments falling due at a specified fair or market. An early-twelfth century charter records that Abbot Eudo of Caen granted to Stephen fitz Walter and his heirs the cellar of Saint-Etienne at Rouen. In return, Stephen and his heirs promised to pay the abbey fifty *sous* every two years, twenty-five at the fair at Pré and the rest at Easter.⁴⁶² A charter from the second-half of the twelfth century records that Peter, son of Fulchred Cuchon, gave to Saint-Etienne two holdings in Crapaudière when he became a monk, owning an annual rent of eight *sous* of Le Mans, of which four *sous* were due at Christmas, the remaining four at Easter along with thirty sheep.⁴⁶³ There were also two capes due at the fair of Montmartin (Manche). This particular charter states that payment was due in *sous* of Le Mans, which were the highest value coins minted in the French Plantagenet lands, suggesting that the abbey wanted good quality coins (or its equivalent value in kind) rather than coin of lower silver content. Much like Easter and Christmas, a fair was not initially intended as a time to collect payments, but as they took place at a set time every year they supplied a straightforward way of knowing when payments were due.

⁴⁵⁹ *Cartulaire de Saint-Victeur au Mans – Prieure de l'abbaye du Mont-Saint-Michel (994-1400)*, ed. Bertrand de Broussillon (Paris 1895), p. vii.

⁴⁶⁰ *Cartulaire de l'abbaye cardinale de la Trinité de Vendôme*, No. DXVII, pp. 349-351.

⁴⁶¹ Norman Biggs, 'Checking the Current Coins 1344-1422', *British Numismatic Journal*, 81(2011), 131-4.

⁴⁶² *Cartulaire de l'abbaye Saint-Étienne de Caen (XII siècle)*, in 'Recherche sur l'écrit documentaire au Moyen Âge. Edition et commentaire du cartulaire de l'abbaye Saint-Étienne de Caen (XII siècle)', Tamiko Fujimoto unpubl. PhD thesis (Université de Caen Basse-Normandie 2006), II, No. 106, pp. 188-9.

⁴⁶³ *Cartulaire de l'abbaye saint Étienne de Caen*, no. 165, pp. 257-8.

The twelfth century witnessed a considerable increase in the number of fairs and markets. There are multiple instances in Henry Plantagenet's charters of new fairs and markets being granted to benefactors from England, but not as many for the French Plantagenet lands.⁴⁶⁴ One example from the French Plantagenet lands concerns the abbey of Saint-Lô. A charter records that Henry confirmed the lands and rights of the abbey which included a day-long fair to be held annually on the eighth day after Easter.⁴⁶⁵ Janet Burton and Julie Kerr have looked at the involvement of Cistercian communities in fairs and markets and have argued that Cistercian commercial activities (selling produce at local markets) played a large part in the development of towns, and the growth of trade during the late-twelfth century.⁴⁶⁶ They argued that the exemption from tolls granted to the Cistercians gave them a competitive edge in the market.⁴⁶⁷ The opportunities that a market presented for the sale and exchange of goods are important to bear in mind when studying how money was used. Markets are believed to have been one occasion when coins were used more often. But unfortunately there is limited evidence for the precise functioning of these markets, including what role coined money played there.⁴⁶⁸ The written sources reveal the items and goods that could have been purchased at fairs or markets and sometimes their cost, but not much more than that.

The Purchase of Specified Items

Even though it is not possible to identify specific purchases that took place at fairs and markets, the sources report many examples of transactions which could have occurred in just such a setting. Amongst the charters of Henry Plantagenet as well as those preserved in ecclesiastical cartularies, we find many examples of gifts of money being made to ecclesiastical institutions to be used to purchase specific goods, such as candles

⁴⁶⁴ *The Letters and Charters of Henry II*, II, No. 795 (2811H), pp. 45-6, III No. 1350 (1114H), pp.7-8, No. 1845 (1849H), pp. 472-8, V No. 2610 (900H), p. 28.

⁴⁶⁵ *The Letters and Charters of Henry II*, IV, No. 2364 (1966H), p. 459.

⁴⁶⁶ Burton and Kerr, *The Cistercians in the Middle Ages*, pp. 182-3.

⁴⁶⁷ Burton and Kerr, *The Cistercians in the Middle Ages*, pp. 182-3 citing: Constance Hoffman Berman, 'Medieval Agriculture, the Southern French Countryside, and the Early Cistercians: A study of Forty-three Monasteries', *Transactions of the American Philosophy Society*, 76:5 (1986), 122-4.

⁴⁶⁸ See chapter two.

to light the church, vestments, or food and drink. For example, a charter of Henry to Evreux Cathedral confirms an agreement reached between the church and John, Count of Ponthieu, who, as part of the agreement, was obliged annually to render a candle worth twenty *sous* (*unum cereum de xx s(olidi) talis monete qualis curret per Norm(anniam)*).⁴⁶⁹ This particular charter is a clear example of how monetary value could be attributed to a non-monetary item, as it is clearly stated that the candle to be given to the church was to be equivalent in value to twenty *sous* of the local coinage. It is unclear whether this meant that the candle should be bought using twenty *sous* of local coin, which would be 240 *deniers*, or if the candle could be bought using any form of money as long as its value was equivalent to twenty *sous*. A similar reference to money being used for purchasing candles is found in the cartulary of Luzerne. A charter of Willelm of Saint-Jean grants land to the church, as well as tithes worth twenty-three *sous* of Le Mans. Of these tithes, ten *sous* are specifically assigned for the lighting of the church of Saint-Jean and nine were for a lamp to burn day and night in front of the altar.⁴⁷⁰ A similar specification is found in the Norman Pipe Rolls, which record a payment of thirty *sous* of alms to be used for lighting the church of the monks of Mortain, and forty-eight *sous* from the tithe of the abbey de Troarn for clothes and candles.⁴⁷¹ These examples do not explicitly state that the tithes or alms were paid in coined money, some of which should be taken to purchase candles, but that is certainly their implication.

It is not just candles that are specified in the written sources. In a charter to the leper hospital of Saint-Nicholas-de-la-Chesnaye in Bayeux, Henry Plantagenet confirmed the hospital's lands and liberties which included money to be used to purchase provisions.⁴⁷² The charter (itself a forgery, albeit relatively early) records that six *livres* and three *sous* were to be given to the monks annually for vestments and shoes, as well as fifteen hams from the king's larder or forty-five *sous* of rent of pigs in the forest, presumably if hams were not available. It is ambiguous whether the forty-five *sous* of rent of pigs meant forty-five *sous* worth of pigs, or that money raised from the rent levied on pigs was

⁴⁶⁹ *The Letters and Charters of Henry II*, II No. 871 (1535H), pp. 116-7.

⁴⁷⁰ *Cartulaire de l'Abbaye de la Luzerne*, No. VI, pp. 4-6.

⁴⁷¹ *Pipe Rolls of the Exchequer of Normandy*, p. 6.

⁴⁷² *The Letters and Charters of Henry II*, I No. 161 (1932H), pp. 156-60.

expected instead. Either way, this charter provides further examples of the types of goods that could be bought with money. Beyond the focus of this thesis, further study here would reveal the types of items that a monastery regularly purchased in the twelfth century and the monetary value applied to such goods. The evidence from the written sources points to everyday items being valued in monetary terms, and purchased using money.

Monetary Payment for Services Rendered

The written sources offer examples of payments being made to individuals for carrying out services or holding roles and offices, with money in these instances intended to compensate such person for their time and skills. The Norman Pipe Rolls record details of individuals or groups being financially compensated for carrying out services on behalf of Henry Plantagenet as Duke of the Normans. For example, the 1180 pipe roll account for Caen records a payment of six *livres* and fourteen *sous* for transporting treasure from Caen to Angers, and other places in Normandy.⁴⁷³ Another slightly vague entry records that the men of Val-de-Scie were owed ten *livres* in recognition of services done in the time of King Henry.⁴⁷⁴ What those services were and whether these ten *livres* took the form of coin, is not outlined. The pipe rolls are useful for finding sums paid for particular services, which suggest that it was fairly common practice for individuals to be given money, very possibly in the form of coin, in return for acting on the duke's behalf. However, the chief purpose of the rolls lay in accountancy, so the descriptions of services rendered are necessarily brief, as the previous example demonstrates.

The charters can provide slightly more detail than the pipe rolls. For example, the cartulary of Beaumont-le-Roger preserves a charter recording that Waleran II, Count of Meulan, gave a serf as gardener to the monks to care for their vineyard at Vaux.⁴⁷⁵ The

⁴⁷³ *'Pro thesaurus portandis de Cadomo in Andegav' et in plura loca per Norm' vj li. Xij s. per breve regis' - Magni Rotuli Scaccario Normanniae, I pp. 56-7.*

⁴⁷⁴ *'Homines de Valle Seie debentx li. Pro habenda recognition de seruitio quod faciebant tempore regis Henrici' - Magni Rotuli Scaccario Normanniae, I p. 33.*

⁴⁷⁵ *Cartulaire de l'église de la Sainte-Trinité de Beaumont le roger*, ed. Etienne Deville (Paris 1912), No. XI. Ms. Fol. 8, p. 21.

priory was instructed to provide their new gardener with a bucket of oats, half a loaf of bread, two chickens and twelve *deniers* a day as payment for his labour. This particular charter seems to prove that a labourer might be paid in food and coin. An example of a purely financial payment is found in a mid-twelfth century charter of Henry Plantagenet. In this charter Henry restores and confirms Baldric fitz Gilbert's offices which included custody of the castle gate at Rouen, for which he was paid two *sous* a day in 'usual money' (most likely Angevin *deniers*, or one of the other Angevin coinages), as well as custody of the gaol for eight *deniers*, and the port for six.⁴⁷⁶ The fees detailed in this charter are also recorded in the Norman Pipe Rolls so even though the authenticity of this particular charter cannot be reliably established, the payments made to Baldric fitz Gilbert as custodian of the castle gate, port and gaol appear genuine.⁴⁷⁷ These particular payments were very likely made in coin as they were not particularly large amounts so could easily have been accumulated, especially by the Norman exchequer. A similar example is found in another of Henry's charters which confirms the lands and liberties of the leper hospital in Bayeux and states that provision should be made for the office of reeve to receive nine *sous* and six *livres* every week.⁴⁷⁸ In this charter, rather than a named individual being paid a set amount for their work, the office of reeve was allocated a weekly wage regardless of who held the office.

Examples of monetary payment in return for services rendered are also found in contemporary literature. Despite being fictional these do suggest an understanding, on the part of both author and the audience, of how these kinds of transactions would have worked. One example is found in the tale of 'Erec and Enide', one of the *Arthurian Romances* of Chrétien de Troyes, which follows the romance between the two title characters. After their wedding celebration we are told that the minstrels, who had entertained the wedding guests, were 'paid according to their liking...Those who wanted a horse or money each had a gift according to their wishes.'⁴⁷⁹ Although the form of payment varied, the transaction taking place is clear enough: money (or payment in

⁴⁷⁶ *The Letters and Charters of Henry II*, II, No. 954 (1606H), pp. 184-6.

⁴⁷⁷ *Magni Rotuli Scaccario Normaniae*, I, p. 70.

⁴⁷⁸ *The Letters and Charters of Henry II*, I, No. 161 (1932H), pp. 156-60.

⁴⁷⁹ Chrétien de Troyes, *Arthurian Romances*, transl. William W. Kibler (London 1991), v. 2126, p.63; Chrétien de Troyes, *Erec and Enide*, transl. Burton Raffel (London 1997).

whatever form was desired) in return for the minstrels' entertainment. Another example is found in the *Gesta Normannorum Ducum (GND)* which describes how Duke Robert of Normandy gave 100 *livres* of Rouen (equivalent to 2,400 individual silver *deniers*) to a smith from Beauvais who had made him two beautiful knives.⁴⁸⁰ Alongside the money, Duke Robert also sent the smith two horses and all of the gifts brought to him that day, in recognition of the smith's craftsmanship. As this example is from a chronicle it is more of an indication of the types of monetary transactions that could take place rather than evidence of one that is known to have occurred. The author seems to be using this particular example to emphasise the generosity of the Duke more than anything else. Nevertheless, we once again find evidence of money being given to purchase a particular item. In this example, the payment made to the Smith is also in recognition of his skill and therefore covers payment for his services rather than just for the knife. Similar instances of monetary payments in exchange for services rendered can be found throughout the sources.

The thirteenth-century epic poem *Aiol* offers a further example of how labour could be paid for with money. The poem narrates that, whilst searching for somewhere to stay for the night, the protagonist, Aiol, comes across some monks who directed him towards their abbey offering him food, drink, and a bed for as long as he wanted to stay, all without cost.⁴⁸¹ Aiol is so thankful that he offers the monks one hundred *sous*, in coins worth a denier each (1200 individual *deniers*), sufficient to hire four workers for a month to repair the road.⁴⁸² The implication of this offer is that the coins offered to the monks by Aiol were intended to cover the wages of four workers for a month. The offer is refused by the monks, who claimed to be repairing the road for love of God not because they were poor, since they already had 'sufficient deniers' (*s'avon assés deniers*).⁴⁸³ Even though this poem is fiction, it supplies a plausible account of monetary use that its

⁴⁸⁰ 'Quos ille, ne pauperis hominis tantillum munus uideretur spreuisse, gratanter suscipiens, illico precepit cubicularis centum illi libras Rothomagensis monete tribuere', -*The Gesta Normannorum Ducum of William of Jumieges, Orderic Vitalis, and Robert of Torigni*, ed. Elisabeth M.C. van Houts (Oxford, 1992), p. 60.

⁴⁸¹ *Aiol: A Chanson de Geste*, eds. Malicote and Hartman, vv. 6591-6603.

⁴⁸² 'Sire, prendés.c. sous de monees denier' - *Aiol: A Chanson de Geste*, eds. Malicote and Hartman, vv. 6610-6615.

⁴⁸³ *Aiol: A Chanson de Geste*, eds. Malicote and Hartman, vv. 6616-19.

audience were themselves expected to understand: in other words, a fictional mirror of fact. Contemporaries, it seems, would have been entirely familiar with the idea of labourers being paid in coin to carry out work.

Money as Payment for Military Service

Other instances of individuals being paid for services rendered are found in contemporary accounts which narrate the payment of those fighting on another's behalf. Those rendering knights service to their lord did not get paid as it was a seigneurial due they performed. They did however have the opportunity to share in the spoils of war, which could take the form of money, land, horses or fighting equipment.⁴⁸⁴ Those who fought on a lord's behalf because they owed knights' service were distinct from mercenaries who were paid to fight for an individual to whom they were bound by no ties of fealty. The difference between a mercenary and a liegeman is illustrated in Wace's *Roman de la Rou* with its description of the conflict between Henry I and his brother Robert. The text states that King Henry had access to a 'large amount of [English] sterling' which enabled him to summon men from Le Mans, Anjou and Brittany who all came [to fight for him] willingly at the prospect of gain'.⁴⁸⁵ The men summoned by King Henry are not labelled as mercenaries, and it is not clear from the text if the English sterling to which Henry I had access paid for the service of these men, or for their upkeep, which is an important distinction. It is stated that the possibility of gain was what made them come willingly, which does slightly blur the line between fighting out of loyalty to a lord and fighting for financial gain. By contrast, Henry's brother Robert is said to have had to resort to paying mercenaries to fight on his behalf, ransoming off his burgesses to the mercenaries for money when he could not pay them.⁴⁸⁶ The author states that Duke Robert of Normandy dared not anger the mercenaries fighting for him because, when he could not pay them 'they were quick to go over to the King's side'.⁴⁸⁷

⁴⁸⁴ See chapter four; Martin Aurell, *The Plantagenet Empire 1154-1224*, transl. D. Crouch (London 2007), pp. 180-1; J.E.A. Joliffe *Angevin Kingship* (London 1963), p.218.

⁴⁸⁵ *The History of the Norman People: Wace's Roman de Rou*, transl. Glyn S. Burgess (Woodbridge 2004), p. 214.

⁴⁸⁶ *The History of the Norman People*, pp. 213- 214.

⁴⁸⁷ *The History of the Norman People*, p. 219.

The distinction being drawn by the author is clear: those who fought for money alone were only loyal so long as the money continued to flow, whereas those fighting out of loyalty to their lord did not do so for purely financial motives.

The image of the money-hungry mercenary is a popular trope within contemporary literature, possibly due to the increased use of mercenaries under the Plantagenets.⁴⁸⁸ In *Aiol* the author describes mercenaries who had been defending a city for five years, but whose money had run out so that they were 'totally lacking in clothing and possessions/ and had pawned everything'.⁴⁸⁹ The author has one of the mercenaries comment that they were no longer making money but losing it, so they decided to defect. Another negative image of mercenaries is found in the *Gesta Regum Anglorum (GRA)*. Here William of Malmesbury comments that the people of Brittany were 'faithless' as they were always willing to act as mercenaries and so fought for coin and not loyalty to their duke.⁴⁹⁰ Not all such depictions of mercenaries were necessarily negative. In the *GND* we read that Henry I discovered the poor state of the English coinage after using it to pay Norman mercenaries.⁴⁹¹ This example does suggest that mercenaries, at least in this instance, were paid in coined money. The *GND* is describing the same events as the *GRA* but in the view of its author (Robert of Torigni) the hiring of mercenaries was not the issue which most needed emphasis, but the quality of the English coinage, that had degenerated. Whilst the image of mercenaries in the literature is in itself an interesting theme, what is most relevant to this thesis is that each of these texts provides an example of individuals being paid in money for their military service. It is unclear from the sources whether the form of payment was always coin, although the implication from the *GND* is that coins were regularly used in such transactions.

From the written sources it becomes clear that money was used to pay for goods, from everyday foodstuffs to expensive knives, by both laymen and members of the clergy.

⁴⁸⁸ Aurell, *The Plantagenet Empire*, pp. 180-1.

⁴⁸⁹ *Aiol: A Chanson de Geste*, eds. Malicote and Hartman, vv. 9385-9390, p. 239.

⁴⁹⁰ 'Britones transmarinos....pecuniis ad obsequium transducebat. Est enim illud genus hominum egens in patria, aliasque externo aere laboriosae uitae mercatur stipendia.' - William of Malmesbury, *Gesta Regum Anglorum*, eds. R.A.B. Mynors, R.M Thomson and M. Winterbottom (Oxford 1998), p. 402.

⁴⁹¹ *The Gesta Normannorum Ducum*, p. 239.

Money was also given to individuals in compensation for services rendered, which included entertainment, office-holding, and military service. In each scenario the goods and services were accorded a monetary value, and payment, according to that value, was made in exchange. The types of goods and services paid for with money ranged from those which would only have been affordable to the aristocracy, to the everyday items that the peasantry could afford. Money as a means of payment for goods and services was, therefore, a phenomenon found throughout all tiers of society.

Money and Travel

Another way in which money was used, according to the written sources, was for travel. The charters preserved in ecclesiastical cartularies include a few examples of money changing hands to enable travel by an individual to Jerusalem.⁴⁹² Jonathan Riley-Smith's work on the composition of the army of the First Crusade was to a large extent based upon such records.⁴⁹³ For example, in the cartulary of Bonneval en Rouerge a charter records that Bernard Guillaume Brunencs granted to the abbey all of his land (woodland, pasture and meadow) in perpetuity for thirty *sous* of Le Puy to travel to Jerusalem.⁴⁹⁴ The Le Puy *deniers* were popular in the crusader states which would suggest that the *sous* in this particular example were comprised of coins, supplying spending money for Bernard.⁴⁹⁵ The Vendôme cartulary includes a charter in which Pierre Papillon of Pezou gave all the revenues of his fiefs held in Pezou (Loir-et-Cher) to the abbey in exchange for thirty *livres* Angevin and a silver cup.⁴⁹⁶ It is possible that the silver cup was to be used to purchase items, as it could, if need arose, have been melted down and minted into whatever type of coin was needed. In the Tiron cartulary we find Geroius of Longvilliers, wishing to travel to Jerusalem, gifting the monks the land and field at

⁴⁹² *Cartulaire de l'abbaye cardinale de la Trinité de Vendôme*, DXCV, pp. 466-7; *Cartulaire de l'Abbaye de la Sainte-Trinité de Tiron*, Lucien Merlet (Chartres 1883), Nos. CCLXXII, CCLXXIX, pp. 43-4, 57-8; Nicholas Vincent, 'Les Normands de l'entourage d'Henri II Plantagenêt', in *La Normandie et l'Angleterre au Moyen Age. Colloque de Cerisy-la-Salle (4-7 octobre 2001)*, eds. Pierre Bouet and Véronique Gazeau (Caen 2003), p.80.

⁴⁹³ Jonathan Riley-Smith, *The First Crusaders, 1095-1131* (Cambridge 1997).

⁴⁹⁴ *Cartulaire de l'abbaye de Bonneval en Rouergue*, ed. P.A. Verlaguet (Rodez 1938), No. 38, pp. 40-1.

⁴⁹⁵ D.M. Metcalf, 'Coinage of the Crusades and the Latin East: Some New Hoards and Site Finds', *The Numismatic Chronicle*, 147 (1987), 84.

⁴⁹⁶ *Cartulaire de l'abbaye cardinale de la Trinité de Vendôme*, No. DXCV, pp. 466-7.

Ferrières for which he used to pay them twelve *deniers* of rent, very likely in coined money.⁴⁹⁷ Such arrangements are clearly set out in a charter in the *Cartulaire Noir* of Angers cathedral which records that Ivon de la Jaille, his two brothers and their lord Geoffrey Teudon, upon departure for Jerusalem, gave the church of Saint-Martin-du-Bois to the bishop of Angers in return for 300 *sous* to contribute to their journey.⁴⁹⁸ These charters are not always clear as to whether the property transferred would revert back to its original owner following their return from pilgrimage, or whether the exchange was made in perpetuity. Even so, the award, of property or revenue in return for money to fund travel is clear. Presumably as pilgrimage was a holy endeavour, the church providing money in support would have aligned with their moral stance on money and its use.⁴⁹⁹ Whilst there is no detail in these charters of precisely what the money was spent on *en route*, they provide clear proof of the need for money for travel.

Such costs are also outlined in the Anstey case, recording Richard of Anstey's campaign to reclaim his inheritance via litigation in the royal and church courts.⁵⁰¹ The account of his expenditure recounts each journey undertaken together with the amount spent, although what the money was spent on is not always specified in detail. For example, sending one of his men to Normandy cost Richard of Anstey half a mark (i.e. thirteen shillings and four pence), whilst a journey from Lambeth to the synod of London cost five shillings, and a carpenter's plane previously bought for nine shillings.⁵⁰² A significant proportion of the costs outlined in the Anstey case are payments made for judicial processes, such as witnessing a charter, and mainly relate to the English judicial system. The Anstey case is important, even so, as it shows that Richard of Anstey's campaign involved cross-Channel journeys, emphasising the connections between England and the French Plantagenet lands, all of this rendering monetary payments essential to travel.

⁴⁹⁷ *Cartulaire de l'Abbaye de la Sainte-Trinité de Tiron*, No. CCLXXII, pp. 43-4.

⁴⁹⁸ *Cartulaire Noir de la Cathédrale d'Angers*, No. CCXXII, pp. 327-8.

⁴⁹⁹ See 'money and morality' in chapter two.

⁵⁰¹ 'The Anstey Case', pp. 1-24.

⁵⁰² '*Scilicet in primum misi quondam hominem meum Normanniam pro brevi regis per quod posui adversaries meos in placitum, qui dimidim marcam dispendidit in illo itinere.*'... *Abhinc pursuit migi diem alium apud Suhant' ad xv diem... et in ill otinere dispendidi lvij solidos et in illo itinere amisi unum runcinum qui valebat xij solidos*' - 'The Anstey Case, p. 17.

One aspect of travel only infrequently mentioned in the charters or literary sources is the need to exchange 'foreign' coins into the local coinage in order to have coined money available to spend. This was a necessity for any kind of traveller, pilgrims or merchants, since whenever they crossed into another monetary region the only way to have ready money was to change it to the correct local coinage, unless payment in kind (or precious metals) was a possibility. When describing the First Crusade, Raymond of Aguilers details that rates of exchange existed between Frankish and Arabic coin, each of which had very different monetary standards, making it easier to exchange these coins.⁵⁰³ Similarly, Guibert of Nogent in his writing about the Crusade described the brief circulation of Norman coins minted at Rouen in Latakia, as a result of Robert of Normandy's presence there: an example of a foreign coinage temporarily becoming local legal tender.⁵⁰⁴ The obligation to exchange coins for the 'local' coinage did not always require travel between different rulers' domains. As has already been discussed, the coins in circulation within a ruler's domain could vary region by region, with distinct monetary zones in which coins of a different weight standard circulated.⁵⁰⁵ For those travelling beyond their local area, the exchanging of coins to the 'local' currency would have been a familiar practice. There is surviving evidence, both literary and archaeological, for 'foreign' coins having to be brought to an exchange and melted down into the local coinage before they could be spent. For example, the lack of coin finds of English sterling across Plantagenet France before 1190 suggests that English sterling was systematically converted into Angevin deniers under Henry Plantagenet.⁵⁰⁶ Further evidence for the practice of melting down foreign coins is the Pimprez hoard, discovered in Picardy in 2002 and comprising 446 English pennies of Henry I and Stephen, 126 coins from the continent, as well as twelve silver ingots and a crucible, which clearly suggests the ability

⁵⁰³ David Bates, *The Normans and Empire* (Oxford 2013), p. 119 citing: Guibertus *abbas S. Mariae Nogenti, Gesta Dei per Francos*, ed. R.B.C. Huygens, (Turnhout 1996), p. 336; *The Deeds of God through the Franks: A Translation of Guibert of Nogent's 'Gesta Dei per Francos'*, transl. R. Levine (Woodbridge 1997), p. 159.

⁵⁰⁴ Bates, *The Normans and Empire*, p. 119; *Gesta Dei per Francos*, p. 336; *The Deeds of God through the Franks*, p. 159.

⁵⁰⁵ See chapter three.

⁵⁰⁶ Moesgaard, *La Circulation des monnaies anglaises en France*; This system existed under Henry I as well; *Spink: The Coinex Sale, The Pimprez Hoard and other important properties*, London Wed 6th and Thursday 7th October 2004, (London 2004), p. 96.

to melt down one currency for exchange into another.⁵⁰⁷ What makes the Pimprez hoard unusual is that it contained no local coins, but is entirely composed of foreign coinages. As a result, it has been categorised as a 'travellers' hoard, although it could also have been an exchanger's hoard.⁵⁰⁸ It seems probable that the need to exchange foreign coins for local coins while travelling was well-known amongst the population of medieval France.

The epic poem *Aiol* contains an instance of foreign coins being exchanged for the local currency, suggesting that this practice was well-known by both author and audience. The protagonist, Aiol, sets out on his journey from France with 'three sous' worth of coin' (thirty-six *deniers*) which he was told by his father to exchange for 'five sous' or more of Cologne currency upon reaching Cologne.⁵⁰⁹ This particular instance suggests an awareness by the author that the Cologne currency and the French currency were not equivalent, which in the early thirteenth century they were not.⁵¹⁰ However, the Cologne Pfenning was a much higher value coinage than any of the French coins so the exchange rate detailed in *Aiol* is not realistic. Whether this reflects a lack of knowledge on the part of the author, or was mere artistic license, is impossible to know. Nevertheless, what emerges from the sources is that it was common practice to exchange 'foreign' coins for the local coinage whilst travelling.

The written sources suggest that travel required the use of coined money. It was the need to have coin that led to individuals exchanging their land for cash, and likewise exchanging their coins for the correct local coinage. Whilst it is not explicitly stated in any of the sources that coin was needed for travel, the numerous references to coin being exchanged, or of coin being loaned in return for land does strongly suggest that this was one of the uses of money in which coined *deniers* regularly changed hands.

⁵⁰⁷ Marcus Phillips, Emily Freeman and Peter Woodhead, 'The Pimprez Hoard', *The Numismatic Chronicle*, 171 (2011), 261-346.

⁵⁰⁸ Phillips, Freeman and Woodhead, 'The Pimprez Hoard', 265-6, 268.

⁵⁰⁹ *Aiol: A Chanson de Geste*, eds. Malicote and Hartman, vv. 235-245, 969-971, p. 6; 'iii. saus porteres, fieus, de deniers/ Ceus ferres a vostre oste sempre cangier:/ S'ares de Colongois .v. saus' - *Aiol: Chanson de Geste*, eds. Jacques Normand and Gaston Raynaud (Paris 1877), vv. 240-2, p.8.

⁵¹⁰ Spufford, *Handbook of Medieval Exchange*, pp. 209-10 - In 1208 the English sterling (pound) was equivalent to 20 cologne *shillings*.⁵¹⁰ One pound sterling was equivalent to 90 shillings (*sous*) of *denier Parisis* of France in 1265 and the pound sterling in *deniers tournois* was 80s in 1204.

Money and Property

From the written sources it becomes evident that money was primarily used as a measure of value. By giving non-monetary items a value in monetary terms their value could be understood more widely, and transactions involving the exchange of money for a non-monetary item could take place. The charters, for example, offer numerous instances of *livres* or *sous* of land (*liberates* or *solidates*) being sold or exchanged.⁵¹¹ Rather than using units of land measurement the charters here employ monetary valuations. The value of land could also be expressed in terms of the amount of rent, taxes or revenue that it might generate, again given monetary values by the sources.⁵¹² For example, we find annual rents of *sous* paid in return for a grant of land, or *deniers* from a mill or from the tithes owed.⁵¹³ Henry Plantagenet's charters also contain many references to marriage agreements in which land, measured in monetary terms, was exchanged, albeit that more examples of this survive for England than for Henry's French lands. A charter for Richard de Canville, for instance, references forty *livres* of land which came into Richard's possession as his wife Milicent's dowry.⁵¹⁴ Similarly a charter for Alice, countess of Eu, confirms seventy *livres* of land (most likely the annual income from said land) which had been granted to her as her marriage portion.⁵¹⁵ As is clear throughout this chapter, money was frequently used to assign an widely understandable value to property. In much the same way that goods and services were exchanged for money, so too was property.

The use of money in relation to property is the most prominent in the written sources. Many charters exist which detail the buying, selling, and mortgaging of property, the completion of building work and repairs, confirmation of boundaries and rents, and the

⁵¹¹ *The Letters and Charters of Henry II*, I, No. 118 (1331H), pp. 123-4, No. 153 (1575H), pp. 150-1, II No. 888 (1203H), p. 129, No. 1045 (1619H), p. 270, No. 1255 (1142H), pp. 477-8, III No. 1521 (1064H), pp. 169-70, IV No. 1986 (1359H), pp. 96-8, No. 2558 (103H), pp. 655-6, V No. 2577 (1051H), pp. 1-2, No. 2673 (1331H), pp. 75-6, No. 2720 (1897H), pp. 124-7.

⁵¹² See chapter two; Spufford, *Money and its Use*, p. 382; Bolton, *Money in the Medieval English Economy*, pp. 189-190.

⁵¹³ *Le Cartulaire de l'Abbaye Bénédictine de Saint-Pierre-de-Préaux*, No. A65, pp. 66-7; *Cartulaire de l'Eglise d'Angoulême*, No. CLXXI, pp. 159-60; *The Letters and Charters of Henry II*, IV, No. 2345 (1819H), pp. 440-4.

⁵¹⁴ *The Letters and Charters of Henry II*, I, No 505 (1825H) p. 501.

⁵¹⁵ *The Letters and Charters of Henry II*, II, No. 864a (5802H), pp. 111-2.

settlement of disputes, all of which involved money. Where the amounts of money being paid in return for property are significant, the question arises as to whether any coins changed hands or if the use of money was merely a way for both parties involved to understand the value of what was being sold or exchanged.

The Sale and Purchase of Property

One of the most recognisable ways that money was used came through the sale and purchase of property. Instances found in the charters show money being given in exchange for the ownership of property being transferred from one individual or institution to another. For example, a charter of Geoffrey Plantagenet, Count of Anjou, confirms the purchase of a house for 100 *livres* which he then granted to the abbot of Saint-Julien at Tours with all of its lands, services, and rents.⁵¹⁶ Similarly, a charter of Henry Plantagenet confirmed the purchase by Walter of Coutances of a house on the bridge at Rouen, as well as other property nearby, for 240 *livres Angevin*.⁵¹⁷ In these two charters the transactions taking place are clear, in return for a one-off payment, the ownership of the property was being transferred. In both of these examples the payment is reckoned in *livres*, which was not a coin that was in circulation during the twelfth century but was a money of account made up of 240 silver *deniers*, presumably paid in coined money rather than goods or services.⁵¹⁸ The charters show that, whether or not coin ever changed hands, the value of property was reckoned in monetary terms.

Similar instances of property being sold for a payment reckoned in money are found throughout the charters preserved in ecclesiastical cartularies. The cartulary of La Trappe, for example, preserves a charter recording the sale by William de Blavou of his fief at La Bigre (Orne) to Raoul the farrier for seven *livres Angevin*.⁵¹⁹ Likewise, the sale of a church and vineyards by the abbot and convent of Notre-Dame de Bonport is recorded

⁵¹⁶ *Chartes de Saint-Julien de Tours 91002-1227*, No. 88, pp. 114-5.

⁵¹⁷ *The Letters and Charters of Henry II*, I, No. 705 (1874H), pp. 682-3.

⁵¹⁸ See chapter three.

⁵¹⁹ *Cartulaire de l'abbaye de Notre-Dame de la Trappe*, p. 226.

as having been for twenty-five *livres* of Parisian money.⁵²⁰ Three of these charters ask for payment in *livres* Angevin whilst one requests *livres parisisis*. The reason for specifying whether the amount being requested was in *livres* Angevin or of Paris is because the value of the *livre*, as a money of account, varied according to the type of *denier* upon which its value was based. The Parisian and Angevin *deniers* were minted to different standards and contained differing amounts of silver, so if an individual was expecting the sale of their property to be in *livres* Parisian but received *livres* Angevin they would consider themselves cheated as the Parisian *denier* had a higher silver content. As long ago as 1913, for instance, Edouard Audouin pointed out that both King John and Philip Augustus paid their knights six *sous* a day, but that since John paid in *sous* Angevin and Philip in *sous parisisis*, John's knights effectively cost him only two thirds of the cost that accrued to Philip.⁵²¹ Specifying the type of *livre* in the charters suggests an understanding on the part of the individuals involved in the transactions of the differing values of the *livre* as a monetary unit, essential for a money of account.

The charters offer many more examples of sales of property like those discussed above which all record the exchange of money, but not necessarily coin, in return for the transfer of property ownership.⁵²² In some cases we only learn about the sale of a property because the purchase history is given as context for a grant being made. For example, a charter of Henry Plantagenet records a grant of land for a meadow in the Le Véron (Indre-et-Loire) to the nuns of Saint-Lazare at Fontevraud. We are told that this land was purchased by Henry from Boetus de Charzais and his wife for ten *livres*.⁵²³ It was not always the property itself that was sold, in some charters the rights held by an individual from a particular property were alienated in return for money. For example, a charter in the cartulary of Saint-Amant-de-Boixe (near Angoulême) records that Arnaud Prevot and his nephew Peter sold all the rights they held in a vineyard in return for a

⁵²⁰ *Cartulaire de l'Abbaye royale de Notre-Dame de Bon-Port de l'ordre de Citeaux au diocese d'Évreux*, ed. Th. Bonnin (Évreux 1862), No. 4.

⁵²¹ John Gillingham, 'Royal Letters, Writs and Chronicles: Their Value for Interpretation of the Reigns of King John and his Predecessors in the Light of the Work of Sir James (Jim) Holt', *Reading Medieval Studies*, 46 (2020), 48-9.

⁵²² *Cartulaire de l'Abbaye de Saint-Aubin d'Angers*, ed. Bertrand de Broussillon (Angers 1903) No. CCVI, p. 238; *Cartulaire de l'église de la Sainte-Trinité de Beaumont-le-Roger*, No. LVII, pp. 54-5.

⁵²³ *The Letters and Charters of Henry II*, II, No. 1065 (591H), pp. 293-4; Guillotel, *Actes des Ducs de Bretagne*, No. 165, pp. 518-9.

payment of ten *sous* from the abbey.⁵²⁴ Possession of rights from a property was not necessarily the same as legally owning the land itself, as rights could be granted by the owner to the church or another individual without ownership of the land legally changing hands. The sale of rights was, however, different to a gift, as money changed hands as a condition of the sale.

The terminology used for the sale of property is sometimes ambiguous in the charters. A charter found in the cartulary of Saint-Etienne at Caen records the grant to the abbey of six houses by Gautier, servant of the abbey's infirmary. It reports that four of these houses were given as gifts but that two were sold to the monks (*vendiderat monachi*) although no money or counter-gift seems to have been received by Gautier in return.⁵²⁵ The ambiguity here is that the term *vendiderat* is used but there is no record of the amount of money the houses were sold for, which was standard practice within charters recording purchases of property.⁵²⁶ It is possible that this charter represents an attempt to disguise the purchase of the houses by the monks as a gift rather than as a sale because, as discussed in chapter two, ecclesiastical institutions were not necessarily keen to be seen to be involved in the buying and selling of property.⁵²⁷

Such ecclesiastical charters include many examples of the purchase and sale of property disguised through the language of charity (*caritas*). For example, in the Fontevraud cartulary a charter records that Aimer of Beuxes gave part of his wood at Cavaneio (possibly Comprigny) to the abbey, in return for which abbess Petronilla gave him forty *sous*.⁵²⁸ In this instance the money given to Aimer is described as '*caritative*' or charitably, in the spirit of friendship, as a way of disguising the financial transaction taking place. In another entry Goslin Rigaud gave to Fontevraud Abbey the land he held at Abispino (unidentified) in return for which he was given seventy *sous de caritate* (out

⁵²⁴ *Cartulaire de l'Abbaye de Saint-Amant-de-Boixe*, ed. André Debord (Poitiers 1982), No. 148, p. 177.

⁵²⁵ '*Gvalterius servitor infirmarie dedit sancto Stephano in burgo ejus pro salute anime sue. VI. domos, duas earum vendiderat monachi, duas dederat in firmario, quintam elemosinario, sextam camerario.*' - *Cartulaire de l'abbaye Saint-Étienne de Caen*, II, No. 152, pp. 247-8.

⁵²⁶ *Grand Cartulaire de Fontevraud*, p. 127; Tamiko Fujimoto, *Recherche sur l'écrit documentaire au Moyen Âge. Edition et commentaire du cartulaire de l'abbaye Saint-Étienne de Caen (XII siècle)*, (unpubl. Thesis, Université de Caen Basse-Normandie, Aug 2006), II., p. 245.

⁵²⁷ See chapter two.

⁵²⁸ *Grand Cartulaire de Fontevraud*, ed. Jean-Marc Bienvenu (Poitiers 2000), No. 261, p. 263.

of love).⁵²⁹ According to the charter, the land was granted to the abbey for the remedy of the souls of Goslin's parents and no reference to the land either being sold by Goslin or purchased by the abbey is made. Despite the terminology used in these charters, it is still clear that the transaction taking place involved the sale of land to the monastery by local landowners. This practice was by no means a phenomenon unique to Fontevraud. Similar phrases are found in the cartulary of Saint-Vincent Le Mans, where a charter records that Hugh of Congeio granted the land he held at Saint-Caron to the abbey and in return was given ten *livres* of Le Mans in *caritate*, whilst his wife was given five *sous* and their son twelve coins (*nummos*), most likely silver deniers.⁵³⁰ This example is one of the few to specify that physical coins were exchanged. In the same cartulary, Mathew of 'Quinta' sold to the abbey everything he held at 'Quinta', including the vineyard of Garin Escoble, immune from all services with a reservation of a fixed payment of eleven *deniers* paid on All Saints' Day, which could have been a coin payment as deniers were the coins in circulation. In return the abbey gave him five *sous* of Le Mans in *caritate*.⁵³¹ These charters are evidence of the systematic consolidation of land by monastic houses that became common practice during the twelfth century, especially among the Cistercian houses which were dominant in France.⁵³²

Constance Hoffman Berman has studied monastic charters from southern France and argued that during the twelfth century the traditional 'donation contract' used in monastic contexts began to be replaced by more commercialised transactions.⁵³³ The charters begin to record 'counter-gifts' being offered to donors by monastic institutions, which could range from prayers for the family of the donor or, as we have seen above, a gift of money.⁵³⁴ Jacques Le Goff has argued that *caritas*, and the practice of gift-giving more generally, formed social links within society between the abbey and the patron or

⁵²⁹ *Cartulaire de Fontevraud*, No. 277, p. 279.

⁵³⁰ *Cartulaire de l'Abbaye de Saint-Vincent du Mans (ordre de Saint Benoit)*, ed. Abbe R. Charles and Vicomte Menjot D'Elbenne (Le Mans, 1886-1913), No. 330, p. 198.

⁵³¹ *Cartulaire de Saint-Vincent au Mans*, No. 764, p. 434.

⁵³² Burton and Kerr, *The Cistercians in the Middle Ages*, pp. 149-150, 161-167.

⁵³³ Constance Hoffman Berman, *The Cistercian Evolution: The Invention of a Religious Order in Twelfth-Century Europe* (Pennsylvania 2010) pp. 170-173.

⁵³⁴ For examples of non-monetary gifts see: *Cartulaire de l'Abbaye de la Saint-Trinité de Tiron*, No. CIV, p. 124; *Cartulaire de l'Église de la Saint-Trinite de Beaumont-Le-Roger*, No. XX, pp. 26-7.

donor, as well as between man and God.⁵³⁵ The decision by the monks to record certain sales and purchases of property as acts of *caritas* in the charters, and thus obscure the financial element of the transaction, reflects the prevailing attitude towards money and financial gain by monastic institutions throughout the twelfth century.⁵³⁶ What these charters show is that the purchase and sale of property, records of which survive predominantly in ecclesiastical charters, relied on a common understanding of money by both lay and ecclesiastical individuals.

Money and the Payment of Rent

Another way that the use of money was linked to property was through the payment of rent, either to an individual or an institution. Rent was paid to the legal owner of property in return for the ability to work the land, or live in a property. Paying rent was different to the sale or purchase of land because the ownership of the property for which the rent was paid never changed hands. The majority of the evidence for rent payments is found in the charters which, for the French Plantagenet lands, have survived for the most part in royal archives or ecclesiastical cartularies.

Rents received from property are usually given monetary values in the sources. For example, a charter of Henry Plantagenet confirmed the possessions and liberties of Montebourg Abbey, including land, towns, mills, pastures of livestock, and forests all free from customs and tolls. The charter details the amounts of rent due, where applicable, for the abbey's possessions.⁵³⁷ These included twenty *sous* Angevin annually which had been gifted by Robert de Barneville along with a salt mine. Much like the examples above in which monetary values were given in *livres*, in this charter the value of the rents is given in *sous* Angevin, which again was not a minted coin but a money of account. Twelve deniers formed one *sous*, so it is possible that this *sous* was paid in multiple coins, but as the *sous* Angevin was commonly used as a money of account it remains impossible to say whether this particular payment was made in coin or another

⁵³⁵ Le Goff, *Money and the Middle Ages*, pp. 144-5.

⁵³⁶ See chapter two.

⁵³⁷ *The Letters and charters of Henry II*, III No. 1845 (1849H), pp. 472-77.

form of money.⁵³⁸ Not all of the gifts of rent in this charter specify the coin type. For example, there is also a gift of fifteen *sous* of rent annually from a manor in England which could have been in English sterling, or equally in Angevin *deniers*, or another of the Angevin coinages, in which respect the charter is not clear. This particular example shows that the rents held by the abbey were not limited to lands that they owned, since an individual could make a gift of rent from their property rather than gifting the land itself. Because this gift was being sent across the Channel it would make sense that it took the form of coined money, or something equally as transportable such as ingots, but as none of this is specified in the charter we can only speculate. Among the gifts made to the abbey were individual properties, such as the house of Willelm de Rouselli on the bridge, and the house 'that Hawise gave', as well as the chapel of Saint Michael with the daily rent of three *deniers*. This daily rent of three *deniers* is the most likely to mean actual cash rent as the *denier* was the main coin in circulation in the French Plantagenet lands. In short, the twelfth century saw an increasing tendency for rents to be paid in coin.⁵³⁹

Rents of property given in *livres* or *sous* are very common in the charters. For example, a charter of Henry Plantagenet to Saint-Wandrille confirmed an annual rent of forty *sous* granted to the abbey by William de Caux.⁵⁴⁰ Savigny held an annual rent of ten *livres* Angevin at Pont-Audemer, granted by Isabelle of Meulan, and twenty-three *sous* Angevin and seven *deniers* in the chief rent in the king's fee of La Verrières at Angers, granted by Hubert Simia.⁵⁴¹ Another charter, this time to the monks of Silly-en-Gouffern, records the notification of the King's grant to, Drogo, the founder, and the monks of waste land and liberties in the forest together with annual rents of ten *livres* from Argentan and ten *livres* from the forest of Gouffern.⁵⁴² Much like the charter to Montebourg, these charters are vague about the form that payment of rent actually took. Various charters include instances of rent taking the form of a combination of money and non-monetary items. For example, a charter of Henry confirmed the priory of

⁵³⁸ See chapter three.

⁵³⁹ Spufford, *Money and its Use*, pp. 241-6.

⁵⁴⁰ *The Letters and Charters of Henry II*, IV No. 2406 (1680H), pp. 505-6.

⁵⁴¹ *The Letters and Charters of Henry II*, IV No. 2432 (395H), pp. 534-5, No. 2437 (594H) pp. 543-4.

⁵⁴² *The Letters and Charters of Henry II*, IV No. 2496 (1565H), pp. 601-3.

Saint-Philbert-sur-Risle in possession of the church of St Peter at Saltwood (Kent), including an annual rent of eleven marks of silver, and 6,000 herrings.⁵⁴³ A mark of silver was a money of account measured by weight not a coin but could have been made up of un-minted silver or silver coins.⁵⁴⁴ Whatever form payments of rent took, the abundance of references in the charters suggests that, by the mid-twelfth century, rents being valued in monetary terms was common in the French Plantagenet lands.

Money and the Mortgaging of Property

Some charters show the ownership of property being transferred temporarily in exchange for a loan of money. Penelope D. Johnson, in her study of patronage and the abbey of la Trinité at Vendôme, argued that by the twelfth century most abbeys, as wealthy institutions with access to large quantities of money, had begun to lend money to their neighbours and patrons.⁵⁴⁵ Terms such as *commodore* (to lend), *disgagiare/diswadiare* (to redeem) and *ingagementum/inwadiamentum* (to mortgage) began to find their way into monastic charters.

A mortgage charter found in the Cartulary of Mont-Saint Michel, records that Rainald fitz Hugh mortgaged all the land he used to hold in 'Grenerio' for ten *sous* of Le Mans. The only way for Rainald or his heirs to reclaim this land was by paying back the same sum of money to the abbey. In this particular instance however, Rainald fell ill and, fearing for his eternal soul, decided to grant the land to the abbey in perpetuity, rendering the repayment of any money unnecessary.⁵⁴⁶ This charter uses the Latin term '*invadimoniare*' to describe the transaction taking place, best translated as 'to pledge' or 'mortgage'. It is the use of this term, as well as the setting out of the terms by which the land could be reclaimed, which reveals that it was a mortgage and not a sale or gift. An example of land being mortgaged is also found in the cartulary of Angoulême Cathedral. The charter, dating to 1146, saw William de Saint-Aulais and his nephew, Elie de Brie,

⁵⁴³ *The Letters and Charters of Henry II*, IV No. 2377 (1745H), p. 474.

⁵⁴⁴ Nightingale, 'The Evolution of Weight-Standards', 93-6.

⁵⁴⁵ Penelope D. Johnson, *Prayer, Patronage, and Power: The Abbey of La Trinité, Vendôme, 1032-1187* (New York 1981), pp. 60-1.

⁵⁴⁶ *The Cartulary of Mont Saint-Michel*, ed. K.S.B. Keats-Ronan (Donington 2006), No. 81, pp. 156-7.

give their land, which would only return to their possession if they paid 200 *sous* of Angoulême (or equivalent), to the church.⁵⁴⁷ Peter Spufford has argued that it was not just land that could be mortgaged; the rights to collect revenues such as tithes or rents, could also be temporarily handed over to a monastic institution in exchange for money.⁵⁴⁸ We have already seen an example of this with Pierre Papillon temporarily granting all the revenue from his fiefs to the monks at la Trinité Vendôme in return for ready money.⁵⁴⁹ From the charters studied it does not seem that mortgaging property was as widespread as the purchase and sale of property, as there are fewer identifiable examples. However, those that do survive show that in transactions involving the mortgage of property or rents, money remained the principal unit of valuation.

Various instances in the charters suggest, not property being mortgaged, but ownership of property being transferred to an abbey or monastery when a monk or nun took religious vows, as a form of entry payment. These transactions were not sales, as there was no monetary exchange, but the property being transferred supplied a way to provide additional revenue to the monastery. For example, in the cartulary of Saint-Etienne Caen, William the Cantor gave all of his land and hereditary holdings to the abbey when he was made a monk, '*quando ibi factus est monachus*'.⁵⁵⁰ Similarly, the abbey received one measure of land next to the bridge of Crapaudière from Drogo when he took the habit, held annually for five *sous* Angevin.⁵⁵¹ Another charter from Les Châtelliers, on the Île-de-Ré records that a cleric named John gifted all his holdings to the church upon assuming the religious life.⁵⁵² As a result of this grant the abbey could claim a rent of one obol (half a *denier*) and the service (*servicio*) of two *sous* (twenty-four *deniers*) annually at the feast of St John. The low value of these monetary payments makes it likely that coined money was exchanged, especially as an obol is specified. There is also a record in the cartulary of Saint-Aubin at Angers of a knight named Pean

⁵⁴⁷ *Cartulaire de l'Église d'Angoulême*, No. CLVII (1146), pp. 149-50.

⁵⁴⁸ Spufford, *Money and its Use*, p. 212.

⁵⁴⁹ See above.

⁵⁵⁰ *Cartulaire de l'abbaye Saint-Étienne de Caen*, No. 151, pp. 246-7.

⁵⁵¹ *Cartulaire de l'abbaye Saint-Étienne de Caen*, No. 164, pp. 256-7.

⁵⁵² *Cartulaire de l'Abbaye royale de Notre-Dame des Chatellier*, ed. Louis Duval (Niort 1872), No. V, pp. 7-8.

Raoul donating a piece of land at Vaudelenay to the abbey when he became a monk.⁵⁵³ By gifting land or money to their monastic institution the new entrant could contribute to the costs of their upkeep. In all of these instances the person entering the monastery was the same one granting land to the church. In a slightly different scenario found in the Fontevraud cartulary, Brun of Cussé and his wife gave their land at Pusos, along with fifteen *sous* and three *deniers* of rent, to the abbey on behalf of their two daughters who had entered religion there.⁵⁵⁴ As this gift was made on behalf of their daughters (*pro duabus filiabus suis quas monachas fecerunt*) it appears to be a very similar transaction to the previous examples, the only difference being that the two daughters presumably had no claims over this land as their parents were still living, so it had to be given to the abbey by their parents and not by them. Another example in the Fontevraud cartulary records a gift of fourteen *sous* of rent and the land of Truville (including knights' services) made to the abbey by Goscelin of Leagus on behalf of her niece who was entering the abbey.⁵⁵⁵ Each of these examples records the transfer of land (and the monetary value inherent in it) to the abbey upon the entry of a lay person into the community. Grants from new recruits and their families were one of the ways that monastic institutions could gain possession of land, rents and money.⁵⁵⁶ Whilst money was not exchanged when land was gifted to ecclesiastical institutions in the examples above, either the value of the land was assessed in monetary terms or the rents were given monetary value. In these instances money was being used to value what was being transferred.

Money and the Upkeep of Property

Another use of money relates to the financing of building work and repairs to property. For example, in a charter of Henry Plantagenet to Saint-Florent-Lès-Saumur dating to 1162, the monks were given permission to build a bridge made of stone over the Loire, and were granted permission for collecting tolls for the transport of livestock and merchandise over this bridge.⁵⁵⁷ The authenticity of this particular charter is not entirely

⁵⁵³ *Cartulaire de l'Abbaye de Saint-Aubin d'Angers*, No. CLII, pp. 179-80.

⁵⁵⁴ *Grand cartulaire de Fontevraud*, No. 300, p. 301-2.

⁵⁵⁵ *Grand cartulaire de Fontevraud*, No. 526, p. 514.

⁵⁵⁶ Burton and Kerr, *The Cistercians in the Middle Ages*, pp. 166-7.

⁵⁵⁷ *The Letters and Charters of Henry II*, IV No. 2353 (1614H), pp. 449-51.

certain. However, the fact that the monks wanted to prove they had permission to build the bridge and to collect tolls is significant as it directly associates the bridge with the ability to collect tolls, most likely paid in coin and certainly reckoned in monetary terms. This charter is by no means the only one in which bridge tolls were listed, often as a major source of revenue for local ecclesiastical institutions.⁵⁵⁸

It was not just bridges that could generate monetary revenue for their owners. A grant by Henry to the Knights Templar in 1159 included permission for the Templars to build a mill which, like a bridge, could generate revenue from their land.⁵⁵⁹ The building of a mill is also found in an entry in the Norman Pipe Rolls for Condé-Sur-Noireau which records that fifteen *livres*, seventeen *sous* and eight *deniers* were made available to the canons of Mortain for the building of a new mill.⁵⁶⁰ In this example the money made available could have been in coin and was presumably sufficient to cover the purchase of materials and labour, so rather than supplying evidence of revenue generated by the mill as in previous instances, we here learn of the money that it took to build such a revenue-generating enterprise. Building a mill would have provided the property owner with the chance to enforce their right to mill products such as wheat or barley. It was also possible for a toll or rent to be levied on a mill. So, as with bridges, mill-building was a worthy investment that could generate further revenue measured in monetary terms.

This relationship between infrastructure and money is set out in a late-twelfth century charter in favour of the royal chapel of Saint-Pierre-de-la-Cour at Le Mans. The charter records that the dean handed over some of the chapter's land to Fulk Legren, including a vineyard and the right to build a wine-press, presumably to capitalise on the vineyard's harvest and potentially sell some of the wine, which would allow the new owner to pay eight *deniers* of rent (very possibly in coin) at the feast of St Peter.⁵⁶¹ In the factitious *Cartulaire de Louviers* we find an account of the revenue of 700 *livres* from several baillis of Normandy and the reasons for which these sums were paid, one of them (100 *livres*,

⁵⁵⁸ *The Letters and Charters of Henry II*, II, No. 770 (5100H), p. 23, No. 1055 (378H), pp. 278-82; Vincent, 'The Plantagenets and the Agenais', No. 5, p. 447.

⁵⁵⁹ *The Letters and Charters of Henry II*, III No.1373 (1554H), p. 27.

⁵⁶⁰ *Pipe Rolls of the Exchequer of Normandy*, p. 13; *Magni Rotuli Scaccarii Normanniæ I*, p. 17.

⁵⁶¹ *Cartulaire du Chapitre Royal de Saint-Pierre-de-la-cour, du Mans*, No. XXV, pp. 29-30.

five *sous* and eight *deniers*) for the reconstruction of the king's mills at Louviers which had been destroyed by fire, and to compensate the farmers who had remained unemployed for three months (eight *livres* and six *sous*).⁵⁶² This particular charter shows how important infrastructure, such as mills, could be, not least in providing work and therefore monetary income for their farmers. The cartulary of Saint-Vincent Le Mans includes a charter of Theobald, Archbishop of Canterbury, confirming the monks' possession of rights in England including ownership of land near Abergavenny and Grosmont on which to build a town.⁵⁶³ A town could be massively profitable, not least as a centre of trade and commerce which could be taxed by the abbey. Although piecemeal, the evidence points to an association between money and the building of infrastructure. It cost money to build, but once built such enterprises could generate money, making them a worthy investment.

The sources offer multiple examples of money being spent on unspecified building work. For example, a charter relating to the church of Bayeux describes the ancient customs due to the canons there, including six *deniers* annually for building work and furnishing the church, as well as six *deniers* Angevin to pay for labour and construction work, which would very likely have been coined money.⁵⁶⁴ Money spent on building work is also referenced in the letters of Arnulf of Lisieux. In a letter of c.1170 to Baldwin, Bishop of Noyon, Arnulf describes how priests from his diocese had been collecting money to rebuild the church of Lisieux. However, the priests had since fled and left Arnulf and another as guarantors of their debts.⁵⁶⁵ Arnulf of Lisieux's building activities are also referenced in a later letter from c.1180 to Pope Alexander III where he claims to have spent 12,000 *livres* on his cathedral church and its buildings.⁵⁶⁶ The twelfth century was a period during which many churches and abbeys were built.⁵⁶⁷ Therefore, spending

⁵⁶² *Cartulaire de Louviers: documents historiques originaux du X au XVIII siècle*, ed. Th. Bonnon (Evreux 1870), No. VIII, pp. 18-19.

⁵⁶³ "*Liber controversiarum Sancti Vincentii Cenomannensis*" ou *Second cartulaire de l'abbaye Saint-Vincent du Mans*, ed. A. Chédeville (1968), No. 59, pp. 122-3.

⁵⁶⁴ *Cartularius Ecclesiae Baiocensis (Livre Noir)*, No. XLVII, pp. 57-60.

⁵⁶⁵ *The Letters of Arnulf of Lisieux*, No. 63, p. 114.

⁵⁶⁶ *The Letters of Arnulf of Lisieux*, pp. 208-10.

⁵⁶⁷ Lindy Grant, 'Aspects of the Architectural Patronage of the Family of the Counts of Anjou in the Twelfth Century', in *Anjou: Medieval Art, Architecture and Archaeology*, ed. John McNeill and Daniel Prigent (Leeds 2003), pp. 96-110; Wim Vroom, 'Financing Cathedral-Building in the Middle Ages: The Eleventh to

money on building work must have been fairly common and clearly large amounts of money, coined or otherwise, were required for any kind of building work.

The sources also contain examples of money being spent on repairs and being given as compensation for property damage. For example, the Norman Pipe Rolls record that in 1180 nineteen *livres* and two *sous* were paid from the exchequer, by the order of Henry Plantagenet to repair the guard house at Gisors, to build a house next to the gate and to re-roof the chapel and the domestic chamber of the castle.⁵⁶⁸ For repairing the tower at Gisors, seven *livres*, twelve *sous* and one *denier* are recorded as being made available, which could have been in coin.⁵⁶⁹ Gisors had been an area of dispute between the Angevins and the Capetians, it is unclear whether damage had been the result of fighting, or if, by granting money to Gisors Henry was re-asserting his authority as lord and patron over the town.⁵⁷⁰ In the charters of Geoffrey, Duke of Brittany, there is an example of a grant to the nuns of Saint-Cyr of Nantes made in compensation for the damage done to their property by the extension of the fortifications of Nantes, this compensation took the form of six *livres* of Geoffrey's rents of Nantes received every Easter.⁵⁷¹ These examples suggest that money, whether that took the form of coined money or not, could be used to pay for building-work, repairs, and was also as a way of compensating a property owner for damage. Whilst the specific circumstances varied in each situation, the common thread is that in every example money is involved, giving value to the work being done, or as a way of valuing the property and therefore calculating a reasonable compensation price.

From the written sources the sale, purchase, lease and mortgaging of property appears to have been common practice in twelfth-century Plantagenet France. Money played a central role in these transactions by setting the value of property, a price that was understood by each person involved and which could be judged to be fair (or not).

Thirteenth Centuries', in *Money and the Church in Medieval Europe 1000-1200*, eds. Giles E.M. Gasper and Svein Gulbekk (London 2015), pp. 107-120.

⁵⁶⁸ *Pipe Rolls of the Exchequer of Normandy*, p. 52.

⁵⁶⁹ *Pipe Rolls of the Exchequer of Normandy*, p. 52; *Magni Rotuli Scaccarii Normanniae*, I, p. 72.

⁵⁷⁰ Daniel .J. Power, 'What did the Frontier of Angevin Normandy Comprise?', *Anglo-Norman Studies*, XVII (1995), 186; Power, 'Angevin Normandy', p. 66; Aurell, *The Plantagenet Empire*, pp. 124-6.

⁵⁷¹ *The Charters of Duchess Constance of Brittany*, No. Ge28, p. 30.

Similarly, the revenue generated from land, either through produce or rents and taxes, was given a monetary value as a way of understanding what any parcel of land was worth. The monetary value of property could also be used as the basis upon which to measure the amount needed for compensation if property was damaged. It is almost impossible to prove conclusively whether the record of any particular monetary transaction meant that coined money changed hands. But the level of coin use was higher during this period, and any of the chief units of account, such as *livres* or marks could be made up from coins, as could *sous*. It is more likely, however, that coins changed hands when the amounts recorded were *deniers* and small numbers of *sous*. Once the amounts rise to pounds or marks, the number of individual coins that would have been needed makes it less likely that the transactions took place in coins. Payment of rents would have been more likely to involve coin than the sale of property for large sums. What is clear, even so, is that the sources indicate that money and property were inescapably linked within twelfth-century society, and that the value of property and its produce was reckoned in monetary terms, understood by both the religious and secular landowners with whom they were engaged.

Money's Role in Judicial Processes

The increasing bureaucracy of the twelfth century saw the monetisation of crimes, evidence for which is recorded in the Norman Pipe Rolls. The rolls contain a lists of fines levied on individuals for specific crimes or infringements which could range from murder, arson and harbouring a fugitive, to making 'bad money', concealing a pig, or making false claims.⁵⁷² The practice of exacting financial punishment for a crime was long-standing in Europe.⁵⁷³ The values of the financial punishments vary in the sources, but as they are all recorded in the pipe rolls it is certainly a possibility that payment of fines was made in coin. Money was not only paid as fines. It could also be used to resolve a dispute between two or more parties. For example, in the cartulary of Saint-

⁵⁷² *Magni Rotuli Scaccario Normaniae*, I, pp.14-17, 53-57, 76, 86-7.

⁵⁷³ Hunt Janin, *Medieval Justice: Cases and Laws in France, England and Germany 500-1500* (London 2004); For example Anglo-Saxon practice of *weregild* and *botgild* see: Lukas Bothe, Stefan Esders, and Hans Nijdam eds., *Wergild, Compensation and Penance: The Monetary Logic of Early Medieval Conflict Resolution* (Leiden, 2021).

Pierre-de-Préaux, an 1182/3 charter of the Archbishop of Rouen records that an agreement had been reached between Luke of Pont-Audemer, vicar of the church of Étreville (Eure), and the abbot and convent of Préaux.⁵⁷⁴ This dispute was over the rights of the land and church of Étreville but was resolved by the monastery of Préaux agreeing to pay fifty *sous* of 'usual money' (most likely Angevin deniers or another Angevin coinage) annually to the church of Étreville in return for two acres of land quit and free of all customs. In this instance the money paid as part of the settlement took the form of an annual rent rather than a one-off payment. By contrast, in the cartulary of Mont-Saint-Michel a mid-twelfth century charter records that a gift of twenty-five *sous* of Le Mans was made to the church by a priest named Roger who, along with his ancestors, had unjustly seized various of the offerings of food and provisions habitually given to the monks by all laymen born in the village.⁵⁷⁵ This transaction seems to obscure the fact that it records the paying of compensation to the church by labelling the money paid as a 'gift'. However, the use of money to make amends for past injustices is undoubtedly a form of compensation. These examples show that money could be used to resolve a dispute between two parties or to act as financial compensation, suggesting that monetary payments had the ability to right wrongs.⁵⁷⁶

Not only were there costs associated with committing a crime or resolving a dispute, but justice itself could involve monetary payments. The Anstey case mentioned previously not only detailed the costs of travel, but also the payments made to individual justices and middle men for witnessing charters, drafting letters and for having the case heard in court.⁵⁷⁷ In total, the five-year long legal case cost a total of 354 pounds sterling, seven shillings and four pence in travel and legal costs. Pursuing justice, therefore, appears to have required significant financial investment. The costs associated with legal administration are also found in the ecclesiastical cartularies as various charters there record witnesses being paid in return for their testimony, although this does not appear to have been the norm. One charter in the cartulary of Saint-Père at Chartres records

⁵⁷⁴ *Cartulaire de l'Abbaye Benedictine de Saint-Pierre-de-Préaux*, No. B65, pp. 287-8.

⁵⁷⁵ *Cartulary of Mont-Saint-Michel*, No. 83, pp. 158-9.

⁵⁷⁶ *Cartulaire de l'Abbaye Benedictine de Saint-Pierre-de-Préaux*, No. A130, pp. 122-3.

⁵⁷⁷ 'The Anstey Case', pp. 1-24.

that, in return for witnessing the charter, an agreement between Udo the abbot and Robert of Chartres, the witnesses were each granted money ranging from 100 *sous* (five *livres*) to twenty-five *livres* which are significant amounts of money.⁵⁷⁸ Another example of this type of payment is found in the cartulary of Saint-Flour in which a charter records that a transaction between Faucon the prior and Ademar the abbot of Bonneval in Rouerge was concluded over the tithes of Fraissinet. For witnessing this agreement Fulk, the prior of Saint-Flour received eighty *sous*, as did Ugo of Breson, whilst the prior of Volta received sixty *sous*, Ferald the Sacrist ten, and Amblard Disder fifteen.⁵⁷⁹ Many of the charters preserved in the cartularies have witnesses, yet few of them record that their witnesses were paid, raising the question of why in these particular instances they expected to receive financial compensation for their services.

From the sources it appears that money had the ability to act as compensation for crimes committed, with the amount of the financial exaction varying according to the crime. The judicial process itself also cost money, with the sources recording the costs for witnessing charters or drafting letters. Money could also be exchanged in order to settle a dispute between two parties, acting as a form of compensation for past wrongs. It appears, therefore, that the judicial process was itself a highly monetised system in which individuals would have had to interact with cash, and consequently understand the role money now played.

Money and Diplomacy

At the highest tiers of society money could play a role in diplomacy, specifically in the negotiation and conclusion of agreements. There were costs associated with sending an envoy to open negotiations, concluding a diplomatic agreement or a marriage alliance, and, or negotiate over the capture or ransom of high-status individuals. The amount of money being exchanged in the examples below are significantly higher than any discussed previously in this chapter, potentially because the value of such diplomatic

⁵⁷⁸ *Cartulaire de l'abbaye de Saint-Père de Chartres*, eds. Benjamin Edme Charles Guérard (Cambridge 2010), No. CLXVI, pp. 382-3.

⁵⁷⁹ *Cartulaire du prieuré de Saint-Flour*, ed. Marcellin Boudet (Monaco 1910), No. XVII, pp. 48-9.

agreements was so high. As such, the use of money in diplomacy was largely constrained to those among the social elite who had access to the sums of money required.

Acting as an Envoy

There is evidence in both the Norman Pipe Rolls and the literary evidence that money could be given to reimburse an individual for acting as an envoy.⁵⁸⁰ For example, in the 1180 roll for Contentin twenty *sous* were paid out of the Exchequer to cover the expenses of a monk from La Chartreuse and Reginald, cleric to the king, to travel to England.⁵⁸¹ It is not clear precisely why these two ecclesiastics were having their travel to England paid for, presumably they were acting on Henry Plantagenet's business. Payment of travel expenses are a ubiquitous feature of the pipe rolls, both Norman and English, and are also referenced in a letter from John of Salisbury to Thomas Becket which recounts the amounts spent by John on his journey to Paris.⁵⁸² Although there is no explicit mention here of John acting as an envoy, it is clear from the letter that this is precisely the role that was being undertaken. The letter is dated 1164, in the midst of the dispute between Becket, and King of England Henry Plantagenet, by which time both John and Becket were living abroad in exile. The purpose of John of Salisbury's trip to Paris, the capital of Capetian France, was to garner support for Becket's cause with the King of France and high status clergymen in the surrounding areas. The importance of this trip is emphasised by the survival of two letters written around the same time by Henry to Louis VII asking him not to shelter or assist Becket in any way.⁵⁸³ Whilst on this trip to Paris John of Salisbury incurred costs which he detailed in the letter. He wrote:

'When I left you I had not twelve pence (*duodecim denarios*) in the whole world, and not a sou (twelve *deniers*) at my disposal...I had a few possessions worth about five marks (800 *deniers*) (*quinque marcarum*)...and many know that I was also heavily in debt... I had accepted a loan of ten marks (*decem marcas*) (1,600 *deniers*) but, before I left Canterbury, three of them (480 *deniers*) had gone on baggage for the journey and on equipping retainers. Then I took seven marks (*septem marcas*) (1,120 *denarii*) of your bounty from William fitz payne, and in accordance with your

⁵⁸⁰ *Pipe Rolls of the Exchequer of Normandy*, p. 24.

⁵⁸¹ *Pipe Rolls of the Exchequer of Normandy*, p. 27.

⁵⁸² *The Correspondence of Thomas Becket*, I, pp. 65-76.

⁵⁸³ *The Letters and Charters of Henry II*, VI, No. 2968 (3078H), p. 6, No. 2969 (4898H), p. 7.

instructions I was able to receive three more (480 *deniers*).'[Upon reaching Paris, John of Salisbury] 'took a comfortable lodging.... Before I could move in I laid out near twelve pounds (*duodecim fere libras expendi*) (2,880 *deniers*), and I could not have gained entrance save by paying a year's rent in advance.'⁵⁸⁴

What we learn from this extract is that, at the start of his journey, John of Salisbury had less than twelve *deniers* of coin but did own possessions to the value of around 800 *deniers*. As a result, he had to borrow 1,600 *deniers*, 480 of which went on initial costs. After receiving a further 480 *deniers*, he had to spend 2,880 *deniers* on securing lodgings. The implication of this text is that travel as an envoy required coined money, and that owning valuable property was of no use when lodging or baggage had to be paid for. Although money was not the focus of the letter, the organisation of travel and the provision of lodgings was essential before any of John's real work as Becket's envoy could begin. Throughout his life, John of Salisbury travelled from place to place, long acting as an archiepiscopal envoy whilst in the household of Archbishop Theobald of Canterbury.⁵⁸⁵ He was thus especially knowledgeable of the practicalities of travel and its associated costs.

Money and Peace Agreements

The chronicles and charters include examples of money changing hands to secure diplomatic agreements between two or more parties. Significant peace agreements, marriage alliances and ransom payments dominate the chronicles. For example, for the peace treaty agreed between Henry Plantagenet and his sons Henry, Richard and Geoffrey at Falaise in October or November 1174, Henry promised his eldest son two castles in Normandy and 15,000 *livres* Angevin every year.⁵⁸⁶ 15,000 *livres* would have been the equivalent of 3,600,000 individual silver Angevin *deniers*: a vast amount of coin which would presumably have been difficult to accumulate and transport, suggesting that, in this instance, payment was not solely made in coin. However, as the ruler of the kingdom of England and all of the French Plantagenet lands, if anyone had the ability to

⁵⁸⁴ *The Correspondence of Thomas Becket*, I, No. 24 pp. 65-76.

⁵⁸⁵ Salisbury, *Policraticus*, p. xvi.

⁵⁸⁶ *The Letters and Charters of Henry II*, II No. 1259 (63H) pp. 481-5.

put together such a large cache of coin it would have been Henry.⁵⁸⁷ As part of the same agreement, Richard received two properties in Poitou, and half the rent of Poitou in *deniers* (which could imply coin payment), whilst Geoffrey was given half the rents in Brittany in *deniers*. This treaty followed the rebellion of Henry's sons in 1173-1174, with the peace treaty not only ending hostilities but reinforcing Henry's authority over his sons, and those areas of France which had joined the rebellion. The monetary incentive provided to each of Henry's sons was intended to secure the peace and discourage any future rebellion.⁵⁸⁸ Whilst describing the rebellion, the Anonymous of Bethune's *Chronique de Normandie* records the agreement made following the siege of Rouen which involved a promise of 100 *livres* of Tours daily for young Henry to spend.⁵⁸⁹ Although further detail is lacking in this account, it undoubtedly associates the giving of money with the forming of a peace agreement, which suggests it was a practice familiar to contemporary writers, considered important enough to include in the chronicle. The 1189 treaty of Colombières between Henry and Philip Augustus involved Henry doing homage to Philip for his French lands and agreeing to terms set out for keeping Philip's sister, Alice, in Plantagenet care. As part of the treaty Henry agreed to pay 20,000 marks (*xx. millia marcarum argenti*) (13,666 *livres*) to Philip and surrender castles to him and Richard the Lionheart.⁵⁹⁰ As a mark was made up of 160 *deniers*, the enormous quantity of individual *deniers* that would have been needed to make up the required value suggests that coin was most likely not expected here. Had it been, then Henry would have needed to transport nearly six tons of pure silver from his own lands into France.

Whilst money changing hands helped to ensure the terms of any peace agreement were honoured, it was not always a requirement. There are four further peace agreements between Henry and the French King in the *Letters and Charters* none of which involve

⁵⁸⁷ For an example of a large number of coins see the Tutbury Hoard which contained 300,000 coins – E. Hawkins, 'Remarks upon the coins lately discovered in the bed of the River Dove, near Tutbury, Staffordshire', *Archaeologia*, 24 (1832), 148-67.

⁵⁸⁸ Gillingham, *The Angevin Empire*, pp. 36-7; Matthew Strickland, *Henry the Young King, 1155-1183* (Yale 2016), pp. 119-151, 206-239.

⁵⁸⁹ *History of the Dukes of Normandy and the Kings of England by the Anonymous of Béthune*, ed. P. Webster and Janet Shirley (London 2021), p. 94; For an example of money as an incentive to end a siege also see Orderic Vitalis, *The Ecclesiastical History*, ed. Marjorie Chibnall (Oxford 1969), VIII, pp. 73.

⁵⁹⁰ *The Letters and Charters of Henry II*, IV, No. 2050 (4960H), pp. 154-5.

the exchange of money.⁵⁹¹ These four treaties include agreements relating to disputed land and the cessation of long-standing disputes. It is not immediately obvious why some treaties involved the exchange of money and others did not, although needing money to pay troops is one possibility.⁵⁹²

Money's Role in the Negotiation of Marriage Alliances

Marriage alliances, especially among members of the elite, were strategic and often involved the exchange of land. For example, the marriage of Margaret of France to Young Henry brought land in the Vexin under Plantagenet authority.⁵⁹³ In many accounts of marriage alliances between the nobility, however, the exchange of money was central. For example, William of Malmesbury's *Gesta Regum Anglorum* describes the marriage between William Rufus's brother, Robert Curthose, and the daughter of William of Conversano. He records that Robert's father in law paid him vast sums of cash by way of a dowry after the marriage had taken place, to help pay off the mortgage William Rufus had loaned for Normandy.⁵⁹⁴ Rather than the marriage immediately bringing Robert Curthose land, by providing coin it was hoped he would be able to regain land he held previously. Whether taking the form of land or coin, providing a dowry was a central part of securing any marriage alliance.⁵⁹⁵

Money's role in the formation of marriages was not solely limited to diplomatic agreements. In the cartulary of Beaumont-le-Roger, a charter records the marriage contract made between Waleran III, son of Robert II Count of Meulan, and Marguerite, the daughter of a Breton baron, Raoul de Fougères.⁵⁹⁶ Marguerite's dowry is said to have comprised two hundred *livres* Angevin of rent which included one hundred *livres* in rent

⁵⁹¹ *The Letters and Charters of Henry II*, possession of Poitou, III, No. 1666 (3077H), pp. 310-13, No. 1669 (3835H) pp. 314-9 IV, No. 2049 (3084H), p. 152, VI, No. 3026 (5922H) pp. 69-70.

⁵⁹² For gift-giving and surety in peacemaking see: Jenny Benham, *Peacemaking in the Middle Ages: Principles and Practice* (Manchester 2011), pp. 71-88, 157-9.

⁵⁹³ *The Letters and Charters of Henry II*, III, No. 1666 (3077H), pp. 310-12.

⁵⁹⁴ *Pecuniam infinitam, quam ei socer dotis nomine annumeruerat, ut eius commertio Normmaniam exueret uadimonio, ita dilapidauit ut pauculis diebus nec nummus superesset.* -Malmesbury, *Gesta regum Anglorum*, pp. 704-5.

⁵⁹⁵ Salisbury, *Policraticus*, v.7, p. 77.

⁵⁹⁶ *Cartulaire de l'eglise Saint-Triniteq Beaumont le roger*, No. CCLV. Ms. Fol. 128.

from 'Villeboda'. This particular dowry, therefore, took the form of monetary revenue transferred from Raoul to Waleran III. Whether any coins changed hands as part of this arrangement is not possible to know. A similar example is found in the Fontevraud cartulary in a charter recording that Jacquelin of Pocei sold to the abbey ten *livres* of the annual duty paid on corn at Saumur, sixty-two marks of silver of which was from his wife Margaret's dowry.⁵⁹⁷ Once again, this charter is evidence of revenue valued in monetary terms assigned as a dowry.

It was not just at the top end of society that money was involved in the provision of dowries. For example, in the cartulary of Saint-Etienne Caen a charter records that a previous donor to the abbey asked for financial help so he could provide a dowry for his sister's marriage. This donor renounced his claim to two vineyards, receiving in return twenty *sous* to be used for the dowry.⁵⁹⁸ The charter states that the previous relationship the donor had with the abbey was the reason why the abbot was able to make this mutually beneficial agreement. This particular charter is similar to many of the agreements made in which land was exchanged for money, the only difference being that the money received by the donor was paid, not out of charity or as thanks for the gift, but as is clearly stated to fund his sister's dowry. Money, whether as monetary revenue or in coin, was assigned as dowries by members of the aristocracy and landowning classes.

Ransom – a Purely Monetary Endeavour?

In some cases, before a peace could be agreed, captives were taken and ransoms (usually monetary) were demanded. Just such a situation is found early on in the *GND* which describes the fighting between Rollo, the first Duke of Normandy, and Rainer Longneck, which ended in captives being taken by both sides. It is said that Rainer's wife 'handed over the precious metal dedicated to sacred altars and the taxes of the duchy' in order to free her husband.⁵⁹⁹ It is unclear in this particular instance whether the 'taxes

⁵⁹⁷ *Grand Cartulaire de Fontevraud*, No. 708, pp. 665-6.

⁵⁹⁸ *Cartulaire de Saint-Étienne de Caen*, No. 99, pp. 180-1.

⁵⁹⁹ *Gesta Normannorum Ducum*, II:8, p. 51.

of the duchy' refers to coined money or just silver, as coins were not as widely used in the late-ninth and early-tenth centuries. What is clear, however, is that raising the money for the ransom was so vital that even the sacred altars were stripped of their precious metal. The practice of holding hostages to ransom survived into subsequent centuries. Orderic Vitalis in his *Historia Ecclesiastica* describes that, as part of the 1135-6 troubles on the frontiers of Normandy, Ascelin Goel, William of Breteville and Robert de Belleme, William was taken captive by Goel and a ransom of 1,000 *livres* in the money of Dreux was demanded along with horses, arms and the castle of Ivry.⁶⁰⁰ It is made clear in this instance that the ransom was expected to be paid in money of Dreux (*mille drocensium libri*), which could suggest that payment was expected in coins, or at the very least to conform to the silver and weight standards of the Dreux *denier*. Orderic Vitalis records that the ransom was paid and a peace and marriage alliance agreed between the two parties. The ransom, therefore, seems to have been a strategic way of ensuring negotiations were initiated and peace and a marriage secured.

The *Chronique Française des Rois de France* of the anonymous of Béthune includes two examples of ransoms being demanded in the twelfth century.⁶⁰¹ The better-known of the two is the ransom of Richard the Lionheart. The text states that Emperor Henry VI of Germany captured Richard the Lionheart on his return from Acre on Crusade and held him to ransom partly because he wanted to 'get his money'.⁶⁰² According to this text the ransom of 150,000 marks was subsequently paid by Richard. The chronicler's account, especially in terms of the amount demanded, does not match the details found in other sources and chronicles. Roger of Howden's *Chronici Magistri* describes how Richard sent letters to all his archbishops, bishops, abbots, counts, barons, clerics and laymen asking for their help raising the money to pay his ransom.⁶⁰³ In these letters Richard justified the demand for financial aid and promised repayment of the money given by his nobles for the paying of his ransom, suggesting the money was requested as a loan rather than

⁶⁰⁰ Orderic Vitalis, *The Ecclesiastical History*, VIII:12, pp. 202-3.

⁶⁰¹ *History of the Dukes of Normandy*, p. 127.

⁶⁰² *History of the Dukes of Normandy*, p. 101.

⁶⁰³ *Chronica Magistri Roger de Hovedene*, ed. William Stubbs (London 1869), III, p. 208.

a permanent gift.⁶⁰⁴ The need to raise money for the ransom is also mentioned in the *Histoire* of William Marshal which narrates that ‘word had spread through every land that King Richard would be released if ransomed: unwelcome news to his enemies, but a cause of rejoicing for his friends, who duly set to work to raise the money: it was to cost more than a hundred thousand pounds to free him’.⁶⁰⁵ A letter from Richard written to his mother Eleanor of Aquitaine reveals that the amount demanded by the emperor included an immediate up-front payment of 70,000 silver marks (*Septuaginta Millia Marcarum Argenti*) which Eleanor was trying to find in money (*quatenus in hac pecunia perquirenda solliciti sit*).⁶⁰⁶ In previous examples we have seen coin referred to as *nummis* so the fact that this letter specifies *pecunia* (money) rather than coin does suggest a certain amount of flexibility in payment method was allowed in this particular instance. The letter mentioned above, which was recorded by Roger of Howden, also explicitly refers to money (*pecunia*) being collected from the English nobles for paying the ransom, as does a later letter which states that Richard’s brother John was responsible for paying the money.⁶⁰⁷ It would seem, therefore, that the 70,000 marks was, at least partly, made up of English sterlings raised by members of the nobility. The number of references in the written sources (predominantly the chronicles) suggests that the practice of holding captives to ransom was fairly well-known, at least among members of the twelfth-century elite. The ransom of Richard the Lionheart is particularly prominent in the chronicles due to its impact on the ruling of his lands, and because members of the aristocracy were asked to help raise the money to pay the ransom. In total, 150,000 marks were demanded, and at least 100,000 were actually paid: the equivalent of 66,000 lbs (30 English tons) of pure silver.

In the accounts of the ransom of William of Breteville in Orderic Vitalis’s *Historia*, as well as in Richard the Lionheart’s letters, the negotiation of a formal peace agreement

⁶⁰⁴ ‘*Sciatis pro certo quod si in Anglia in libera potestate nostra essemus constitute, tantam vel majorem pecuniam domino imperatori daremus, quam modo damus pro pactionibus consequendis, quas per Dei gratiam consecuti sumus; et si etiam pecuniam non præ minibus haberemus, proprium corpus nostrum imperatori traderemus, donec pecunia solveretur; antequam quod factum est relinqueretur imperfectum*’ – ‘*Epistola Ricardi*’ Roger of Howden, *Chronica Magistri*, p. 210.

⁶⁰⁵ *The History of William Marshal*, ed. Bryant, p. 132.

⁶⁰⁶ *Foedera, Conventiones, Literæ*, ed. Thomas Rymer (1745), I, pp. 25-6; Roger of Howden, *Chronica Magistri*, pp. 208-10.

⁶⁰⁷ Roger of Howden, *Chronica Magistri*, pp. 217-8.

appears to have followed on from the ransom payment. According to Richard's letter, whilst he was being held by the Emperor and his wife they had given him gifts, and an 'indissoluble pact of love' (*mutuum foedus amoris et indissolubile*) was made between them. He went on to say that he was staying with them until 'negotiations' (*negotia*) between them were concluded (and the ransom was paid). Richard tells his mother that once the initial sum had been handed over and he was released and returned to full power in England, he had promised to pay the emperor as much (or more) money again for the execution of the pacts they had made, or, if the money was not available, return to captivity.⁶⁰⁸ Although exactly what these pacts were is not elaborated on, by holding Richard captive and demanding a ransom Henry VI forced the pace of negotiations. Similarly, in Orderic Vitalis, the capture and ransom of William of Breteville paved the way for the conclusion of a peace agreement and marriage alliance. Holding an individual to ransom was not undertaken solely for financial gain during this period. A captive, especially a high-status individual such as a duke and king, guaranteed the opening of negotiations which might not otherwise have occurred. As such, holding someone to ransom can be seen as a diplomatic move, even if on the surface it seemed to be purely financial in intent. Money's role in the examples outlined above appears once again to assign value to what was being negotiated. In these instances, the high-status of the negotiators was matched by the large quantities of money being requested.

When looking at money's role in diplomacy, its primary use seems to be to assign values to the agreements being negotiated, as well as to act as an incentive or a way to guarantee that an agreement was upheld. As has been seen, the giving of money could form part of a peace treaty by disincentivising any future conflict. Alternately, money could be demanded as a ransom to force the opening of peace negotiations. Money also played a role in the formation of marriage alliances as a dowry could be valued in

⁶⁰⁸ *'mutuum foedus amoris & indissolubile inter Dominum Imperatorem contractum est, & nos....Sciatis pro certo, quod si in Anglia in libera potestate nostra essemus constituti, tantam vel majorem pecuniam Domino Imperatori daremus quam modo damus pro pactionibus consequendis, quas per Dei gratiam consecuti sumus: Et si etiam pecuniam non prae manibus haberemus, proprium corpus nostrum Imperatori traderemus, donec pecunia solveretur; antequam quod factum est relinqueretur imperfectum* - know for certain that if we are restored to full power in England, we shall give as much or more money as we now give to the Lord emperor to execute the pacts, which we have now concluded by the Grace of God: And if we did not have that money in advance, we would hand our own body over to the Emperor until the money is paid; before that is done it will remain imperfect/undone.' -Rymer, *Foedera*, I, p.26.

monetary terms. Whilst the need to provide a dowry was not restricted to members of the elite, it was the political marriages between the nobility which are most frequently recorded in the sources, and in these instances the dowry could involve significant areas of land or large sums of money. The diplomatic uses of money were very different to the everyday use of money to purchase goods and services and are not as easily traced in the sources. They did, however, have more of an impact on the politics of the day. Overall, what the evidence shows is that negotiations at the highest levels of society included money, even if the transactions taking place were far more complex than the straightforward exchange of coin.

Conclusions from the Written Sources

From the written sources it is possible to extract evidence for the use of money throughout all levels of society. Whilst coin-use among the lower orders was most likely limited to the purchase of everyday items, among the elite money could be involved in diplomacy, whilst at all levels there are examples of money's role in the ownership and management of property. The large variety of uses of money outlined in this chapter serve to emphasise that money, regardless the form it took, whether in coin or not, pervaded all aspects of daily life. The understanding of money and the use of terminology surrounding it was common. It also infiltrated social relationships, with seigneurial ties and dues increasingly being defined in monetary terms. From the sources we see money acting as an incentive, as compensation, or being used to pay for land, goods or services. Whilst money is mentioned throughout the written sources it is not always possible to say when coins were used unless they are specifically mentioned. The sources certainly define the French Plantagenet lands during the second-half of the twelfth century as a monetised society with resources, land, goods and services all valued using money.⁶⁰⁹

⁶⁰⁹ See chapter two.

The Numismatic Evidence for Coin Use

From the numismatic evidence available it is clear that large quantities of coin were in circulation during the second-half of the twelfth century but it is not possible to prove conclusively how the coins were used.⁶¹⁰ It is highly likely, however, that coins were used for a significant number of transactions similar to those mentioned throughout this chapter, and that individuals at all tiers of society had some degree of access to coined money. The amounts of money in use in the written sources differ from the amounts of coin in the hoards. To provide context for the written sources, table one below gives the value of Angevin deniers found in the hoards which range from one *denier* to 123 *sous* and four *deniers*.

Table 1 – Hoards containing Angevin *deniers* and their value

Hoard	Composition	Date	Total No. coins	Angevin deniers	Value of Angevin deniers
Dreux	Royal French, Normandy, Saint-Martin of Tours, Chartres, Vendome, Chateaudun, Dreux, Fulk Angevin, Corbie, Troyes	c.1140-1150	3,000	1	1d
Champigny-en-Beuce	Vendome, Chateaudun, Le Mans, Fulk Angevin, Guingamp	Late 12 th C	51	1	1d
Unkown	Guingamp, Fulk Angevin, Le Mans, Saint-Martin of Tours, Chateaudun	1180/1200 - 1205/1210	c.12	2	2d
Houpeville	Dreux, Saint-Martin of Tours, Fulk Angevin, Melle	2 nd half 12 th C	109	2	2d
Bourges	Royal French, Deols, Fulk Angevin, Cluny, Saint-Martin of Tours	1181-1182	c.1840	2	2d
Villentrois	Le Mans, Saint-Martin of Tours, Fulk Angevin	Late 12 th /early 13 th C	9	3	3d
Druy-Parigny	Nevers, Deols, Gien, Montlucon, Issoudun, Souvigny, Guingamp, Fulk Angevin, Bourgogne	c.1206-7	537	3	3d
Flipou	Le Mans, Fulk Angevin, Saint-Martin of Tours, Chartres, Vendome	End 12 th C	16-17	5	5d

⁶¹⁰ See 'numismatic evidence for coin use' in chapter four.

Rouen	Angevin, Le Mans, Chartres, Chateaudun, England, Guingamp, Vendome	1180-1205	140/150	5	5d
Le Louroux-Béconnaies	Fulk Angevin, Saint-Martin of Tours	12 th / 13 th C	Unknown	5	5d
Pontoise	R. French, Melle, Fulk Angevin obols, Chartres, Le Mans, Saint-Martin of Tours, Le Puy, Soissons, Pierrefonds, Saint-Medard de Soissons, Crepy-en-Valois, Amiens, Ponthieu, Saint-pol, English sterling	c.1180	c.7,000	14 obols	7d
Béganne	Royal French, Saint-Martin of Tours, Fulk Angevin, Gien, Guingamp, English short cross	1206-1213	1,200-1,500	25	2s1d
Bourg-Dun	Le Mans, Guingamp, Fulk Angevin, Saint-Martin of Tours, Short Cross sterling	1189-1205	c.80	26	2s2d
Tréguennec	Brittany, Guingamp, Angevin, Saint-Martin of Tours, Souvigny	1148-1158	210	46	3s10d
Gençay	Brittany, Guingamp, Fulk Angevin, Deols, Nevers, Gien, 2:28 PMureenne, Marche, St Martial of Limoges, Souvigny, Vendome, Saint-Martin of Tours, Angouleme, Poitou, Aquitaine, Bourgone	1206-1219	c.295	48	4s
Saint-Fraimbault-sur-Pisse	Saint-Martin of Tours, Guingamp, Chateaudun, Vendome, Le Mans, Angevin, Gien, Brittany, Short Cross sterling	1180-1205	378	61	5s1d
Cré	Fulk Angevin, Le Mans, Saint-Martin of Tours, Guingamp, English short Cross	1180-1205	350	73	6s1d
Rennes	Brittany, Le Mans, Guingamp, Angevin, Saint-Martin of Tours, Noyon	1175-1186	257	80	6s8d
Alençon	Fulk Angevin deniers, Chartres, Chateaudun, Deols, Gien, Le Mans, Rennes, Guingamp, Saint-Martin of Tours, Vendome, Short Cross sterlings, Scottish deniers, Frustes	c.1213-1215	1,150	94	7s10d
Caro	Guingamp, Brittany, Fulk Angevin, Le Mans, Gien, Chateaudun, English short cross	1194-1205	1,634+	146	12s2d
Unkown (Indre-et-Loire)	Angevin, Le Mans, Saint-Martin of Tours, Melle, Guingamp	12 th C	315	146	12s2d
Massay	Royal French, Brittany, Guingamp, Geoffrey and Fulk Angevin, Saint-Martin of Tours, Blois, Chartres, Chateausdun, Romorantin, Deols, Issoudun, Sancerre, Vierzon, Saint-Aignan, SOuvigny, St Martial of Limoges, Angouleme, Melgueil, Tournus, Provins, Meaux	1152-1160	4,103	147	12s3d

Bais	Saint-Martin of Tours, Fulk Angevin, Le Mans, Vendome, Chateaudun, Gien, Brittany, Guingamp, English short cross	1180-1205	600-700	148	12s6d
Capucins	Le Mans, Fulk and Geoffrey Angevin, Saint-Martin of Tours, Guingamp, Brittany, Short Cross sterling	1194/1204-1215/1220	1,216	504	42s
Saint-Michel-en-l'herm	Royal French, Saint-Martin of Tours, Fulk Angevin, Guingamp, Brittany, Gien, Short Cross, Scotland	1206-1214	1,727	534	44s6d
Hotot-en-Auge	Royal French, Saint-Martin of Tours, Chateaudun, Vendome, Le Mans, Gien, Deols, Nevers, Souvigny, Bourbon, Soissons, Brittany, Guingamp, English short cross	1200-1205	c.4,000	601	50s1d
Vallon-Sur-Gée	R. French, Saint-Martin of Tours, Le Mans, Fulk Angevin, Guingamp, Brittany, Chateaudun, Vendome, Chartres, Gien, Issoudun, Deols, Poitou, St Martial of Limoges, Angouleme, Besancon, Cluny, Bourgogne, Nevers, Aquitaine, Normandy, Souvigny, Sancerre, Troyes, English sterling, Scotland	1206-1217	5,828	c.1,480	123s4d

The highest value hoard thus far known is the Vallon-Sur-Gée hoard which contained almost 6,000 coins, 1,480 of which were Fulk Angevin *deniers* to a value of 123 *sous* and four *deniers* (six *livres*, three *sous* and four *deniers*, or nine marks). The smallest hoard contained only nine coins so did not make up a single *sou* (12 *deniers*). What becomes clear is that these hoards are not evidence of coin use at the top end of society, as they do not contain the quantity of coin needed for the kinds of transactions detailed in the written sources. One of the first examples discussed in this chapter was the purchase by Walter of Coutance of a house on Rouen bridge and some other nearby property for 240 *livres* Angevin.⁶¹¹ 240 *livres* was the equivalent of 4,800 *sous*, yet none of the hoards in table one contain anywhere near enough coins for this to have been paid. Not even the sale of William de Blavou's fief recorded in the cartulary of La Trappe for seven *livres* Angevin, could have been paid for using the number of Angevin *deniers* in the Vallon-Sur-Gée hoard. The value of rents due for property found in the written sources appear to align more closely with the values of the hoards. The value of rents discussed above range from three *deniers* daily to ten *livres* (200 *sous*) annually. However, even the levels

⁶¹¹ See above.

of rent found in the written sources would only have been affordable using the larger of the hoards in table one above. Most of the values found in the written sources are therefore too high to have been paid for using hoards such as those above, which strongly suggests that most of the hoards were those belonging to lower ranking members of society.

The purchase of everyday items, such as foodstuffs or candles, could have been paid for using the coin available in these hoards. It is worth mentioning that the burial of hoards was not common practice among all levels of society. Members of the aristocracy, wealthy landowners, and ecclesiastical institutions would have their own treasuries where they could store their coin. Therefore hoards were for the most part the savings of those who did not have somewhere secure to store large quantities of coin, hence the need to bury their coins. The hoards are, therefore, evidence of the use of coin at relatively humble social levels, in contrast to the written sources which predominantly record the uses of money by landowners and members of the elite. Whilst we learn, for example, that John of Salisbury spent twelve *livres* as soon as he arrived in France on Thomas Becket's business (the equivalent of 240 *sous*) only one of our hoards (Vallon-Sur-Gée) contains that quantity of coin. It is easier, therefore, to learn how those higher-up in society used money than those in the lower tiers.

Limited written evidence does not mean that there was not coin use amongst those beyond the landowning classes. One of the key characteristics of a monetised society was the use of coin by a broad spectrum of individuals from all social spheres, suggested in particular by the use of low denomination coinage.⁶¹² The currency of the French Plantagenet lands was different to that of the kingdom of England because it included minted obols so it was not necessary to cut deniers into halves when paying for smaller value items. The silver content of the Angevin coinages were also lower than the English sterling with an Angevin denier equivalent to an English farthing, and an obol worth an eighth of a sterling penny. It would have been easier, therefore, for small scale transactions to take place in the French Plantagenet lands than in England because of

⁶¹² See chapter two.

the variety of deniers and obols of different values. Tables two and three below show the available numismatic data for the use of obols in the single finds and hoards.

Table 2 – Single Finds of Obols

Coin ID	Minting Authority	Mint	Burial date	Find location	Region/Principality	Category
TC27	anon. (count of Perche)	Nogent-Le-Rotrou	c.1170	Sotteville-sous-le-Val	Haute-Normandie	Unclear/Unknown
TC44	Anon.	Chartres	12 th C	Leper hospital of St Thomas, Aizier	Haute-Normandie	Archaeological discovery
TC56	Count of Romorantin (c. 1000-1160)	Romorantin	12 th -13 th C	Rue Josephine, Evreux	Haute-Normandie	Archaeological discovery
TC57	Anon.	Vendôme	12 th C	Rue Josephine, Evreux	Haute-Normandie	Archaeological discovery
TC64	Count of Romorantin (c. 1000-1160)	Romorantin	1100-1200 env.	Metro Palais de Justice, Rouen	Haute-Normandie	Archaeological discovery
TC65	Anon.	Chartres	1100-1250 env.	Metro Palais de Justice, Rouen	Haute-Normandie	Archaeological discovery
TC76	Unknown	Chartres	1100-1200	Metro Palais de Justice, Rouen	Haute-Normandie	Archaeological discovery
TC102	Anon.	Chartres	12 th C	"Basilique", Vieil-Evreux	Haute-Normandie	Archaeological discovery
TC109	Louis VI (1108-1137) or Robert I (1137-1184)	Dreux	1108-1184	Ducal palace, Fécamp	Haute-Normandie	Archaeological discovery
TC111	Abbaye Saint-Martin de Tours	Tours	end 12 th /early 13 th C	Ducal palace, Fécamp	Haute-Normandie	Archaeological discovery
TC112			End 12 th C	Ducal palace, Fécamp	Haute-Normandie	Archaeological discovery
TC139	Anon.	Châteaudun	End 12 th C	Palais de Justice, Rouen	Haute-Normandie	Archaeological discovery
TC140	Anon.	Chartres	12 th C	Palais de Justice, Rouen	Haute-Normandie	Archaeological discovery
TC179	Thibaut II (1125-1152)	Troyes	1125-1152	Maison-Forte, Cany-Barville	Haute-Normandie	Archaeological discovery

TC180	Philippe II (1180-1223)	Paris	1199-1223	Maison-Forte, Cany-Barville	Haute-Normandie	Archaeological discovery
TC182	Anon.	Nogent-le-Rotrou	c. 1170	Sotteville-sous-le-Val	Haute-Normandie	Unclear/Unknown
TC201	Anon.	Châteaudun	1180-1210	Rue Guynemer, Elbeuf	Haute-Normandie	Archaeological discovery
TC218	Geoffrey	Gien	1060-1160	Chateau, Caen	Basse-Normandie	Archaeological discovery
TC219	Geoffrey	Gien	1060-1160	Chateau, Caen	Basse-Normandie	Archaeological discovery
TC238	Anon.	Châteaudun	c.1180-1200	Chateau, Caen	Basse-Normandie	Archaeological discovery
TC284	Count of Périgord	Périgueux	12 th -13 th C	Place Roumégoux, Gradignan	Nouvelle-Aquitaine	Archaeological discovery
JPL16	Count of Perche		c. 1170	Sotteville-sous-le-Val	Haute-Normandie	Unclear/Unknown
JPL19	Philippe II, 1180-1223		1199-1223	Maison-forte, Cany-Barville	Haute-Normandie	Unclear/Unknown
JPL24	Anon.	Châteaudun	11 th C/early 12 th C	Chateau, Caen	Basse-Normandie	Unclear/Unknown
JPL25		Chartres	C. 12 th C	Chateau, Caen	Basse-Normandie	Unclear/Unknown
JPL44	Anon.	Chartres	C. 12 th C	Leproserie Saint-Thomas, Aizier		Unclear/Unknown
JPL49			End 13 th C	Rue des bons-Enfants, Rouen		Unclear/Unknown

Table 3 – Hoards Containing Obols

Hoard name (location)	Region	Date of burial	Number of coins	Obols	Composition
Carlux	Aquitaine	12th C	250	Perigord x 2	Turenne, Cahors, Limoges, Angouleme, Aquitaine. Perigord
Chanteloup	Brittany	10th/12th C	2,890	Melle	Melle deniers and obols
Chatillon-sur-Cher	Blois	1206-7	1,500	Gien x 45 Bourbon x 2	Issoudun, Deols, Vierzon, Gien, Nevers, Bourbon, Souvigny, Brittany, Guingamp
Confolens	Aquitaine	c.1190-1200	?	Poitou x1	Melle, Angouleme, Richard the Lionheart of Poitou, Aquitaine, Le Puy
Couhé	Poitou	11th/12th C	?	Melle	Obols of Melle
Dreux	Normandy/Ile de France	c.1140-1150	3,000	Royal French x 15 Chartres x 319 Châteaudun x 2	Royal French, Normandy, anon of Saint-Martin of Tours, Chartres, Chateaudun , Nogent-Le-Roi, Angevin, Corbie, Troyes
Dussac	Aquitaine	12th C	200-300	Angoulême	St Martial de Limoges, Angoulême
Gamarde	Aquitaine (Gascony)	12th C	?	Cahors x 40	Obols of Cahors
Gençay	Aquitaine	1206-1219	c.295	Guingamp x 1 Vendôme x 1 Poitou x 6 Frustes x 1	Brittany, Guingamp, Angevin, Deols, Nevers, Gien, Turenne, Marche, St-Martial de Limoges, Souvigny, Vendôme, Saint-Martin of Tours, Angouleme, Poitou, R I of Aquitaine, Bourgogne deniers, frustes.
Lavour	Gascony	1205-1223	c.1000	Toulouse	P II Saint-Martin of Tours Royal French, Toulouse, Melgueil, Saint-Martin of Tours
Limoges	Aquitaine	12th C	6	Angoulême x 1	Aquitaine, Angouleme, Le Puy

Massay (the port)	Berry	1152-1160	4,103	Royal French x 1 Blois x 4 Chartres x 78 Châteaudun x 3 Issoudun x 2 Gien x 3 Sancerre x 1 Vierzon x 33 Souvigny x 64 Meux x 2	Royal French, Brittany, Guingamp, Angevin, Saint-Martin of Tours, Blois, Chartres, Châteaudun, Romorantin, Déols, Issoudun, Gien, Sancerre, Vierzon, Saint-Aignan, Souvigny, St-Martial of Limoges, Angouleme, Melgueil, Tournus, Provins, Meaux, Lucques
Moissac	Aquitaine (Gascony)	1167-1194	c.500	Barn x 175	Barn, Carcassone
Montfort l'Amaury	R. French domains (near Paris)	1112-1120	2,200+	Melle Geoffrey of Anjou x 5 Châteaudun Chartres x23	R. French, Melle, Geoffrey of Anjou, Brittany, Châteaudun, Chartres, Le Mans, Normandy
Montigny-Lencoup (Le Fresnoy)	R. French domains	c.1170-1180	c.2,500	Melle x 1	R. French Melle, Gien, Deols, Saint-Martin of Tours, Romorantin, Le Puy, Auxerre, Saint-Pol, Barcelona, Navarre
Montmorillon (Gravaux)	Aquitaine	12th C	? (lots)	Angoulême	Saint-Martin of Tours, Fulk Angevin, Angoulême, St Martial de Limoges
Mothe-Saint-Héray	Poitou	11th/12th C	200	Melle x 200	obols of Melle
Neuville-aux-Bois	R. French domains	1073-1108	c.224	Chartres x 15 Melle x 1 Fulk of Angers x 1	R. French, Le Mans, Auxerre, Chartres, Melle, Fulk obol of Angers, Castille
Nogent-le-Rotrou	Perche	c.1140-1150	1,678	Dreux x 8 Chartres x 1 Châteaudun x 327 Gien x 9	R. French, Chartres, Chateaudun, Saint-Martin of Tours, Geoffrey Angevin Fulk, Issoudun, Gien, Guingamp, Brittany, Provins
Nontron (La Francherie)	Aquitaine	start of 13th C	Dispersed hoard - c.1,692	Angoulême x 1 R the L Aquitaine x 21 R the L Poitou x 11	St Martial of Limoges, Angouleme Turenne, Aquitaine, Richard I Aquitaine, Richard the L of Poitou

Pontoise	R. French domains (near Paris)	c.1180	c.7,000	Melle x 2 Fulk of Anjou x 14	R. French deniers, Melle, Fulk of Anjou, Chartres, Le Mans, Saint-Martin of Tours, Le Puy, Soissons, Pierrefonds, Soissons, Crépy-en-Valois, Amiens, Ponthieu, Saint-Pol, English sterling
Rougnat (Le Boueix)	Aquitaine	2nd half 12th C	433	Souigny x 3	Souigny
Rouillé (Lambertières)	Poitou	11th/12thC	212	Melle x 212	Melle
Saint-Benoît-du-Sault	Poitou	12th C	?	Gien	Déols, Gien, Souigny
Saint-Gourson	Aquitaine	11th/12thC	267	Melle x 45	Melle
Saint-Sulpice-Laurière	Aquitaine	1169-1189	1,487	Melle x 17 Déols x 1	Angouleme, Melle, Turenne, Le Puy, St Martial of Limoges, Deols
Saint-Vaury	Aquitaine	11th/12thC	40	Limoges x 2	Limoges
Segonzac	Aquitaine	1199-1219	164	Aquitaine x 4	Angouleme, Perigord, R I of Aquitaine, Marche, Souigny
Vallon-Sur-Gée	Maine	1206-1207	5,828	Fulk of Angers x 1 Guingamp x 3 Châteaudun x 6 Vendôme x 45 Chartres x 2 Gien x 41 Melle x 2 R the L of Poitou x 1 St Martial of Limoges x 1 Sancerre x 1 R the L of Aquitaine x 1	R. French, Saint-Martin of Tours, Le Mans, Fulk Angevin, Guingamp, Brittany, Châteaudun, Vendôme, Chartres, Gien, Issoudun, Deols, Melle, R the Lionheart of Poitou, St Martial of Limoges, Angouleme, Besancon, Cluny, Bourgogne, Nevers, Richard I of Aquitaine, Normandy, Souigny, of Sancerre, Troyes, English sterling Scotland
Verdalle	Gascony	end of 12 th early 13thC	2 denier 4 obols	Toulouse x 4	Toulouse
Flipou (forest of the Mouquillonne)	Normandy	end of 12th C	16-17	Chartres x 1 Vendôme x 2	Le Mans, Fulk Angevin, Saint-Martin of Tours, Chartres, Vendôme.
Houpeville	Normandy	2nd half 12th C	109	Dreux	Dreux, Saint-Martin of Tours, Fulk Angevin, Melle

Capucins	Anjou	1194/1204- 1215/1220	1,216	Fulk Angevin x 2 Guingamp x 3	Le Mans, Fulk Angevin + Geoffrey Angevin, Saint-Martin of Tours obols Guingamp, Brittany, England
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In the majority of the hoards containing obols, the obols only make up a small proportion of the coins. However, the number of hoards containing obols, as well as the single find evidence, suggests that obols were in fairly wide circulation across the French Plantagenet lands. Of the dominant Angevin coinages, there are obols of the Fulk Angevin deniers as well as those of Châteaudun, Vendôme, Guingamp and Gien. Of the Aquitanian coinages there are obols of the deniers of Poitou, Melle, Angoulême, and Aquitaine but also of the more southern coinages of Turenne, Cahors, Toulouse and (looking eastwards) Sancerre. There are not any obols in the hoards or single finds of the deniers of Le Mans, most likely because half a denier of Le Mans was the equivalent of the Angevin denier so an obol was not needed. The range of values of the coins in the French Plantagenet lands meant that an obol was only needed when the lowest value coins were still not small enough. As a result, it is the lower value coinages which seem to have obols minted of them. From the available evidence it is clear that obols were frequently being used alongside *deniers* in the French Plantagenet lands, pointing to widespread use of low-denomination coins which itself supplies evidence of a monetised society in which low-value transactions could be conducted in coin.

Conclusions

What this chapter has shown is that there is enough evidence from the written and numismatic sources to suggest that money was used at all levels of society in the French Plantagenet lands. Coin use is harder to measure because, whilst the number of coin finds does imply widespread use of coin, the written sources are not always clear whether any particular monetary transaction involved the exchange of coined money. It is therefore not always possible to state conclusively which types of transactions involved the use of coin. Even if the use of coin is not clearly stated, what becomes clear from studying the written sources is that the understanding of money, as indicated by

the use of its terminology, was ubiquitous. The value of everyday essentials, such as ham, wine or clothing, was understood in monetary terms, but so to was the value of property, peace treaties, or marriage alliances. Money, therefore, was pervasive and the sources certainly point to the French Plantagenet lands during the second-half of the twelfth century being a monetised society with resources, land, goods and services all valued using money.⁶¹³

From the numismatic evidence that survives, it is clear that large quantities of coins were in circulation during this period and that members of the lower social classes did have access to coins even though it is not possible conclusively to state how such coins were used.⁶¹⁴ It is highly likely however, that coins were used for a significant number of transactions similar to those mentioned throughout this chapter. What this chapter shows is that the ways that money was used varied from small everyday purchases, to their role as an incentive in significant diplomatic agreements. All tiers of society would therefore have had some level of interaction with money, and with coin, albeit that such interaction varied significantly between elite and peasants.

⁶¹³ See chapter two.

⁶¹⁴ See chapter four.

Chapter 5 - Coinage in the French Plantagenet Lands: The Numismatic Evidence

The numismatic analysis that follows in this chapter will focus on what the coins can reveal about the distribution patterns of the different coin types discussed in chapter three, and the evidence available for how contemporaries may have used coins. The purpose of this chapter is not to carry out a typographical analysis of the Angevin coins which survive, or to produce new categorisations of coin types. Rather, by looking at the composition of coin hoards, their geographical distribution, and the similarities between single find and hoard distribution patterns, this chapter will outline the areas in which particular coin types were found and suggest possible reasons for variations in coinage circulation.

The bulk of the numismatic data relevant to this thesis comes in the form of hoards, details of which have been gathered from published hoard catalogues as well as numismatic journals and archaeological reports. The primary source of numismatic evidence for medieval French coin hoards is Jean Duplessy's, *Trésors monétaires médiévaux* which was published in 1985 and included details of all known medieval hoards to be found in France up to that date.⁶¹⁵ Duplessy's catalogue supplies details of over one hundred hoards containing Angevin coinages or found within the French Plantagenet lands.⁶¹⁶ The 2015 publication of Jens Christian Moesgaard's edition of *Les Trésors monétaires médiévaux découverts en Haute-Normandie* provides an inventory of monetary hoards found in Upper Normandy (Rouen and its surroundings) between 754-1514, and this reveals a further nine hoards relevant to this thesis.⁶¹⁷ As the title of Moesgaard's publication suggests, his catalogue only contains details of hoards found in the *Haute-Normandie* region. There have, as yet, been no other publications of medieval French hoards relevant to this thesis either for lower Normandy or for various other regions of France, although this does not mean that none have been discovered. The intense regionality of French historical and numismatic scholarship has resulted in a lack

⁶¹⁵ Duplessy, *Les Trésors monétaires*.

⁶¹⁶ See chapter three for discussion of 'Angevin coinages' definition.

⁶¹⁷ Moesgaard, *Les Trésors monétaires Médiévaux*.

of a comprehensive system of centralised reporting. The *Société Française de Numismatique* does attempt to provide the means to share numismatic knowledge more widely within France, but regionality has remained the dominant trend. An additional difficulty in attempting to gather numismatic data for France is that not all hoards are declared, and it is likely that large amounts of numismatic data have been lost as a result.⁶¹⁸

As already mentioned, metal detecting in France is illegal for everyone except a small number of archaeologists who hold a licence.⁶¹⁹ This decision by the French authorities has had a significant impact on the amount of numismatic data available for the French Plantagenet lands. Thanks to the assistance of colleagues at CRAHAM, who generously shared their data on numismatic finds in Normandy, I have been able to put together a single find data-set of 258 coins relevant to this study. The hoards and single finds deemed relevant to this thesis are those which can be dated between c.1150 and c.1200. The difficulty of dating coin finds precisely has led me to broaden the chronological range to include hoards from the early thirteenth century even though the period of chief concern for this thesis ends with the death of Henry Plantagenet in 1189. The entire data-set for this thesis is provided as appendices one (hoards) and two (single finds). In compiling this data-set, the intention has been to find as many examples as possible of hoards and single finds which had details of where the coins were discovered. By using the location data it has been possible to examine the distribution patterns of the different coinages found within the French Plantagenet lands. This chapter will begin with an overview of what information coins can provide and will then move on to examine the hoard and single find data separately, ending with a summary of the key numismatic findings.

⁶¹⁸ Moesgaard, *Les Trésors monétaires médiévaux*, p. 5.

⁶¹⁹ Thomas Lecroere, "There is None so Blind as those who won't see": Metal Detecting and Archaeology in France', *Open Archaeology*, 2 (2016), 182-193.

Numismatic Evidence Available from the Coins

An initial observation of a single coin can reveal the design and legends on the obverse and reverse, its weight, size and any signs of wear. When and where a coin was minted determined the information carried on each piece. In twelfth-century Plantagenet France each coin carried the name of the place of minting. Unlike the English coinage from this period, however, the name of individual moneyers was not stamped on any of the French coins.⁶²⁰ The majority of coins in the twelfth century carried the name or monogram of the lord or ecclesiastical institution responsible for originally producing the coins, and the reverse carried the name of the mint (usually the name of a town). This practise was not uniform across all the coin types found within Plantagenet France. As shown in chapter three, some coins minted during this period were anonymous. These most basic of details tell us where (theoretically) the coin was minted and who (theoretically) had control over the mint which produced it.⁶²¹ As discussed in chapter three, the fact that the coins in the French Plantagenet lands were immobilised makes determining precisely who had authority over a particular coinage, and where the coins were produced more complicated. Additional details which are observed when analysing a coin are its weight and die-axis (how well the obverse and reverse were aligned). Individually these details cannot tell us much. However, when multiple coins are analysed together it is possible to gauge the standards to which certain coin types were minted. Such evidence allows us to conjecture the strength with which centralised weight standards were enforced by the ruling authorities, or to see how much care a moneyer may have taken when minting coins to correctly align the dies.

An individual coin will always provide less information than a group of coins. This is why every new discovery is significant. New coin finds can reveal new variations in imagery or legends, and provide information about previously unknown mints and moneyers. Additional numismatic analysis can be carried out on groups of coins to produce die or individual mint studies.⁶²² It is also possible to undertake metallurgical studies of coins

⁶²⁰ See chapter three.

⁶²¹ See chapter three for discussion of multiple mint locations.

⁶²² For example see Mark Blackburn, 'Productive' Sites and the Pattern of Coin Loss in England', pp. 20-36; Allen, 'Medieval English Die-Output', 39-49.

which reveal their silver content or establish where the silver originated. One example of such a study is Rory Naismith and Jane Kershaw's recent work examining the provenance of silver in north-west European coinage in the long-eighth century.⁶²³ Although informative, these types of studies are not common. The only example for the French coinage was produced by Françoise Dumas and Jean-Noël Barrandon in 1982 which looked at the coins under Philip Augustus (1180-1223).⁶²⁴ Although the focus of this study was the royal French coinage, there is at least some discussion of the coinages found in the French Plantagenet lands. For example, Dumas and Barrandon look at how the silver content of the Saint-Martin of Tours *deniers* changed after their production was taken over by Philip Augustus (it reduced from thirty-five percent to thirty-two percent fine), and the different silver contents of coins produced by Philip Augustus in Brittany after 1204.⁶²⁵ Dumas and Barrandon's study also looks at whether the ratios of coins given in contemporary texts were accurate when the silver content of the coins was examined, for example in the ratio values of the coins of Poitou, Angoulême and Limoges.⁶²⁶ The Angevin coinages are briefly discussed, sufficient to show that, when analysed, the *deniers* of Le Mans did indeed have a silver content higher than the Angevin deniers.⁶²⁷ The focus, however, remains very firmly on the coinage of Philip Augustus.

When looking beyond the coins themselves, the archaeological evidence of the circumstances in which the coins were discovered can reveal information about how the coins may have been used prior to entering the ground.⁶²⁸ Learning more about the way a coin or a hoard was used is very much reliant on the data available and is unique to each find. For the majority of the numismatic finds discussed in this chapter there is very limited information about the archaeological context in which the coin(s) were

⁶²³ J. Kershaw, SW Merkel, P D'Imporzano, R. Naismith, 'Byzantine Plate and Frankish Mines: the Provenance of Silver in North-West European Coinage During the Long Eighth Century (c.660-820)', *Antiquity*, 98:398 (2024), 502-517.

⁶²⁴ Dumas and Barrandon, *Le Titre et le poids*.

⁶²⁵ Dumas and Barrandon, *Le Titre et le poids*, pp. 47,52.

⁶²⁶ Dumas and Barrandon, *Le Titre et le poids*, p. 66.

⁶²⁷ Dumas and Barrandon, *Le Titre et le poids*, p. 67.

⁶²⁸ See below.

discovered, sometimes not even the coin type was recorded. Consequently, the focus of the analysis that follows is on the circulation patterns of the different coin types.

The Hoard Evidence

A coin found alongside at least one other coin is defined as a hoard under both English and French law.⁶²⁹ Some French numismatists, however, prefer to follow Gérard Aubin and use the term 'monetary deposit' rather than hoard, because they believe that hoard (*trésor* in French) is too simplistic a term and discourages differentiation between the various uses hoards might have.⁶³⁰ Aubin argued that a monetary deposit should be treated in the same way as a historical document, with attention being paid to the owner and the manner in which they chose to bury the coins, as it is only by looking at the circumstances of the burial that the use of the coins can be suggested. However, as Murray Andrews has shown, providing firm evidence of how a hoard was used is very complex. Usually, it is only possible to say how the coins included in the hoard may have been selected.⁶³¹ The issue of terminology when referring to hoards has been addressed more recently by Vincent Geneviève and Thibault Cardon in their 2020 article 'Trésors ou Dépôts monétaires'.⁶³² Like Aubin, they argue that the term monetary deposit is preferable because it does not carry the same connotations in the public imagination as the term hoard, i.e. to imply a huge number of valuable coins. Furthermore, it recognises the existence of different types of deposits, such as savings deposits which could be for daily use or larger transactions, ritualistic burials of a religious nature such as for consecrating a church, or a burial of wealth as a result of social or political insecurity.⁶³³ By defining the type of monetary deposit, Cardon and Geneviève argued that the owner

⁶²⁹ Cardon, *Le dépôt monétaire du Plateau des Capucins*, p. 43 ; Moesgaard, 'Single Finds as Evidence for Coin Circulation', pp. 228-275.

⁶³⁰ Gérard Aubin, 'Les Trésors (monétaires) antiques: le mot, les choses et les chercheurs', in *Autour du trésor de Mâcon Luxe et quotidien en Gaule romaine*, eds. François Baratte, Martine Joly and Jean-Claude Béal, (Mâcon 2007), pp.49-73; Gérard Aubin, 'Le Dépôt monétaire de Pannecé II: un trésor? Non: un document', *Histoire et patrimoine au pays d'Ancenis* 24 (2009), 19-26; Vincent Geneviève and Thibault Cardon, 'Trésors ou depots donétaires? Quelques réflexions à partir de la situation en France', *The Journal of Archaeological Numismatics* (2020), pp. 5-18.

⁶³¹ Murray Andrews, *Coin Hoarding in Medieval England and Wales c.973-1544* (Oxford 2019), pp. 99-100, 189-90.

⁶³² Geneviève and Cardon, 'Trésors ou depots monétaires?', pp. 5-18.

⁶³³ Geneviève and Cardon, 'Trésors ou depots monétaires?', pp. 12-14.

of the coins, who was the one who chose which coins to save as well as how and where to bury them, should be allotted their proper place in the narrative.

The emphasis by Aubin, Cardon and Geneviève on studying hoards with a focus on how and where they were buried, relies on there being sufficient record of the archaeological context to make this analysis possible. But this is only rarely the case. Only the most recently discovered hoards, such as the Capucins hoard in Angers, tend to be recorded in sufficient detail for a full analysis.⁶³⁴ The Capucins hoard was discovered during an excavation conducted between November 2007 and February 2008 by the *Institut National de recherches archéologiques préventives* (Inrap) who carry out preventative archaeology in France.⁶³⁵ The report on the hoard, written up by Thibault Cardon (CRAHAM), records that the coins (and three silver pieces of jewellery) were found inside a ceramic pitcher, which had been buried in an isolated spot away from the main archaeological structures which were also excavated.⁶³⁶ The coins were heavily corroded so the block of earth around the hoard was taken to the laboratory where the coins were cleaned, then carefully removed in layers, with full details taken of each layer. This very precise method of excavation meant that it was possible to analyse the internal structure of the hoard. The 1,216 coins found in the hoard were a combination of *Mansois*, *Tournois*, *Angevin* and *Guingampois* deniers as well as some English sterling, a composition that is characteristic of a later-twelfth century Angevin hoard.⁶³⁷ By looking at the different classes of each of the coinages and where they were found within the hoard, Cardon concluded that even though no traces of textiles were found, which might have indicated the presence of individual purses, the evidence suggested the hoard was added to over a period of time, as it had three distinct sections each containing slightly different combinations of coins and types. The internal structure of the hoard, added to the fact that it had been buried away from any dwellings, suggested to Cardon that the deposit was the owner's savings intended to be used for exceptional purposes, such as

⁶³⁴ Cardon, *Le dépôt monétaire du Plateau des Capucins*.

⁶³⁵ Cardon, *Le dépôt monétaire du Plateau des Capucins*.

⁶³⁶ Cardon, *Le dépôt monétaire du Plateau des Capucins*, p. 35.

⁶³⁷ Cardon, *Le dépôt monétaire du Plateau des Capucins*, pp. 47-54.

large purchases or rent payments, as the location suggested it was not accessed frequently.⁶³⁸

The reasons for the burial of hoards have long been contested, with recent scholarship emphasising the varying nature of hoards and moving away from the assumption that all hoards were buried as a result of war or political instability. Roland Delmaire, for example, has argued strongly against the view, first put forward by Adrien Blanchet in 1900, that hoards were buried as a direct result of invasions and insecurity.⁶³⁹ Delmaire argued that assuming all hoards were the result of instability was reductive and that it is only by looking at the precise context of a hoard (archaeological context, internal composition, traces of fabric and environmental positioning) that the different hoarding practices could be determined.⁶⁴⁰ In an attempt to challenge the association of hoards with political upheaval, François de Callatay carried out an examination of global coin deposits in ten different periods ranging from c.175 BC to 1959 to see whether it was possible to see a common link between civil wars and the numbers of unrecovered hoards.⁶⁴¹ Callatay pointed to the arguments put forward by Theodor Mommsen, Adrien Blanchet, and Sture Bolin, which suggested that unrecovered hoards were closely associated with wars in which the hoard owners were killed or unable to return.⁶⁴² Based on his study, Callatay concluded that, although in peacetime the majority of hoards were explained by extra-domestic reasons (such as a need for savings), there was a link between hoarding and fear which might result from political trouble or civil wars, but which might just as easily be a fear of a declining currency or unfavourable monetary reforms.⁶⁴³ In the works of both Delmaire and Callatay the importance of the archaeological context in determining the type of deposit is considered vital. If sufficient archaeological details are available then the way the coins making up a hoard were used

⁶³⁸ Cardon, *Le dépôt monétaire du Plateau des Capucins*, pp. 65-9.

⁶³⁹ Roland Delmaire, 'Les Engouissements monétaires, témoignages d'insécurité?', *Revue du Nord*, 77:313 (1995), 21-26.

⁶⁴⁰ Delmaire, 'Les engouissements monétaires', 24-6.

⁶⁴¹ François de Callatay, 'Coin Deposits and Civil Wars in a Long-Term Perspective', *The Numismatic Chronicle*, 177 (2018), 313-338.

⁶⁴² Callatay, 'Coin Deposits and Civil Wars', 314 citing: Theodor Mommsen, *Geschichte des römischen Münzwesens* (Berlin 1860), p. 411.

⁶⁴³ Callatay, 'Coins Deposits and Civil Wars', p. 335.

by their owners can be suggested, consequently adding to our knowledge of how contemporaries interacted with coinage.

Murray Andrews's study of the behaviours, motivations and mentalities of coin hoarding in Medieval England and Wales examined the archaeological context of coin hoards as well as carrying out numismatic analysis to provide further understanding of why and how coin hoards were formed and buried.⁶⁴⁴ Andrews found that economic motivations explained most hoarding behaviour, such as selecting higher value coins, and burying the hoard somewhere in the landscape that was hidden but identifiable to help with retrieval. However, evidence of hoards buried in irretrievable locations, and the inclusion in some hoards of folded coins or non-numismatic objects, suggested that a level of ritual practice was evident in at least some hoarding behaviour. Andrews argued against the view that the formation of hoards was directly linked to periods of conflict or unrest, instead showing that hoarding was a part of daily economic life and was a phenomena that increased in step with rates of coin production.

The archaeological evidence for the majority of the hoards relevant to this thesis is severely lacking. In most instances the only information provided about a hoard is the location and composition. In a large number of cases, even then, the coin types are not recorded or the quantities of each coin type are unknown. The only examples of any archaeological detail being given are for three hoards from my data-set. A hoard of around ten Chartres type silver coins found in Normandy, at Déville-lès-Rouen/ Mont-Saint-Aignan, is said to have been found in a hollow bone.⁶⁴⁵ The hollow bone container in which this hoard was found brings to mind the English Ampthill hoard, which was contemporary with that at Rouen and was found to contain more than one hundred English Cross and Crosslet coins deposited inside a hollow piece of sandstone.⁶⁴⁶ These two hoards suggest that in the twelfth century, in both England and Plantagenet France, those wishing to deposit their coins for safe-keeping would use whatever they had to

⁶⁴⁴ Andrews, *Coin Hoarding in Medieval England and Wales*.

⁶⁴⁵ Moesgaard, *Les Trésors monétaires*, p. 100.

⁶⁴⁶ J.W.B, 'Hoard of Pennies of Henry II Found in Bedfordshire', *The Numismatic Chronicle (1838-1842)*, 2 (1840), 54-57.

hand as a suitable container. Another hoard found at Déols was said to constitute a *panier* (basket) of coins.⁶⁴⁷ It is unclear whether this means coins that could have been carried in a basket or purse, or if remnants of a basket were found together with the coins. This particular hoard could have been an accidental loss rather than an intentional deposit, as even a small basket, too small to find once dropped, might have contained a significant number of coins.⁶⁴⁸ The most detailed evidence available is for the Capucins hoard already mentioned, for which there are specific details for precisely where and how the coins were found.

Fig.2 – All hoards found within the French Plantagenet lands or containing 'Angevin' coinages

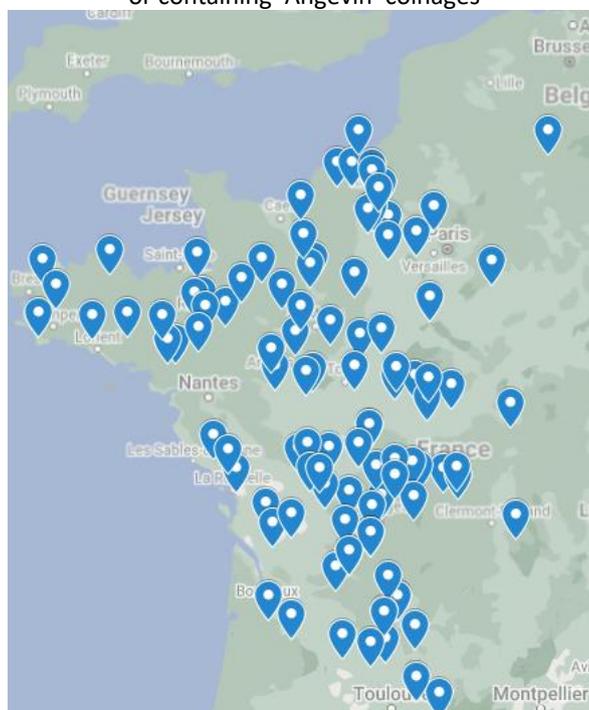


Figure two shows the location of every hoard relevant to this thesis. As is clear from the map, the distribution of hoards that date to c.1150-c.1200 is fairly even across Plantagenet France. Unusually there are also a couple of hoards found within the historical boundaries of the royal French domains which contain Angevin coinages. These have been included in the data-set for this thesis.⁶⁴⁹

⁶⁴⁷ Duplessy, *Les Trésors monétaires*, I, p. 57.

⁶⁴⁸ For discussion of hoard containers and intentional or accidental deposits see Andrews, *Coin hoarding in Medieval England and Wales*, pp. 177-200.

⁶⁴⁹ See below.

Fig. 3 – Hoards containing fewer than ten coins

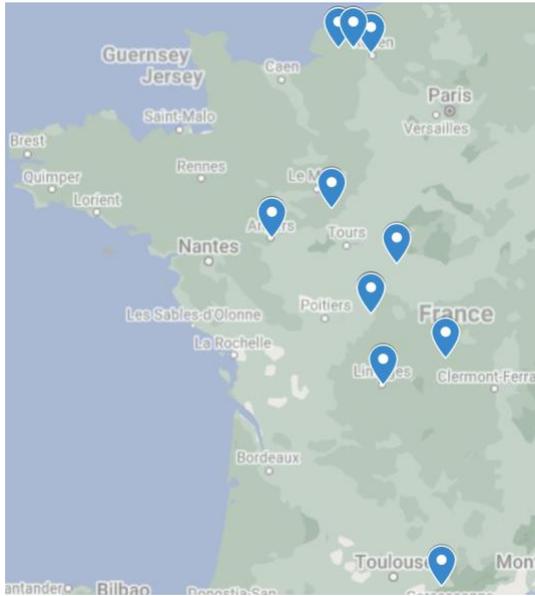


Fig. 4 - Hoards containing 10-100 coins

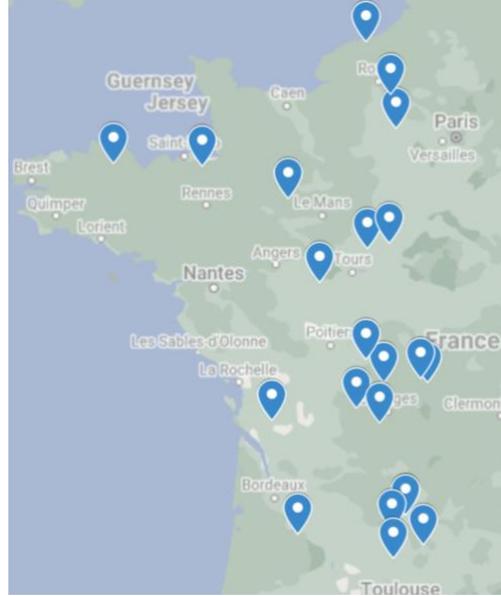


Fig. 5 – Hoards containing 100 - 500 coins

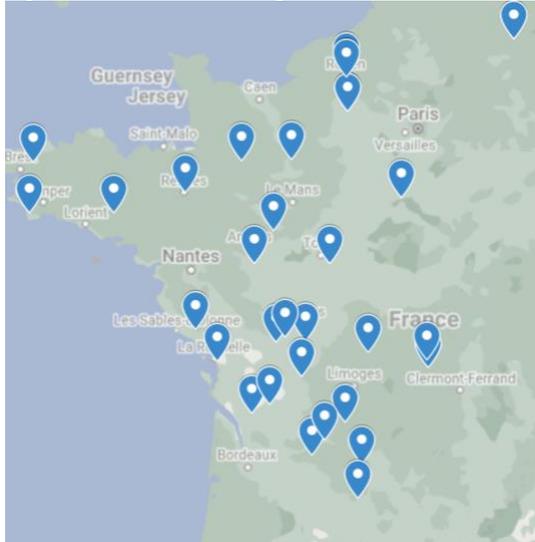


Fig. 6 – Hoards containing 500 - 1,000 coins

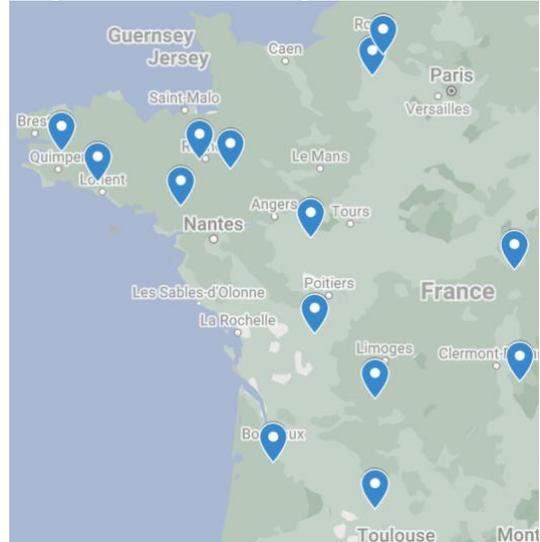


Fig. 7 – Hoards containing 1,000 - 3,000 coins

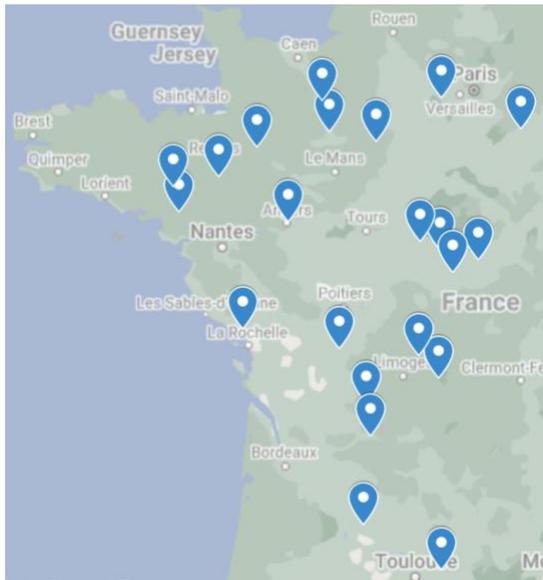
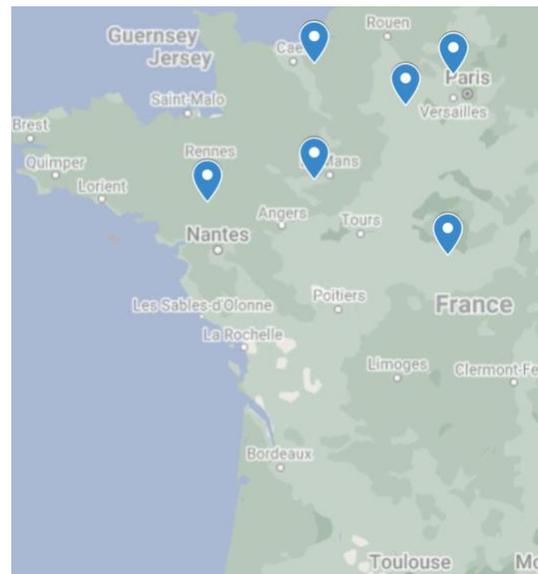


Fig. 8 – Hoards containing over 3,000 coins



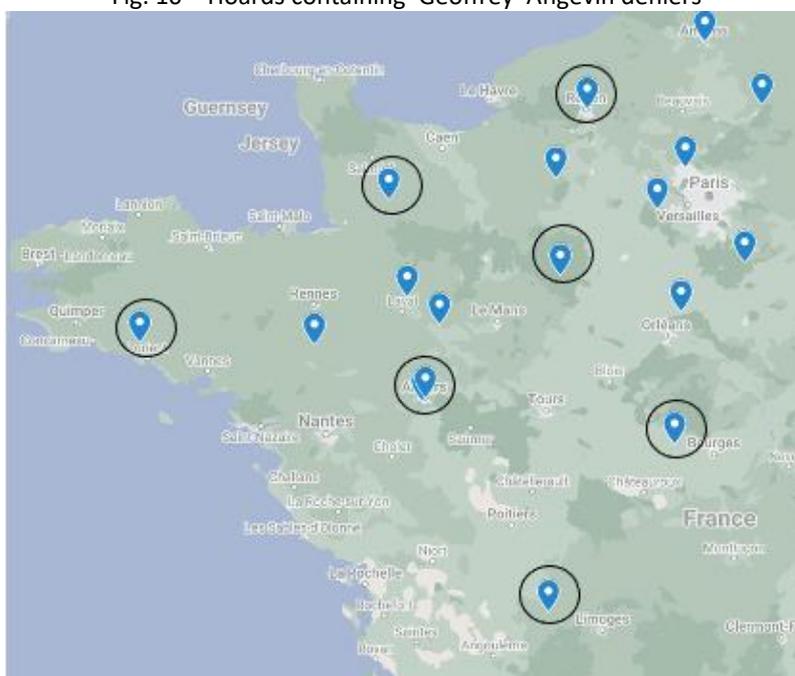
The number of coins found in the hoards varies from two coins to tens-of thousands. As figures three to eight show, the hoard evidence for the French Plantagenet lands suggests it was most common for hoards to contain between 100 and 500 coins. The second most common number of coins was between 20-100 and 1,000-3,000, it was unusual to have hoards containing over 3,000 coins or coins in single figures, which could be partly due to the fact that the fewer the coins, the harder they are to find. The popularity of metal detecting has meant that smaller hoards containing only a handful of coins are those found most often in England. As this is illegal in France, a similar quantity of small hoards have not been discovered, or at least have not been reported found. What this shows is that most of the hoards were not those of members of the elite who would have had recourse to treasuries or strongboxes to store their coin. Rather, these hoards were the savings of peasants and middle-ranking members of society.⁶⁵⁰ Even a small number of coins could represent the savings of a family or individual.⁶⁵¹ There does not seem to be a distinct difference in where the hoards containing larger or smaller quantities of coins were found, apart from the fact that all of the coin hoards containing more than 3,000 coins have been found north of the Loire. This is not necessarily

⁶⁵⁰ Barrie Cook, *English Medieval Coin Hoards: the Age of the Sterling Penny*, *British Museum Research Publication 244*(forthcoming 2024); Kelleher, 'Coins, Monetisation and Re-use in medieval England and Wales', pp. 26-7.

⁶⁵¹ Moesgaard, 'Single Finds as Evidence'. pp. 230, 240

hoard containing only one type of coins was most likely intentionally assembled by the owner who chose only to save a single coin type. This evidence strongly suggests that all seven coin types were in circulation together, even if their relative concentrations varied from region to region. Figure nine above shows the locations of the hoards containing the dominant Angevin coin types. The most obvious point to mention is that, when looking at the distribution of hoards containing ‘Angevin’ coinages, the majority are found in regions north of the Loire with only a small number of hoards found within the duchy of Aquitaine.

Fig. 10 – Hoards containing ‘Geoffrey’ Angevin deniers



As already mentioned in chapter three, the 1150s witnessed a change in type of the Angevin *deniers* which were minted to carry the name of Fulk rather than Geoffrey.⁶⁵⁴ Figure ten shows the distribution of hoards containing Angevin deniers in the name of Geoffrey. They are fairly broadly dispersed throughout the northern regions of Plantagenet France, with a few outliers in the royal French domains, Brittany, and Poitou. The majority of these hoards were buried in the early to mid-twelfth century although some, such as the hoards found at Rédené, Rouen or Capucins, date to the later twelfth century but contain a combination of Fulk and Geoffrey deniers (circled on

⁶⁵⁴ See chapter three.

figure ten above) and so were most likely hoards accumulated over time. It is possible that these hoards are evidence that the Geoffrey deniers had continued to circulate in limited numbers after the Fulk type had been introduced. The location of the combination hoards should therefore be taken as part of the distribution pattern for the Fulk Angevin deniers and not those minted in the name of Geoffrey which subsequently appear more restricted to within the duchy of Normandy.

Fig. 11 – Hoards containing ‘Fulk’ Angevin deniers

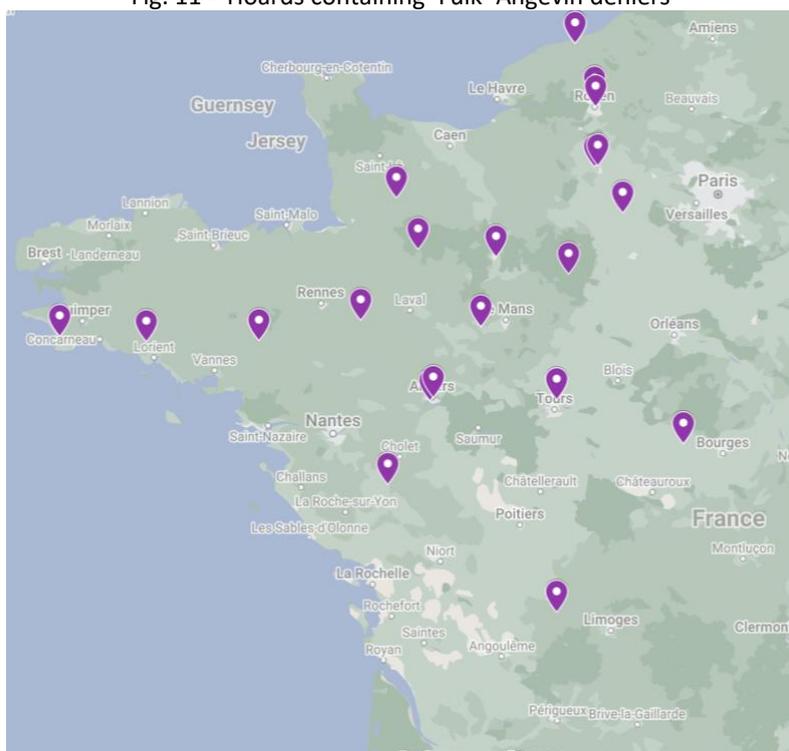


Figure eleven shows the distribution of hoards containing Fulk type Angevin deniers which are much more widely dispersed across the French Plantagenet lands north of the Loire. The border between Plantagenet and Capetian France seems to be clearly outlined by the locations of the hoards. There are only three hoards containing Fulk Angevin deniers that have been found south of the Loire, at Les Herbiers (although this hoard only contained one Angevin denier), Saint-Maurice-des-Lions and Massay.⁶⁵⁵ The Massay hoard is quite unusual as it is of very mixed composition. It was discovered at the port and contains just over 4,000 coins, 217 of which have been examined. The coins studied

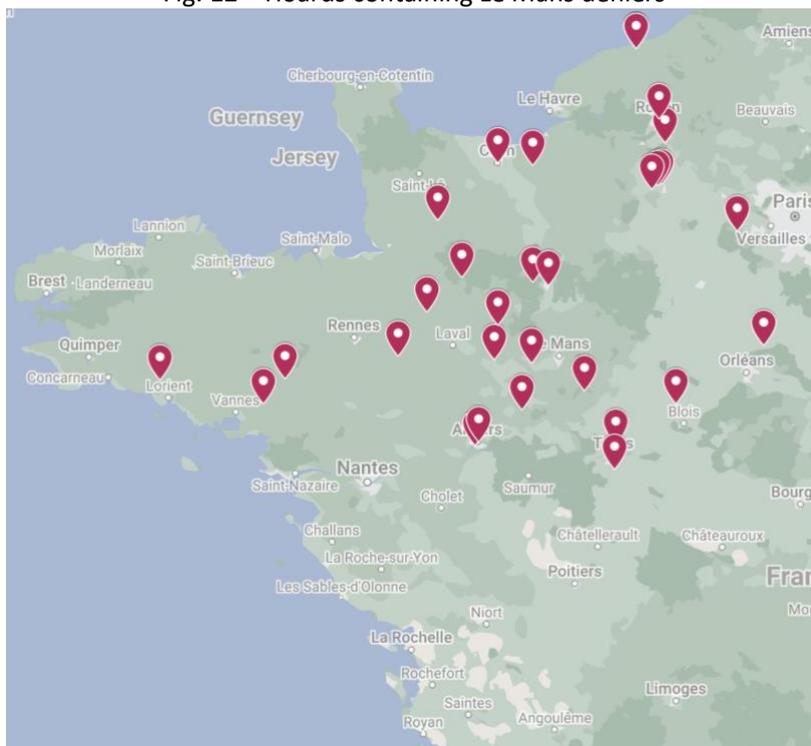
⁶⁵⁵ Jean Vincent, *Fouilles de Sondage: Abbaye de La Grainetiere Les Herbieres 1985* (Vendée 1986); T. Maurice, M. Dhenin and C. Vellet, 'Cachettes monétaires a Saint-Maurice-des-Lions, en charante', *Trésors Monétaires*, 19 (2000), 161-170.

included deniers of the typical 'Angevin' coinages (Angers 4.2%, Guingamp 0.03%, Saint-Martin of Tours 2.4%, Châteaudun 0.01%, Gien 0.01%) as well as some royal French deniers and southern coinages (Saint Martial of Limoges 1.9%, Angoulême 0.05%, Melgueil 0.03%, Déols 1.25%).⁶⁵⁶ It is possible that because this hoard was discovered at Massay on the river Garreau, west of Bourges, that it was put together by a merchant or traveller who had journeyed to or from the various regions, collecting the local coinage as they went, hence the unusual combination of coinages.

The hoard containing the highest number of Fulk Angevin *deniers* is that of Vallon-Sur-Gée, discovered in Maine and dated to 1206-1207. This particular hoard contained almost 6,000 coins which were a mix of twenty-six different coin types, with the eleven Fulk *deniers* only making up a tiny proportion of the hoard. The coinages that were most dominant in the Vallon-Sur-Gée hoard were the Angevin *deniers* (25%), Guingamp *deniers* (23%), Châteaudun *deniers* (14%), English sterling (13%), and the Le Mans *deniers* (11%). It is possible that this particular hoard was compiled over a period of decades due to the fact that it contains a single Norman denier, which stopped being minted in the 1140s, and Chartres obols which stopped in the mid-twelfth century, but also contained English Short Cross sterling (1180 onwards), although the earlier issue coins may have continued to circulate after they stopped being minted. The combination of coins in the Vallon-Sur-Gée hoard is similar to the that of the hoard found at Massay as it includes coins from north and south of the Loire as well as some royal French *deniers*. Overall, the hoards containing Angevin Fulk type coinages are found throughout the French Plantagenet lands but remain clustered around the duchy of Normandy.

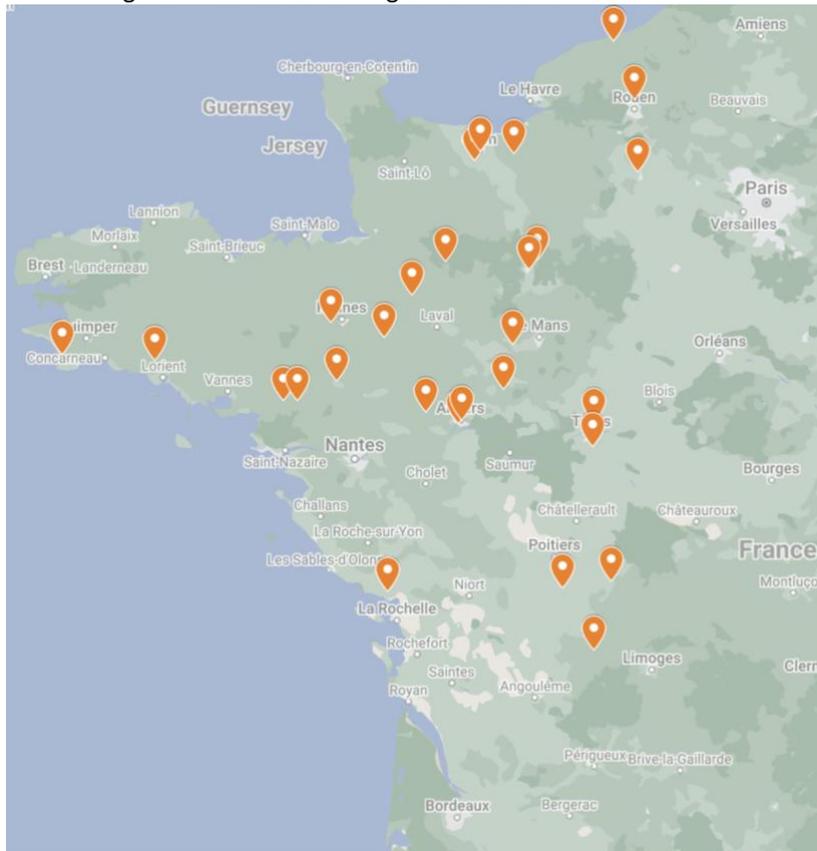
⁶⁵⁶ Duplessy, *Les Trésors monétaires*, pp. 83-4; A. Buhot de Kersers, 'Bulletin numismatique', *Mémoires de la Société des Antiquaires du Centre*, V (1873-4), 329, pl. II; D. Mater, 'Catalogue descriptif de quelques séries monétaires du musée de Bourges', *Médiévale société histoire littéraire artistique scientifique*, 3rd series II (1982), 346-7.

Fig. 12 – Hoards containing Le Mans deniers



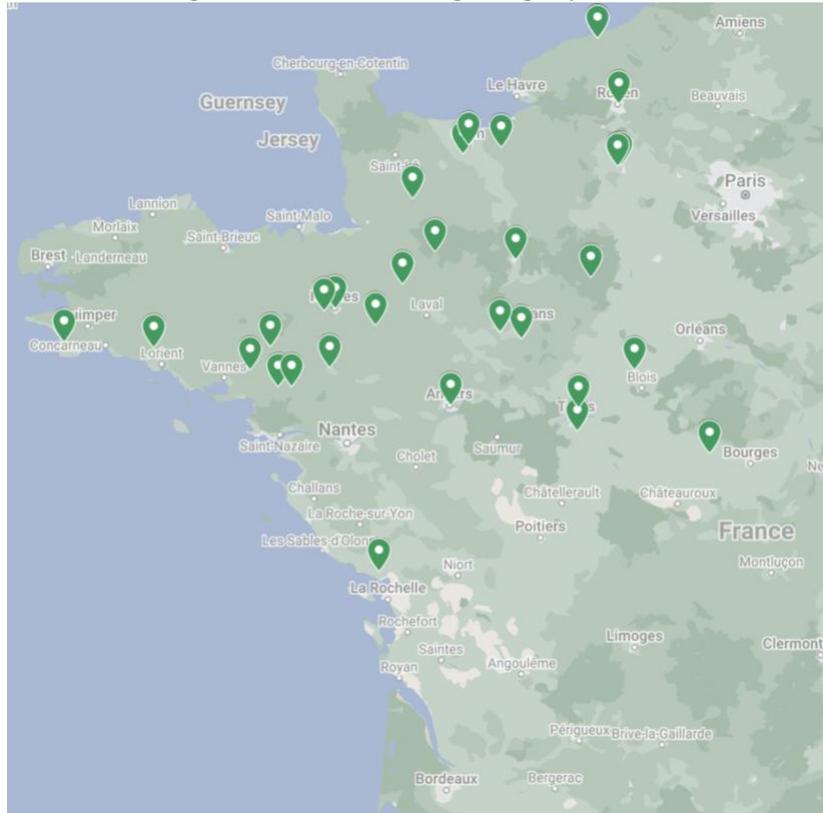
The distribution pattern for hoards containing *deniers* minted in Le Mans is slightly different to those containing Angevin *deniers*. The Le Mans *deniers* are not found in any hoards further south than Tours and there is a greater density of hoards in the area around Le Mans and Anjou. The Le Mans *deniers* are found along the Plantagenet Capetian border in Normandy as well as in two hoards just within the royal French domains. The Le Mans *deniers* had the highest silver content of the Angevin coinages and it is possible that their value made them more desirable to include in hoards and saving deposits, as fewer coins would have been needed. The Vallon-Sur-Gée hoard also contains the highest number of Le Mans *deniers* found in any hoard. Most other hoards contain fewer than 100 Le Mans *deniers*, again potentially because their value was so high that fewer were accessible or needed.

Fig. 13 – Hoards containing Saint-Martin of Tours deniers



When looking at the hoards containing *deniers* minted at Saint-Martin of Tours the biggest difference from the Angevin and Le Mans *deniers* is that there are more hoards containing the *tournois deniers* found south of the Loire, at Saint-Michel-en-l'Herm, Gençay, Saint-Maurice-des-Lions, and Montmorillon. It is likely that, due to the location of Tours itself, on the southern bank of the river Loire, at the point where the Loire and the Cher converge, and not far from the Loire's junction with the Vienne (the principal river of northern Poitou), the proximity of the town to the duchy of Aquitaine meant that the spread of its coin was easier, as it would essentially have been regarded as a local coinage within northern Poitou. The Saint-Martin of Tours *deniers* are found in many of the same hoards as the *deniers* of Le Mans and so the distribution pattern is generally the same, with hoards found in Brittany, Normandy, Maine, Anjou and Touraine.

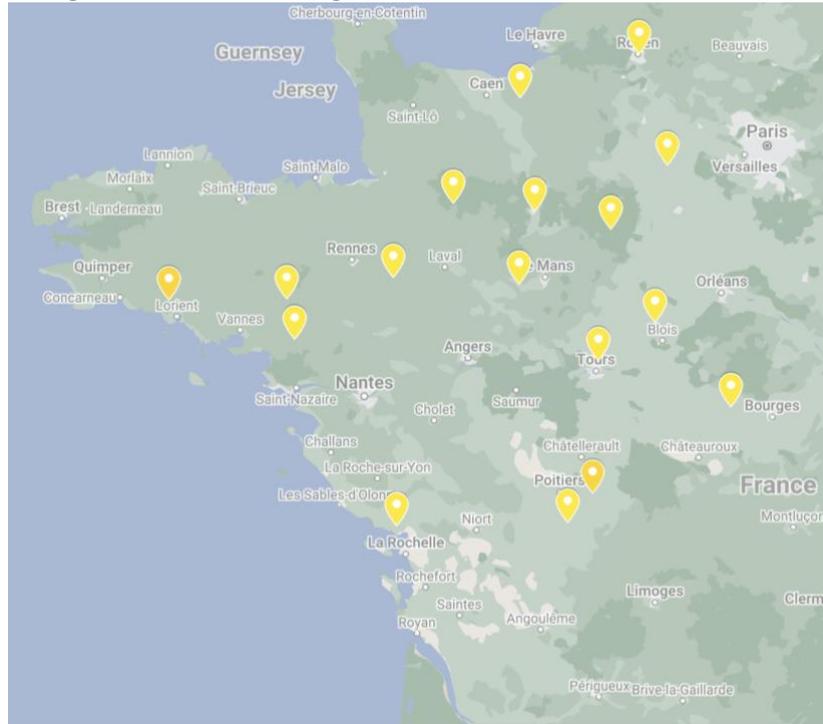
Fig. 14 – Hoards containing Guingamp deniers



There is not surprisingly a higher density of hoards containing Guingamp *deniers* in Brittany and the north-western region of Normandy. Given that the Guingamp *deniers* were minted at Penthièvre which was located on the northern Breton coast it is to be expected that hoards containing the Guingamp *denier* have been found in the regions immediately adjacent. Apart from the higher number of hoards in Brittany, the distribution pattern for the Guingamp *deniers* is similar to the Angevin, Le Mans and Saint-Martin of Tours *deniers*. There are two hoards found south of the Loire, but the majority are in the duchy of Normandy which would tie-in with the evidence for the assimilation of the Guingamp *deniers* with the other Angevin coinages.⁶⁵⁷

⁶⁵⁷ See chapters three and seven.

Fig. 15 – Hoards containing Châteaudun, Vendôme and Gien deniers



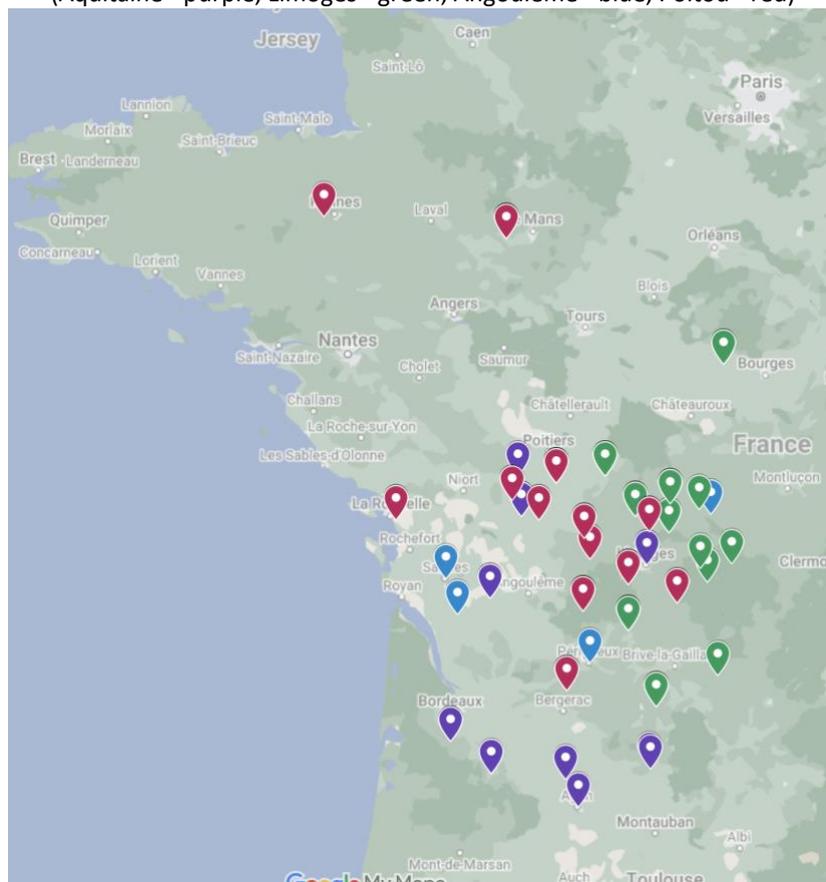
The coin types included in figure fifteen are those of Châteaudun, Vendôme and Gien, all of which are found in a large proportion of ‘Angevin’ coin hoards, but not in as large numbers as the coin types previously discussed, possibly because they were those with the lowest value. Their distribution throughout the French Plantagenet lands is focused mainly within Normandy, Maine and Touraine with only a few hoards found south of the Loire.

By looking at the distribution patterns of each of the ‘Angevin’ coinages individually, the pattern that very clearly emerges is of a varied currency made up of the *deniers* minted at Angers, Le Mans, Tours, Châteaudun, Vendôme, Gien and Guingamp which dominated the hoards found in the duchy of Normandy, the county of Anjou and to some extent the duchy of Brittany. Most of these coinages have not been found in hoards south of the Loire in any substantial numbers, confirming the assumption that their use was for the most part restricted to the northern Plantagenet lands.

'Aquitanian' Coin Hoards

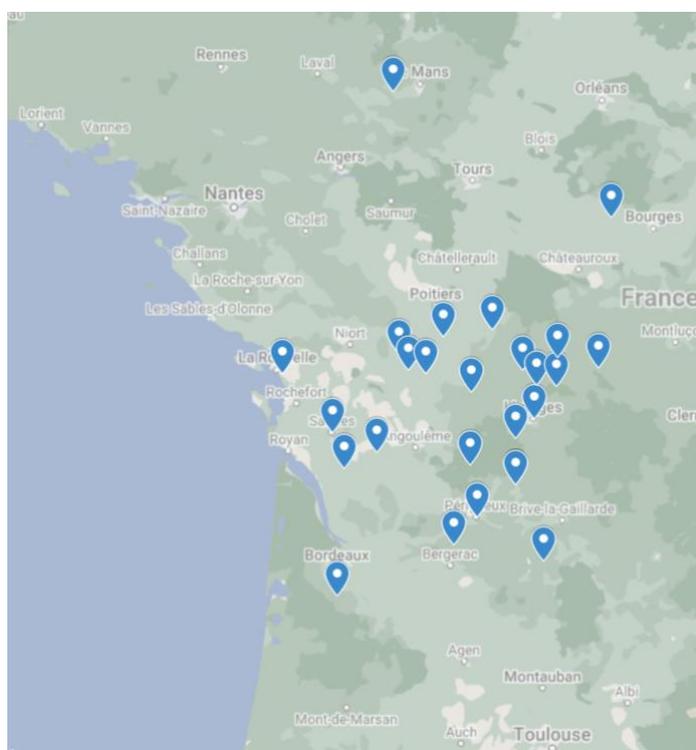
The dominant coinages in the duchy of Aquitaine were those minted in Aquitaine itself, at Poitou, Limoges and Angoulême. What is obvious when looking at the hoard distribution displayed in figure sixteen is that, just as the Angevin coinages are not really found south of the Loire, the Aquitanian coinages are not found north of the Loire in any significant numbers. The only hoards found north of the Loire containing Aquitanian coins are those found at Vallon-sur-Gée near Le Mans, Massay, and Le Rheu just outside of Rennes. The remainder of the hoards are found towards the central and northern areas of the duchy of Aquitaine. The currency of Gascony and Toulouse was not the same as that of the more central regions of Aquitaine as will be shown later on in this section.

Fig. 16 – Hoards containing the dominant Southern deniers (Aquitaine - purple, Limoges - green, Angoulême - blue, Poitou - red)



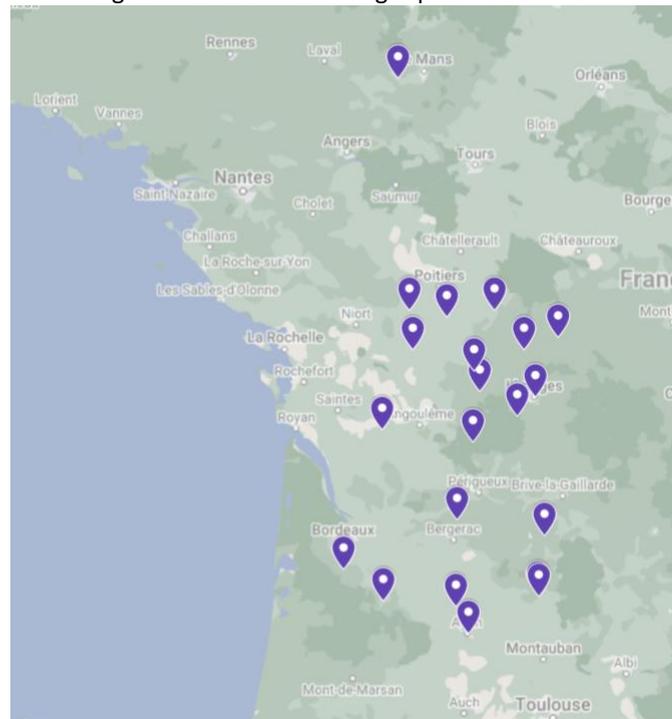
The individual distribution patterns for the deniers of Aquitaine, Limoges, Angoulême and Poitou varied. What is consistent across all of the different Aquitanian coin types however is that they all have higher levels of finds around Limoges when compared to the number of hoards found along the western coast and south of Bordeaux. It was in the area around Limoges that much of the conflict between Henry Plantagenet and his sons took place in the 1170s.⁶⁵⁸ If, therefore, we assume that increased political turmoil often resulted in a larger number of unrecovered hoards then it could be that the higher concentration of hoards here was a direct result of the conflict. The hoards that can be precisely dated from this area come mostly from the last few decades of the twelfth century, which could support this hypothesis. However, not all of the hoards contain English sterling and as the remaining coinages are immobilised it is not possible to precisely date these hoards. Therefore the finds of hoards around Limoges cannot be firmly associated with the unrest of the 1170s. The only other constant across the Aquitanian coinages is that they are all present in the hoard of Vallon-Sur-Gée near Le Mans, as already noted above.

Fig.17 – Hoards containing Angoulême deniers



⁶⁵⁸ Howden, *Chronica magistri*, V, II, p. 278; Strickland, *Henry the Young King*, pp. 151-180.

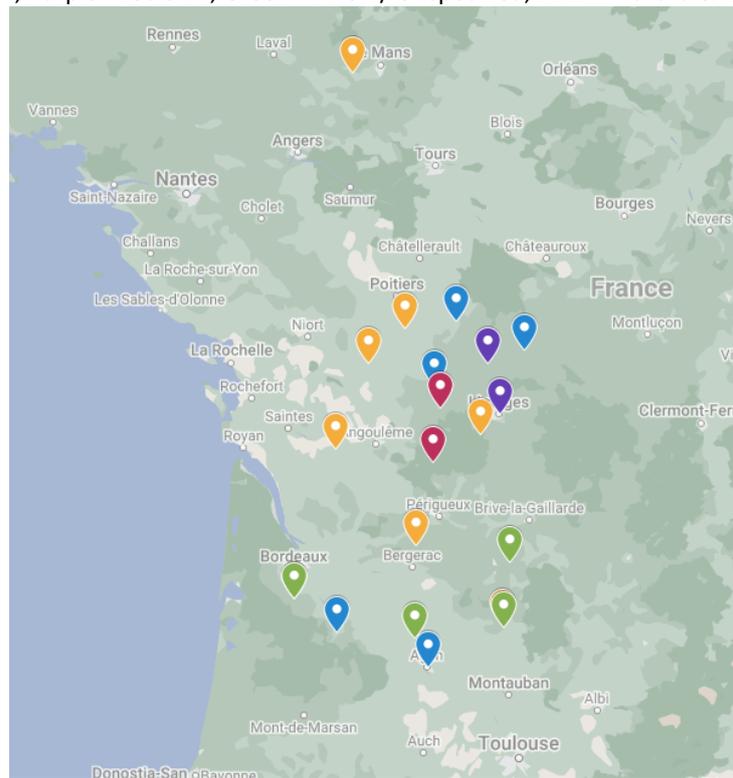
Fig. 18 – Hoards containing Aquitanian deniers



Both the deniers minted at Angoulême and those minted at Bordeaux (Aquitaine) are found in hoards discovered in the region between Poitiers and Limoges. The only difference in their distribution is that the Aquitanian deniers are found in hoards further south (there is a group of hoards between Bordeaux and Agen) and there are more hoards containing Angoulême deniers towards the coast. As already noticed in chapter three, the Aquitanian deniers, originally minted in the name of Duke William of Aquitaine, went through multiple changes of type during the twelfth century.⁶⁵⁹ In the 1130s and 1140s Louis VII, King of France, issued Aquitanian deniers in his name whilst married to Eleanor of Aquitaine and claiming the title as Duke of Aquitaine. Whilst there are Aquitanian deniers minted in the name of HENRICVS REX there is debate over whether they were minted by Henry Plantagenet or his grandson Henry III. The production of Aquitanian deniers in the name of Richard the Lionheart, however, is well documented and these coins are well represented among the hoards. Figure nineteen shows the hoards containing Aquitanian deniers minted in the name of the various minting authorities.

⁶⁵⁹ See chapter three.

Fig.19 – Hoards containing Aquitanian deniers by minting authority (Orange - Richard the Lionheart, Blue – William IX, Purple - Louis VII, Green – Anon./ Unspecified, Pink – Richard & William IX))



The most dominant Aquitanian deniers are those minted in the name of William IX of Aquitaine or Richard the Lionheart. Hoards containing only Richard the Lionheart Aquitanian deniers are mainly found in Poitou, Angoulême and Limoges, with the exception of the Vallon-sur-Gée hoard. The deniers minted in the name of Louis VII, by contrast, are not found in many twelfth-century hoards and the two hoards that do contain Louis VII deniers are located in Limoges and just to the north of the city. The William IX deniers are mainly found in the region between Limoges and Poitiers, but also in one hoard from Agen and another to the north-west of the town. Two hoards containing both William IX and Richard the Lionheart Aquitanian deniers are found between Angoulême and Limoges. Overall, the distribution of Aquitanian deniers appears to have been fairly localised, restricted to the area around Bordeaux and within Poitou, with the Richard the Lionheart deniers being dispersed most widely in the hoards.

Fig. 20 – Hoards containing Limoges deniers

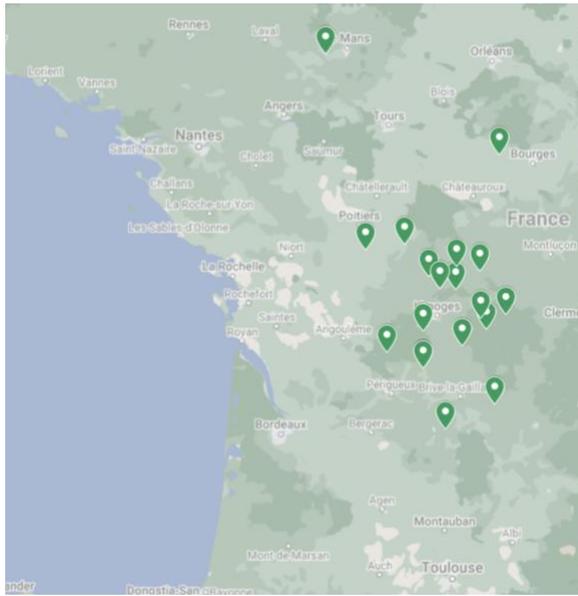
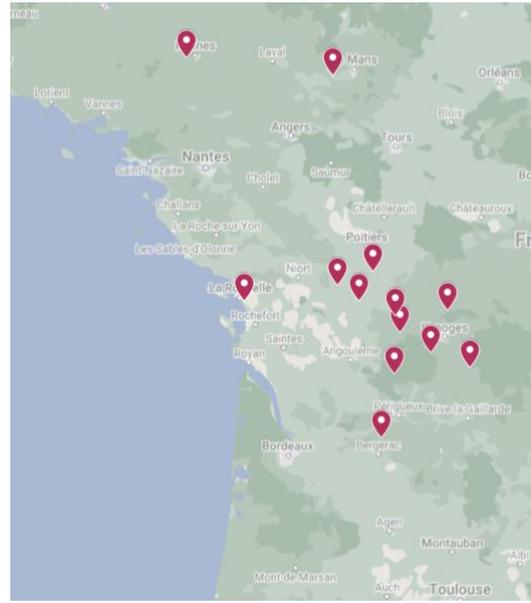


Fig. 21 – Hoards containing Poitou deniers



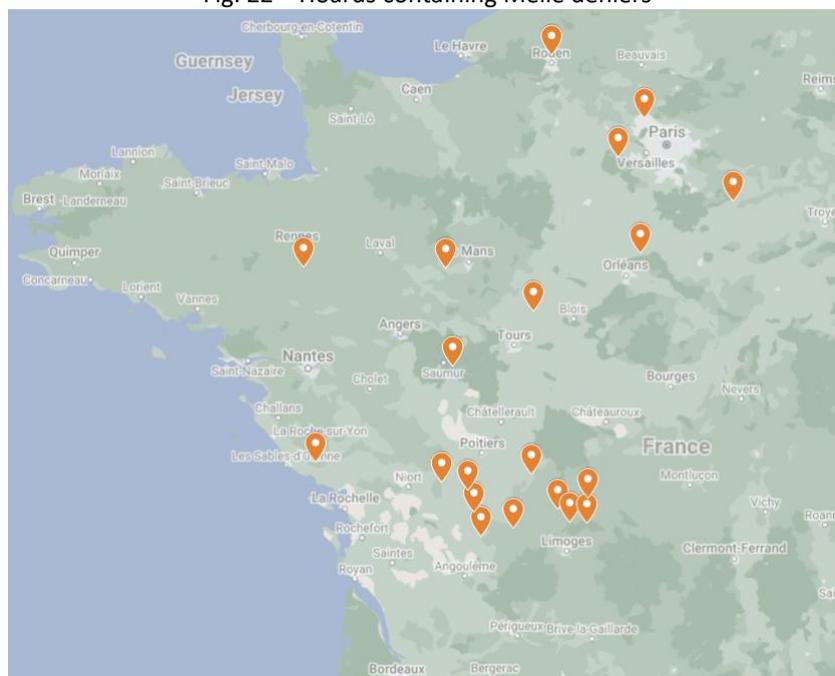
Figures twenty and twenty-one show the distribution of hoards containing *deniers* minted at Saint-Martial of Limoges and Poitou. Both maps show a higher density of hoards in the region between Poitiers and Limoges, much like the Angoulême and Aquitaine *deniers*, with a few hoards in the outlying areas. The most prevalent circulation pattern seems, therefore, to be centred around Poitou and the northern regions of the duchy of Aquitaine. Two hoards containing Poitevin *deniers* were found north of the Loire, at Vallon-sur-Gée, which also included *deniers* of Limoges, and Le Rheu.

From the eighth to tenth centuries the mint at Melle in Poitou was the most dominant mint in the region due to the presence of productive silver mines.⁶⁶⁰ As already discussed in chapters two and three, the productivity of the mines decreased and, by the twelfth century, the Melle *deniers* were beginning to be replaced by newer coin types such as the Poitevin *deniers* which were minted elsewhere.⁶⁶¹ The Melle *deniers* did not, however, disappear from the hoards as they continue to be found alongside the other southern coinages throughout the twelfth century. Figure twenty-two shows the distribution of hoards containing Melle *deniers*.

⁶⁶⁰ See chapter three.

⁶⁶¹ See chapter three for full discussion of mint locations.

Fig. 22 – Hoards containing Melle deniers

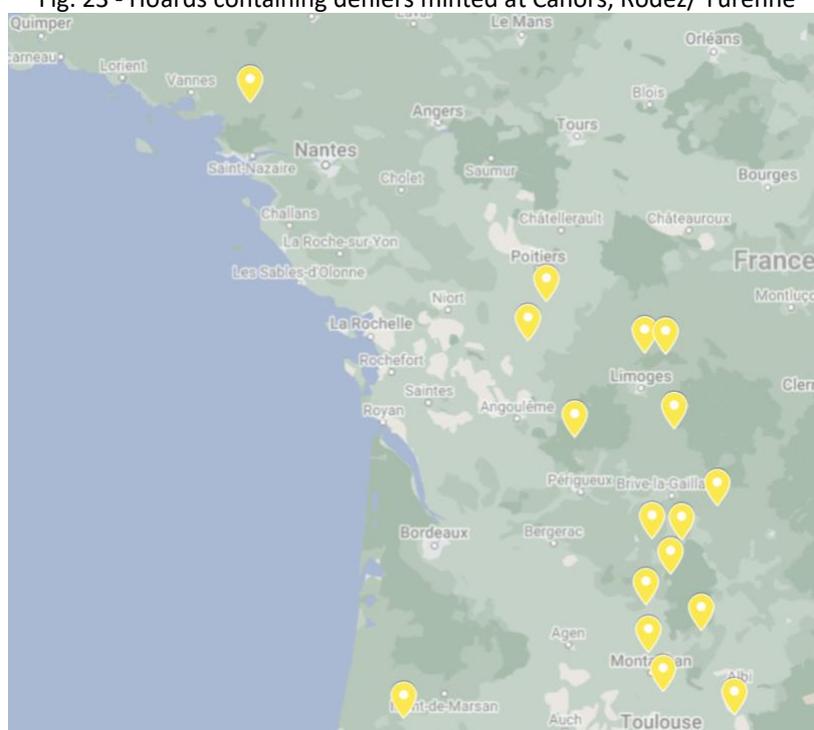


Hoards containing Melle *deniers* are most densely found in Poitou which was the locality closest to the mint. There are, however, a number of hoards found north of Poitiers which are fairly sparsely distributed in a line from the coast just north of La Rochelle through Saumur, Tours, Blois and Orléans up to the region south of Paris. There are also hoards containing Melle *deniers* in Rouen, Rennes, Vallon-Sur-Gèe, and two hoards to the north and east of Paris. There was a known twelfth-century pilgrim route that ran between Orléans and Tours and then on to Poitiers and Saint-Jean-d'Angély which could have resulted in the movement of coin from Poitou to Paris, and might therefore explain the divergence from the Poitevin distribution of the hoards.⁶⁶² It could equally be that this was a trade route, as it ran along the river Loire. Alternatively this distribution could be completely coincidental and might look very different were new discoveries of hoards to be made. The Melle *deniers* are not found in particularly large quantities (the largest number of coins in a hoard is 304), so although they were still circulating, or at least people were still choosing to deposit them, they were not one of the dominant coinages of the later twelfth century.

⁶⁶² Medieval French Roads Project: <http://www.medievalfrenchroads.org/map/> citing: *Codex Calixtinus*, Liber V in *The Pilgrims Guide to Santiago de Compostela: First English Translation with Introduction, Commentaries and Notes*, ed. William Melczer (New York 1993), pp. 85, 108-9.

As briefly mentioned in the introduction to this section, the composition of the hoards changes the further south one travels within the duchy of Aquitaine. In Poitou and central Aquitaine the coinages of Angoulême, Aquitaine, Poitou and Limoges are the most dominant and are found in the majority of hoards from the area. Further south in the duchy, towards Agen and Toulouse, the coinages of Cahors, Rodez and Turenne are found in a larger number of hoards. The quantity of each of the coinages within the hoards is not overly large but they are the coins found most often in the hoards to the south of Poitou.

Fig. 23 - Hoards containing deniers minted at Cahors, Rodez/ Turenne



The shift in the composition of the hoards in the south of the duchy of Aquitaine could reflect the fact that Aquitaine had incorporated the previously independent duchy of Gascony (and Toulouse) in the eleventh century.⁶⁶³ Gascony had its own coinage and it seems that the coinages dominant in the Poitevin and central Aquitanian hoards did not spread to the regions which were previously under Gascon lordship.

⁶⁶³ See chapters one and three.

The distribution patterns of individual coinages differed from the dominant southern coinages of Angoulême, Aquitaine, Poitou and Limoges. For example, figure twenty-four shows the locations of hoards containing the *deniers* minted at Déols, with a distribution pattern distinct from either the 'Angevin' or 'Southern' coinages.

Fig. 24 – Hoards containing Déols deniers



The Déols *deniers* have the broadest geographical distribution in the hoards and are one of the few coin types that are found in a number of hoards north of the Loire, despite being minted in the southern regions. Déols is located just south of the Loire, in Berri, 130 kilometres north-east of Poitiers, and most hoards containing the Déols *deniers* seem to be fairly local to the area, apart from a line of hoards that stretches from Agen to Caen. In most of the hoards mapped above, the Déols *deniers* are only present in small numbers. There are, however, three hoards (Chatillon-sur-Cher, Druy-Parigny (Largue) and Issoudun) in which the Déols *deniers* make up a significant proportion of the hoard. The Issoudun hoard contains only Déols *deniers*. Therefore, whilst the distribution of the Déols *deniers* is broad and distinct from that of other coinages within the French Plantagenet lands, it certainly did not constitute a dominant coinage in either

the northern or southern regions but suggests that local coinages could have different circulation patterns.

What becomes clear from looking at the hoard evidence for the French Plantagenet lands is that there was a distinct difference between the coin types making up the hoards from the duchy of Normandy and county of Anjou and those of the duchy of Aquitaine. There is no evidence for any significant overlap of the Aquitanian and Angevin coinages in the hoards. There are some individual hoards which prove exceptions to the rule, most notably the hoard found at Vallon-Sur-Gée. Overall, however, the hoard evidence is showing that the coins hoarded in the northern and southern regions of the French Plantagenet lands differed substantially from one another.

Coin Hoards Containing 'Foreign' Coins

A few coin hoards found in twelfth-century Plantagenet France do contain foreign coinages. There are not many, but enough to suggest that some foreign coinage was making its way into the region. For example, the hoard found at the port of Massay near Bourges contained predominantly French coinages but it also included twenty-six coins minted in Lucca in Italy. Spanish *deniers* minted at Valencia are found in a hoard discovered at La Bouteille (Foigny, in Picardy), whilst the hoard found at Montigny-Lencoup in the royal French domain contained seven silver *deniers* minted in Barcelona and three from Navarre. Spanish coins and Arabic gold *dinars* are found in a number of hoards from both the French Plantagenet lands and the royal French domain. For example, the hoards found at Rédene and Nantes in Brittany, and at Meslay-le-Vidame just east of Châteaudun, all contain Arabic gold *dinars* which were minted in either Spain or North Africa. Finds of Arabic gold *dinars* was not unique to France at this time; a contemporary hoard from England found at Garsdon (near Malmesbury) contained just under 600 coins which were all English sterling (mainly Cross and Crosslets) apart from two Arabic gold *dinars* from Spain.⁶⁶⁴ Whilst the numbers of finds of gold *dinars* and other foreign coinages are not high enough to suggest that they were in regular use, or

⁶⁶⁴ E. Ghey, M. Andrews and W. Scott, 'Coin hoards 2024', *British Numismatic Journal*, 94 (2024), No. 102.

part of the local currency, the hoards are evidence that foreign coins did enter the French Plantagenet lands. The limited number of finds of foreign coins also supports the view that there must have been a system for melting down or exchanging foreign coins for the local currency, even if the precise organisation of this systems is now obscure.⁶⁶⁵

The coins minted beyond the French Plantagenet lands found in greatest number in the hoards were, not surprisingly, the English sterling. Whilst the English sterling were not foreign to the lands ruled by Henry Plantagenet, they were not minted on the continent. Similarly, the royal French deniers were minted in a different principality and so can be viewed as a coinage foreign to the French Plantagenet lands.

Finds of English Coins

As has already been discussed, English sterling was found in significant numbers in Plantagenet France in the last decade of the twelfth century. However, during the rule of Henry Plantagenet (1150-1189) there are very few finds from the hoards.⁶⁶⁶ For the purposes of this thesis, the English sterling should be considered, until 1180, technically a 'foreign' coinage as it was minted beyond the French Plantagenet lands and was not in use among the population in significant numbers until after Henry's death.⁶⁶⁷ Figure twenty-two below shows the locations of all the coin hoards containing English sterlings which date from the mid-twelfth to early-thirteenth-century. All except one, located near the port of La Rochelle, are found in the regions north of the Loire. One of the hoards (at Pontoise) comes from within the borders of the royal French domain, just north of Paris, and has been dated to to c.1180. The Pontoise hoard contained over 7,000 coins, of which only twelve (0.17%) are English Short Cross sterlings which thus make up a very small proportion of this hoard of predominantly royal French deniers.

⁶⁶⁵ See chapter above.

⁶⁶⁶ See chapter three.

⁶⁶⁷ See chapter three; Moesgaard, *La Circulation des monnaies anglaises*.

Fig. 25 – hoards containing English sterling

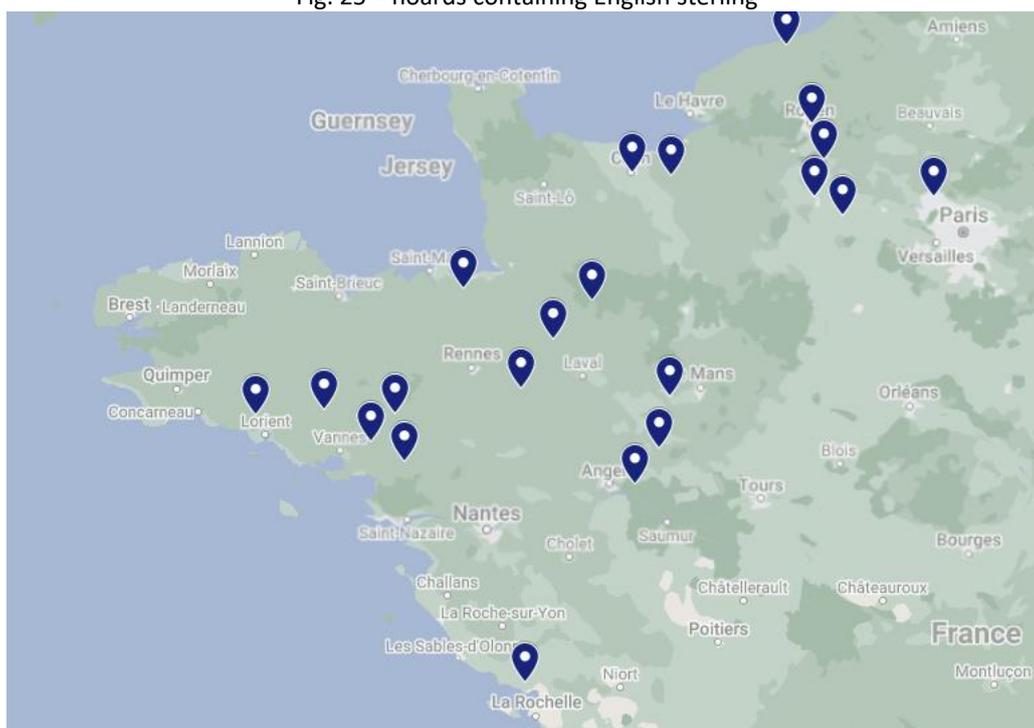


Table 4 – Details of coin hoards containing English sterling

Hoard Name	Region	Date	Number of coins in hoard	Percentage of sterling	Type	Other coin types in hoard
Corné	Anjou	1158-80	Not specified	Not specified	'Tealby'	Not specified
Pontoise	Royal French domains	c.1180	c.7,000	0.2%	Not specified	Royal French, Melle, Angers, Chartres, Le Mans, Saint-Martin of Tours, Le Puy, Soissons, Pierrefonds, Saint-Médard de Soissons, Crépy-en-Valois, Amiens, Ponthieu, Saint-Pol
Aviron (Saint-Michel)	Normandy	1180-1205	400	Not specified	Short-Cross	Le Mans, Angers, Guingamp, Saint-Martin of Tours, Royal French deniers
Bais	Maine	1180-1205	600-700	1%	Short cross	Saint-Martin of Tours, Angers, Le Mans, Vendôme, Châteaudun, Gien, Brittany, Guingamp
Caen (Chapel of La Maladrerie)	Normandy	1180-1205	N/A	Not specified	Short Cross	Le Mans, Angers, Saint-Martin of Tours
Cré	Maine	1180-1205	350	1.1%	Short Cross	Angers, Le Mans, Saint-Martin, Guingamp
Larré	Brittany	1180-1205	250	Not specified	Short Cross	Le Mans, Angers, Guingamp, Saint-Martin of Tours

Saint-Fraimbault-sur-Pisse	Normandy	1180-1205	378	0.8%	Short Cross	Saint-Martin of Tours, Guingamp, Châteaudun, Vendôme, Le Mans, Angers, Gien, Brittany
Saint-Pierre-des-Landes	Maine	1180-1205	c.1,200	0.2%	Short Cross	Le Mans, Guingamp, Chartres, Saint-Martin of Tours
?? (Morbihan)	Brittany	1180-1205	200-300	1.3-2%	Not Specified	Le Mans
St-Cyr-du-Vaudreuil	Normandy	1180-1204	600-800	100%	Short Cross	Not specified
Aviron/Gauville-la-Campagne	Normandy	1189-1205	c.400	25%	Short Cross classes 1-5	Le Mans, Angers, Guingamp
Bourg-Dun	Normandy	1189-1205	c.80	2.5%	Short Cross	Le Mans, Guingamp, Angers, Saint-Martin of Tours
Unknown	Normandy	c.1194	8+	100%	Short Cross (& 1 Tealby)	Not specified
Caro (Bois-Guillaume)	Brittany	1194-1205	More than 1,634	0.1%	Short Cross	Guingamp, Brittany, Angers, Le Mans, Gien, Châteaudun
?? (Maine-et-Loire)	Maine-et-Loire	1195-1205	208	9.1%	Short Cross	Saint-Martin of Tours, Angers
Dol (Rue Ceinte)	Brittany	1199-1205	c.20	Not specified	Short Cross	Not specified
Hottot-en-Auge	Normandy	c.1200-1205	c.4,000	2.3%	Short Cross	Royal French, Saint-Martin of Tours, Châteaudun, Vendôme, Angers, Le Mans, Gien, Deols, Nevers, Souvigny, Bourbon, Soissons, Brittany, Guingamp
Rédené	Brittany	1202-1213	50 gold + 900 silver	Not specified	Short Cross	Saint-Martin of Tours, Angers, Le Mans, Brittany, Guingamp, Montlucon, Deols, Gien, Bourbon, Nevers, Souvigny, Vendôme, Champagne, Scotland, Arabic deniers
Béganne	Brittany	1206-1213	1,200-1,500	0.2%	Short Cross	Royal French, Saint-Martin of Tours, Angers, Gien, Guingamp
Saint-Michel-en-l'herm	Poitou	1206-1213	1,727	9.3%	Short cross	Royal French, Saint-Martin of Tours, Angers, Guingamp, Brittany, Gien, Scotland.
Vallon-Sur-Gée	Maine	1206-1207	5,828	7.3%	Not specified	Royal French, Saint-Martin of Tours, Le Mans, Angers, Guingamp, Brittany, Châteaudun, Vendôme, Chartres, Gien, Issoudun, Deols, Poitou, St Martial of Limoges, Angouleme, Besancon, Cluny, Bourgogne, Nevers, Aquitaine, Normandy, Souvigny, Sancerre, Troyes
Bretagnolles	Normandy	1158-1247/1279	21	100%	London mint (mainly Short-Cross)	Not specified

What is slightly unusual about the English sterling is that some of the hoards contain only English sterling and no other local coinages. For example, the hoards found at Bretagnolles and Saint-Cyr-du-Vaudreuil in Normandy, Dol in Brittany, Corné in Anjou and a hoard found at an unspecified location somewhere in Normandy all contained nothing but sterlings. The majority of these coin hoards date to after 1180: twenty of the twenty-four. One contains only Cross and Crosslets coins and so has been dated to 1158-1180, and those found at Bretagnolles, Vallon-Sur-Gée and Morbihan contained English sterling of unspecified type, so it is not possible to date them precisely, albeit that they were most likely Short Cross coins. The high value of English sterling could explain why some hoards contain only these particular coins, as they would have been particularly appealing to individuals compiling a hoard.⁶⁶⁸

The year 1180 saw the introduction of the Short Cross sterling in England for which Henry Plantagenet brought two moneyers over from his French lands to advise.⁶⁶⁹ Furthermore, the 1180 monetary reforms saw a reduction in the weight of the English sterling to bring it in line with the Angevin coinages.⁶⁷⁰ It seems highly likely that the significant increase in the number of finds of English sterling in the French Plantagenet lands after this event was not simply a coincidence. By bringing the standards of the English and Angevin coinages into line with each other it would have been easier for the English sterling to circulate on the continent without the need to melt down and exchange them for the local coins. From the surviving textual evidence we know that the English sterling was equivalent to two *deniers* of Le Mans and four *deniers* of Angers, Tours or Guingamp.⁶⁷¹ Prior to 1180, there is plenty of written evidence, particularly from the English pipe rolls, that points to English sterling being exported to the French Plantagenet lands. However, the very limited number of finds of the Cross and Crosslet coins (one, or perhaps two hoards) suggests that they were melted down into the local coinage after reaching the continent.⁶⁷² By removing the need to exchange the English sterlings for local coin, they were essentially becoming legal tender in the French

⁶⁶⁸ Andrews, *Coin Hoarding in Medieval England and Wales*, p. 202.

⁶⁶⁹ Cook, 'En Monnaie', p. 624; *Magni Rotuli Scaccariae*, I, p. 38.

⁶⁷⁰ Cook, 'En Monnaie', pp. 626-630.

⁶⁷¹ Spufford, *Handbook of Medieval Exchange*, pp. 206-7.

⁶⁷² *Dialogus de Scaccario*, p. 17.

Plantagenet lands and might be used as part of the currency, like any of the other Angevin coinages.

Most of the coin hoards containing English sterlings are found within the boundaries of what was the duchy of Normandy. Four come from southern Brittany and the remainder were found in Maine and Anjou, apart from one other: the hoard found at Saint-Michel-en-l'herm, just north of La Rochelle. The lack of finds south of the Loire might be explained by the fact that the English sterling was not easily exchanged with any of the southern coinages, and as such there was little or no demand for them in regions south of the Loire. Another explanation might be that the alignment of the English sterling with the 'Angevin' coinages was an intentional move to unite the lands to be inherited by Henry Plantagenet's eldest son. Henry's intention was to divide up his lands so that the kingdom of England would pass, together with the duchy of Normandy and county of Anjou to his eldest son Young Henry.⁶⁷³ By creating currency union across these lands Henry could very well have been furthering his plans for the succession. The planned division of the French Plantagenet lands north and south of the Loire might thus explain why this union was extended no further south.

Even so, and despite the easy exchange of English sterling with the Angevin coinages, there does not seem to have been a reciprocal spread of Angevin coinages into England after 1180. The Portable Antiquity Scheme (PAS) records no finds of Angevin coinages in England, and the only recorded hoard to contain Angevin deniers is that found at Lark Hill just outside of Worcester, in 1850.⁶⁷⁴ The Lark Hill hoard, dating to just before 1180, was predominantly English Cross and Crosslet coins, but also included seven/eight coins in the name of Fulk minted at Angers and the same number of deniers from Saint-Martin of Tours, as well as a coin of Odo of Burgundy, part of a coin of Eustace of Boulogne, and a penny and cut halfpenny of David I of Scotland, along with various rings. Angevin coinages were certainly not accepted currency in the Kingdom of England either before or after the monetary reforms of 1180. But after 1180, the English sterling was much

⁶⁷³ W.L. Warren, *Henry II* (Berkeley 1973), p. 108-9, 206, 229-30; J. Le Patourel, *The Norman Empire* (Oxford 1976), pp. 184-7; Gillingham, *The Angevin Empire*, pp. 119-20, 220. å

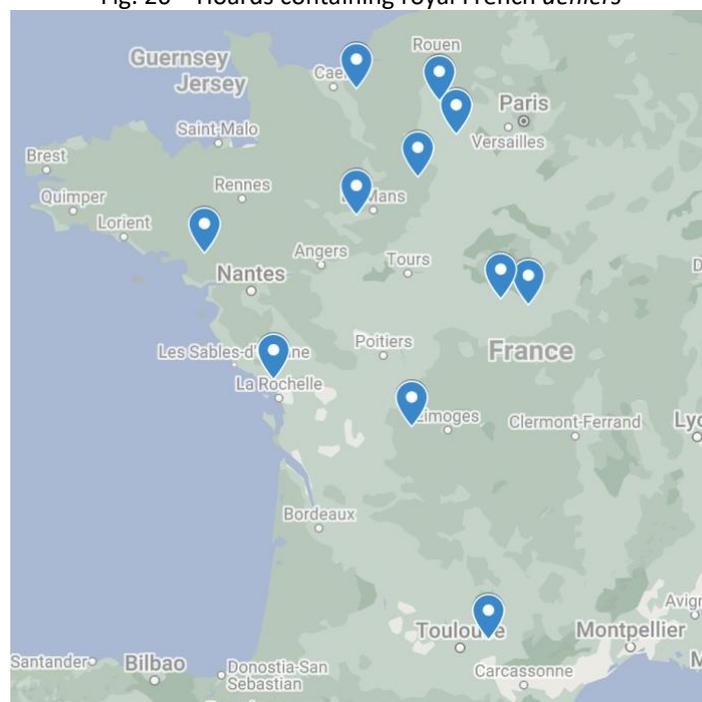
⁶⁷⁴ L.A. Lawrence, 'The Lark Hill (Worcester Find)', *Numismatic Chronicle*, 19 (1919), 45-60.

more acceptable within the French Plantagenet lands as currency in its own right without the need for exchange, and serving as the highest value coinage.

Royal French Coins

The other 'foreign' coinage found in a small number of hoards from the French Plantagenet lands are the royal French *deniers*. These were the coins minted by the King of France, produced at a number of mints throughout the French royal domain.

Fig. 26 – Hoards containing royal French *deniers*



Only nine percent of the hoards found from the French Plantagenet lands contain royal French coins, which were thus by no means a significant coinage within Plantagenet France. However, the finds prove that they did occasionally cross the Capetian/Plantagenet frontier. Table five below outlines the details of each of the hoards plotted on the map above. Some of the hoards have been dated to outside my date range (c.1150-1200) but include Angevin *deniers*, and so I have deemed these hoards relevant for study as they may initially have been assembled during the period of concern.

Table 5 – Coin hoards containing royal French deniers

Hoard name (location)	Region	Date of burial	Number of coins in hoard	Percentage of royal French deniers	Other coin types in the hoard
Dreux	Normandy/Ile de France	c.1140-1150	3,000	32%	Normandy, Saint-Martin of Tours, Chartres, Vendôme, Châteaudun, Dreux, Nogent-le-Roi, Fulk Angevin, Corbie, Troyes
Nogent-le-Rotrou	Perche	c.1140-1150	1,678	1.5%	Chartres, Châteaudun, Saint-Martin of Tours, Angevin, Issoudun, Gien, Guingamp, Brittany, Provins
Massay (the port)	Berry	1152-1160	4,103	0.9%	Brittany, Guingamp, Angevin, Saint-Martin of Tours, Blois, Chartres, Châteaudun, Romorantin, Deols, Issoudun, Gien, Sancerre, Vierzon, Saint-Aignan, Souvigny, St Martial of Limoges, Angouleme, Melgueil, Tournus Provins, Meaux, Lucca
Aviron (Saint-Michel)	Normandy	1180-1205	400	Not specified	Le Mans, Fulk Angevin, Guingamp, Saint-Martin of Tours, English short cross
Bourges	Berry	1181-1182	c.1840	Not specified	Deols, Fulk Angevin, Cluny, Saint-Martin of Tours
Chabonais	Aquitaine	1189-1196	29	24%	Marche, Sancerre, Valence, Vienne, Champagne, Lyon, Souvigny, Guingamp, Poitou, Aquitaine
Hottot-en-Auge	Normandy	c.1200-1205	c.4,000	Not specified	Saint-Martin of Tours, Châteaudun, Vendôme, Fulk Angevin, Le Mans, Gien, Deols, Nevers, Souvigny, Bourbon, Soisson, Brittany, Guingamp, English short cross
Lavaur	Gascony	1205-1223	c.1000	Not specified	Toulouse, Melgueil, Saint-Martin of Tours
Béganne	Brittany	1206-1213	1,200-1,500	0.8-1%	Saint-Martin of Tours, Fulk Angevin, Gien, Guingamp, English short cross
Saint-Michel-en-l'herm	Poitou	1206-1213	1,727	1.4%	Saint-Martin of Tours, Fulk Angevin, Guingamp, Brittany, Gien, English short cross, Scotland
Vallon-Sur-Gée	Maine	1206-1207	5,828	0.02%	Saint-Martin of Tours, Le Mans, Fulk Angevin, Guingamp, Brittany, Châteaudun, Vendôme, Chartres, Gien, Issoudun, Deols, Melle, Poitou, St Martial of Limoges, Angouleme, Bexançon, Cluny, Bourgogne, Nevers, Aquitaine, Normandy, Souvigny, Sancerre, Troyes, English sterling, Scotland

The majority of the hoards containing royal French *deniers* date to the early-thirteenth century. The composition of the hoards dating to the early 1200s is fairly standard, generally including the coin types which make up a typical Angevin hoard (usually the *deniers* minted at Angers, Guingamp, Saint-Martin of Tours and Le Mans), but with some

royal French *deniers* included as well. For example, the hoard found at Béganne in Brittany has been dated to 1206 X 1213 but includes some Angevin coinages: the anonymous *deniers* of Saint-Martin of Tours, Fulk Angevin *deniers*, as well as those of Guingamp and English Short Cross sterlings. By all accounts this hoard is typical of an 'Angevin' hoard dating to the last few decades of the twelfth century, the only difference being the inclusion of royal French *deniers* which could very well reflect the spread of Capetian influence in the French Plantagenet lands north of the Loire following the conquest of Normandy by Philip Augustus in 1204.⁶⁷⁵ Another instance is seen with the hoard of Saint-Michel en l'herm which has a similar composition to the Béganne hoard, with a combination of Angevin coinages (including some English Short Cross sterling and Scottish coins) and royal French *deniers*. The hoards found at Vallon-sur-Gée, Hottot-en-Auge, and Aviron all follow the same pattern as those already mentioned, being composed of 'Angevin' coinages and royal French *deniers*. Although the numbers of royal French *deniers* within the hoards is not always known, it seems that they did not make up the majority of the coins, even after 1204. The Saint-Michel-en-l'herm hoard, for example, contains only twenty-five royal French *deniers* (1.4%) out of the 1,727 coins.

For the period before the Capetian conquest of Normandy, the number of hoards containing royal French *deniers* is low. Two hoards date to slightly before Henry Plantagenet's accession as king; Nogent-le-Rotrou and Dreux, which both date to c.1140 X 1150. Nogent-le-Rotrou has a similar composition to the hoards discussed above. However, the hoard has been dated to c.1140 X 1150 and not to the early-thirteenth century because of the presence of various datable royal French *deniers*. The hoard found at Dreux is the largest find of royal French *deniers*. Dreux was on the Normandy Capetian frontier and its composition does seem to reflect this. It was made up of some Angevin coinages as well as a single Normandy *denier*, which had not yet been replaced by the Angevin *denier*, together with some royal French *deniers* comprising almost a third of the hoard. The number of coin hoards containing royal French *deniers* during the period of Henry Plantagenet's rule (1150-1189) is significantly lower than for the early-

⁶⁷⁵ Power, 'Angevin Normandy', pp. 63-86; Sir Maurice Powicke, *The Loss of Normandy 1189-1204: Studies in the History of the Angevin Empire* (Manchester 1961).

thirteenth century, the implication being that the Capetian and Angevin coinages were kept mostly apart. The distribution of the hoards is also different, with all them being found along the Capetian/Plantagenet frontier, apart from a single hoard found towards Limoges at Chabanais. This suggests that there was not any significant circulation of royal French *deniers* within the Plantagenet domains. The hoards found on the frontiers could reflect the interactions that individuals living in these areas enjoyed across the political divide, necessitating access to Plantagenet and Capetian coinages.⁶⁷⁶ The hoard found at Chabanais in Aquitaine dates to c.1189 X 1196 and looks like a standard Aquitanian hoard containing a mix of the local coinages of Aquitaine and Poitou. It is unusual to find Guingamp *deniers* in hoards south of the Loire, but this hoard contains only one. There are also seven *deniers* of Paris minted in the name of King Louis VII of France, which might have entered Aquitaine when Louis was married to Eleanor of Aquitaine and lay claim the title as Duke of Aquitaine.

What the hoard evidence reveals is that royal French *deniers* were not found in large numbers within the French Plantagenet lands during the twelfth century. This divide between the Capetian and Angevin currencies was helped by the fact that the royal French *deniers* were minted to completely different weight standards from those of the Angevin and Aquitanian coinages, so any kind of exchange between them would have been far from straightforward. Daniel Power has argued that Henry Plantagenet successfully maintained a separation between the aristocracies of Capetian France and those from the Plantagenet domains, by preventing marriage alliances across the Norman frontier.⁶⁷⁷ Such deliberate separation appears to have carried through to the coinage. Even in the early-thirteenth century when the Capetians gained control of Normandy, Maine, Touraine and Anjou, the royal French *deniers* did not see a significant increase in usage. Instead, Philip Augustus adopted the *tournois deniers* as his 'official' coinage in the region: a coin already in use in Normandy.⁶⁷⁸

⁶⁷⁶ Daniel Power, 'French and Norman Frontiers in the Central Middle Ages', in *Frontiers in Question: Eurasian Borderlands, 700-1700*, ed. Daniel Power and Naimi Standen (London 1999), pp. 120-1.

⁶⁷⁷ Power, *The Norman Frontier*, pp. 224-263.

⁶⁷⁸ Cook, 'En Monnaie', pp. 190, 625, 651-2; Delisle, 'Des revenus publics en Normandie'; Dumas, 'Les monnaies Normandes', 99-100; Spufford, *Money and its Use*, p. 192.

The Hoard Evidence: Overview

The hoard evidence points very clearly to there being two separate zones of circulation for the Angevin and Aquitanian coinages, with neither overlapping to any significant extent beyond Poitou. Whilst there are finds of southern coinages north of the Loire, and vice versa, the general trend revealed by the hoards is that the Angevin coinages circulated chiefly north of the Loire, whilst their Aquitanian equivalents were regionally diverse, generally known only in the south, and preserved in fewer (reported) hoards. Before the 1180s, the English sterling was not found in significant numbers within the French Plantagenet lands. Only after Henry Plantagenet's death in 1189, less than a decade after the 1180 monetary reforms, do the hoards begin to reflect the increased movement of English Short Cross sterling into the French Plantagenet lands. The hoard evidence appears to reflect the divide between the Plantagenet lands north and south of the Loire that has been argued for by both Nicholas Vincent in his studies of the charters, and Daniel Power in his work on Angevin Normandy.⁶⁷⁹ However, as the hoard evidence provides a less than comprehensive picture of daily coin use, it is necessary to look at whether the circulation patterns are reflected in the single find evidence before any firm conclusions can be drawn.

The Single Find Evidence

A single find, also known as an isolated find, is defined as a coin found in a context which shows it was lost or buried alone. A single find is generally considered to be a coin that was lost accidentally whilst being used by the owner, as opposed to having been intentionally deposited somewhere as a hoard.⁶⁸⁰ Single find evidence is often used to study the circulation patterns of coins, as it is believed to more reliably reflect the coins

⁶⁷⁹ Nicholas Vincent, 'La Normandie dans les chartes du roi Henri II (1154-1189): archives, intentions et conséquences', in *911-2011*, in *Penser les normands médiévaux: Actes du colloque international de Caen et Cerisy (29 septembre - 2 octobre 2011)*, eds. David Bates and Pierre Bauduin, (Caen 2016), pp. 405-428; Vincent, 'Les Normands de l'entourage d'Henri II Plantagenêt', pp. 75-88; Vincent, 'King Henry and the Poitevins', pp. 103-135; Vincent, 'The Plantagenets and the Agenais', pp. 417-56; Power, 'French and Norman Frontiers', pp. 108-110; Power, *The Norman Frontier*.

⁶⁸⁰ Cuddeford, 'Single Coin Finds', 137-142; Moesgaard, 'Single finds as evidence', p. 228; Blackburn, 'Productive' Sites and the Pattern of Coin Loss', p. 23.

in daily use rather than the coins intentionally removed from circulation to form hoards. However, single find data relies on hoard evidence for the suggested date ranges of any coins found. Unlike hoards, where the context of each individual find is important, single finds are most valuable when studied alongside others, as only significant quantities of data permit patterns to be identified. There is, however, a level of unreliability when using single finds, as a coin is most likely to be lost whilst in use and therefore it is possible that the single finds actually show the circulation patterns of the coins used most frequently, rather than supplying an accurate representation of the currency at any given time.⁶⁸¹ Furthermore, the location where a single find has been discovered may not necessarily be the location at which it entered the ground. For example, Michael Cuddeford has argued that farming and the movement of earth as part of waste management or manuring could result in coins being moved away from their original location, thereby distorting single find patterns.⁶⁸²

Jens Christian Moesgaard has carried out a study of 153 single finds in Europe (mainly Scandinavia, England and France) to explore the advantages and disadvantages of single finds as evidence for coin circulation in the Middle Ages.⁶⁸³ Like Cuddeford, Moesgaard acknowledges that coins could be moved in modern times, by ploughing or building work, which can sometimes cause confusion over whether a cluster of single finds are 'cumulative finds' (i.e. several coins found at one site but in individual archaeological contexts), or a hoard that has been dispersed, for example by ploughing. Precisely what seems to have happened with the hoard of Lessay. Other events that occurred during the medieval period might have a similar disruptive effect, such as the movement of soil as a result of fire or waste management.⁶⁸⁴ Another possible reason for a hoard to be dispersed could be rot or mice eating through the fabric bags keeping a hoard together, resulting in coins being found outside of the hoard, which was the case with a hoard of Bjæverskov (Sealand, Denmark).⁶⁸⁵ The only way to distinguish cumulative finds from a

⁶⁸¹ Cuddeford, 'Single Coin Finds', 137-142; Rory Naismith, 'The English Monetary Economy, c.973-1100: the Contribution of Single Finds', *The Economic History Review*, 66:1 (2013), 200.

⁶⁸² Cuddeford, 'Single Coin Finds', p. 142; Moesgaard, 'Single Finds as Evidence', pp. 243-4.

⁶⁸³ Moesgaard, 'Single Finds as Evidence', pp. 228-275.

⁶⁸⁴ Moesgaard, 'Single Finds as Evidence', p. 229; Andrews, *Coin Hoarding in Medieval England and Wales*, pp. 197-8.

⁶⁸⁵ Moesgaard, 'Single Finds as Evidence', p. 242.

dispersed hoard is the archaeological context. The different contexts in which the coins were found - for example if they were in a grave, placed in a well or somewhere within a building - could have been, as Moesgaard labels them, 'ritually motivated burials'.⁶⁸⁶ Alternately, a single high-value coin that was hidden somewhere near a dwelling could be the owner's savings, very different from either a ritually motivated burial or a coin lost accidentally.⁶⁸⁷ Moesgaard's conclusion is that single finds are most valuable when we have the full archaeological context. Unfortunately, despite Michael Dolley's pleas for the inclusion of archaeological details in all reports of numismatic finds in the 1960s, this has only become common practice in the last few decades so the majority of single finds are lacking any description of their archaeological context.⁶⁸⁸ Nevertheless, thanks to the increased interest in single finds, by both archaeologists and metal detectorists, there is a lot more single find data available which can be used to study the levels of monetisation of a society, variations in monetary activity, the composition of the currency and the distribution patterns of a mint or coin issue.⁶⁸⁹ In England the popularity of metal detecting as a hobby has revealed a large quantity of new single find data which is recorded and available to access on the Portable Antiquities Scheme (PAS) or Early Medieval Corpus (EMC) databases.⁶⁹⁰ The PAS is an invaluable resource as it provides location and archaeological context data for all reported single finds of coins in England. The utility of the data made available through PAS and how it can add to our knowledge of coinage and monetisation during a particular period can be seen from Richard Kelleher's thesis on 'Coins, Monetisation and Re-use in Medieval England and Wales'.⁶⁹¹ Unfortunately, due to metal detecting being illegal in France, it has been extremely difficult to put together any single find data for examining the coinage in the French Plantagenet lands. Illegal metal detecting does still happen in France, but any

⁶⁸⁶ Moesgaard, *Single Finds as Evidence*, pp. 228-275.

⁶⁸⁷ Moesgaard, 'Single Finds as Evidence', pp. 230, 240.

⁶⁸⁸ Moesgaard, 'Single Finds as Evidence', p. 241; Michael Dolley, 'The Coins and Jettons; the Roman Coins; the English Coins; the Anglo-Irish Coins; the Continental Coins; the Uncertain Coins; the Jettons; the Coins from J.S. Wachter's Excavations', in *Excavations in Medieval Southampton 1953-1969*, ed. Platt, Colin (Leicester 1975), p. 316.

⁶⁸⁹ Moesgaard, 'Single Finds as Evidence', pp. 234-5.

⁶⁹⁰ Naismith, 'The English Monetary Economy', P. 200; Lecroere, "There is None so Blind as those who won't see", pp. 182-193; *Portable Antiquities Scheme*: <https://finds.org.uk/> (accessed 29/07/2024); *Early Medieval Corpus*: <https://emc.fitzmuseum.cam.ac.uk/> (accessed 29/07/2024).

⁶⁹¹ Kelleher, 'Coins, Monetisation and Re-use in medieval England and Wales'.

coin finds tend to go unreported, because to report them would be to place the finder at risk of prosecution.⁶⁹² Some French numismatists have cultivated connections with illicit metal detectorists as a way of gaining knowledge of coin finds in the area, but any details, such as find location and context, go unrecorded, to ensure the anonymity of the finder. Using such data thus raises ethical problems.

The majority of the single finds available for study in France are limited to coins discovered as part of excavations carried out during preventative archaeological digs. Due to the generosity of colleagues at CRAHAM, at the Université de Caen, in sharing their data, I have been able to include details of 258 relevant single finds in this study.⁶⁹³ Of these coins, 164 of them (64%) were revealed during archaeological excavations, four were from private collections, three were “chance finds whilst gardening”, five are recorded as finds through metal detecting, and for the remaining eighty-two we have no details on the context in which they were found.⁶⁹⁴ By contrast, a basic search of the PAS database for England reveals 2,584 coin finds dating to the reign of Henry Plantagenet as King of England (1154-1189), the majority of which have precise details of where and when they were found by metal detectorists.⁶⁹⁵

⁶⁹² Moesgaard, ‘Single Finds as Evidence’, p. 232.

⁶⁹³ This data will be available as part of the NUMMUS 2 project currently being worked on by colleagues at CRAHAM which will be published soon: <https://cnrs.hal.science/CRAHAM/hal-04273946v1>

⁶⁹⁴ See appendix two for full details of single finds.

⁶⁹⁵ *Portable Antiquities Scheme*:
<https://finds.org.uk/database/search/results/ruler/201/objecttype/COIN/broadperiod/MEDIEVAL>
(Accessed: 23.01.23)

Fig. 27 - Locations of single finds of Angevin coinages (Saint-Martin of Tours – Yellow, Le Mans – Pink, Guingamp – Orange, Angers – Purple, Châteaudun – green, Vendôme – grey, English sterling – blue)

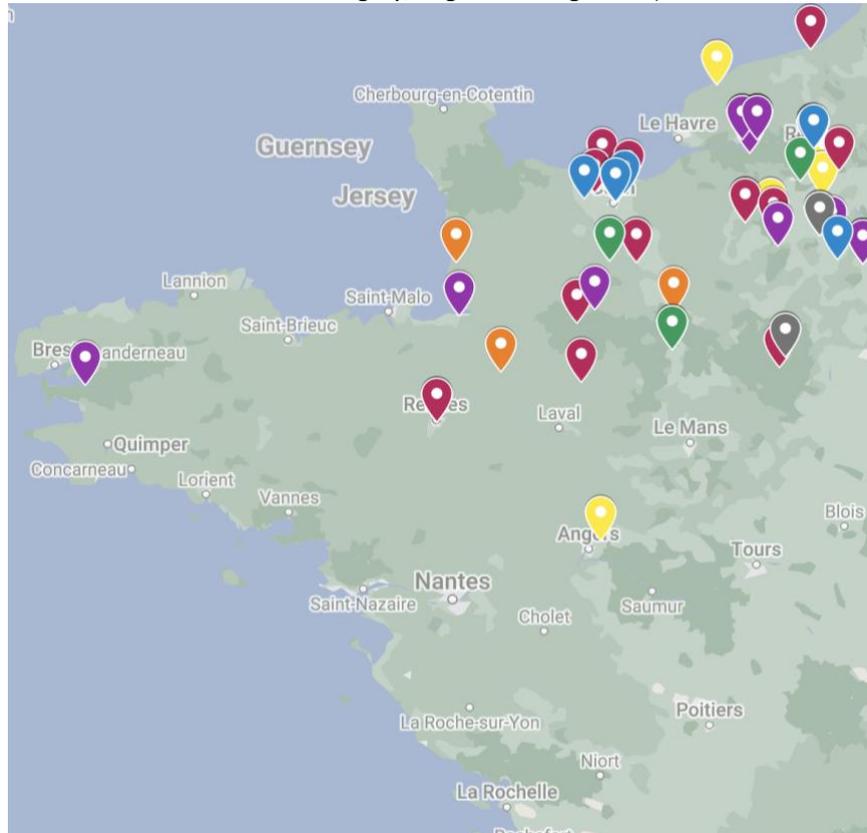


Figure twenty-seven shows the locations of all relevant single finds reported to CRAHAM. As the Université de Caen is located in Normandy the majority of the coins were found within the greater Normandy region, thanks to the connections CRAHAM has established with archaeologists in the area. There are four finds from beyond Normandy, which were discovered at Rennes, Angers, Landevennec, and near Brest in Brittany. I have no single find data for any of the Aquitanian coinages or for any areas south of the Loire. Because of these limitations it is almost impossible to establish with any certainty whether the distribution patterns shown in map twenty-six accurately depict the circulation of coin types throughout the French Plantagenet lands. Furthermore, as the majority of the single finds were discovered during excavations, the data-set is distorted to show primarily those areas where most excavations have taken place, not necessarily where coins were most used in the twelfth-century. After taking into account all of these caveats, the distribution patterns of the Angevin coin types, at least on the surface, does appear to correlate with the patterns shown in the hoard data.

Table 6 – Details of cumulative finds of coins

Single find location	Angers	Tours	Le Mans	Guingamp	Châteaudun	Royal French	Other
Ivry-la-Bataille	2	1	1	1		1	
Merovingian Necropolis, Louviers		2					
La Ferriere Sebecourt	3		3				
'Basiliqu' Vieil-Evreux	1						1 Chartres, 1 Dreux
Metro, Palais de Justice Rouen	2	2	2			1	2 Rouen, 2 Provins, 3 Chartres
Ducal palace, Fecamp		1					1 Dreux
Castle, Vatteville la rue	1	2		1			
Abbey St Georges at Saint-Martin de Boscherville						1	
Castle, Notre-dame-de-Gravench	2	1	1				2 Rouen
Rue des Charettes/ Gare Routiers		1	1	1			
Castle wall, Bretoncelles			1				1 Vendome
Rue St Leonard Beaumont-le roger		3				4	
Great Cemetery, Colombiers	1		3		2		
Priere castral Saint-Symphorien, Domfront						4	
Le Vieux Chateau, Vatteville-la-rue	1		2				
Maison-forte Cany-Barville						7	
La Pommeraye Chateau Ganne			4		2		2 Rouen
Caen Castle	5	7	14		1		5 England, 2 Gien
Montoir-Poissonerie Caen		1	1				
Abbaye saint-Guenole, Landevennec	1					1	
Place Saint-Germain, Rennes		2	2				
Chateau mayenne			2				1 Nantes
La Fontaine Saint-Denis		1					2 Rouen
Leproserie saint-Thomas, Aizier	1		1				1 Chartres

As is shown in table six there are multiple instances where a single site offered up more than one single find. When multiple coins were found, it appears that the coins were not usually all the same type, but generally a mixture of coin types with the coins which were found together in hoards also being found at cumulative find sites. The largest number of coins discovered in one location was at the castle of Caen during multiple archaeological excavations there between 1957 and 2005. In various parts of the castle these unearthed thirty-six coins in total, including those minted at Angers, Tours, Le Mans, Châteaudun, Gien and in England. In order to analyse the single find data as fully as possible it is necessary to look at each coin type individually as has already been done for the hoard data.

Fig. 28 – Locations of single finds of Angevin deniers

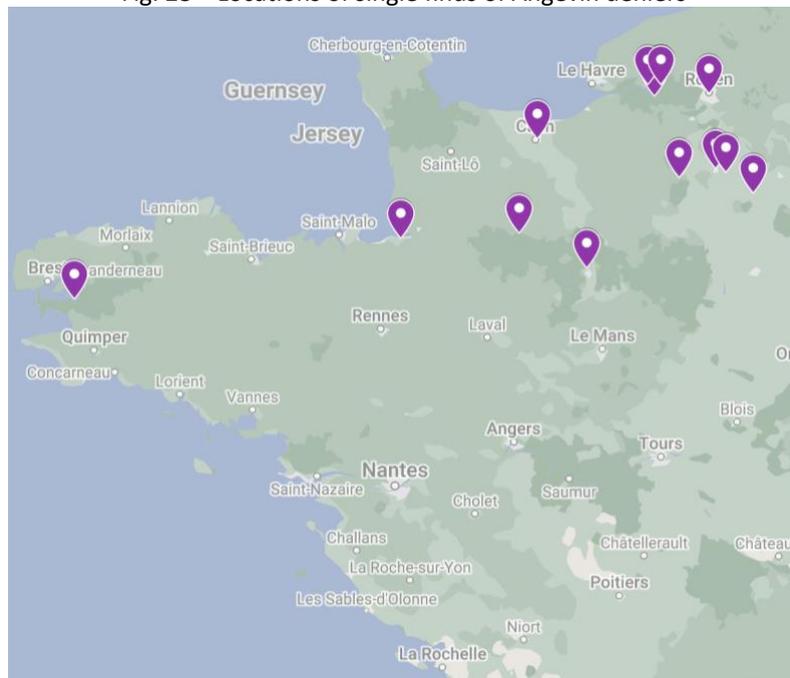
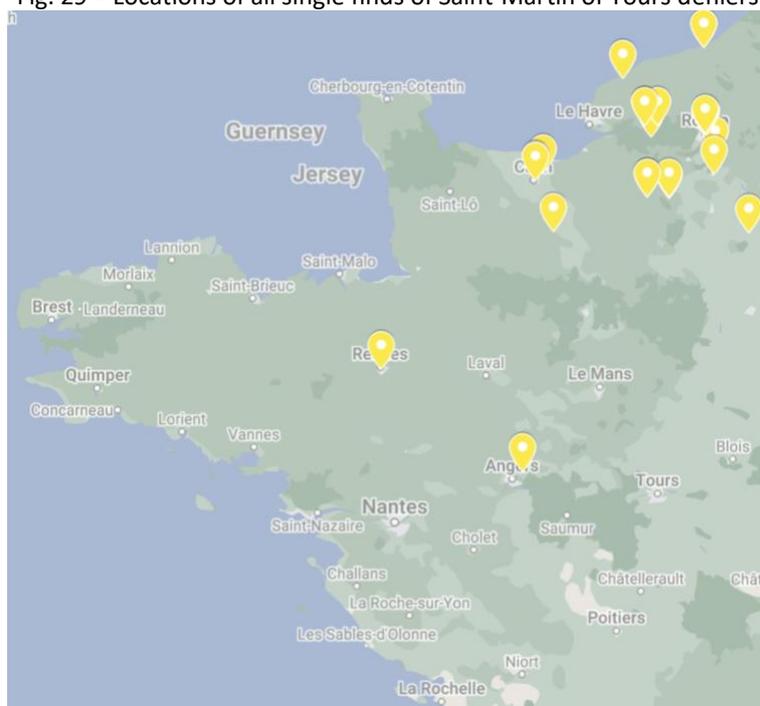


Figure twenty-eight shows the locations of every single find of *deniers* minted at Angers that has been reported to CRAHAM. All of the finds are located in Normandy apart from one find on the western coast of Brittany, near Brest. There is a cluster of three single finds along the course of the Seine river, leading from the coast towards Rouen. The location of the finds along the Seine could possibly imply they were lost whilst trade was taking place, or by those travelling to or from Rouen. The cluster of finds to the south of Rouen are in the vicinity of Evreux, an important cathedral town in the twelfth century. Two of the finds were made at the site of abbeys: at Landévennec on the Breton coast,

and Mont-Saint-Michel on the Norman-Breton frontier. As has been discussed in chapters two and four, abbeys would have had access to coins and were involved in trade and collecting tolls and dues, so it is possible these coins were lost during similar transactions. Overall, the single find data for the Angevin deniers does seem to support the pattern shown by the hoards for their use throughout the duchy of Normandy and duchy of Brittany.

Fig. 29 – Locations of all single finds of Saint-Martin of Tours deniers



The single find data for the *deniers* minted at Saint-Martin of Tours shown in figure twenty-nine is slightly surprising, as none of the single finds are located within the Touraine. Indeed, all but two are found in north-western Normandy. Given that the hoard evidence shows that the Saint-Martin of Tours *deniers* were present in Touraine as well as in Anjou, Maine and Brittany, it is highly likely that the lack of single finds in the area is the result of the limitations of data and not evidence that the *tournois deniers* were not used in their local area. Three single finds of *tournois* have been made along the Seine in the same locations as the Angevin deniers discussed above, suggesting that the two coin types were in use in the area. Most of the remaining finds of *tournois deniers* have been made in towns already established by the twelfth century (Rouen, Caen, Rennes, Falaise, Dieppe, Fécamp, Louviers) again possibly implying that the coins

were lost whilst being exchanged at fairs or markets. Once again, the pattern shown by the single finds supports that derived from the hoard evidence for *tournois deniers*.

Fig. 30 – Locations of single finds of Le Mans deniers

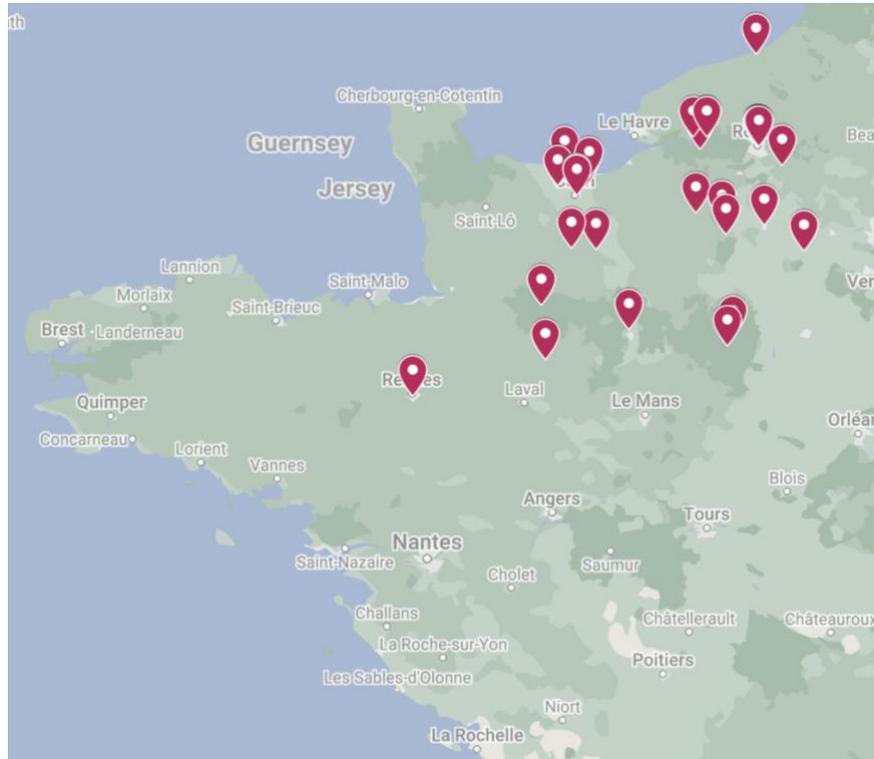


Figure thirty shows the locations of single finds of *deniers* minted at Le Mans, and the first point to note is that the number of finds of the *mansois denier* is higher than that for any of the other Angevin coinages. The distribution of finds is also more evenly spread throughout Normandy, although the density of finds is highest around Caen, Rouen and the valley of the Seine. The *mansois denier* was the highest-value Angevin coin so it is possible that it was the preferred coin to pay rents and taxes, or that those travelling to or from a market preferred carrying *mansois deniers* because they could thus transport greater wealth with fewer coins. This is of course entirely speculative, but might explain the higher number of finds. Alternatively this could be put down simply to chance. Regardless, the single find data once again reveals similar distribution patterns (at least in Normandy) to those derived from the hoard data.

Fig. 31 – Locations of single finds of Guingamp deniers

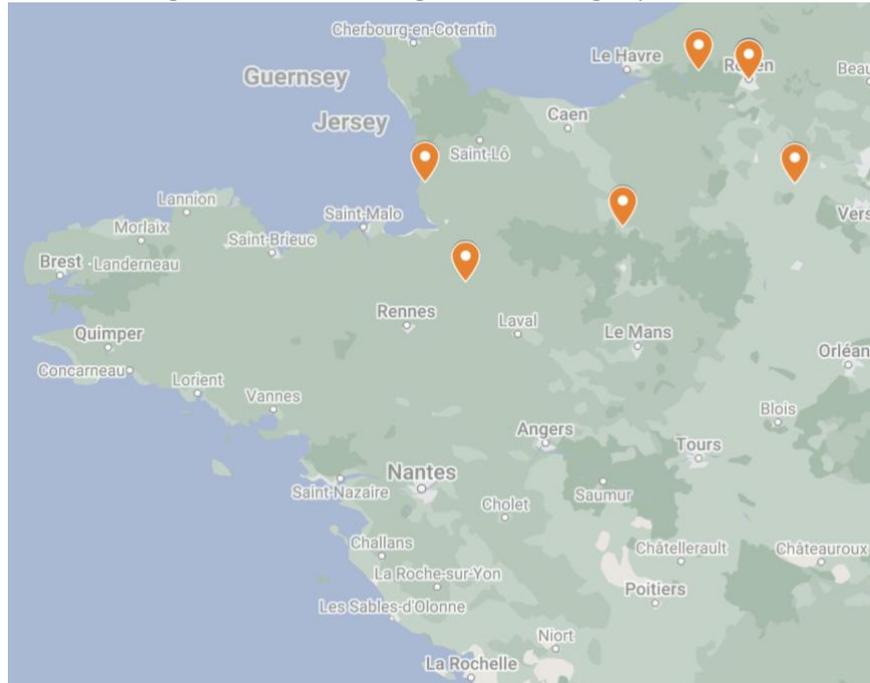


Figure thirty-one shows the locations of single finds of the Guingamp *denier*. This shows not a single coin found in Brittany, most likely because the only data available is for Normandy. It does, however, confirm that the Guingamp *deniers* spread from Brittany into Normandy, reaching at least as far as Rouen. They are not found in particularly high numbers, but nevertheless the data does suggest that they were actively in use throughout the duchy of Normandy and were not just simply acquired there for the purposes of hoarding.

Fig. 32 – locations of Châteaudun (green) and Vendôme (grey) deniers

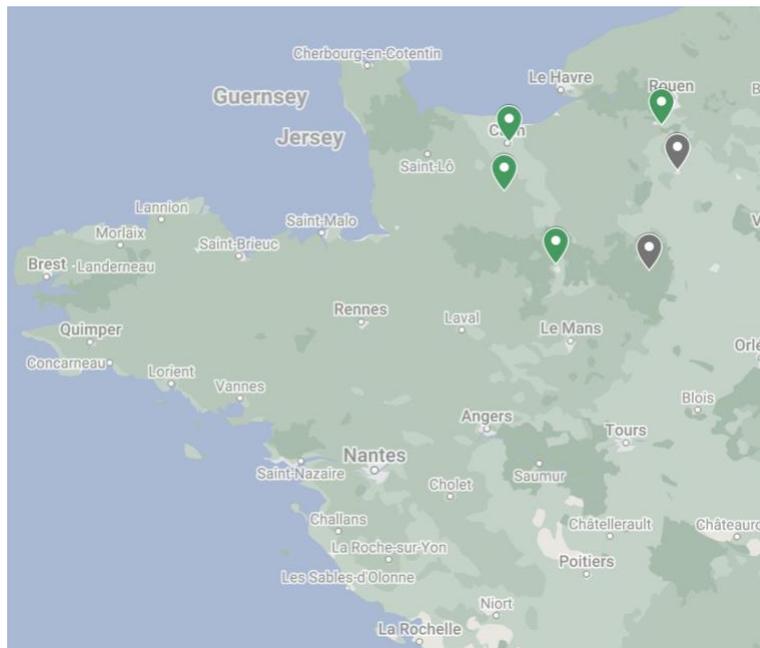
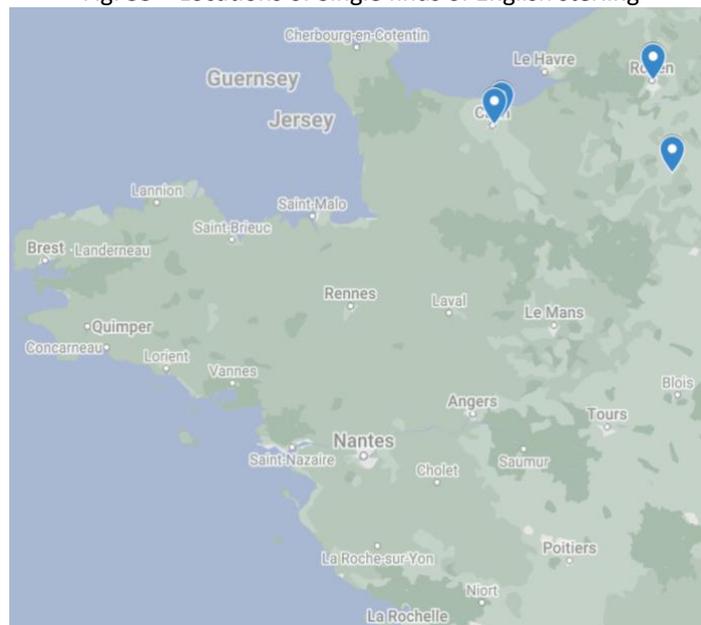


Figure thirty-two shows the locations of single finds of the *deniers* minted at Châteaudun and Vendôme. Both *deniers* have been found in Normandy, at Caen, Évreux, Elbeuf and near to Clécy, Alençon and Nogent-le-Rotrou. There are few such finds, despite the coins' substantial presence in the hoard data. This possibly suggests that they were hoarded rather than being used in day-to-day transactions, but most likely this pattern is simply due to the lack of data available.

Fig. 33 - Locations of Single finds of English sterling



As figure thirty-three shows, there are only six reported single finds of English sterling, found in four separate locations across the French Plantagenet lands. One of these coins, which was found in the canal at Caen, has been identified as a Short Cross coin. Two others, found during excavations at the Castle in Caen, have been identified as Cross and Crosslets. The remaining three coins remain unidentified. All of the six single finds are from Normandy, four at Caen and one from Rouen. The small number here could be due to the high value of the English sterling compared to all other Angevin coinages. Due to the limited number of coin finds it is not possible to comment on whether the locations of these coin finds reflects where they were used most during the twelfth century, although we might note that Rouen and Caen were effectively the duchy's twin 'capitals'. Even the fact that all the coin finds were in Normandy is to be treated with circumspection, since Normandy, unfortunately, is our only source of reliable single find data.

There is only one single find of a *parisis denier* which may date to within Henry Plantagenet's lifetime (1150-1189), found just outside Caen. This particular coin is incredibly worn, so it is not possible to determine which type of the *parisis denier* it is and hence to date it. As it is, this coin could have been found at any point between 1180 and 1223. There are twelve other reported single finds of *parisis deniers*, but all of these coins were minted between 1191 and 1223, after Henry's death. It is therefore likely that our single find also dates to after 1204, to a period when *parisis deniers* were more easily exchanged within the former French Plantagenet lands.⁶⁹⁶ The very limited single find evidence available means that there is very little else that can be concluded other than that, as with the hoard evidence, the single finds suggest that the royal French deniers were not in circulation within the French Plantagenet lands during the twelfth century.

As already mentioned it is difficult to draw any firm conclusions from the single find data due to the limited number of finds and their geographical sparsity. But from the

⁶⁹⁶ Cook, 'En Monnaie', p. 669; Mayhew, *Coinage in France from the Dark Ages to Napoleon*, pp. 33-4; Bompaire and Dumas, *Numismatique Medievale*, p. 17.

evidence available it appears that the single find data supports the circulation patterns found in the hoards. Despite the evidential limitations it does seem that the single finds are mostly found close to towns, which were locations in which trade could take place. They also seem to follow the valley of the Seine, at least to a certain extent. It could be the case, however, that building work in towns and cities means that these are simply the areas where single finds are most likely to be discovered during preventative excavations. What the single finds do reveal is that the patterns shown by the hoard evidence, for the various Angevin coinages mixing with each other, was most likely also true of the currency more generally in use. The Angevin coinages circulated across the same regions, north of the Loire, with little evidence of particular coinages being restricted solely to their own region of minting.

Conclusions

From the hoard and single find data for the French Plantagenet lands during the twelfth century, it becomes very clear is that there was no one single unified monetary system in place throughout Henry Plantagenet's French domains. The numismatic data instead points to the existence of an Angevin monetary system in the duchy of Normandy and county of Anjou, encompassing all of the Plantagenet lands north of the river Loire. The duchy of Brittany was, to some extent part of this Angevin monetary system, since the *guingamp denier*, which was the primary coinage of Brittany during the second half of the twelfth century, was easily exchanged with the Angevin coinages and has been found across the French Plantagenet lands north of the Loire. The Angevin coinages also appear to have crossed into Brittany with ease. After 1180, the English sterling became part of this Angevin monetary system, as the change in their standards as a result of the 1180 monetary reforms brought them into line with Henry's continental coinage, making them easier to exchange.

In the regions south of the Loire, however, the coinage differed entirely. The dominant coinages of the duchy of Aquitaine were minted to completely different standards to those of the Angevin or English coinages, and whilst the Aquitanian coins could be exchanged easily with one another, there is no evidence for any set ratio or exchange

rate existing between the coinages north and south of the Loire. Within the duchy of Aquitaine there also appears to have been a distinction between the coins found most often in central Aquitaine and those found further south, towards Toulouse and Gascony. All of the numismatic evidence available for the duchy of Aquitaine comes from the published records of hoards, and it has not been possible to gain details of any single finds or unpublished hoards discovered more recently. Our conclusions about the Aquitanian coinage under Henry Plantagenet must therefore remain more tentative than for the Angevin coinages. A few studies focus on the coinage in Aquitaine, but they generally with the thirteenth century, which is beyond the chronological scope of this thesis.⁶⁹⁷ The lack of single find date for Aquitaine makes it is impossible to comment on whether the coins found in the hoards were also the dominant coins within the circulating currency. The single finds for the Angevin coinages do support the hoard evidence, so it is likely that the same would be the case for the Aquitanian coinages, but until the evidence becomes available it is impossible to prove this.

The numismatic evidence points to the Loire acting as a dividing line between the Angevin and Aquitanian coinages, and the fact that this was the boundary between the duchy of Normandy and duchy of Aquitaine can certainly be no coincidence. Daniel Power has argued that, under the Plantagenets, contemporaries often referred to the lands 'this side of the Loire' and those 'beyond the Loire', a distinction now reflected in the circulation patterns of the Angevin and Aquitanian coinages.⁶⁹⁸ The chapter that follows will examine the charter evidence to explore whether this division between the coinages is apparent only from the numismatic evidence, or observable as part of a wider evidential trend.

⁶⁹⁷ Sozzi, 'La Monnaie en Aquitaine'; Withers, *Anglo-Gallic Coins*.

⁶⁹⁸ Power, 'French and Norman frontiers', p. 110 citing: Roger of Howden, *Chronica Magistri V III*, p 259; *Œvres de Rigord et de Guillaume le Breton*, ed. H.F. Delaborde (Paris 1882-5), II, pp. 167-9.

Chapter 6 – Coinage in the French Plantagenet lands: the Charter Evidence

The purpose of this chapter is to examine the evidence found in the charters, for the distribution of coin types throughout the French Plantagenet lands. Chapter four explored the evidence for the uses of money and coinage recorded in the written sources, so this chapter will only be seeking occasions when the coin type is specified in the charters, ignoring how precisely the money or coin was being used. The preceding chapter has analysed the numismatic data, showing that there was a distinct disjunction between the Angevin and Aquitanian coinages, with very little overlap between the coin types found north and south of the Loire. What this chapter seeks to establish is whether the distribution of coin types traced from the numismatic evidence carried over into the charter evidence, or if the coin types requested in the charters differed from those found in the hoards or as single finds.

The charters used in this chapter were selected from published collections and ecclesiastical cartularies. A key source is *The letters and charters of Henry II*, published in 2020 by Nicholas Vincent, which brought together 3,016 documents from 286 archives across the United Kingdom, France and the United States.⁶⁹⁹ Of the 3,016 documents in this collection seventy-two percent were issued to English beneficiaries, the remaining twenty-eight percent of charters predominantly to Norman beneficiaries (sixty-nine percent), with only a small number for beneficiaries in Anjou, Touraine and Maine, and even fewer for beneficiaries in the duchy of Aquitaine.⁷⁰⁰ In order to redress the regional imbalance to Henry Plantagenet's charters, I have also examined published cartularies which contain copies of charters preserved by ecclesiastical institutions located within the French Plantagenet lands, as well as collections of lay charters such as *the Charters of Constance of Brittany and her family*.⁷⁰¹ By not limiting the charters included in this study to those issued by Henry Plantagenet it has been possible to put together a data-

⁶⁹⁹ Nicholas Vincent, 'Introduction' in *The Letters and Charters of Henry II: King of England 1154-1189* (Oxford, 2020), pp. 5-6.

⁷⁰⁰ Vincent, 'Introduction', pp. 9-10.

⁷⁰¹ *The Charters of Duchess Constance of Brittany*.

set of those that span the entire period of Henry's rule over his French lands (1150-1189) and that, as far as possible, extend beyond the duchy of Normandy. Only the charters which explicitly mention money or coin dated to between c.1150 and c.1189 have been included in this study. As was addressed in chapter four, the majority of the charters which mention money do not specify whether payment was expected in coin. Whilst various charters anticipate payment in a particular coin type, these are in the minority. The evidence available for mapping the use of specific coinages is not as abundant in the charters as the information they provide about the uses of money.⁷⁰²

The majority of the charters that survive are for ecclesiastical beneficiaries. The disproportionate number of ecclesiastical charters is partly due to the circumstances of documentary survival, as different archival practices impacted the chances of a document being preserved. The practice of producing cartularies, for example, has resulted in a large number of ecclesiastical charters surviving. The earliest ecclesiastical cartularies were produced in the early-eleventh century by the Burgundian monks of Saint-Pierre-le-Vif of Sens and Flavigny, followed later on by the monks of Cluny.⁷⁰³ It was not until the 1120s that there was a significant increase in the production of cartularies into which monasteries copied a selection of their original single-sheet charters into codexes or rolls to preserve them as title deeds for posterity.⁷⁰⁴ The survival of lay charters in France was impacted by the 1789 revolution which saw the appropriation of monastic charters for the newly established public archives, and the destruction of aristocratic archives.⁷⁰⁵ In England, by contrast, a large number of lay charters survive partly due to the practice of producing *inspeximuses* from the thirteenth-century, in which later kings issued full recital of earlier charters, thus preserving many produced prior to the thirteenth century.⁷⁰⁶ Additionally, a significant number of English administrative documents were preserved through the chancery and

⁷⁰² See chapters one and four for discussion of distinction between money and coin.

⁷⁰³ Constance B. Bouchard, 'Monastic Cartularies: Organising Eternity', in *Charters, Cartularies, and Archives: The Preservation and Transmission of Documents in the Medieval West*, ed. Adam J. Kosto (Toronto 2002), p. 22.

⁷⁰⁴ Bouchard, 'Monastic Cartularies', p. 23.

⁷⁰⁵ Vincent, 'La Normandie dans les chartes du roi Henri II', pp. 405-428.

⁷⁰⁶ Vincent, 'La Normandie dans les chartes du roi Henri II', p. 410-11; Nicholas Vincent, 'The Charters of King Henry II: the Introduction of the Royal *Inspeximus* Revisited', in *Dating Undated Medieval Charters*, ed. Michael Gervers (Woodbridge 2000), pp. 97-120.

the exchequer in the Pipe Rolls and *Book of Fees*.⁷⁰⁷ In England, monastic charters were lost in large numbers as a result of the Dissolution of the Monasteries in the 1530s which either destroyed or scattered the archives of monastic institutions between private collectors and landowners, these in turn, in many cases, later destroyed during the Civil War of the 1640s.⁷⁰⁸

The chance of survival of a document should always be taken into account when studying the charters, so that it should not be assumed that a lack of surviving documents is evidence that they never existed. Nicholas Vincent has produced a study of the rates of lay and ecclesiastical charter survival in Normandy under the Plantagenets. By comparing the number of lay charters surviving under King John with those of Henry Plantagenet, Vincent estimates that the difference between survival of lay versus ecclesiastical charters was roughly at a ratio of one to four in England or one to seven in Normandy.⁷⁰⁹ As a result, Vincent concludes that up to ninety percent of the charters issued by Henry to lay beneficiaries have been lost.⁷¹⁰ The disparity between the number of Henry's charters surviving for the duchy of Aquitaine as opposed to the duchy of Normandy could likewise be attributed, at least in part, to survival rates. In the case of Aquitaine, however, the significant shortage of surviving charters could also be a result of fewer charters being issued to Aquitanian beneficiaries in the first place, potentially due to the limited integration of Aquitaine into Norman administrative practices.⁷¹¹ Whatever the reason, the fact remains that there are fewer twelfth-century charters surviving from the duchy of Aquitaine than for points further north. It is nonetheless possible to trace various patterns emerging from the charter evidence.

⁷⁰⁷ Vincent, 'La Normandie dans les chartes du roi Henri II', pp. 405-428.

⁷⁰⁸ Vincent, 'La Normandie dans les chartes du roi Henri II', pp. 415-6.

⁷⁰⁹ Vincent, 'La Normandie dans les chartes du roi Henri II', p. 420.

⁷¹⁰ Vincent, 'La Normandie dans les chartes du roi Henri II', p. 418.

⁷¹¹ Vincent 'King Henry and the Poitevins', pp. 103-135.; Charles Bémont, 'Recueil des actes de Henri II, roi d'Angleterre et duc de Normandie, concernant les provinces françaises et les affaires de France', *Bibliothèque de l'École des chartes*, LXXVII (1916), 341-2; J.C. Holt, 'The Acta of Henry II and Richard I of England 1154-1199: The Archive and its Historical Implications', in *Fotografische Sammlungen mittelalterlicher Urkunden in Europa*, ed. P. Ruck (Sigmaringen 1989), pp. 139-140; J.C. Holt, 'The Writs of Henry II', *The History of English Law*, LXXXIX (1995), 55-59.

The Coin Types Found in the Charters

Fig. 34 – Location of beneficiaries of charters referencing coin types
(Purple – English sterling, Blue – Angevin, Green – Rouen, Yellow – Le Mans, Red – Tours, Grey – Usual money)

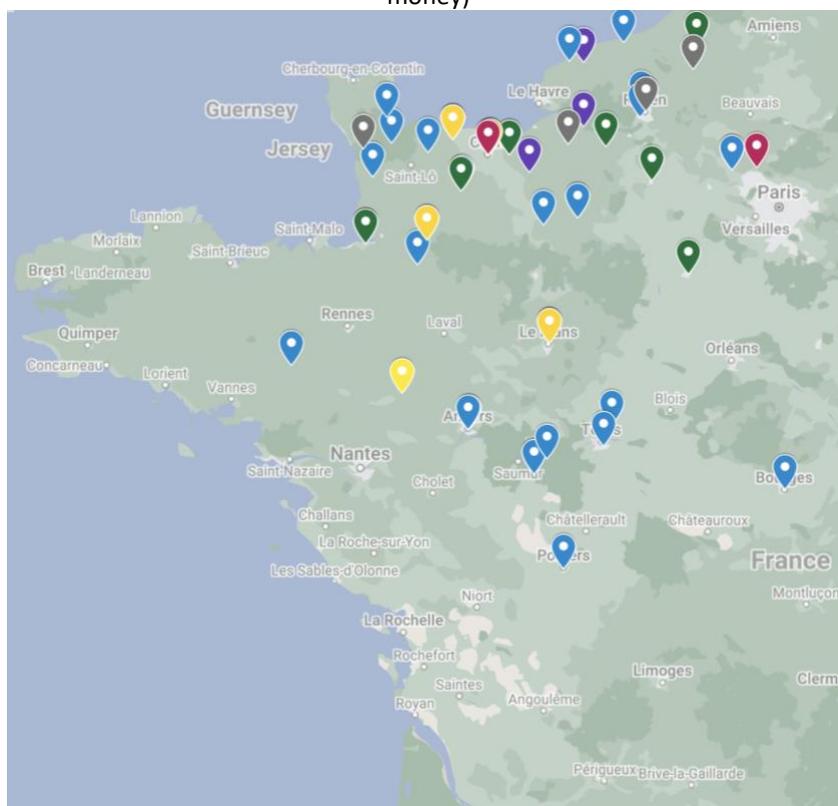


Figure thirty-four above shows the locations of the beneficiaries of charters issued in Henry Plantagenet's name and preserved as part of the Angevin Acta project. As already mentioned, the majority of the beneficiaries of charters issued by Henry in his French lands were ecclesiastical and located within the duchy of Normandy. Beneficiaries receiving charters located beyond the duchy, were generally in or near to key towns such as Angers, Le Mans, Tours, and Poitiers. In most instances the charters issued by Henry request or reference one particular coinage. There are however charters in which this was not the case, with a preferred and alternative coinage both specified. An 1181 charter in the Bayeux cartulary, for example, records an annual payment of 100 *sous* Angevin every year to the abbey's chancellor, but goes on to specify that the total rent owed to the church of Bayeux should be twenty *livres* of Tours or Anjou.⁷¹² In this charter the two coinage options provided were the Angevin and *tournois deniers* which

⁷¹² *Cartularius Ecclesiae Baiocensis*, No. CCLXXIX p. 327.

were of an equivalent value, both of which were found in the duchy of Normandy.⁷¹³ Another example occurs in a charter of Henry issued in 1186 which records an agreement with Margaret, sister of Philip Augustus, king of France, regarding the lands of the Norman Vexin. Margaret, the widow of Henry Plantagenet's eldest son, the Young Henry, renounced her claim to the Vexin in return for a payment of 3,750 *livres* Angevin or, if the Angevin currency was debased, in English sterling.⁷¹⁴ The first point to mention about this charter is that, as in the previous instance, the payment is given in *livres* which, as discussed in chapter three would have been made up of multiple individual *deniers* as *livres* were a money of account and not a minted coin.⁷¹⁵ The second is that although the English sterling was not one of the coinages minted by Henry on the continent, in 1180 an exchange rate of two Angevin *deniers* to one English sterling had been established to enable easier exchange between the two coinages, thus making transactions such as that described here a possibility. The English sterling's high silver content and its stability made it a desirable currency.⁷¹⁶ It was most likely the English sterling's value, its association with Henry, and the its alignment with the Angevin coinage which led to it being requested by Margaret.

The only coin types mentioned in the charters of Henry Plantagenet are those minted at Angers, Le Mans, Tours, Rouen and the English sterling. There are no examples in these particular charters of any of the Aquitanian coinages being specified.⁷¹⁷ The dominance of the coinages minted in the duchy of Normandy, and the lack of beneficiaries from the duchy of Aquitaine, suggests a strong focus, by Henry, on his Norman lands and a lack of integration of the duchy of Aquitaine into Norman practices.⁷¹⁸ Within the Plantagenet lands north of the Loire there do seem to be areas from which no beneficiaries came forward to request charters. The Cathedral Church of Saint Julien in Le Mans, for example, is the only beneficiary within the county of Maine named in Henry's

⁷¹³ See chapter three.

⁷¹⁴ *The Letters and Charters of Henry II*, III, No. 1755 (3087H), pp. 389-90.

⁷¹⁵ See chapter three.

⁷¹⁶ Allen, *Mints and Money in Medieval England*, pp. 134-147, especially pp. 142-146; Grierson, *The Coins of Medieval Europe*, pp. 81-104.

⁷¹⁷ For more detail on coinage of Rouen see chapter three.

⁷¹⁸ Vincent 'King Henry and the Poitevins', pp. 103-135.

charters.⁷¹⁹ Compared to the high number of beneficiaries from Normandy, there are relatively few for Anjou, Maine or Touraine, and virtually none for Brittany. The higher number of charters issued to beneficiaries in Normandy could reflect that Henry spent a large proportion of his time there, and that it was predominantly the Norman people who were willing to travel to Henry's court to request charters from their duke.⁷²⁰ It is also possible, however, that it results simply from rates of survival rather than issue. Although this is unlikely to explain all of the trends that will be discussed in this chapter.

Fig. 35 – Locations of cartularies containing charters requesting Angevin coinages (Blue – Angers, Red – Le Mans, Orange – Tours, Chartres – Brown)

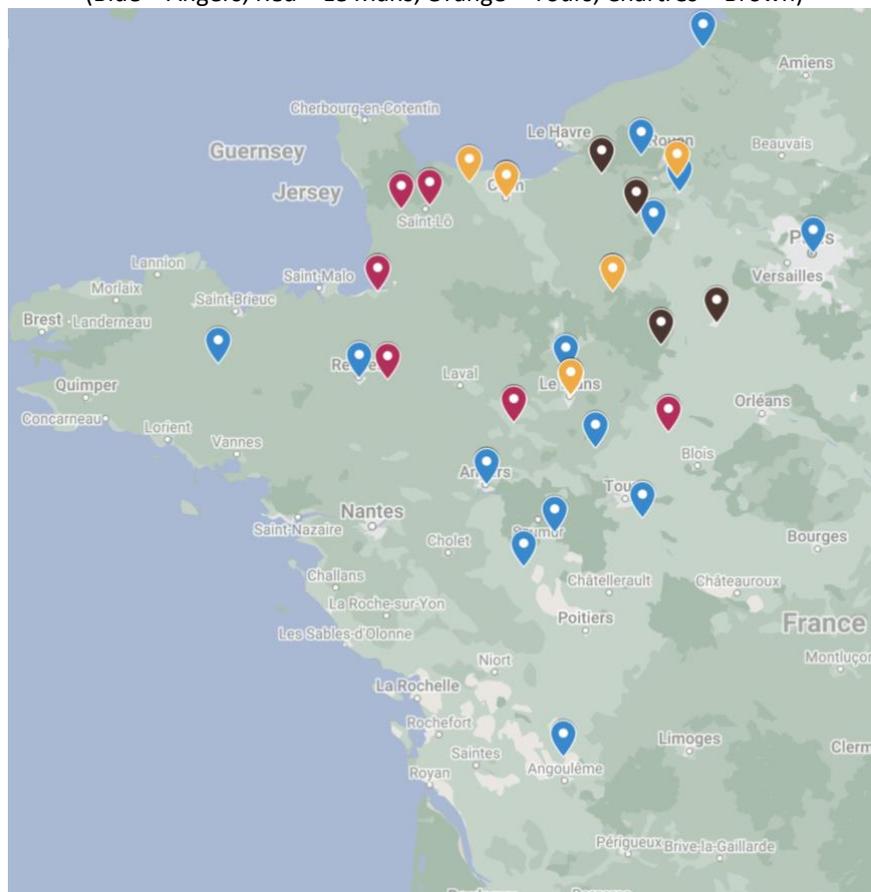


Figure thirty-five above shows the locations of the ecclesiastical institutions which produced cartularies containing charters that specify payments in one or other of the Angevin coinages. Each institution which produced a cartulary chose to include charters relating to its history, rights, and holdings, so that the charters often provide information

⁷¹⁹ *The Letters and Charters of Henry II*, III, Nos 1727-1730, pp.363-9.

⁷²⁰ Vincent, 'Les Normands de l'entourage d'Henri II Plantagenêt', pp. 78-9; Robert William Eyton, *Court, Household and itinerary of King Henry II* (London 1878).

on the religious house and its close neighbours. For clarity, the maps provide the location of the institution only and not the land dealt with in each individual charter. The first difference between the charters contained in the cartularies and those of Henry Plantagenet, is that the area around Le Mans is much more densely populated. Unlike Henry's charters, in which the Norman beneficiaries outnumber those of other regions, there is less of a predominance of Norman ecclesiastical institutions producing cartularies. The coin types requested, however, are mostly the same as in Henry's charters, with the coins minted at Angers, Le Mans, Tours and, in a divergence from the Henry Plantagenet's charters, Chartres, being specified. All of the coinages mentioned in the charters from cartularies are found beyond their region of origin, apart from the coinage of Chartres. The charters specifying the coinage of Chartres are all found in cartularies produced in the region around Chartres itself, suggesting that the Chartres *denier* was not as geographically widespread as the Angevin coinages. The most frequently requested coinage in the charters of Henry Plantagenet and those from the cartularies was the Angevin *denier*.

Fig. 36– Locations of beneficiaries of charters requesting money of Angers.

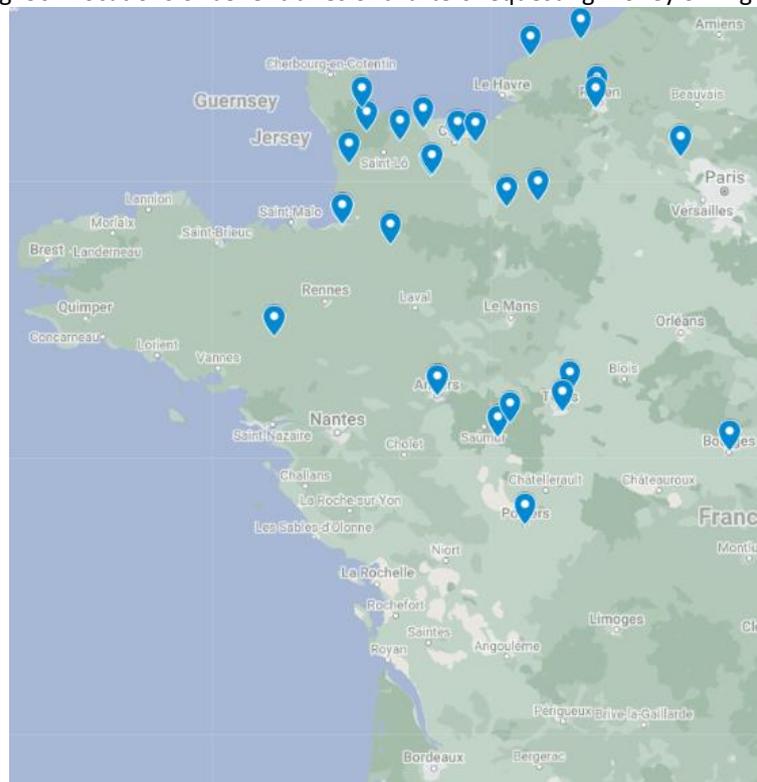
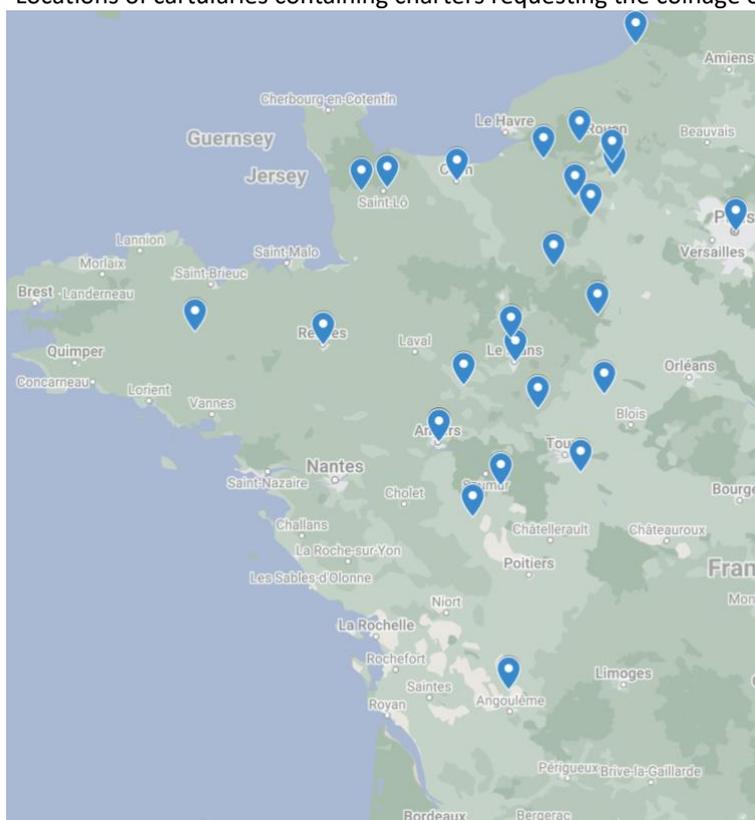


Fig. 37 – Locations of cartularies containing charters requesting the coinage of Angers



Figures thirty-six and thirty-seven above show that requests in the charters for the coinage of Angers were widespread throughout the duchy of Normandy and county of Anjou. When looking at both maps together it becomes clear that the Angevin *denier* was requested across all the regions of the French Plantagenet lands north of the Loire. The types of payments for which the Angevin *denier* was requested range from tolls and rents to diplomatic agreements.⁷²¹ For example, the Treaty of Falaise made between Henry Plantagenet and his sons in 1174 following their rebellion included the promise to pay Young Henry 15,000 *livres Angevin*.⁷²² Similarly, the agreement made between Henry Plantagenet and Margaret of France over the Norman Vexin mentioned above also specified payment in Angevin *deniers*. The use of the Angevin *denier* in diplomatic agreements emphasises its role as the official coinage of the Plantagenets.⁷²³ The Angevin *denier* is also the only one of the Angevin coinages to be requested south of the Loire, although the number of charters is much more limited. Henry Plantagenet's

⁷²¹ See chapter four for more examples of coin use.

⁷²² *The Letters and Charters of Henry II*, II, No. 1259 (63H), pp. 481-5.

⁷²³ *The Letters and Charters of Henry II*, II, No. 1259 (63H), pp. 481-5.

charters include only three examples of charters being issued to beneficiaries from the duchy of Aquitaine specifying payment in the money of Angers, for Fontevraud (only a few miles south of the Loire), the collegiate church of Saint-Hilaire at Poitiers and Bourges Cathedral.⁷²⁴ The cartularies of Fontevraud, Cormery, the abbey of Saint-Laon de Thouars and the abbey of Saint Amant de Boixe are the only ones that I have searched, for monasteries south of the Loire, to contain charters requesting payment in Angevin coins.⁷²⁵ Fontevraud was richly patronised by the Plantagenets and is where Henry, Eleanor of Aquitaine, and Richard the Lionheart are buried. It lay in a densely forested region just south of the Loire, where Anjou, Touraine and Poitou all met, so it is unsurprising that there are charters specifying the Angevin denier in this particular instance. With the remaining charters, however, it is not immediately obvious why the Angevin denier was requested and not one of the local coinages. The beneficiaries of all the charters and the lands involved are all situated in Aquitaine. The dates of the charters also vary, ranging from the mid-1150s to the 1180s. The Angevin *denier* could be included in the charters of Henry Plantagenet issued to Aquitanian beneficiaries simply because Henry was the one granting the charters. For the charters from the cartularies, however, there does not seem to be a clear reason why the Angevin *denier* was the preferred coin for the small number of examples found. Whilst charters requesting payments in Angevin *deniers* are unusual in Aquitaine, they are supported by the numismatic evidence which shows a small number of finds of Angevin *deniers* in the duchy of Aquitaine, mainly in Poitou.⁷²⁶

The Le Mans *denier* was the most requested coin type in the charters after the Angevin *denier*. Four charters of Henry Plantagenet requested payment in Le Mans *deniers*, only one of these was for a beneficiary located outside Normandy (the Cathedral Church of Saint Julian of Le Mans). The limited number of charters issued by Henry requesting

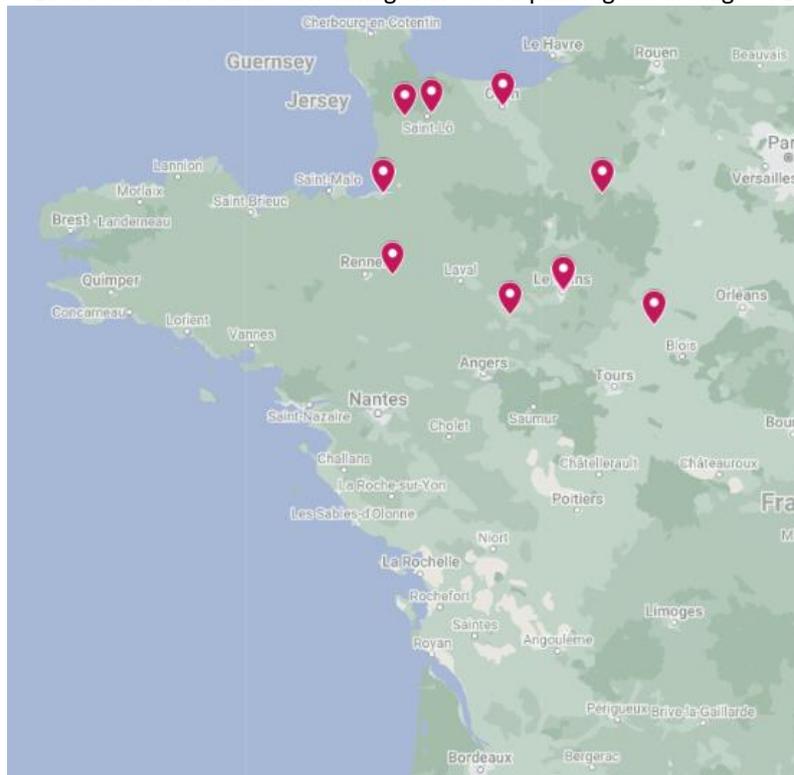
⁷²⁴ *The Letters and Charters of Henry II*, I No. 287 (1825H), p. 285, II, No. 1061 (1851H), p. 289, IV, No. 2081 (1394H), p. 190.

⁷²⁵ *Cartulaire de l'Abbaye de Saint-Amant-de-Boixe*, ed. André Debord (Poitiers 1982), No. 247, pp. 232-3 No. 325, pp. 289-90, No. 315 p. 283, No. 160 pp. 182-3; *Grand Cartulaire de Fontevraud*, No. 293 p. 295, No. 370 p. 368-9, No. 767 p. 718-9, No. 870 p.810-1, 878 p. 820-1; *Cartulaire de Cormery: précédé de l'histoire de l'Abbaye et de la ville de Cormery d'Après les chartes*, ed. Abbé J.J Bourassé (Tours and Paris 1861), No LXVII pp. 131-2; *Cartulaire de l'abbaye de Saint-Laon de Thouars*, ed. Hugues Imbert (Niort 1876), No VI p. 9.

⁷²⁶ See chapter five.

payment in *mansois deniers* stands in contrast to the large number of coin finds within the duchy of Normandy. Although the *mansois denier* may not have been a particularly popular choice for payments as listed in Henry's charters, the charters preserved in ecclesiastical cartularies reveal many more such instances.

Fig. 38 – Location of cartularies containing charters requesting the coinage of Le Mans



As figure thirty-eight shows, the cartularies that contain charters requesting the coinage of Le Mans come from across Maine and Normandy. The charters found in the cartularies more closely reflect the locations of hoards containing *deniers* of Le Mans than the charters of Henry Plantagenet.⁷²⁷ The charters requesting the coinage of Le Mans almost all relate to the sale or purchase of land, or the collection of rents or tithes, and most come from cartularies in which we find charters requesting Angevin money.⁷²⁸

⁷²⁷ See chapter five.

⁷²⁸ *Cartulaire de La Manche* (la Manche 1870), No. VI pp. 4-6, No XXVIII pp. 24-5. No X pp. 7-8, No. XLIV pp. 47, No. CCXC pp. 276-7; *Cartulaire de l'Abbaye de la Luzerne*, No. VI pp. 4-6, No. XIII pp. 11-12. No. XXVIII pp. 24-5; The Cartulary of Mont-Saint Michel, No 81 pp. 156-7, No. 83 pp. 158-9, No. 98 pp. 172, No. 99 pp. 172-3; *Cartulaire de Mont-Morel*, ed. M. Dubosc (Saint-Lô 1878), No. X pp. 7-8; *Cartulaire de l'abbaye de Notre-Dame de la Trappe*, No. II p. 317-8, No. III p. 318; *Cartulaire des abbayes de Saint-Pierre de la couture et de Saint-Pierre de Solesmes*, ed. Les Benedictins de Solesmes (Le Mans 1881), No. LXX p. 67, No. LXXV p. 71, No XCV p. 85, No. CIX p. 94, Nos CX, CXI p. 95, No CXXIII p. 103; *Cartulaire de l'Abbaye de Saint-Vincent du Mans*, No 330 p. 198 No. 578 p. 332 No. 733 pp. 416-7, no. 751 pp. 426-7

From the charter evidence it appears that the *mansois denier* was regularly requested in charters from the duchy of Normandy and county of Anjou, mirroring the wide distribution of finds of Le Mans *deniers* in these areas. The considerable number of charters requesting the coinage of Le Mans in the cartularies of the abbeys of Saint-Pierre de la Couture, Saint-Pierre de Solesmes, and Saint-Vincent Le Mans, suggests that the Le Mans *denier* was in greater demand in the in Maine itself, than in other regions of Plantagenet France. It seems, therefore, that while the Le Mans coinage was requested within Normandy and Touraine, it was in Maine that demand it was highest. The higher number of examples from the charters preserved in the cartularies compared to the charters of Henry Plantagenet is probably the result of accident, but might also reflect that the *mansois denier* was used more often by local lords than by those making agreements with the duke. Prior to the introduction of the English sterling, the *mansois denier* was the highest value coin minted in the French Plantagenet lands, which might be another reason for its popularity. *Mansois deniers* have not been found to be requested in any charters for beneficiaries south of the river Loire, suggesting that they did not have as wide an appeal as the Angevin *deniers*, despite them being twice their value.

The Tours deniers are not well-represented in the charters of Henry Plantagenet, with only one charter requesting that payment be made in the money of Tours. This relates to land at Caen and Hérouville.⁷²⁹ Similarly, there are only five cartularies that contain charters requesting payments in the money of Tours, all except one of which were produced in Normandy, the exception being that of the abbey of Saint-Vincent of Le Mans.⁷³⁰ No charters requesting payment in *tournois* are found in the region of Touraine where the coins themselves were minted. The *tournois deniers* are found in hoards from across the French Plantagenet lands, albeit in small quantities, even spreading south of

No. 764 p. 434, NO. 841 pp. 475-6; *Cartulaire de l'abbaye cardinale de la Trinité de Vendome*, No. DLIX p. 420-2; *Cartulaire du Saint Etienne de Caen*, No. 165 p. 257-8. No. 169 p. 261, No. 215 p. 292, No. 240 p. 309-10, No.241 p. 310, No. 252 pp. 321-2, No. 257 pp. 326-7, No. 263 p. 331, No 279 pp. 344-5.

⁷²⁹ *The Letters and Charters of Henry II*, II, No. 995a (5642H), p. 220.

⁷³⁰ *Cartularius Ecclesiae Baiocensis*, No. CCLXXIX p. 327; *Cartulaire de l'abbaye Saint-Étienne de Caen*, II., No. 280 p. 346, No. 281 pp. 350-1; *Cartulaire de l'abbaye de Notre-Dame de Bon-Port*, p. 22, No. XXIV pp. 24-5, No. XXXVII p. 35; *Cartulaire de l'abbaye de Notre-Dame de la Trappe*, No. V p. 115, ; *Cartulaire de l'abbaye de Saint-Vincent du Mans*, No. 345 pp. 206-7.

the Loire into Aquitaine.⁷³¹ The lack of references to the coins of Tours in the charters should not, therefore, be taken to imply they were not in use, although it could be evidence that they were not the preferred coinage for transactions recorded in the charters but were used for physical transactions or hoarding. There certainly seems to be a greater disparity between the charter and numismatic evidence when looking at these coinages with more limited circulations. For example, even though the numismatic data points to the circulation of the coins minted at Châteaudun, Vendôme and Gien, there is no evidence in the charters for these coinages being requested at all during Henry's lifetime. As already noted, however, the majority of the charters which record monetary payments do not specify a particular coinage. It is possible, therefore, that various of the transactions which did not ask for a specific coin type were paid in these more local coinages.

In various charters, in order to avoid the need to specify a particular coin type, the grantor merely states that payment should be made in 'usual' or 'current' money. Only five charters of Henry Plantagenet make this particular request, all of which are for beneficiaries in Normandy.⁷³² Some of these charters request payments in 'money current in Normandy' or 'money of Normandy', specifying the region without asking for a particular coin. The twelfth century saw a significant change in the currency in Normandy as the deniers minted at Rouen by the dukes of Normandy were replaced by the coins minted at Angers in the name of the counts of Anjou.⁷³³ The Norman charters requesting payment in usual or current money may reflect the changing state of the currency in the duchy during the mid-twelfth century. Most of them, however, are dated to the 1180s, after the initial monetary changes in the duchy of Normandy but before the additional changes which resulted from the 1204 conquest by Philip Augustus. The charters preserved in ecclesiastical cartularies provide further examples of requests being made for payment in usual or current money, most of which are once again

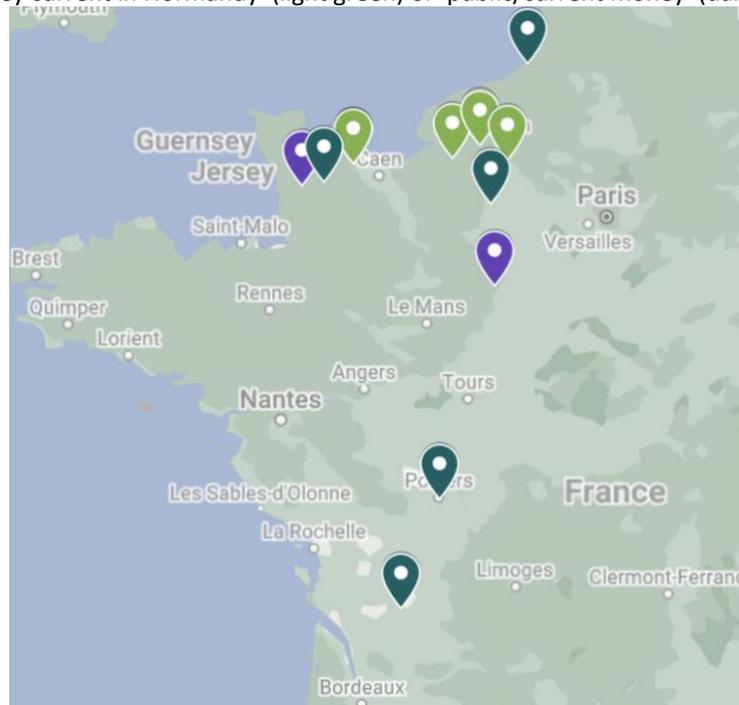
⁷³¹ See chapter five.

⁷³² *The Letters and Charters of Henry II*, I, No. 236 (3384H), pp. 232-5, No. 692 (1943H), pp. 670-2, II No. 954 (1606H), pp. 184-6, III No. 1483 (1969H), p. 133, IV No. 2332 (1984H), pp. 421-6.

⁷³³ See chapter three for further discussion.

located in the duchy of Normandy and date to the later twelfth century.⁷³⁴ The evidence shows, therefore, that charters issued within the duchy of Normandy continued to request payment in current or usual money throughout the rule of Henry Plantagenet, thus contradicting the argument that these phrases were only used during periods of monetary change.

Fig. 39 – Locations of cartularies containing charters requesting the coinage of Rouen (purple), ‘money current in Normandy’ (light green) or ‘public/current money’ (dark blue)



As shown in figure thirty-nine above, there are two cartularies south of the Loire, each containing one charter asking for current money.⁷³⁵ The twelfth century did not see a significant change in the locations where coins were minted in the duchy of Aquitaine, although the coins minted in Aquitaine and Poitou did undergo changes in type during this period. The Aquitanian *deniers* saw the most change during the twelfth century,

⁷³⁴ *Cartulaire de l'Abbaye de la Luzerne*, No. XLI p. 35 ; *Cartularius Ecclesiale Baiocensis*, No. LXXIV p. 93, No. CXVI pp. 140-2, No. CXXXV pp. 161-2; *Le Cartulaire de l'Abbaye Bénédictine de Saint-Pierre-de-Préaux*, No. B7 pp. 214-5, No. B29 pp. 243-4, B 39 pp. 253-5, B65 pp. 287-9, B88 pp. 318-9, B 97 p. 329, B 138 pp. 368-9, B162 pp. 393-4, B 198 pp. 430, C8 pp. 458-9; *Chartes de L'Abbaye de Jumièges*, No. CXV pp. 36-8, No. CXXIII p. 49, CLIV pp. 97-9, No. CLIX pp. 106-7; *Cartulaire de l'Abbaye royale de Notre-Dame de Bon-Port*, No. XXXVI p. 34; *Le Grand Cartulaire de Conches et sa copie: transcription et analyse*, ed. Claire de Haas (Conches 2005), No. II p. 572.

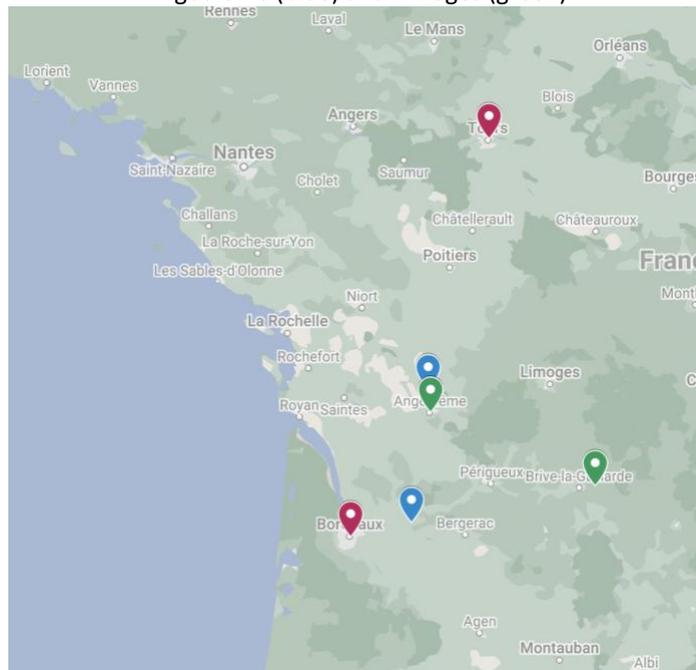
⁷³⁵ *Cartulaire de l'abbaye de Saint-Etienne de Vaux de l'ordre de Saint-Benoit*, in *Cartulaires inédits de la Saintonge*, ed. Abbot Th. Grasilier (Niort 1874), No. LVII pp. 45-6; *Cartulaire de l'évêché de Poitiers ou Grand-Gauthier*, ed. M. Rédet (Poitiers 1881), No. 3 pp. 4-7.

with, at various points, coins minted in the names of Louis VII, Henry (possibly Henry Plantagenet or Henry III), Richard the Lionheart and DVCISIT (generally attributed to Eleanor of Aquitaine).⁷³⁶ The Poitevin *denier* only underwent one change in type during Henry's rule: from carrying the name of Charles the Bald to that of Richard the Lionheart.⁷³⁷ It could be, therefore, that the changing state of the coinage meant that requesting whatever money was 'current' was the most straightforward way to ensure that the charter's terms were honoured. As we have seen with the Norman charters, requests for current or usual money were not limited to periods during which the coins were evolving in type. Furthermore, when requesting a coin type in a charter the name of the issuer is never specified, merely the mint location. This suggests that the changes in issuing authority for the Aquitanian and Poitevin *deniers* made very little difference to the popularity of the coins themselves. Therefore, whilst requests of this kind for usual or current money are only found in areas where changes to the coinage occurred, there was not necessarily a direct link between the changes and the issuing of the charters. Even so, the fact that these particular requests are to be found only in Normandy and Aquitaine, where changes were being made to what was in essence an otherwise immobilised coinage, is worth noting, albeit that the evidential limitations render the potential significance unclear.

⁷³⁶ See chapter three.

⁷³⁷ See chapter three.

Fig. 40 – Locations of cartularies containing charters requesting the coinage of Poitou (red), Angoulême (blue) and Limoges (green)



Unlike the charters of Henry Plantagenet which do not record payments in any of the Aquitanian coinages, the charters preserved in cartularies do contain a few examples of the southern coinages being requested. There are not very many, however, not least because there are only a limited number of cartularies surviving from Aquitanian ecclesiastical institutions. The southern coinages mentioned in the cartularies are those of Angoulême, Limoges and Poitou which were some of the dominant Aquitanian coinages, at least according to the hoard evidence.⁷³⁸ The charters do not contain examples of the coinage of Aquitaine being requested, and the smaller Aquitanian coinages do not feature strongly in the charters. The cartulary of the Cistercian Abbey of Obazine contains references to various of the smaller, more local coinages such as those minted at Turenne, Cahors and Le Puy, most other cartularies, however, only refer to the dominant coin types.⁷³⁹ As is shown by figure forty above, cartularies containing charters specifying the coinage of Poitou are found only at Tours and Bordeaux.⁷⁴⁰ The coinages of Angoulême and Limoges are only requested in cartularies produced by ecclesiastical

⁷³⁸ See chapter five.

⁷³⁹ *Le Cartulaire de l'abbaye Cistercienne d'Obazine (XII-XIII siècle)*, ed. Bernadette Barrière (Clermont-Ferrand 1989).

⁷⁴⁰ *Chartes de Saint-Julien de Tours (1002-1227)*, Abbe L. J. Denis (Mans 1912), Bi, 93 pp. 118-9; *Cartulaire de l'Église collégiale Saint-Seurin de Bourdeaux*, ed. Jean-Auguste Brutails (Bordeaux 1897), No. CXXXII pp. 99-100.

institutions in the local area, suggesting a similar distribution pattern to that revealed from the hoards.⁷⁴¹ When looking at the references to the Aquitanian coinages in the charter evidence there is much less of a crossover between the different coin types within the cartularies than is seen with the Angevin coinages. From the limited evidence available it does seem that the coin types requested in Aquitanian charters were generally local to the region. For example, the cartularies produced by ecclesiastical institutions in Angoulême only request the coins minted in Angoulême or Limoges, whilst in Poitou we have found the Angevin *deniers* regularly requested. It appears, therefore, that the division between the Aquitanian coin types found in the hoards is reflected in the charter evidence.⁷⁴² Whilst the Aquitanian coinages were found together in hoards, there was less overlap between the different regions within Aquitaine than there was in the duchy of Normandy. The limited evidence for the duchy of Aquitaine makes it unclear whether the specification of different coinages within the various Aquitanian regions presents a clear pattern or simply reflects the paucity of surviving evidence. What is abundantly clear, however, is that the Aquitanian coinages are not referenced in charters from cartularies produced within the duchy of Normandy and, apart from the Angevin *deniers*, none of the Angevin coinages are requested in Aquitanian charters. The division between the French Plantagenet lands north and south of the Loire seen in the numismatic evidence is therefore substantiated by the patterns displayed in the available charter evidence.

'Foreign' Coinages in the Charters

As with the numismatic evidence, there are examples of coinages that were technically 'foreign' being requested in charters from the French Plantagenet lands. There are three charters of the abbey of Jumièges, for example, which request payment in the coins minted in Paris. Two are confirmations of revenues from land owned by the abbey and

⁷⁴¹ See chapter five; Limoges & Angoulême coinage referenced many times in *Le Cartulaire de l'abbaye Cistercienne d'Obazine*; Angoulême – Cartulaire de l'Abbaye de Saint-Amant-de-Boixe, No. 160 pp. 182-3 ; Limoges & Angoulême: Cartulaire de l'Eglise d'Angoulême, NO. CLXXXI p. 169, CLXXII p. 160, CLXXXIV pp. 172-4, CC, pp. 187-8, CLVII pp. 149-50, CLXI pp. 153-5, *Le Cartulaire de l'abbaye de Saint-Cybard*, ed. Paul Lefrancq (Angoulême 1931), No 66 pp. 41-2, No 197 p. 170, No. 204.

⁷⁴² See chapter five for further discussion of the numismatic evidence.

the third is confirmation of a sale of land.⁷⁴³ There are no other examples in this particular charter collection of any coinages other than the Paris *denier* being requested. It is unusual for a collection of charters from the duchy of Normandy to only contain references to one type of coin, as most contain a combination of different coin types. It could be therefore that the specification of the Paris *deniers* in the charters mentioned above was included precisely because it was unusual, suggesting that most payments recorded in the charters were made in the local coinage which, as Jumièges is close to Rouen, would have been the Angevin coinages. The abbey of Jumièges did hold land in the Seine Valley, near to Paris, which could explain why a small number of their transactions took place in Parisian and not Angevin deniers. A similar situation is found in the cartulary of Saint-Père de Chartres as, once again, the only coinage specified is the Parisian *denier*. A single charter of 1195 in the name of Philip Augustus confirmed the abbey's right to hold a mill for an annual payment of six *livres* in Parisian money.⁷⁴⁴ There are other charters in the cartulary that reference payments being made, but none of them mention any preferred coin type. These references date to earlier in the twelfth century and involve local landowners and ecclesiastics. It seems more than coincidental therefore that this particular charter, issued in the name of Philip Augustus, specified the Paris *denier* as this particular coinage was the most dominant of the royal deniers.⁷⁴⁵

A slightly different situation is seen in the cartulary of Notre-Dame de Bonport, which contains many charters specifying a particular coinage: two request payment in the money of Tours, three in the money of Angers, two in the money 'current' in Rouen and three in Parisian *deniers*.⁷⁴⁶ All of the charters date to the late-twelfth or early-thirteenth centuries, so the combination of coin types requested here could reflect the Capetian conquest of Normandy which saw the spread of the Paris *denier* into Normandy and the increased use of the Tours *deniers*, as discussed in the preceding chapter.⁷⁴⁷ The cartularies which refer to the Paris *deniers* are all from religious institutions located in

⁷⁴³ Chartes de L'Abbaye de Jumièges, I, No. C pp. 239-40, II, No. CXXXIX pp. 76-7, No CXLVII pp. 87-8.

⁷⁴⁴ *Cartulaire de l'abbaye de Saint-père de Chartres*, M. Guérard (Paris 1840), No. LXV pp. 664-5.

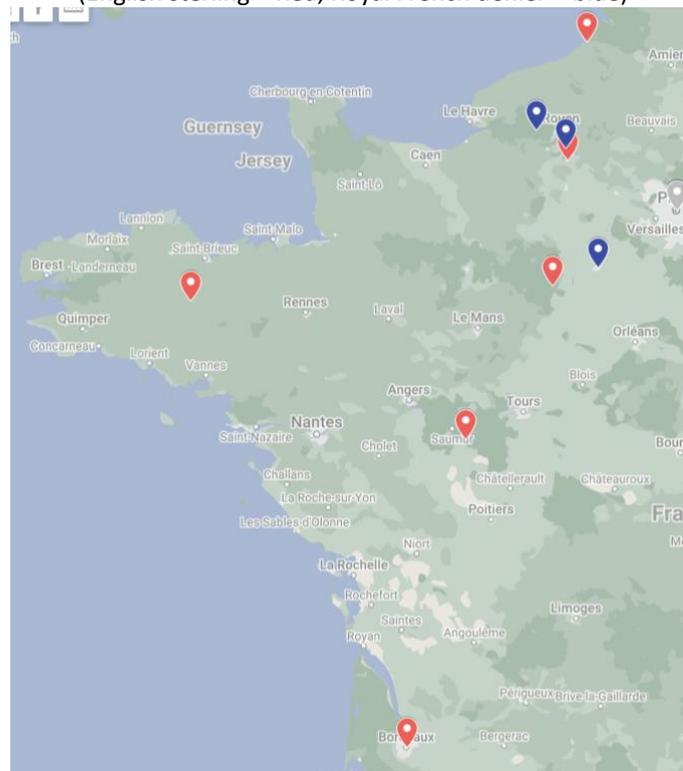
⁷⁴⁵ See chapters one and two.

⁷⁴⁶ *Cartulaire de l'Abbaye royale de Notre-Dame de Bon-Port*, No. XXVI p. 26, No. XV p. 12, No. IV, No. XXXVII p. 35, No. XXI p. 22, No. XXIV pp. 24-5, No. XXV p. 25, No. XXIII pp. 23-4, No. XII p. 10, No. XXXVI, p. 34, No. XXVII pp. 26-7.

⁷⁴⁷ See chapter five.

Normandy. It is possible therefore that proximity to the Capetian domain and the Capetian monetary system played a role in persuading ecclesiastical institutions or their donors to choose payments in Paris *deniers*. The charter evidence certainly does not present a situation in which the Parisian *deniers* were being requested regularly or widely throughout the French Plantagenet lands, which supports the patterns revealed by the numismatic evidence.

Fig. 41 – Locations of cartularies containing charters requesting ‘foreign’ coinages (English sterling – Red, Royal French denier – blue)



As figure forty-one shows, the cartularies that contain charters requesting payment in English sterling are more numerous and widespread geographically than those that specify payment in royal French *deniers*.⁷⁴⁸ This does not mean, however, that a large number of charters made requests for English sterling, as all of these cartularies also contain charters requesting payment in local currency, usually in greater numbers. The

⁷⁴⁸ *Cartulaire de l'abbaye de Saint-Michel du Tréport (ordre de saint Benoît)*, ed. P. Laffleur de Kermaingant (Paris 1880), No. XLIV p. 73; *Cartulaire de Louviers*, No. LXXXVIII pp. 125-6; *Cartulaire de l'Abbaye de la Sainte-Trinité de Tiron*, II, No. CCCXXXVIII pp. 113-4 two charters reference marks from English treasury but not specifically English sterling – No. CCLXVIII pp. 37-8. NO. CCCXXXI p. 108; *Grand Cartulaire de Fontevraud*, No. 869 pp. 809-10; *The Charters of Duchess Constance of Brittany*, No. Ge2 pp. 7-10; *Cartulaire de l'Église collégiale Saint-Seurin*, No. CCIV pp. 177-8.

cartulary of Saint-Seurin Bordeaux, for example, preserves only two charters that specify a type of coinage. The first, dating to the second-half of the twelfth century asks for the money of Poitou, whilst the second dating to the late-twelfth century requests '*moneta terre domino Regis*': money of the land of the king, in this instance King Richard I of England (Richard the Lionheart).⁷⁴⁹ Similarly, in the cartulary of Tréport there are five charters which explicitly request a particular coin type, only one of which is English sterling.⁷⁵⁰ The charter requesting payment in sterling dates to the early 1180s, after the English Short Cross coinage had started to become part of the French Plantagenet currency. The (factitious collection known as the) *Cartulaire de Louviers* contains two charters that specify coin type. The first, dating to 1197, asks for payment in *livres Angevin* and the other, dating to 1199, is for English sterling.⁷⁵¹ This particular charter however, states that the English sterling were to be paid from lands held in Dorset and not in the French Plantagenet lands, so supplies evidence for continental institutions holding land in England and engaging with the English coinage, not of local payments being made in English sterling. We find various other instances of institution or individuals located on the continent granting or confirming a payment in English sterling from lands based in England. For example, a charter of Duke Geoffrey II of Brittany dating to 1177 X 1186, grants an annual rent of 100 shillings in sterling to the Hospitallers from Geoffrey's revenues held at Cheshunt in Hertfordshire.⁷⁵² The Fontevraud cartulary also offers a charter confirming the annual payment of ten pounds sterling to the abbey from lands in England.⁷⁵³ There are a further six examples of charters requesting payment in English sterling in the charters issued by Henry Plantagenet, four of which date to the 1150s or 60s and record payments in English sterling from lands held in England to French beneficiaries.⁷⁵⁴ The remaining two charters, dating to the late-twelfth century, relate to lands held by French beneficiaries (Valmont Abbey and Margaret, sister of the King of France) in Normandy and not in

⁷⁴⁹ *Cartulaire de l'Église collégiale Saint-Seurin*, No. CXXXII p. 99-100, No. CCIV pp. 177-8.

⁷⁵⁰ *Cartulaire de l'abbaye de Saint-Michel du Tréport*, No. XLIV p. 73, No. XLV pp. 74-5, No. XLVIII pp. 84-5, No. LVII p. 93, No. LVIII pp. 93-4.

⁷⁵¹ *Cartulaire de Louviers*, No. LXXI pp. 92-96, No. IXXXVIII pp. 125-6.

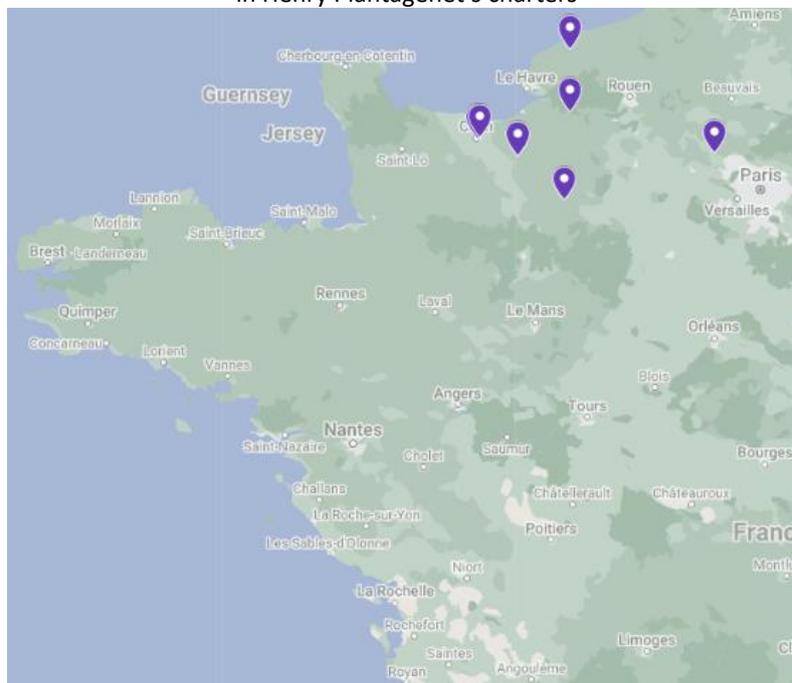
⁷⁵² *The Charters of Duchess Constance of Brittany*, No. GE2 p. 11.

⁷⁵³ *Grand Cartulaire de Fontevraud*, No. 869 pp. 809-10.

⁷⁵⁴ *The Letters and Charters of Henry II*, I, No. 401 (1870H), pp. 379-83, III, No. 1755 (3087H), p. 389, IV, No. 2084 (1214H), pp. 192-4, No. 2331 (407H), pp. 415-20, No. 2341 (1527H), pp. 434-5, V, No. 2722 (1959H), pp. 128-32.

England.⁷⁵⁵ Whilst Valmont Abbey appears to have only held lands in Normandy, Margaret of France, as the widow of Young Henry would previously have had interests in England, although as this particular charter was dealing with her claims to the Norman Vexin the reason for requesting English sterling is not obvious, save for the higher silver content of the English coin. As the charters date after 1180 the use of the English sterling in a purely French context could reflect the incorporation after this date of the English sterling into the currency of the duchy of Normandy. As the highest value coin in circulation in the French Plantagenets lands in the 1180s, English sterling could simply reflect a beneficiary's preference for high value coin more than anything else.

Fig. 42 – locations of beneficiaries requesting English sterling in Henry Plantagenet's charters



When looking at the locations where English sterling was requested, Normandy emerges as the chief focus, specifically in the areas around Caen and Rouen. Whilst there are cartularies containing charters asking for payments in English sterling from Brittany and Aquitaine, the highest density of charters are in the duchy of Normandy which was the region that had the strongest links with the kingdom of England. The charter evidence does, therefore, seem to mirror the numismatic evidence, suggesting that English

⁷⁵⁵ *The Letters and Charters of Henry II*, III, No. 1755 (3087H), p. 389, V, No. 2722 (1959H), pp. 128-32.

sterling was present, most significantly in Normandy, and was being used in the French Plantagenet lands during the final years of Henry Plantagenet's rule, albeit but not as one of the dominant coinages of Henry's lifetime.

Conclusions

The distribution patterns of the different coin types found in the charters does, on the whole, mirror the patterns revealed by the numismatic evidence. There continues to be a divide between the Angevin and Aquitanian coinages with little overlap between the two. The charters, like the numismatic evidence, show different coinages being found together. For example, Angevin deniers and Le Mans deniers are often specified in charters from the same cartulary, whilst south of the Loire the coins of Poitou or Limoges are requested together. Not all of the coin types found in the hoards are referenced in the charters. For example, the Vendôme and Châteaudun coinages are found in most of the Angevin hoards but there is not a single mention of either coinage in any charters issued from Henry's French lands during his lifetime. Similarly, the Aquitanian coinage does not appear to have been specified in any charters even though the Aquitanian deniers are found in large numbers in the hoard evidence. What is consistent across the charters and the numismatic evidence is the dominance of the Angevin *denier* within the French Plantagenet lands north of the Loire. The Angevin *denier* was a money of account. It was also the official coinage of the Plantagenets which could explain why it is found in quite so many of the charters. The references to the Angevin *denier* in the charters are found further south than physical coin finds solely because the cartulary of Saint-Amant de Boixe contains charters requesting the Angevin *denier*. The charter evidence does not provide as comprehensive a picture of the varied nature of the currency in the French Plantagenet lands as the numismatic evidence, as not all of the coin types found in the hoards make their way into the charters. It is not possible, therefore, to use the charters to check the circulation patterns of each of the Angevin and Aquitanian coinages. However, it is possible to substantiate the division found in the numismatic evidence, between the coinage of the duchy of Normandy and that of the duchy of Aquitaine.

The divide between the Angevin and Aquitanian coinages found both in the charters and numismatic evidence appears to be linked to Henry Plantagenet's relationship with the two regions and his plans for the Plantagenet succession. The duchy of Normandy and county of Anjou, often referred to as the Plantagenet heartlands, were inherited by Henry from his parents and were the regions in which he grew up. Henry spent a lot of his time in Normandy and Anjou and, as already mentioned, most surviving charters he issued for French beneficiaries were for those in Normandy. By contrast, the duchy of Aquitaine was very much a foreign region to Henry who did not visit regularly or make any consistent effort to understand Aquitanian customs and practices. Henry's attitude towards Aquitaine appears to reflect the way that the duchy is reported by Anglo-Norman chroniclers. The perspective of Aquitaine presented in the Norman and English sources is one of a turbulent foreign land with strange customs, full of lawless people.⁷⁵⁶ This view of Aquitaine was not new to Henry's rule. Orderic Vitalis, writing during the early 1100s referred to the Aquitanians and Gascons as 'quarrelsome folk' (*contumaces*), an opinion which appears to have survived into the later twelfth century.⁷⁵⁷ According to Richard of Devizes, even Saladin's brother, Safadin, praised King Richard for 'having overcome those tyrants whom none of his ancestors had been able to subdue (*tirannos provincie avis et atavis indomabiles*)'.⁷⁵⁸ John Gillingham has argued that the critical view Anglo-Normans chroniclers took of Aquitaine could have been a result of their proximity to Henry's court.⁷⁵⁹ For example, Roger of Howden, Walter Map and Gerald de Barri, as attachés to Henry's court, would only have seen Aquitaine when Henry was in the region to deal with trouble, because that was the chief reason that obliged Henry to venture south of the Loire.⁷⁶⁰ As a result these authors would write of what they saw, of rebellion and the trouble posed by the Aquitanians rather than, for example, of the flourishing of

⁷⁵⁶ John Gillingham, 'Events and Opinions: Norman and English Views of Aquitaine, c. 1152-1204', in *The World of Eleanor Aquitaine: Literature and Society in Southern France between the eleventh and thirteenth centuries*, eds. Marcus Bull and Catherine Léglu (Woodbridge 2005), pp. 58-81; Gerald of Wales, *Topographica Hibernia*, in *Giraldi Cambrensis Opera*, vol 5. ed. J. F. Dimock (London 1861), pp. 195-6; *The Letters of John of Salisbury*, ed. Millor and Brooke (Oxford 1979), II, no. 177, pp. 178-9; on the customs of Aquitaine see Bisson, 'Lordship and dependence in Southern France', pp. 413-438.

⁷⁵⁷ Gillingham, 'Events and Opinions', citing Orderic Vitalis, *The Ecclesiastical History*, V. 330 and 332.

⁷⁵⁸ Richard of Devizes, *The Chronicle of Richard of Devizes of the time of King Richard the First*, ed. And trans. John T. Appleby, (Edinburgh, 1963), p 76.

⁷⁵⁹ Gillingham, 'Events and Opinions'.

⁷⁶⁰ Gillingham, 'Events and Opinions', p. 73.

courtly literature at Eleanor of Aquitaine's court, or the region's significant and profitable wine trade.⁷⁶¹ Due to the lack of surviving sources from southern writers it is not possible to get a view of what the Aquitanians themselves thought of the Normans, but it seems that they were happy to retain their semi-independence of Plantagenet rule.⁷⁶² J.C. Holt was a proponent of this view, arguing that the lack of Angevin administrative structures in Aquitaine was the direct result of the Aquitanians' disinterest in adopting new Norman forms of administration and their opposition to Plantagenet authority.⁷⁶³ The Aquitanian preference for independence is mentioned by Gervase of Canterbury who writes that 'The Poitevins withdrew from their allegiance to the king of the English because of his pruning of their liberties', the result being Henry's military campaign against rebellious southern barons.⁷⁶⁴ The disjunction between Aquitaine and Normandy observable from the coinage was, therefore, part of a wider trend throughout the Anglo-Norman domain, where Aquitaine was viewed as a region largely separate to the staunchly Plantagenet regions of England and the lands north of the Loire. This separation between the duchies of Aquitaine and Normandy was due to persist after Henry's death, as it was his intention that his French lands should be divided, with Aquitaine going to Richard the Lionheart, and the duchy of Normandy and kingdom of England being the inheritance of the Young Henry. The lack of a unified monetary system spanning all of Henry's French domains therefore reflects the fact that the French Plantagenet lands, although ruled by one individual, were never considered a unified whole. Regional variation existed within these domains and the diversity of the coinage was merely a further reflection of this fact.

⁷⁶¹ Gillingham, *The Angevin Empire*, p. 62; Marcus Bull and Catherine Léglu *The world of Eleanor of Aquitaine: Literature and Society in Southern France between the Eleventh and Thirteenth centuries* (Rochester 2005); Ruth Harvey, 'Eleanor of Aquitaine and the Troubadours', in *The World of Eleanor of Aquitaine*, pp. 187-212

⁷⁶² Warren, *Henry II*, p. 102.

⁷⁶³ Vincent, 'king Henry and the Poitevins' looks at Aquitanian dating clauses in the charters p. 131; Holt, 'The Angevin Acta of Henry II and his family', pp. 137-140

⁷⁶⁴ Warren, *Henry II*, p. 102; Gervase of Canterbury, *Opera Historica*, in *The Historical Works of Gervase of Canterbury*, ed. W. Stubbs (Cambridge 1879-80), I, p.205; Eyton, *Itinerary of Henry II*, pp. 103-6, *Recueil des Historiens des Gaules et de la France*, XII, p. 442.

Chapter 7 - Conclusion

The prominence of money within society in the French Plantagenet lands during the rule of Henry Plantagenet makes it a vital source for providing a new perspective on how the “Angevin Empire” was governed. As was discussed in chapter four, the evidence points to the French Plantagenet lands under Henry being a monetised society. Money and its use were ubiquitous throughout society. It was used to measure value, and to pay for goods and services, which meant that at all levels of society money, as both an economic concept and a physical coin, was understood. The high levels of monetary use resulted in the moral implications of money and its use becoming of increasing concern over the course of the twelfth-century, as shown by the pervasiveness of discussions around the correct use of money and coin in contemporary literature and ecclesiastical texts. The evidence strongly suggests that money, whether as a monetary unit or a coin, played a part in the lives of most members of society in Henry’s French lands. By examining money and coinage this thesis has revealed a new aspect of how Plantagenet authority was imposed, and the effect it had on those living within the different regions of Plantagenet France.

By taking a broad approach to the study of money and coinage, and considering the French Plantagenet lands as a whole, it has been possible to establish a link between the areas in which the Angevin coinages circulated and Henry Plantagenet’s authority in these same regions. Some similarities can be seen between the English monetary system and the practice of minting and accountancy in the duchy of Normandy, especially after 1180. The duchy of Aquitaine, however, remains more of an enigma. What is clear is that, whilst coins could travel across regional frontiers, a firm divide existed between the coin types found in the Plantagenet regions north of the Loire and those south of the Loire. The areas in which the Angevin coinages are found, in both the coin hoards and in the charters, were those with which Henry had the closest links, and where he spent the most time, namely the duchy of Normandy and the county of Anjou.⁷⁶⁵ The duchy of

⁷⁶⁵ Eyton, *Itinerary of King Henry II*; Judith A Green, ‘Unity and Disunity in the Anglo-Norman State’, *Historical Research*, LXIII:148 (June 1989), 115-133; Everard, *Brittany and the Angevins*; Daniel Power, ‘Henry, Duke of the Normans (1149/50-1189), in *Henry II: New interpretations*, eds. Christopher Harper-

Aquitaine was not visited regularly by Henry, who went there usually only when there was unrest in the region or if carrying out a particular military campaign. His only claim to the title of Duke of Aquitaine came by right of his wife, Eleanor of Aquitaine, who arguably held more authority in her homelands than her husband.⁷⁶⁶ Despite technically being united under the rule of one individual, the southern regions remained staunchly independent of Plantagenet influence and few links appear to have been established with the duchy of Normandy: a disjunction reflected in the coinage. The lack of uniformity to the coinage of the French Plantagenet lands is also reflected in the different administrative and cultural practices found in these various regions. Whilst each region had slight variations in administrative practice and its attitude towards Plantagenet authority, the most significant divide was that between the duchy of Normandy and the duchy of Aquitaine.

The duchy of Normandy and county of Anjou were the lands Henry inherited directly from his parents and the regions in which he had been raised and taught how to rule.⁷⁶⁷ Henry, therefore, was very much a Norman, and it was Normans who he chose to make-up his court and entourage throughout his rule.⁷⁶⁸ Henry's coronation as King of England in 1154 brought the kingdom of England and duchy of Normandy under the rule of a single individual once again: a familiar phenomenon since 1066. The ties between England and Normandy, first established following the Norman Conquest, were longstanding and well-established by the mid-twelfth century.⁷⁶⁹ The close relationship between Normandy and England was partly down to the cross-Channel landed interests of many Anglo-Normans barons, which resulted in administrative and cultural convergences between the two regions.⁷⁷⁰ By contrast, the duchy of Aquitaine was

Bill and Nicholas Vincent (Woodbridge 2007), pp. 85-128; Jacques Boussard, *Le Gouvernement d'Henri II Plantagenet* (Paris 1956).

⁷⁶⁶ Vincent, 'King Henry II and the Poitevins', pp. 103-135; Church, 'The "Angevin Empire"', p. 15.

⁷⁶⁷ Dutton, 'Geoffrey, Count of Anjou', p. 11.

⁷⁶⁸ Vincent, 'Les Normands', pp. 75-88; Vincent, 'The Court of Henry II', pp. 278-334.

⁷⁶⁹ Bates, *The Normans and Empire*; C. Warren Hollister, 'Normandy, France and the Anglo-Norman Regnum', *Speculum*, 51:2 (1976), 202-242.

⁷⁷⁰ Bates, *The Normans and Empire*, pp. 168-9; Boston, 'Multiple Allegiance and its impact', pp. 115-133; Moss, 'Normandy and England in 1180' pp. 185-195; Daniel Power, 'The Transformation of Norman Charters in the Twelfth Century', in *People, Texts and Artefacts: Cultural Transmission in the Medieval Norman Worlds*, eds. David Bates, Edoardo D'Angelo and Elisabeth van Houts (London 2017), pp. 193-

foreign to the Plantagenets whose continental landed interests had, until Henry's rule, been focused on Normandy and the surrounding regions. Not only did Henry spend a very limited amount of his time in Aquitaine, only spending two Christmases there compared to six in Anjou, twelve in Normandy and thirteen in England, but he also failed to forge relationships with the local aristocracy by appointing them to his court.⁷⁷¹ Similarly, it was Normans and not Aquitanians that he appointed to key positions within Aquitaine.⁷⁷² Despite claiming the title of Duke of Aquitaine, Henry did not attempt to integrate himself with the local aristocracy, either through learning their customs, or by importing Norman customs and practices to Aquitaine. At no point during the thirty-six years that Henry used the title Duke of Aquitaine was he officially invested as such. By contrast, Richard the Lionheart was invested as Duke of Aquitaine in 1171 and prior to this occasion had been proclaimed Count of Poitou, and acknowledged as the future lord of Aquitaine in assemblies at Niort and Limoges.⁷⁷³ Richard was the only Plantagenet Duke of Aquitaine who had close links to the duchy and who was raised and taught to rule there.⁷⁷⁴ It appears, therefore, that Henry was happy to leave the government of Aquitaine to his wife and son. The coinage certainly supports this view, as only Richard is known to have minted new Poitevin and Aquitanian coins carrying his name and title.⁷⁷⁵

The divide between the duchy of Normandy and the duchy of Aquitaine seen in the coinage reflects the findings of Nicholas Vincent whose work on the charters of Henry Plantagenet points to a similar north south divide. Vincent has convincingly argued that Henry's interests lay predominantly in the duchy of Normandy and kingdom of England, with Agen in Gascony proving a rare but by no means successfully exploited exception.⁷⁷⁶

212; Daniel Power, 'Aristocratic Acta in Normandy and England, c.1150-c.1250: The Charters and Letters of the Du Hommet Constables of Normandy', *Anglo-Norman Studies* 35 (2012), 259-286.

⁷⁷¹ Vincent, 'King Henry and the Poitevins', p. 126; Vincent, 'The Court of Henry II'.

⁷⁷² Vincent, 'King Henry and the Poitevins', pp. 109-119; Vincent, 'The Court of Henry II'; Vincent, 'King Henry and the Normans'.

⁷⁷³ Warren, *Henry II*, p. 110; Alfred Richard, *Histoire des Comtes de Poitou 778-1204* (Paris 1903), II, p. 150; Geoffrey of Vigeois (12th C Limousin chronicler) recorded the investiture of Richard the Lionheart in June 1172: Geoffrey of Vigeois, 'Chronico', l:37 in *Recueil des historiens des Gaules et de la France*, ed. Delisle (Paris 1877), XII, pp. 442-3.

⁷⁷⁴ Vincent, 'King Henry and the Poitevins', pp. 130-1.

⁷⁷⁵ See chapter three.

⁷⁷⁶ Vincent, 'La Normandie dans les chartes du roi Henri II', pp. 405-428; Vincent, 'Les Normands', pp. 75-88; Vincent, 'The Court of Henry II'; Vincent, 'King Henry and the Poitevins', pp. 103-135.; Vincent, 'The Plantagenets and the Agenais', pp. 417-56.

Henry's court, which was more often in Normandy than Aquitaine, was made up almost exclusively of Normans either from Normandy or resettled in England. It was Normans and particularly Anglo-Normans who witnessed his charters and Normans that he appointed to key positions. By contrast, Eleanor of Aquitaine had an entourage made up of Poitevins, was regularly present in the duchy and appears to have exercised greater authority in the region than her husband.⁷⁷⁷ The division between Aquitaine and Normandy seen in the coinage can therefore be regarded as part of a wider trend throughout the Anglo-Norman domains, where Aquitaine was viewed as a region set apart from the staunchly Plantagenet regions north of the Loire.

Regionality has increasingly become a topic of discussion among historians looking at the lands that comprised the "Angevin Empire".⁷⁷⁸ Numerous studies here highlight how varied the experience of Plantagenet rule was in the different regions of Henry's French dominion.⁷⁷⁹ Whilst each individual region differed from the next, the most prominent divide observable across the written sources and the numismatic evidence remains that between Normandy and Aquitaine. Nor is there any suggestion in the surviving evidence that Henry ever attempted to bridge the gap between the two duchies. What becomes clear is that the regions in which the Angevin coinages circulated were those intended to be inherited by Henry's eldest son Young Henry. These, the duchy of Normandy, the county of Anjou, and, from 1180 onwards, the Kingdom of England, became parts of a monetary block as the English sterling became one of the Angevin coinages.⁷⁸⁰ The duchy of Aquitaine, the inheritance of Richard the Lionheart, had a distinct currency that had little to no interaction with the Angevin coinages further north.⁷⁸¹ The intended succession of Henry's sons to the various duchies or lordships that were assigned to

⁷⁷⁷ Vincent, 'King Henry and the Poitevins', pp. 109-119.

⁷⁷⁸ Dominique Barthelemy, 'Castles, Barons, and Vavassors in the Vendomois and Neighbouring Regions in the Eleventh and Twelfth Centuries', in *Cultures of Power*, ed. T. Bisson (Pennsylvania 1995), pp. 56-68; Dutton, 'Authority, Administration and Antagonism on the Margins', 215-242; Mark Hagger, 'Angevin Rule in the West of Normandy, 1154-86: the View from Mont Saint-Michel', *Anglo-Norman Studies*, XLII (2020), 77-100.

⁷⁷⁹ Power, 'Angevin Normandy', pp. 63-86; Everard, *Brittany and the Angevins*; Jacques Boussard, *Le Comté d'Anjou sous Henri Plantagenet et ses Fils (1151-1204)* (Paris 1938).

⁷⁸⁰ The Angevin coinages did not circulate within the Kingdom of England but there is documented interaction between the English sterling and the Angevin coinages.

⁷⁸¹ As discussed in chapter five, the coinage in Gascony was different to that in central Aquitaine most likely due to Gascony and Aquitaine being two separate duchies up until the eleventh century.

them appears to have directly affected the coinage, not least as it removed the need to create a single uniform currency for both regions which, if Henry's plans had come to fruition, would only have been united under a single ruler during his own lifetime. Henry's intention to divide his lands between his sons is clear from the actions he took to cement their positions during his lifetime. The years 1169 to 1171 saw Henry's sons doing homage to the French King for their respective inheritances. Young Henry was crowned King of England and Richard was invested as Duke of Aquitaine, whilst Geoffrey received the homage of the Breton barons.⁷⁸² The treaty of Montmirail set out the planned division of Henry's domains which was confirmed by a will made by Henry in 1170 during a period of severe illness.⁷⁸³ Whilst Henry's was obliged to alter these plans in the 1180s, due to the untimely death of Young Henry, the intention to divide his lands had already impacted the coinage.

The year 1180 is significant when studying the coinage as it was in this year that the link between Henry's succession plans and the coinage is most evident. In this year Henry reformed the English coinage, reducing the value of the English sterling so that it aligned more closely with the Angevin coinages.⁷⁸⁴ By decreasing the value of the English sterling, which was and continued to be the highest value silver coinage in Europe, exchange between the English and Angevin monetary systems became more straightforward, with one English sterling now equivalent to two Le Mans *deniers* or four *deniers* of the coins of Angers, Tours, or Guingamp. Effectively, the 1180 reforms created a single, unified monetary block comprising the kingdom of England, the duchy of Normandy and, to a certain extent, the duchy of Brittany: all the continental lands for which Young Henry had rendered homage in 1169. The 1180 reforms marked a significant turning point in the monetary policy of Henry Plantagenet as they established a monetary relationship between his English realm and his French lands north of the Loire. The fact that the changes to the English coinage immediately followed the

⁷⁸² *The Chronography of Robert of Torgini*, ed. Thomas N. Bisson (Oxford 2020), I, pp. 274-9, 282-3; Ralph of Diceto, *Opera Historica: The Historical Words of Master Ralph de Diceto, Dean of London*, ed. W. Stubbs (London 1876), II, pp. 18-19; Warren, *Henry II*, p. 10.

⁷⁸³ Warren, *Henry II*, p. 110; Roger of Howden, *Chronica Magistri*, I, pp. 6-7; Robert of Torgini, *The Chronography*, I, pp. 280-1, 284-5

⁷⁸⁴ Allen, 'Henry II and the English Coinage', p. 266, Cook, 'En Monnaie', pp. 628-9.

settlement of the Plantagenet succession must be more than mere coincidence. It is possible that Henry was drawing on a traditional Plantagenet policy which saw the lands intended to be inherited by the eldest son being unified monetarily. Henry's father, Geoffrey Plantagenet, had inherited greater Anjou which included the regions of Maine and Touraine, the coinage of which had been incorporated into the Angevin monetary system from the early-twelfth century.⁷⁸⁵ Geoffrey added Normandy to the Plantagenet domains and, by the time Henry inherited the duchy in 1150, the *Roumois deniers* had disappeared from circulation and been replaced by the Angevin *denier*, as had the Beauvais *deniers* previously found in eastern Normandy.⁷⁸⁶ Over the course of the 1160s and 70s the Blois-Chartres coinage ceased to be produced and the neighbouring coinages of Vendôme and Châteaudun began being minted in greater numbers and to standards that aligned more closely with the Angevin coinages.⁷⁸⁷ The 1180s, as already discussed, saw the reform of the English coinage, bringing it into line with the Angevin coinages which by this time included the Guingamp *deniers* of Brittany. There was precedence, therefore, for Henry's creation of a uniform monetary system in the lands to be inherited by his eldest son.

What we see in the case of the French lands of Henry Plantagenet is that the plans for the division of lands, negotiated and agreed by those in the highest tiers of society, impacted the coins used by people at a local level. Coin production and use was concurrently a preoccupation of those members of the aristocracy who received the minting rights and produced the coins, and the means by which every-day transactions occurred among the lower levels of society. As such, studying the use of money and coin in the French Plantagenet lands reveals facets of Henry's rule that cannot be observed elsewhere, transcending the barriers between economic and social history as well as numismatics. Whilst the focus of this thesis has been on the rule of Henry Plantagenet in his French lands, the topics discussed relate to broader themes. For example, as discussed in chapter three, many of the coinages in circulation during Henry's rule originated during the tenth and eleventh centuries, which raises the question of the

⁷⁸⁵ Dutton, 'Geoffrey, Count of Anjou', pp. 18-19, 44.

⁷⁸⁶ Cook, 'En Monnaie', pp. 637-8.

⁷⁸⁷ Cook, 'En Monnaie', pp. 656-663.

extent to which the minting and use of coin was a continuation or deliberate revival of Carolingian practices. As such this thesis may contribute to discussions resulting from the work being done by Levi Roach on the Carolingian legacy as displayed in the charters.⁷⁸⁸ Similarly, our look at the coinage of the French Plantagenet lands has shown that whilst regional frontiers within the duchy of Normandy and between Normandy and Brittany were permeable, the cultural and political divisions between the lands north and south of the Loire were not. Nor were those between the Plantagenet and Capetian domains. The recently published collection of essays on *Borders and the Norman World* offers reflections on how different borders, or frontiers, were experienced.⁷⁸⁹ The conclusions reached suggest that a border, whether physical or conceptual, was a tool that could be used by a variety of people in different ways. The findings of this thesis tie in with these conclusions, supplying multiple examples of monetary borders, the permeability of which depended on where they were and the political and cultural relationships between those on either side.

This thesis has examined coinage and its use from as broad a perspective as possible. As such it aspires to the same approach to Rory Naismith's recently published *Making Money in the Early Middle Ages*. This looks at all aspects of money, from the minting and use of coin, to how money and its use changed over time, with a particular focus on the social understanding of money.⁷⁹⁰ However, as this thesis has focused specifically on the rule of Henry Plantagenet in his French domains it provides a more specific case-study, focused on a defined geographical area and a forty-year time period. Naismith's study ends around the time this thesis begins, when coin use and production were increasing across Europe, but there was as yet no corresponding growth in the documentation surrounding coin production. By looking at money and coinage only in the French

⁷⁸⁸ Levi Roach, 'Charting Authority after Empire: Documentary Culture and Political Legitimacy in Post Carolingian Europe', *Royal Historical Society Lecture*, (1 February 2024): <https://royalhistsoc.org/video-of-levi-roachs-recent-rhs-lecture-now-available/>, (accessed 01/09/2024); Levi Roach, 'Baldwin of Bury and the English Charter Tradition', *Battle Anglo-Norman Studies Conference*, 21 July 2024 (article forthcoming in *Anglo-Norman Studies*).

⁷⁸⁹ Dan Armstrong, Áron Kecskés, Charles C. Rozier and Leonie Hicks eds., *Borders and the Norman World: Frontiers and Boundaries in Medieval Europe* (Woodbridge 2004).

⁷⁹⁰ Naismith, *Making Money*.

Plantagenet lands during Henry's rule it has been possible, despite severe challenges posed by the availability of evidence, to explore the association between coinage and authority in a way that has not been done before for Henry's French lands. This thesis is the first study to focus explicitly on the coinage in the French Plantagenet lands during Henry's rule and consequently it provides a new perspective on how Henry's authority was exercised, experienced and in some cases resisted across the different parts of his French lands.

Appendices

The appendices are included below, to view the online versions please use the links below.

Appendix one: [Appendix one - Hoards.xlsx](#)

Appendix two: [Appendix two - Single-finds.xlsx](#)

Appendix one

Hoard name (location)	Region	Date of burial	Number of coins	Composition	Find date	Current location	Source
Agen	Aquitaine	Start of 12th C?	1,500-1,600	Aquitaine: William IX deniers of Bordeaux	?	Ch.-1. dep. Lot-et-Garonne)	Duplessy, <i>Les Tresors Monetaires</i> , p. 24
Alençon	Normandy	c.1213-1215	1,150	Louis VI/ Louis VII Orleans (R. French?) denier x1, x94 Anjou Fulk deniers (R/VRBS ANDEGAVIS, VRBS ANDEGAVS, VRBS AIDCCSV, ANDEGAVENSIS), 1 anon. Chartres denier, 43 anon Chateaudun deniers (16x DVNIC: s A s TL, 27X DVNIO: s TIL), 1 Déols denier of Raoul VI, 2 Geoffrey III Gien deniers, 31 Herbert deniers of Le Mans (COMES CENOMANIS & COMES CNEOMANNIS), 1 anon Rennes Deniers, 37 Etienne Guingamp deniers, 9 anon St Martin of Tours deniers, 13 anon Vendome deniers (VDOM CAOSTO), 63 H II short cross sterlings from London, Canterbury etc..., 2 Scottish deniers of William (1165-1214) -(1x HVE ON EDEGBVR, 1x WATER ON PRT), 30 Frustes deniers	Oct 1840	Ch.-1. dep. Orne	Duplessy, Les Tresors Monetaires, p. 24: Lecoindre-Dupont, "Lettre sur l'histoire monétaire de la Normandie", <i>R. Num</i> , VII, 1842, p. 124-125.
Angers	Anjou	late 12th/early 13th C	3	Anjou Geoffrey deniers (GOSRIIDVS COS R/ VRBS AIDCCV)	1/20/1905	Ch.-1. dep. Maine-et-Loire (Musée d'Angers)	Duplessy, <i>Les Tresors Monetaires</i> , p. 25: V. Godard-Faultrier, "Numismatique Angevine. Antiquités féodales", <i>Report Arch. Anjou</i> , V, 1863, p. 443
Anjouin	Central Loire Valley?	c.1170-1180	c. 2,000	Gien deniers (3/4 of the hoard), Herbert deniers of Le Mans, anon deniers of St Martin of Tours, Fulk Angevin deniers, Raoul VI Deols deniers, 1x Saint-Aignan denier, 1 Louis Bourbon denier, 1 Sancerre denier, 1 Souvigny denier.	early 1902	cant. Saint-Christophe-en-Bazelle, dep. Indre)	Duplessy, <i>Les Tresors Monetaires</i> , p. 27: Adrien Blanchet, <i>B. intern. Num.</i> , I, 1902, p. 46
Argentat	Aquitaine	early 12th C	2,508	44 Eudes Limoges deniers, 1,960 deniers of St-Martial de Limoges (2 are from fake monneyers), 483 deniers of Le Puy, 14 Louis deniers of Angouleme, 4 Raymond I deniers of Turenne, 2 Souvigny deniers, 1 Clermont denier	3/12/1943	ch. -1 cant., arr. Tulle, dep. Correze: 20 coins in the BNF cabinet of Medals	Duplessy, <i>Les Tresors Monetaires</i> , p. 29; Henri Hugon, "Trouville de monnaies médiévales a Argentat (en majorité "Barbarins" de Limoges)", <i>B. Soc. Sci. hist. arch. Correze</i> , LXVI, 1944, p. 80-90
Aurillac	R. French domains	c.1150	49 gold	49 gold dinars from north Africa & Spain w/ the most recent dating to 1148-1149	6/2/1905	48 coins in Cabinet des Médailles	Duplessy, v.1 p. 29
Authon	Touraine/Vendome border	11th/12th C	35-40 silver coins	17 Melle deniers in the name of Charles	4/1/1901	5 deniers in musée de Saintes	Duplessy, v.1, p. 29
Auzances	Aquitaine	1199-1219	?	Hugh IX (1199-1219) deniers of Marche	2/15/1905	ch.-1. cant., arr. Aubusson, dep. Creuse, 1873	Duplessy, Les Tresors Monetaires, p. 30: P. de Cessac, "Un trésor de monnaies des comtes de la Marche et leur atelier monétaire de Bellac", <i>Mel. Num</i> , III, 1882, p. 365, n.1
Aviron (Saint-Michel)	Normandy	1180-1205	400	Royal French deniers, Herbert monogram deniers of Le Mans, Fulk Angevin deniers (R/ VRBS ANDEGAVIS), Etienne Guingamp deniers (half of the hoard), deniers of St Martin of Tours, Henry II short cross English sterlings from Stiven and Henri of London - 1/4 of hoard are royal coins from the end of the 12th C and 3/4 are feudal coins from 11th-start of 12th C	2/4/1905	cant. Et arr. Evreux, dep Eure	Duplessy, Les Tresors Monetaires, p. 31; P. G Brunet, "Le Trésor de Saint-Michel", <i>Congres arch. France</i> , XXI session, 1864, p. 444-5
Aytré (Coi-de-Chaux)	Aquitaine	1189-1196	450	29 Louis deniers of Angouleme, the remaining 300+ are R the Lionheart from Poitou (109 P.A. 2505, 80 PA 2506, 1 PA 2557, 88 PA 2536, 1 PA 2547, 1 PA 2522, 3 PA 2518, 5 PA 2528, 1 PA 2537, 1 PA 2526, 1 PA 2517/2519, 1 PA 2555, 3 PA 2542, 18 PA 2544, 7 PA 2558)	3/3/1905	cant. Et arr, La Rochelle, dep. Charente-Maritime:	Duplessy, Les Tresors Monetaires, p. 32; Georges Musset, "Le Monnayage de Richard Couer-de-Lion", <i>Rec. Comm. Arts Mon hist. Charente-Inferieure et Soc. Arch. Saintes</i> , 3rd ed. III, 1889-1890, -. 355-6
Bais	Maine	1180-1205	600-700	51 deniers of St Martin of Tours, 148 Fulk Angevin deniers (most had +VRBS ANDEGAVIS legend, others had +VRBS ANDEGAVS, + VRBS ANDEGAIS, + VRBS ANDEGAVS, +VRBS AIDCCSV x 18), 84 Herbert deniers of Le Mans (83 x +COMES CENOMANNIS and COMES CENOMANIS, 1 with the legend +SIHONEC SEMOC), 4 deniers of Vendome (+VDON CAOSTO), 4 anon deniers of Chateaudun (+ DVNIC CASTI), 5 Geoffrey III deniers of Gien, Geoffrey II Brittany deniers x4, 289 Etienne deniers of Guingamp, 8 English short cross Sterling of Henry II, 1 of Aimer of London, 1 of G... of Canterbury, and 1 +WITVC.ON...)	10/1/1932	cant. La Guerche, arr. Rennes, dep. Ille-et-Vilaine	Duplessy, Les Tresors Monetaires, p. 32: H. Bourde de la Rogerie, "Notice sur un trésor de monnaies du XII siecle decouvert a Bais", <i>B.M. Soc. Arch. Dep. Ille-et-Vilaine</i> , LIX, 1933, p. 33-42
Bazas	Gascony	1126-1137	17	1 Aquitaine denier of William X	2/6/1905	ch.-1, cant. Arr Langon, dep. Gironde	Duplessy, Les Tresors Monetaires, p. 33; Jean Lafaurie, "La monnaie bordelaise du haut Moyen Age", in Charles Higounet, J. Gardelles and Jean Lafaurie, <i>Bordeaux Pendant le haut Moyen Age</i> , Bordeaux, 1963, p. 317
Beaumat	Aquitaine	End 12th C	33	3 deniers of cahors and 30 deniers of Le Puy	3/15/1905	Duplessy v. 1. - . 34	
Béganne	Brittany	1206-1213	1,200-1,500	12 Royal French deniers of Philippe II (1 of Rennes and 11 of St Martin of Tours), 75 anon of St Martin of Tours, 25 Fulk Angevin deniers, 75 Geoffrey III deniers of Gien, 191 Etienne deniers of Guingamp, 2 English Short cross Sterlings of H II by Aimer of London	1st Feb 1883	cant. Allaire, arr. Vannes, dep Morbihan	Duplessy, Les Tresors Monetaires, p. 34: Xavier de la Touche, "Une decouverte de monnaies du XIII C", <i>B. Soc Arch Nantes</i> , XXII, 1883, p. 176
Beleymas	Aquitaine	start of 13th C	127	Richard the Lionheart Poitou deniers, Angouleme, Bordeaux, Marche, Perigord deniers of the 5 eyes type = the most numerous in the hoard	2/20/1905	cant. Villablard, arr, Bergerac, dep Dordogne	Duplessy, Les Tresors Monetaires, p. 34; Jules de Leybardie, <i>B. Soc hist. archeol. Perigord</i> , V, 1878, p. 161

Le Blanc	Poitou	12th/13th C	4	4 anon deniers of St Martin of Tours	?	ch.-1, arr., dep. Indre	Duplessy, <i>Les Tresors Monetaires</i> , p. 36: Abbé Voisin, "Monnaies du moyen age et de l'ere moderne, trouvees dans l'arrondissement du Blanc", <i>Congres arch. France</i> , 40th session, 1873, p. 360
Le Blanc	Poitou	1205-1223	3	3 deniers of Philippe II from St Martin of Tours	?	ch.-1, arr, dep Indre	Duplessy, <i>Les Tresors Monetaires</i> , p. 36: Abbé Voisin, "Monnaies du moyen age et de l'ere moderne, trouvees dans l'arrondissement du Blanc", <i>Congres arch. France</i> , 40th session, 1873, p. 360
Bourg-Dun	Normandy	1190-1205	80	6 Herbert deniers of Le Mans , 18 Etienne Guingamp deniers, 26 Fulk Angevin deniers (+VRBS ANDEGAVIS, +VRBS ANDEGAVS, +VRBS AIDCCSV, +ANDEGAVENSIS), 8 anon St Martin of Tours deniers, 2 English sterling s of H II short cross by Ulard of Canterbury	2/19/1905	cant. Offranville, arr. Dieppe, dep. Seine-Maritime	Duplessy, <i>Les Tresors Monetaires</i> , p. 38; Michel Hardy, "Une cachette monetaire du XII siecle", <i>B. Comm. Antiq. Seine-Infrieur</i> , IV, 1876-8, p. 220-222.
Bourges	Berry	1181-1182	c.1840	Royal French deniers of Philip I, Louis VI, Louis VII, and Philippe II, 1 Raoul VI Deols denier, 2 Fulk Angevin deniers (1x +VRBS ANDEGAVIS, 1x +ANDEGAVENSIS), 1 Ctuny denier, 2 anon deniers of St Martin of Tours	Summer 1883	Ch.-1. dep. Cjer	Duplessy, <i>Les Tresors Monetaires</i> , p. 38: A. Buhot de Kersers, "Bulletin numismatique", <i>M. Soc. Antiq. Centre</i> , XI, 1884, p. 300-310
La Bouteille (Foigny)	R. French domains (NE)	1162-1175	165	Anon deniers of Saint-Quentin , 1 denier of Corbie , Anon deniers of Amiens , Lorraine/Champagne/ Bar, 1 temple denier of Saint-Médard de Soissons , deniers of Reims , Henry I deniers of Provins , Henry I deniers of Troyes , 1 denier of St Martin of Tours , petit deniers of Cambrai and Douai , deniers of Valencia , and Tournai	15 May 1893		Duplessy v. 1 p. 39; B. Num, II 1893-1894, p 74
Brion	Maine	12th C	?	Deols deniers	?	cant. Levroux, arr. Chateauroux, dep. Indre	Duplessy, <i>Les Tresors Monetaires</i> , p. 40: Dr. Fauconneau-Dufresne, <i>Histoire de Deols et de Chateauroux</i> , tome I, Chateauroux, 1873, p. 139
Brousse	R. French domains	1202-1223	c.600	c.300 deniers of Nevers , deniers of Souvigny , Gien , Deols , Fulk of Anjou (+VRBS AIDCCSV) and Montluçon .	1930?		Duplessy, v.1 p. 41; Dr Georges Janicaud, "Trésor de Brousse", <i>M. Soc. Sc. Nat. arch. Creuse</i> , XXIV, 1930, p. 25-29
Caen (Chapel of La Maladerrie)	Normandy	1180-1205	? (lots)	Herbert deniers of Le Mans , Fulk Angevin deniers, anon deniers of St Martin of Tours , H II short Cross English Sterling s	c.1823	ch.-1, dep. Calvados	Duplessy, <i>Les Tresors Monetaires</i> , p. 42: Lecointre-Dupont, "Lettre sur l'histoire Monetaire de la Normandie", <i>R. Num</i> , VII, 1842, p. 123
Carlux	Aquitaine	12th C	250	Deniers from Turenne , Cahors , Limoges , Perigord incl. 2 obols, Angouleme , and Bordeaux deniers from Aquitaine	2/26/1905	Ch.-1, cant. Arr. Sarlat, dep. Dordogne	Duplessy, <i>Les Tresors Monetaires</i> , p 43: Dr Galy, <i>B. Soc. hist. arch. Perigord</i> , XII, 1885, p. 40
Caro (La Pommeraye)	Brittany	12th C	?	Etienne deniers of Guingamp	2/1/1939	cant. Malestroit, arr. Vannes, dep. Morbihan	Duplessy, <i>Le Tresors Monetaires</i> , p. 43: B. Soc. Polym. Morbihan, LXXIX, 1939, p. 10-11
Caro (Bois0Guillau me)	Brittany	1194-1205	? (more than 1,634)	1,386 Etienne deniers of Guingamp , deniers from Brittany (1 Rennes denier of Conan III, 10 of Geoffrey II), 146 Fulk Angevin deniers (23 x +VRBS ANDEGAVIS, 51 +VRBS ANDEGAVS, 44 +VRBS AIDCCSV, 28 +ANDEGAVENSIS), 48 Herbert deniers of Le Mans (39 old type, 9 most recent), 35 Geoffrey III Gien deniers, 6 anon. Chateaudun deniers, 2 short cross English Sterling of H II (1 Richard of London, 1 of William of London)	1952/3	cant. Malestroit, arr. Vannes, dep. Morbihan	Duplessy, <i>Les Tresors Monetaires</i> , p. 43-4
Castelmoron	Aquitaine	12th C	?	1 anon Aquitaine denier	1/20/1905	cant. Monsegur, arr. Langon, dep. Gironde	Duplessy, <i>Les Tresors Monetaires</i> , p. 44: Jean Lafaurie, "La monnaie bordelaise du haut Moyen Age", in Charles Higounet, J. Gardelles et Jean Lafaurie, <i>Bordeaux pendant le haut Moyen age</i> , Bordeaux, 1963, p. 318
Chabanais	Aquitaine	1189-1196	29	Louis VII Royal French Paris deniers x 7, 10 deniers of Marche , 1 denier of Sancerre , 1 of Valence 1 of Vienne , 1 of H I or H II from Champagne , 1 denier of Lyon , 1 of Souvigny , 1 of Guingamp , 1 Richard the Lionheart of Poitou , 3 William and 1 Richard the Lionheart of Aquitaine	3/7/1905	ch.-1. cant., arr. Confolens, dep. Charente	Duplessy, <i>Les Tresors Monetaires</i> , p. 44: R. Numismatique, 3rd series, XII, 1894, p. 127
Champigny-en-Beuce	Blois	end 12th C	51	8 anon. deniers of Vendome (+VDON CAOSTO), 5 anon deniers of Chateaudun (+DVNIOSTILI), 8 Herbert deniers of Le Mans , 1 Fulk monogramme of Anjou , 5 Etienne coins of Guingamp	Jan 1886	cant. Herbault, arr. Blois, dep. Loir-et-Cher	Duplessy, <i>Les Tresors Monetaires</i> , p. 46-7: A. BI, R Num, 3rd Series VI, 1888, p. 475-6
Chanteloup	Brittany	10th/12th C	2,890	only 304 examined: 304 deniers and obols in the name of Charles at Melle	Spring 1906		Duplessy v.1 p. 47; Alfred Richard, "Rapport sur une découverte de monnaies des comtes de Poitou fait à la séance de la Société des Antiquaires de l'Ouest du 21 Juin 1906", B et M. Soc. Antiq. Ouest, 2nd Series X, 1904-1906, p. 534-5 pl.
Chatillon-sur-Cher	Blois	1206-7	1,500	15 deniers of Issoudun (2 of Eudes III, 13 of Richard the Lionheart), c.450 deniers of Deols (427 of Raoul VI, 43 deniers of Philippe-Auguste), 1 anon. fleur denier of Vierzon , c.800 Geoffrey III Gien deniers (745 deniers, 45 obols), 3 Herve de Donzy deniers of Nevers , 2 Louis obols of Bourbon , 5 deniers of Souvigny , 1 Conan IV denier of Brittany , 1 Etienne denier of Guingamp	Aug 1834	cant. Saint-Aignan, arr. Blois, dep. Loir-et-Cher	Duplessy, <i>Les Tresors Monetaires</i> , p. 49: L. de la Saussaye, "Memoires sur plusieurs enfouissements numismatiques decouverts dans la Sologne blesoise: VI. Monnoies baronates du XII siecle", <i>R. Num</i> , IV, 1839, p. 129-143, pl. VII

Chauvigny	Aquitaine	1202-1213	?	Fulk Angevin deniers, Etienne deniers of Guingamp , Geoffrey III deniers of Gien , 4 Gui de Dampierre deniers of Montluçon , Raoul VI deniers of Deols , also coins of Nevers , Souigny , Etampes , Vierzon , Saint-Aignan and Vendome .	1/2/1905	ch.-1, arr. Montmorillon, dep Vienne	Duplessy, <i>Les Tresors Monetaires</i> , p. 50: Lecointre-Dupont, "notice sur la monnaie des seigneurs de Mauleon en Poitou", <i>R. Num</i> , III, 1838, p. 191, n.1: J. B. Bouillet, "Monnoies des seigneurs de Montluçon, département de l'Allier", <i>R. Num</i> , III, 1838, p. 112-115.
Confolens	Aquitaine	c.1190-1200	?	Charles Melle deniers (R/ MET-ALO), Louis coins of Angouleme , Richard the Lionheart coins of Poitou (deniers + 1 obol), 3 William Bordeaux deniers of Aquitaine , 2 deniers of Le Pouy	19 July 1835	ch.-1, arr. dep. Charente	Duplessy, <i>Les Tresors Monetaires</i> , p. 53: Lecointre-Dupont, "Dissertation sur des monnoies portant les noms de Charles roi et de la ville de Melle", <i>R. num</i> , V, 1840, p. 43-4
Corné	Anjou	c.1158-80	?	Henry II Tealby English Sterling (Bristol, Bury-St-Ed, Canterbury, Colchester, Gloucester, Lincoln, Northampton, Stafford, Thetford, Wilton, Winchester, poss. Canterbury)	c.1930	cant. Beaufort-en-vallee, arr. Angers, dep. Maine-et-Loire	Duplessy, <i>Les Tresors Monetaires</i> , p. 53: F. Elmore Jones, "A Parcel of 'Tealby' type pennies from France", <i>Num. Circular</i> , LXXIV, 1966, p. 125-6
Couhé	Poitou	11th/12th C	?	40 deniers examined: 40 obols in the name of Charles at Melle	#####		Duplessy v.1 p. 55; Lecointre-Dupont, "Dissertation sur des monnoies portant le nom de Charles roi et de la ville de Melle", <i>R. Num.</i> , V., 1840, p. 63, pl, III, 3-4.
Cré	Maine	1180-1205	350	73 Fulk Angevin deniers, 38 Herbert Le Mans deniers, 32 anon. St Martin of Tours deniers, 159 Etienne deniers of Guingamp , 4 English short Cross Sterling	Jul 1853	cant. Et arr. La Fleche, dep. Sarthe	Duplessy, <i>Les Tresors Monetaires</i> , p. 56: Hucher, B., <i>Comité Langue Hist. Arts France</i> , II, 1853-1855, p. 20-1
Déols	Touraine/Poitou/R. French border	12th C?	?	Un panier de deniers de deols .	1/29/1905		Duplessy v, 1, p. 57;
Dol (Rue Ceinte)	Brittany	1199-1205	c.20	English H II short cross Sterlings (Class 1b of Raoul of London, Class IV from Canterbury)	5/15/1905	ch.-1, cant., arr. Saint-Malo, dep. Ille-et-Vilaine, rue Ceinte	Duplessy, <i>Les Tresors Monetaires</i> , p. 58: Lettres de M. Claude-Henri Galocher a M. Lafaurie, Sept 1962, archives du Cabinet des Medailles
Dreux	Normandy/Ile de France	c.1140-1150	3,000	Royal French deniers (P I - 180 from Dreux, 15 of Etampes, L VI - 7 of Chateau-Landon, 245 of Dreux and 14 Dreux obols, 57 of Etampes and 1 obol, 198 of Orleans, 46 of Pontoise, L VII - 172 deniers of Paris, 37 of Mantes), anon deniers of Normandy , 7 anon of St Martin of Tours , 8 deniers and 319 obols of Chartres , 1 anon denier of Vendome (+VONDO ASTO), 1 denier and 2 obols of Chateaudun (+DVNICSASTLLL), 1 Hugues Bardout denier of Dreux , 1 denier of Amaury III of Nogent-Le-Roi , 1 Fulk Angevin denier (R/ +VRBS ADECSV), 1 St Anshaire denier of Corbie , 1 denier of Troyes (+BEATVS PETRVS)	2/19/1905	ch.-1, arr. dep. Eure-et-Loir	Duplessy, <i>Les Tresors Monetaires</i> , p. 58: Ch. Penchaud, "Tresor de Dreux", <i>Annu. Soc. Franc. Num</i> , V, 1877-1881, p. 430-435
Droux (La Commadnerie)	Aquitaine	1137-1152	21	8 "barbarian" deniers of Saint-Martial de Limoges , 3 Louis Angouleme deniers, 2 deniers of Perigord , 7 Charles deniers from Melle (R/ MET-ALO), 1 L VII denier of Aquitaine	2/22/1905	cant. Magnac-Laval, arr. Bellac, dep. Haute-Vienne	Duplessy, <i>Les Tresors Monetaires</i> , p. 59: Brissaud, B. Soc. Arch. Hist. Limousin, XXIX, 1881, p. 409
Druy-Parigny (Largue)	R. French domains	c.1206-7	537	201 deniers of Nevers , 263 of Raoul VI of Déols and 5 of Philippe-Auguste, 21 Deniers of Geoffrey III of Gien , 15 of Gui de Dampierre of Montluçon , 1 denier of Richard the Lionheart of Issoudun , 4 anon of Souigny , 8 Etienne Guingamp deniers, 3 Fulk of Anjou , 16 deniers of Bourgogne	2/25/1905		Duplessy, v. 1, p. 59-60; L. Maxe-Werly, "Trouvaille faite à Largue..." <i>R. Num.</i> , 3rd Ser I, 1883, p. 228-234.
Dussac	Aquitaine	12th C	200-300	"barbarian" deniers of St Martial de Limoges , deniers and obols in the name of Louis from Angouleme	c.1881	cant. Lanouaille, arr. Nontron, dep. Dordogne	Duplessy, <i>Les Tresors Monetaires</i> , p. 60: Herman, B. Soc. hist. arch. Perigot, IX, 1882, p. 32-4
Dussac	Aquitaine	12th C	600	200 vicomtes type deniers of Limoges , 400 Louis deniers of Angouleme	1891-3	cant. Lanouaille, arr. Nontron, dep. Dordogne	Duplessy, <i>Les Tresors Monetaires</i> , p. 60: E. Lespinas, B. Soc. Hist. arch, Perigord, XX, 1893, p. 426-7
Étampes	R. French domains	12/13th C	?	Herbert type deniers of Le Mans			Duplessy, v 1 p. 61; Maxime Legrand, 'Essai sur les monnaies d'émpes', <i>R. Num.</i> 4 Ser. XVI, 1912, p. 405, n. 3
Ferrières-sur-Risle	Normandy	1060-1108	?	1 Dreux R. French denier, 1 denier of Conan II of Brittany , 1 Geoffrey of Anjou , 31 Normandy deniers	2/7/1905		Duplessy v, 1, p. 64; A. Chabouillet, 'Discours', B.Soc. Antiq. Normandie, XIV, 1886-1887, p. 177 and 257-268.
Flavignac	Aquitaine	1199-1219	c.40	Louis deniers of Angouleme , Hugh IX of Marche , Richard the Lionheart of Aquitaine , Richard the Lionheart of Poitou , "barbarian" deniers of St Martial of Limoges	1/3/1905	cant. Chalus, arr. Limoges, dep. Haute-Vienne	Duplessy, <i>Les Tresors Monetaires</i> , p. 64: M.A.... "Monnaies d'Aquitaine", B.Soc. Agr. Sci. Arts Limoges, IX, 1830, p. 120-5
Gamarde	Aquitaine (Gascony)	12th C	?	c.40 obols of Cahors	4/15/1905	cant. Montfort, arr. Dax, dep. Landes	Duplessy, <i>Les Tresors Monetaires</i> , p. 68: Adr. Bl., <i>R. Num</i> , 4 series, XXXVI, 1933, p. 232
Gençay	Aquitaine	1206-1219	c.295	1 denier of Geoffrey II from Brittany , 60 deniers and 1 obol of Etienne at Guingamp , 48 Fulk Angevin deniers (R/ + VRBS AIDCCSV), 6 Raoul VI deniers of Deols and 5 of P II, 54 Hervé de Donzy deniers of Nevers , 33 Geoffrey III of Gien , 24 Raymond deniers of Turenne , 26 deniers of Hugh IX of Marche , 3 deniers of St-Martial de Limoges , 4 deniers of Souigny , 1 anon obol of Vendome , 9 anon deniers of St Martin of Tours , 1 Louis denier of Angouleme , 5 R the L deniers of Poitou , 2 deniers + 6 obols of R I of Aquitaine , 4 Dijon deniers of Hugh III of Bourgogne and 2 deniers and 1 obol of frustes.	Oct 1885	ch.-1, cant., arr. Montmorillon, dep. Vienne,	Duplessy, <i>Les Tresors Monetaires</i> , p. 68: A. Richard, "Note sure une trouvaille de monnaies baronnales", <i>B. Soc. Antiq. Ouest</i> , 2nd series IV, 1886-1888, p. 521-4
Grand-Fougeray	Brittany	1158-1169	9,500 kg of silver coins	Fulk Angevin deniers, anon deniers of St Martin of Tours , Conan III deniers of Brittany (+DVX BRITANNIE) - Duplessy argues these are more like deniers of Conan IV as Conan III didn't have this legend.	2/5/1905	ch.-1. cant., arr. Redon, dep. Ille-et-Vilaine	Duplessy, <i>Les Tresors Monetaires</i> , p. 71: V. Godard-Faultrier, "Numismatique angevine. Antiquités feodales", <i>Repert arch. Anjou</i> , V., 1863, p. 445-6
Guéret	Aquitaine	1199-1219	?	Hugh IX deniers of Marche , Louis deniers of Angouleme , anon deniers of Souigny	Jul 1841	cn.-1 dep. Creuse	Duplessy, <i>Les Tresors Monetaires</i> , p.71: M. Soc. Sci, nat. et d'Antiq. Creuse, I, 1847, p. 5

Guéret (Pisserate)	Aquitaine	1199-1219	30	Hugh IX deniers of Marche	c.1880	ch.-1. dep. Creuse	Duplessy, <i>Les Tresors Monetaires</i> , p. 71: Dr Georges Janicaud, "Numismatique creusoise", <i>M. Soc. Sci nat. arch. Creuse</i> , XXV, 1933, p. 5
Hottot-en-Auge (mixed hoard)	Normandy	c.1200-1205	c.4,000	Louis VI denier of Dreux Royal French , 20 anon deniers of St Martin of Tours , 650 anon deniers of Chateaudun , 161 anon deniers of Vendome , 601 Fulk Angevin deniers, 261 Herbert deniers of Le Mans , 8 Geoffrey III deniers of Gien , 1 Raoul VI denier of Deols , 2 deniers of Hervé de Donzy of Nevers , 1 anon denier of Souigny , 1 Louis deniers of Bourbon , 2 Raoul deniers of Soissons , 1 Geoffrey II denier of Brittany , 1,950 Etienne deniers of Guingamp , 200 Frustes French deniers, 65 H II Short cross English Sterling and 25 half deniers	May 1862	cant. Cambremer, arr. Lisieux, dep. Calvados	Duplessy, <i>Les Tresors Monetaires</i> , p. 72: L. Paysant, "Rapport lu a la Societe des Antiquaires de Normandie sur une decouverte de monnaies feodales faite en mai 1862", <i>B. Soc. Antiq. Normandie</i> , II, 1862, p. 188-198; Jules Chautard, "Note sur une decouverte de petites pieces de monnaies a HOttot-en-Auge (Calvados)", <i>B. Soc. arch. Vendomois</i> , I, 1862, p. 68 and 105-6
Issoudun	Aquitaine	12th C?	1,800	deniers of Deols	1/30/1905		Duplessy, v 1 p. 74; Dr Fauconneau-Dufresne, <i>Histoire de Deols et De Chateauroux</i> , t. I, 1873, p. 139.
Jupilles	Maine	12th/13th C	4	4 Herbert deniers of Le Mans	2/24/1927	cant. Chateau-du-Loir, arr. Le Mans, dep. Sarthe	Duplessy, <i>Les Tresors Monetaires</i> , p. 76: Derre, "Fouilles et decouvertes", <i>La Province du Maine</i> , 2nd series, IX, 1929, p. 236
Larré	Brittany	1180-1205	250	c.30 Herbert deniers of Le Mans , Fulk Angevin deniers, Etienne deniers of Guingamp , anon deniers of St Martin of Tours , H II short cross English Sterling	#####	cant. Et. Arr. Alencon, dep. Orne	Duplessy, <i>Les Tresors Monetaires</i> , p. 78: Lecointre-Dupont, "Lettre sur l'histoire monetaire de la Normandie", <i>R. num. VII</i> , 1842, p. 123-4
Lavaur (avenue of the garden of the bishop)	Gascony	1205-1223	c.1000	P II St Martin of Tours Royal French deniers, deniers and obols of Raymond V, VI/VII of Toulouse , deniers of Melgueil , anon deniers of St Martin of Tours	1/25/1900	ch.-1, cant. Arr. Castres, dep. Tarn	Duplessy, <i>Les Tresors Monetaires</i> , p. 79: Pierre Bessery, "Un tresor de mnaies feodales a Lavaur", <i>B. Soc. Arch. Midi France</i> , 1899-1901, p. 86-7
Lezay	Poitou	1190-1200	?	R the Lionheart deniers of Poitou , Louis deniers of Angouleme	2/25/1905	ch.-1. cant., arr. Niort, dep. Deux-Sevres	Duplessy, <i>Les Tresors Monetaires</i> , p. 79: Emile Breuilleac, <i>B. Soc. Stat. Sci. Lett. Arts Dep Deux-Sevres V</i> , 1882-1884 , p. 434-5
Limoges	Aquitaine	12th C	6	1 William Bordeaux denier of Aquitaine , 3 Louis deniers (4 anulets and a cross) deniers of Angouleme and one obol, 1 denier of Le Puy	15 May 1840	ch.-1. dep. Haute-Vienne	Duplessy, <i>Les Tresors Monetaires</i> , p. 80: Maurice Ardant, "Bulletin archeologique", <i>B. Soc. Agr. Sci. Arts Limoges</i> , XVIII, 1840, p. 114-5
Le Louroux-Béconnaies (Le Chesnot)	Maine	12th/13th C	?	5 Fulk Angevin deniers (2 w/ +VRBS ANDEGAVIS), 2 anon deniers of St Martin of Tours (these 7 coins are in the musee d'Angers, No. 874 of catalogue of 1867)	June 1861	ch.-1, cant., arr. Angers, dep. Maine-et-Loire	Duplessy, <i>Les Tresors Monetaires</i> , p. 81: V. Godard-Faultrier, "Numismatique angevine. Antiquites feodales", <i>Report. Arch. Anjou</i> , V, 1863, p. 446; H. Sauvage, "Note sur les deniers trouves au Louroux-Beconnaies", <i>Repert. Arch. Anjou</i> , X, 1868, p. 426-7
Luzech	Aquitaine	1169-1189	32	2 deniers of RI of Aquitaine	?	ch.-1. cant. Arr. Cahors, dep. Lot	Duplessy, <i>Les Tresors Monetaires</i> , p. 81: G.D. "Le Tresor de monnaies feodales de Luzech (Lot)", <i>Tresors Monetaires</i> , IV, 1982, p. 99
Mairé-Levescault	Poitou	end of 12th.early 13th C	900	R the Lionheart Poitou or Aquitaine x700, 200 Louis deniers of Angouleme	?	cant. Sauzé-Vaussais, arr. Niort, dep. Deux-Sevres	Duplessy, <i>Les Tresors Monetaires</i> , p. 82: A. Bardonnnet, <i>B. Soc. Stat. Lett. Arts dep. Deux-Sevres</i> , V, 1882-1884, p. 49
Massay (the port) (mixed hoard)	Berry	1152-1160	4,103	Royal French deniers - 1 of P I, 36 of L VI (4 from Dreux and 32 Orleans), 16 from Orleans of L VI/VII, 9 deniers and 1 obol of Bourges of Louis VII , 1 Renne denier of Conan III of Brittany , 1 Etienne denier of Guingamp , 168 Angevin deniers (17 deniers and 4 obols of Geoffrey with +GOSRIDVS COS R/ +VRBS AIDCSV, 62 Fulk deniers +VRBS AIDCCSV, 67 Fulk with +ANDEGAVENSIS, and another 18 Fulk deniers with no identifiable legend), 94 deniers of St Martin of Tours , 75 grand deniers of Blois and 5 deniers, 4 obols with +BIESANIS CSTO, 2 large deniers and 2 smal deniers of Chartres and 78 obols, 3 anon obols of Chateaudun , 1 anon denier of Romorantin , 1 Eudes and 49 Ebbes deniers of Deols , 1,851 deniers and 2 Obols of Raoul II of Issoudun . 3 obols of Geoffrey III of Gien , 2 anon deniers and 1 obol of Sancerre and 1 denier of Etienne, 1,006 deniers and 33 obols of Vierzon , 45 grand Chartrain deniers of Saint-Aignan , 309 deniers and 64 obols, 130 deniers of Souigny , 75 deniers of St-Martial of Limoges , 2 Louis deniers of Angouleme , 2 deniers of Melgueil , 1 denier of Tournus (+SCS VALERIAN R/ +TORNVICIO CAST, 3 Thibaut II deniers of Provins , 2 Gautier I/II obols of Meaux , Henry V/ Conrad III deniers x 26 of Lucques (3,886 coins in the Museum of Bourges)	2/15/1905	cant. Vierzon, arr. Bourges, dep. Cher	Duplessy, <i>Les Tresors Monetaires</i> , p. 83-4: A. Buhot de Kersers, "Bulletin numismatique", <i>M. Soc. Antiq. Centre</i> , V, 1873-4, p. 329, pl. II: Caron, C.R. Soc. Franc. Num. Arch., V, 1874, p. 28-9; D. Mater, "Catalogue descriptif de quelques series monétaires du musée de Bourges", <i>M.Soc. hist. litt. art. sci. Cher</i> , 3rd series II, 182, p. 346-7
Mestay-le-Vidame		c.1180-1185		6 gold dinars, of Spain , 5 of Murcie , 1 of Castille			
Moissac (Gascony)	Aquitaine (Gascony)	1167-1194	c.500	330 deniers of Barn & 175 obols, 1 denier of Carcassone			Duplessy v, 1 p. 86, Chanoine F. Pottier, <i>B. Soc archeol. Tar-et-Garonne</i> , XXI, 1893, p. 76-77.
Montfleurs	Maine	12th C	?	Deniers of Fulk and Geoffrey of Angevin	early 1938	cant. Argentre, arr. Laval, dep. Mayenne	Duplessy, <i>Les Tresors monetaires</i> , p. 89: Adr. Bl., <i>R. Num.</i> , 5th Series II, 1938, p. 270
Montfort-l'Amaury	R. French domains (near Paris)	1112-1120	2,200+	1,131 described: 34 R. French deniers, 8 deniers and obols of Melle , 329 Gautier deniers of Meaux , 229 Troye , 471, Provins , 4 Amiens , 5 Geoffrey obols of Anjou , Rennes Brittany deniers, 6 deners and obols of Châteaudun , 23 obols of Chartres , 13 Herbert of Le Mans , 5 normandy deniers			Duplessy v. 1 p. 89; A. de Dion, "Description des monnaies trouvees... Comm. Antiquit Arts. Dep. Seine-et-Oiset VI, 1886, p. 133-146, G. ary, <i>T. Num.</i> , 3 series <i>VIII</i> , 1890, p0. 493-494

Montigny-Lencoup (Le Fresnoy) - interesting because shows Aquitanian coins found in the French domain	R. French domains	c.1170-1180	c.2,500	2,226 described: 449 R. French , 1 denier & 1 obol Melle , 520 deniers of Troyes , 435 deniers of Provins , 847 of Meaux , 1 of Langres , 1 obol of Reims , 1 denier of Laon , 2 Geoffrey deniers of Gien , 1 denier of Deols , 1 denier St Martin of Tours , 1 denier Romorantin , 7 deniers Le Puy , 3 deniers Auxerre , 1 denier Saint-Pol , 7 deniers Barcelona , 3 deniers Navarre	April 1891		Duplessy v. 1 p. 8; E. Caron, 'Trouvaille du Fresnoy', <i>Annu Soc. Franc. Num. XV, 1891</i> , p. 362-8.
Montmorillon	Aquitaine	12th C	26	14 Charles deniers of Melle (R/ MET-ALO), 5 William Bordeaux deniers of Aquitaine , 7 Etienne deniers of Guingamp	1/17/1905	ch.-1, arr., dep. Vienne	Duplessy, <i>Les Tresors Monetaires</i> , p. 91: B. Fillon, "Nouvelles observations sur les monnaies de Philippe-Auguste, frappées en Bretagne et sur celles de Guingamp", <i>R. Num.</i> , X, 1845, p. 234, n.3
Montmorillon (Gravaux)	Aquitaine	12th C	? (lots)	anon. deniers of St Martin of Tours and Fulk Angevin deniers are the majority but also deniers and obols in the name of Louis from Angouleme , "barbarian" deniers of St Martial de Limoges	April 1847	ch.-1 arr. Dep, Vienne	Duplessy, <i>Les Tresors Monetaires</i> , p. 91: B. Soc. Antiq. Ouest, V, 1847-1849, p. 65
Montvalent	Aquitaine	12th/13th C	? (lots)	Vicomte coins of Turenne , episcopal coins of Cahors	c.1870	cant. Martel, arr. Gourdon, dep. Lot	Duplessy, <i>Les Tresors Monetaires</i> , p. 94: Georges Depyrot et Michel Dhenin, "Le trésor de Castelnaud-Montratrier (1950)(XVI C). Inventaire des trésors medieviaux et modernes quercynois", B. Soc. Et. Lot, C, 1979, p. 149
Mosnac	Poitou	?	c.140	140 coins of Angouleme	?		Duplessy v. 1, p. 94; Adr. Bl., R. Num, 5th Ser. XVM 1953, p. 159-160.
Mothe-Saint-Héray	Poitou	11th/12th C	200	200 obols in name of Charles of Melle	Nov 1835		Duplessy v. 1, p. 94; R. Num, I, 1836m p. 44.
Nantes	Brittany	late 12th/early 13th C	?	Castille dinars x 4 of Alphonse VIII and some Arabic dinars	Nov. 1910	ch.-1, dep. Loire-Atlantique	Duplessy, <i>Les Tresors Monetaires</i> , p. 94: Adrien Blanchet, <i>R. Num.</i> , 4th Sries, XV, 1911, p. 119
Nedde	Aquitaine	12th C	?	5 "barbarian" varieties of St Martial de Limoges deniers	?	cant. Eymoutiers, arr. Limoges, dep. Haute-Vienne	Duplessy, <i>Les Tresors Monetaires</i> , p. 94: Jean Perrier, "Trésors Monetaires du moyen age en Haute-Vienne", B. Soc. Archeol. Hist. Limousin, CVII, 1980, p. 155
Neuville-aux-Bois	R. French domains	1073-1108	c.224	19 R. French deniers, 2 deniers of Nevers , 8 deniers of Le Mans , 1 denier Auxerre , 105 deniers and 15 obols Chartres , 70 deniers and 1 obol Melle , 1 Fulk obol of Angers , 2 deniers Castille	5/12/1905		Duplessy v. 1 p. 95;
Nogent-le-Rotrou	Perche	c.1140-1150	1,678	Royal French deniers (P I - 57 of Dreux, L VI - 166 deniers and 8 obols of Dreux, 3 of Etampes, 1 of Montreuil, 2 of Orleans, 2 of Pontois, L VII - 10 deniers of Paris, 2 of Mantes, 1 of Orens, 2 of Pontoise), 1 anon obol of Chartres , 480 anon deniers of Chateaudun and 327 obols, 204 deniers of St Martin of Tours , 57 Geoffrey Angevin deniers (1 w/ +G.SFRIDVS O R/ +VRBS AIDCCSV) and 388 Fulk (253 R/ +VRBS AIDCCSV, and +VRBS.AIDCCSV), 1 Raoul II denier of Issoudun , 9 obols of Geoffrey III of Gien , 1 Etienne denier of Guingamp , 1 Rennes denier of Conan III of Brittany , 1 denier of Thibaut II of Provins	2/22/1905	ch.-1. arr. Dep. Eure-et-Loire	Duplessy, <i>Les Tresors Monetaires</i> , p. 95; J. Hermeret, "Trouvaille de Nogent le Rotrou", <i>Annu Soc. Franc. Num. V. 1877-1881</i> , p. 509-533
Nontron (La Francherie)	Aquitaine	start of 13th C	Dispersed hoard - c.1,692	469 deniers of St Martial of Limoges (diff. types described), 89 deniers of Louis in Angouleme and 1 obol, 138 Raymond deniers of Turenne , 4 Bordeaux deniers of William of Aquitaine , 478 deniers and 21 obols of Richard I, 434 deniers and 11 obols of Richard the L of Poitou	c.1892	ch.-1, arr. Dep. Dordogne	Duplessy, <i>Les Tresors Monetaires</i> , p. 96: Lespina, <i>B. Soc. Hist. arch. Perigord</i> , XX, 1893, p. 425-6: Comte Charles de Beaumont, "Trésors numismatique de la Francherie (Dordogne)", B. Soc. Hist. arch. Perigord, XLI, 1914, p. 329-334.
Notre-Dame-d'Oe	Touraine	end of 12th C	?	large number of Etienne deniers of Guingamp , 2 Rennes deniers of Conan III of Brittany , 1 Geoffrey Angevin denier (R/ +VRBS ANDEGAVIS) and many Fulk with many varieties (R/ +VRBS ANDEGAVIS), over 30 Herbert deniers of Le Mans , anon deniers of St Martin of Tours , many deniers of Chateaudun (+DVNIC:CASTE), 2 Geoffrey III deniers of Gien , 1 Raoul VI denier of Deols	?	cant., Vouvray, arr. Tours, dep. Indre-et-Loire	Duplessy, <i>Les Tresors Monetaires</i> , p. 96-7: A. Jefferain, "Observations numismatiques a l'occasion de quelques monnaies francaises des XI et XII siecles", <i>A. Soc. Agr. Sci. Arts B.-Lett. Dep. Indre-et-Loire</i> , XII, 1832, p. 46-61
La Nouaille (La Chaumette)	Aquitaine	11th/12th C	?	5 deniers of the Vicomté de Limoges given to the museum of Brive	2/24/1905	cant. Gentioux, arr. Aubusson, dep. Creuse	Duplessy, <i>Les Tresors Monetaires</i> , p. 97: G. Janicaud, "Numismatique creusoise", <i>m. Soc. Sci. nat. arch. Creuse</i> , XXV, 1931-1934, p. 381-2
Noyers (Saint-Lazare)	R. French domains	end 12th C	600+	deniers of Gien & Déols	1864?	Hoard conserved at l'hospice de Saint-Aignan	Duplessy v, 1 p. 97; L.D.L.S., R. num, nouv. Serie, IX, 1864, p. 231-232.
Pamiers	Gascony	end of 12th.early 13th C	?	1 denier and 2 obols of Raymond V, VI/VII of Toulouse	3/8/1905	ch.-1. arr. Dep. Ariège	Duplessy, <i>Les Tresors Monetaires</i> , p. 99: Régistre d'acquisition F, Cabinet ds Medailles, No. 6625-6627, 25 Oct, 1894
Parnay	Poitou	end 12th C	600+	most are Charles the Simple/Louis the Fat deniers of Melle/Nevers , others are Geoffrey III of Gien & Stephen of Sancerre	1836?		Duplessy v, 1 p. 99; <i>Journal de l'institut historique</i> , IV, 1836, p. 190
Perigueux	Aquitaine	12th/13th C	107	possibly deniers of Deols	?	ch.-1, dep. Dordogne	Duplessy, <i>Les Tresors Monetaires</i> , p. 100: Notes by A. Blanchet
Perigueux	Aquitaine	12th C	c.1,500	1,500 deniers of Angouleme	1/27/1905	ch.-1, dep. Dordogne	Duplessy, <i>Les Tresors Monetaires</i> , p. 100: Amedee Matagnin, <i>Le Chroniqueur du Perigord et du Limousin</i> , II, 1854, p. 120
Peyrat-le-Château	Aquitaine	12th C	1,500	1,500 "barbarian" deniers of St Martial of Limoges	?	cant. Eymoutiers, arr. Limoges, dep. Haute-Vienne	Duplessy, <i>Les Tresors Monetaires</i> , p. 100: ean Perrier, "Trésors monetaires du moyen age en Haute Vienne", B. Soc. Archeol. Limousin, CVII, 1980, p. 155-6
Plobannalec	Brittany	1112-1148	?	Conan III deniers of Rennes, Brittany	2/24/1905		Duplessy v 1 p. 100; Paul de Chatellier, R. Num, 3 Series III, 1885, p. 213.

Plouisy	Brittany	12th/early 13th C	30	6 Etienne deniers of Guingamp	3/14/1905	cant. Et arr. Guingamp, dep. Cotes-du-Nord	Duplessy, <i>Les Tresors Monetaires</i> , p. 101: R. Suisse Num. IX, 1899, p. 389
Pont-l'Éveque	Normandy	12th C	?	12th C coins - possibly of Amiens	1/20/1905	cant. Noyon, arr. Compiègne, dep. Oise	Duplessy, <i>Les Tresors Monetaires</i> , p. 101: Rigollot, <i>B. Soc. Antiq. Picardie</i> , V, 1853-1855, p. 39
Pontoise	R. French domains (near Paris)	c.1180	c.7,000	5,600 examined: Maj. R. French deniers, the remainder: 2 Charles obols of Melle , 14 Fulk Obols of Anjou & others in Geoffrey's name, 1 denier of Chartres , 2 of Herbert of Le Mans , 5 of St Martin of Tours , 230 deniers of Le Puy , 3 of Soissons , 1 of Pierrefonds , 3 of Saint-Médard de Soissons , 3 of Crépy-en-Valois , 3 of Amiens , 10 if Ponthieu , 3 of Saint-Pol , 6 unknown, 12 English Sterling		Some coins gifted to the museum of Pontoise, 57 are in the Cabinet of Medailles	Duplessy v 1 p. 101-2; E. Caron, "Trésor de Pontoise", <i>Annu. Soc. Franc. Num.</i> XVI 1892, p. 275-285.
La Porcherie	Aquitaine	1189-1196	?	"barbarian" deniers of St Martial of Limoges , Raymond deniers of Turenne , Richard the Lionheart deniers of Poitou	3/10/1905	cant. Saint-Germain-les-Belles, arr. Limoges, dep. Haute-Vienne	Duplessy, <i>Les Tresors Monetaires</i> , p. 102: F. Delage, <i>B. Soc. Archeol. Hist. Limousin</i> , LXX, 1923, p. 225-6
Puycornet	Aquitaine (Garonne)	1156-1196	19	7 deniers of Rodez , 12 deniers of Cahors	3/9/1905		Duplessy v. 1 p. 105; Dr Boe, <i>B. Soc. Archeol. Tarn-et-Garonne</i> , XXIII, 1895, p. 282-3
Rédené	Brittany	1202-1213	50 gold and 900 silver	anon deniers of St Martin of Tours , Geoffrey Angevin deniers and Fulk deniers (+VRBS ANDECAVIS), Herbert deniers of Le Mans , Geoffrey II and Conan IV deniers of Brittany , Etienne deniers of Guingamp , Gui de Dampierre deniers of Montlucon , Raoul VI deniers of Deols , Geoffrey III deniers of Gien , Louis deniers of Bourbon , Hervé de Donzy deniers of Nevers , deniers of Souvigny (of William Taillefer, Count of Angouleme and Perigord), anon deniers of Vendome , H I / II deniers of Champagne , H II short cross deniers classes I-IV English Sterlings , William I denier x 1 of Scotland , 50 Arab deniers	Feb 1876	cant. Arzano, arr. Quimper, dep. Finistere	Duplessy, <i>Les Tresors Monetaires</i> , p. 105: Audran, "Decouverte de monnaies baronnelles et autres, pres Quimperle (Finistere)", <i>B. Soc. Arch. Finistere</i> , IV, 1876-7, p. 50-5
Rennes	Brittany	1175-1186	257	Geoffrey II deniers x 5 of Brittany , 49 Herbert deniers of Le Mans , 77 Etienne deniers of Guingamp , 80 Fulk monogramme Angevin deniers, 45 deniers of St Martin of Tours , 1 Renaud denier of Noyon .	Dec 1846	ch.-1, dep. Ille-et-Vilaine	Duplessy, <i>Les Tresors Monetaires</i> , p. 106: Jouaust, <i>soc. Arch. Dep. Ille-et-Vilaine, extr. Des P.V.</i> , 1844-1857, p. 19
Le Rheu	Brittany	1213-1223	600	Royal French deniers of P II, Herbert deniers of Le Mans , anon. deniers of St Martin of Tours , R the Lionheart deniers of Poitou x 2, anon deniers of Rennes in Brittany , 1 denier of Penthievre (STEPHANVS COMES R/DVX BRITANIE)	1/24/1905	cant. Mordelles, arr. Rennes, dep. Ille-et-Vilaine	Duplessy <i>Les Tresors Monetaires</i> , p. 107: Delabigne-Villeneuve, <i>Soc. Arch. Dep. Ille-et-Vilaine, extr. Des P.V.</i> , 1844-1857, p. 59, 60 and 61
Rieux	Brittany	1213-1223	600	Royal French deniers of P II (tournois), Herbert deniers of Le Mans , anon. deniers of St Martin of Tours , Rennes anon deniers of Brittany	1/24/1905	cant. Allaire, arr. Vannes, dep. Morbihan	Duplessy, <i>Les Tresors Monetaires</i> , p. 107: <i>B. Soc. Hist. France</i> , 1851-2, p. 43
Rougnat (Le Boueix)	Aquitaine	2nd half 12th C	433	c.430 deniers of Souvigny and 3 obols	11/1/1980	cant. Auzances, arr. Aubusson, dep. Creuse	Duplessy, <i>Les Tresors Monetaires</i> , p. 108: letter of 18 Oct 1982 by Michel Dhenin
Rouillé (Lambertières)	Poitou	11th/12th C	212	212 obols of Melle		Hoard gifted to the la Societe des Antiquaires de l'ouest, 200 May 1886	Duplessy v 1 p. 109; Charles Babinet, <i>B Soc Antiq. Ouest</i> , 2nd series, IV, 1886-1888, . 58.
Royère	Aquitaine	12th C	?	1st period deniers of Souvigny	1/30/1905	ch.-1. cant., arr. Aubusson, dep. Creuse	Duplessy, <i>Les Tresors Monetaires</i> , p. 109
Saint-Avaugourd-des-Landes	Poitou	11th/12th C	300	300 Charles deniers of Melle (R/MET-ALO)	May 1887	cant. Les Moutiers-les-Mauxfaits, arr. Les Sables-d'Olonne, dep. Vendee	Duplessy, <i>Les Tresors Monetaires</i> , p. 110: R.V., <i>R. Poitev. Et saingong</i> , IV, 1887-1888, p. 88
Saint-Benoît-du-Sault	Poitou	12th C	?	most are Raul VI deniers of Deols , others are Geoffrey III deniers and obols of Gien , and of Souvigny	April 1872		Duplessy v 1, p. 110; Abbe Voisin, 'Monnaies du Moyen Age', <i>Congress arch. France, 40th Session, Chateauroux 1873</i> , p. 358-9.
Saint-Coulitz	Brittany	12th C	c.1,000	possibly Conan III deniers of Brittany	July 1884	cant. Et. Arr. Chateaulin, dep. Finistere	Duplessy, <i>Lest Tresors Monetaires</i> , p. 111: Paul du Chatelier, <i>R. Num</i> , 3rd Series III, 1885, p. 213
Saint-Denis-Sur-Sarthon	Normandy/Maine border	12th/13th C	?	Large number of deniers of Le Mans	before 1826	, <i>R. Num</i> , VII, 1842 p. 124.	Duplessy v. 1 p. 113; Lecointre-Dupont, 'Lettre sur l'histoire monetaire de la Normandie
Saint-Éloi (Le Camp de César)	Aquitaine	?	184	Eudes of Limoges deniers	17 Dec 1857		Duuplessy v. 1 p. 113; Georges Janicaud, 'Numismatique Creusioise', <i>M. Soc. Sci Nat. Arch. Creuse</i> , XXV, 1931, p. 66.
Saint-Fraimbault-sur-Pisse	Normandy	1180-1205	378	5 anon deniers of St Martin of Tours , 131 Etienne deniers of Guingamp , 103 anon deniers of Chateaudun (+DVNIOSTRA), 33 anon deniers of Vendome (+VDON CAOSTO), 33 Herbert deniers of Le Mans , 61 Fulk Angevin deniers (+VRBS ANDEGAVIS), 1 Geoffrey III denier of Gien , 1 Conan IV and 1 Geoffrey II denier of Brittany , 2 short cross English Sterlings and one half penny	5/3/1905	cant. Passais, arr. Atencon, dep. Orne	Duplessy, <i>Les Tresors Monetaires</i> , p. 113: A. Decerf (Utilisant les notes de J. Lafaurie), "la trouvaille monetaire de Torchamps", <i>Le Pays bas-normand</i> , XLV, 1952, p. 133-139, A. Decerf, "un tresor du XII siecle decouvert a Saint-Fraimbault", <i>Soc. Hist. arch. Orne, B. principal</i> , LXX, 1952, p. 16-22
Saint-Gourson	Aquitaine	11th/12th C	267	222 Charles deniers (R/ MET-ALO) and 45 obols - some hwe the variety CARLVS REX FR, R, O, I, etc.	1/23/1905	cant. Ruffec, arr. Angouleme, dep. Charente	Duplessy, <i>Les Tresors Monetaires</i> , p. 114: Avril de la Vergnee, "Extrait d'une notice sur une decouverte de monnaies poitevines au nom de Charles de Melle", <i>B. Soc. Antiq. Ouest</i> , VI, 1850-1852, p. 37-41

Saint-Julien-du-Puy	Aquitaine	1167-1194	?	7 deniers of Toulouse (1 of William IV, 1 Bertrand, 1 Alphonse Jourdain, 4 of Raymond V), 1 Roger II denier of Beziers , 3 deniers of Melgueil , 1 denier of Hugh II/III of Rodez , 1 denier of Cahors	?(1880/1881)	cant. Lautrec, arr. Castres, dep. Tarn	Duplessy, <i>Les Tresors Monetaires</i> , p. 115: Alfred Caraven-Cachin, "Le Tresor monetaire de Saint-Julien du-puy (Tarn)", <i>B. Comm. Antiquit. V. de Castres et dep. Tarn</i> , IV, 1881, p 127-129
Saint-Julien-La-Genête (La Chassagne)		end 12th C	c.256	123 examined: 52 Souigny deniers, 51 Geoffrey III deniers of Gien , 19 Raoul VI deniers of Deols , 1 illegible.	c.1900		Duplessy v. 1 p. 115; Georges Janicaud, 'Numismatique Creusoise'
Saint-Loup	Aquitaine	end 12th C	8	2 Geoffrey III deniers of Gien , 2 Raoul VI deniers of Deols , 4 deniers of the 1st period of Souigny	?	cant. Chambon-sur-Voueize, arr. Aubusson, dep. Creuse	Duplessy, <i>Les Tresors Monetaires</i> , p. 115: J.L. R. num. 5th Series XI, 1949, p. 157
Saint-Martin-de-Tallevende	Normandy	12th C	?	Herbert deniers of Le Mans , Fulk (+VRBS ANDECAVIS) Angevin deniers and Geoffrey deniers (+VRBS ANDECAVIS)	?	cant. Et. Arr. Vire, dep. Calvados	Duplessy, <i>Les Tresors Monetaires</i> , p. 115: Mury, "Notes sur quelques objets antiques de l'arrondissement de Vire", <i>M. Soc. Antiq. Normandie</i> , 2nd series, I, 1837-1839, p. 279-80
Saint-Michel-en-Therm	Poitou	1206-1213	1,727	Royal French deniers of P II x 25, 2 anon deniers of St Martin of Tours , 534 Fulk Angevin deniers, 981 Etienne deniers of Guingamp , 1 Rennes denier of Conan III of Brittany and 1- of Geoffrey II of Nantes, 25 Geoffrey III deniers of Gien , 149 short cross English Sterlings of H II and 12 halfpennies, 2 William I deniers of Scotland and 8 anon.	5/5/1905	cant. Luçon, arr. Fontenay-le-Comte, dep. Vendee	Duplessy, <i>Les Tresors Monetaires</i> , p. 116: Jean Lafaurie, <i>B. Soc. Franc. Num</i> , 1958, . 211-212
Saint-Nicolas-de-Bourgueil	Anjou/Touraine border	?	60-80	deniers of St Martin of Tours	3/24/1905		Duplessy v 1 p. 116; Comte Charles de Beaumont, 'Tresor du Peu de Chevrette', <i>B. trim. Soc. Arch. Touraine</i> , XIX, 1913-1914, p. 67.
Saint-Pardoux	Aquitaine	1189-1190	?	130 Chartes deniers of Melle (R/ MET-ALO), R the Lionheart coin of Poitou , 120 coins of Lous of Angouleme , 60 coins of Geoffrey III of Gien , 75 coins of Raoul VI of Deols , 2 deniers of St Martial of Limoges , 1 coin of Raymond of Turenne	1/24/1905	cant. Bessines, arr. Bellac, dep. Haute-Vienne	Duplessy, <i>Les Tresors Monetaires</i> , p. 117-8: Ardant, <i>B. Comite Lang. Hist. Arts Franc</i> , II, 1853-1855, p. 605
Saint-Pierre-de-Fursac	Aquitaine	?	?	Eudes deniers of Limoges	?		Duplessy v 1 p. 118; A. Fillioux, 'Lettre a M. Francis Ponsard', <i>M. Soc. Sci. nat. et d'antiqu. Creuse</i> , II, 1857, p. 308
Saint-Pierres-Landes	Maine	1180-1205	c.1,200	3 Herbert deniers of Le Mans , 1 Etienne denier of Guingamp , 1 denier of the Vierge type of Chartres , 1 anon denier of St Martin of Tours , 2 half short cross English Sterlings of H II (1= half coin of WILA)	6/1/1921	cant. Chailland, arr. Laval, dep. Mayenne	Duplessy, <i>Les Tresors Monetaires</i> , p. 118: Emile Pautrel, <i>B. et M. Soc. Arch. Dep. Ille-et-Vilaine</i> , XLIX, 1922, p. XLVII-XLVIII
Saint-Projet	Aquitaine (Garonne)	end 12th C	70	45 deniers of Cahors , 24 deniers of Rodez		Some of the Cahors deniers in the Cabinet of Medailles.	Duplessy v 1 p. 118; Armand Ciré: 'trois trouvailles de monnaies en Quercy', <i>B. Soc. Etud. Litt. Sci. art. Lot.</i> , LII, 1931, p. 64-6.
Saint-Saviol	Aquitaine	1190-1200	1,400	95 Chartes deniers of Melle (R/ MET-ALO), 968 deniers of 19 varieties of R the Lionheart of Poitou , 55 deniers of Angouleme , 4 Raymond deniers of Turenne	start of 1837	cant. Civray, arr. Montmorillon, dep. Vienne	Duplessy, <i>Les Tresors Monetaires</i> , p. 119: Lecointre-Dupont, "Rapport sur une decouverte de monnaies du Moyen Age", <i>M. Soc. Antiq. Ouest</i> , III, 1837, p. 191-2
Saint-Sulpice-Laurière	Aquitaine	1169-1189	1,487	1,046 Angouleme deniers, 132 deniers and 17 obols of Charles the Simple of Melle , 142 Raymond deniers of Turenne , 86 deniers of Le Puy , 60 "barbarian" deniers of St Martial of Limoges , 1 anon obol (+DVCISIT) and 1 R I denier of Raoul VI of Deols	4/21/1905	cant. Lauriere, arr. Limoges, dep. Haute-Vienne	Duplessy, <i>Les Tresors Monetaires</i> , p. 119: H. Hugon, <i>B. Soc. Archeol. hist. Limousin</i> , LXXIX, 1941-2, Procès-Verbaux des seances p. 13-15
Saint-Vaury	Aquitaine	11th/12th C	40	19 examined: 17 deniers and 2 obols of Limoges	?		Duplessy v. 1 p. 119; G. Janicaud, 'Tresor de Lascaux', <i>M. Soc. Sci. Nat Arch. Creuse</i> , XXIV, 1928-1930, p. 144-145.
Saint-Vincent-Rive-d'Olt	Aquitaine	12th/13th C	400-500	Episcopal-municipal coins of Cahors , coins of Aquitaine acoins of Rodez	early 1874	cant. Luzech, arr. Cahors, dep. Lot	Duplessy, <i>Les Tresors Monetaires</i> , p. 120: Georges Deperot et Michel Dhenin, "Le Tresor de Castelnaud-Montratier (1950) Inventaire des tresors medievux et modernes quercynois" <i>B. Soc. Et. Lot, C</i> , 1979, p. 150
Saint-Yrieix	Aquitaine	12th C	?	Barbarian deniers of Aixe	2/16/1905	ch.-1, cant. Arr. Limoges, dep. Haute-Vienne	Duplessy, <i>Les Tresors Monetaires</i> , p. 120: Astaix, <i>B. Soc. Archeol. Hist. Limousin</i> , XXIV, 1876, p. 369
Sainte-Gemme-Le-Robert (Chateay Rubricaire)	Maine	12th/early 13th C	20	20 Herbert deniers of Le Mans	4/21/1905	cant. Evron, arr. Laval, dep. Mayenne	Duplessy, <i>Les Tresors Monetaires</i> , p. 120: Gerault, cure d'Evron, <i>Notice historique sur Evron, son abbaye et ses monumens</i> , 2nd ed. Laval, 1840, p. 224
Saintes	Aquitaine	1199-1219	53	According to Blanchet: 10 Hugh IX and X of the Comte de La Marche , 6 of the counte of Angouleme and La Marche ,	4/27/1905	ch.-1, arr. Dep. Charente-Maritime	Duplessy, <i>Les Tresors Monetaires</i> , p. 121: Adr. Bl., <i>R. Num, 5th Ser, VIII</i> , 1945, p. 189
saucats	Aquitaine	1137-1140	904	749 anon deniers of Aquitaine and 5 of L VII of France, 150 Louis deniers of Angouleme	1/15/1905	cant. Labrede, arr. Bordeaux, dep. Gironde	Duplessy, <i>Les Tresors Monetaires</i> , p. 121: F. Jouannet, <i>Notice sur quelques deniers du Moyen-Age, trouves en 1842 a saucats, Bordeaux, S.D</i>
Segonzac	Aquitaine	1199-1219	164	52 Louis deniers of Angouleme , 1 denier of Perigord , 32 deniers and 4 obols of R I of Angouleme , 72 Hugh IX deniers of Marche , 3 deniers of Souigny	2/24/1905	ch.-1, cant. Arr. Cognac, dep. Charente	Duplessy, <i>Les Tresors Monetaires</i> , p. 124: H. Giraudeau, "Trouvaille de Segonzac", <i>Annu. Soc. Franc. Num</i> , VI, 1882, p. 202-3
La Souterraine	Aquitaine	1160-1189	430	deniers of Angouleme , Charles deniers of Melle (R/ MET-ALO), "barbarian" deniers of St Martial of Limoges , William deniers of Bordeaux of Aquitaine , Roul VI deniers of Deols , anon. deniers of Souigny , Geoffrey III deniers of Gien , anon. deniers of Lyon	June 1835	ch.-1, cant., arr. Gueret, dep. Creuse	Duplessy, <i>Les Tresors Monetaires</i> , p. 124: M. Soc. Sci. nat. et. D'Antiq. Creuse, I, 1847, p. 43, pl.V

Tréguennec	Brittany	1148-1158	210	62 Rennes deniers of Conan III of Brittany and 2 of Eudes de Porhoet, 56 Etienne deniers of Guingamp , 46 Fulk Angevin deniers (R/ +VRBS ANDIGAVIS and +VRBS ANDIGAVS), 21 anon deniers of St Martin of Tours , 1 denier of Souigny - most coins are dispersed	Dec 1884	cant. Pont-l'Abbe, arr. Quimper, dep. Finistere	Duplessy, <i>Les Tresors Monetaires</i> , p. 129-30: P. du Chatellier, "sur diverses monnaies trouvées a Treguennec", <i>B. Soc. Et. Sci. Finistere, VII, 185, 1st fasc., p. 42-3</i>
Vallon-sur-Gee	Maine	1206-1207	5,828	Royal French deniers of P II of Montreuil, 103 anon deniers of St Martin of Tours , 659 Herbert deniers of Le Mans , c.1,480 Fulk Angevin deniers (+VRBS ANDEGAVIS & +VRBS ANDEGAVS), 1 obol of Fulk, 1,358 Etienne denier of Guingamp and 3 obols, 1 Rennes denier of Conan III of Brittany and 48 of Geoffrey II, 824 deniers and 6 obols of Chateaudun , 350 deniers and 45 obols of Vendome , 2 obols of Chartres , 55 deniers and 41 obols of Geoffrey III of Gien , 3 deniers of Richard the Lionheart of Issoudun , 7 Roul VI deniers and 1 P II denier of Deols , 1 denier and 2 obols of Charles (R/ MET-ALO), 1 obol of R the Lionheart of Poitou , 1 denier and 1 obol of St Martial of Limoges , 1 Angouleme denier, 1 Besancon denier, 1 denier of Cluny , 1 Dijon denier of Bourgogne , 1 Nevers denier, 1 obol of Richard I of Aquitaine , 1 Rouen denier of Normandy , 1 denier of Souigny , 1 denier and 1 obol of Sancerre , 2 Troyes deniers, 328 English Sterlings (Canterbury, Carlisle, Exeter, Lincoln, London, Northampton, Norwich, Oxford, Shrewsbury, Wilton, Winchester, Worcester, York & Rhuddlan), 6 sterlings and 3 half of William of Scotland , 108 sterlings and 295 halves remaining	2/17/1905	cant. Loue, arr. Le Mans, dep. Sarthe	Duplessy, <i>Les Tresors Monetaires</i> , p. 131-2: Ferdinand Hucher, "Trésor de Vallon (Sarthe) trouve pres de la motte feodale et non loin de l'église de cette commune", <i>B. Soc. Agr. Sci. Arts sarthe</i> , 2nd series, XVI, 1876, p. 201-211
Verdalle	Gascony	end of 12th.early 13th C	2 denier 4 obols	2 deniers and 4 obols of Raymond V/VI of Toulouse	5/6/1905	cant. Dourgne, arr. Castres, dep. Tarn	Duplessy, <i>Les Tresors Monetaires</i> , p. 133: Jacques Yvon, "Trésor de Verdalle (Tarn)", <i>B. Soc. Franc. Num.</i> , 1959, p. 353-4
Villebrumier	Gascony	12th/13th C	?	Episcopal and municipal coins of Cahors , and those of Melgueil, Rodez and Bearn	?	ch.-1, cant., arr. Montauban, dep. Tarn-et-Garonne	Duplessy, <i>Les Tresors Monetaires</i> , p. 134: Georges Depyrot et Michel Dhenin, "Le Trésor de Castelnau-Montratrier (1950). Inventaire des tresors medievux et modernes quercynois (Lot et Tarn-et-Garonne, France", <i>B. Soc., Et, Lot, C. 1979, p. 154</i>
Villentrois	Anjou/Maine	end of 12th.early 13th C	9	3 Herbert deniers of Le Mans , 3 anon deniers of St Martin of Tours , 3 Fulk Angevin deniers (R/ +VRBS ANDEGAVIS)	2/6/1905	cant. Valencay, arr. Catearoux, dep. Indre	Duplessy, <i>Les Tresors Monetaires</i> , p. 134: Barboux, <i>Congress arch. France</i> , XL, 1873, p. 555
?? (Morbihan)	Brittany	1180-1205	200-300	5 Herbert deniers of Le Mans , 4 coins of H II English Sterling and 1 coin possibly of H I	2/9/1905	?	Duplessy, <i>Les Tresors Monetaires</i> , p. 136: Georges Musset, "Trouvailles de monnaies faites en France jusqu'au 4 septembre 1870", <i>Annu. Soc. Franc. Num.</i> III, 1868, p. 395
?? (Calvados)	Normandy	12th C	?	Fulk Angevin deniers, deniers of St Martin of Tours	1/4/1905	?	Duplessy, <i>Les Tresors Monetaires</i> , p. 136: Lecointre-Dupont, "Lettre sur l'histoire monetaire de la Normandie", <i>R. Num, VII, 1842, p. 124</i>
?? (Indre-et-Loire)	?	12th C	315	146 Angevin deniers, 102 Le Mans deniers, 57 St Martin of Tours deniers, 3 Chinnonais, 1 of Charles the Simple, 1 Carolingian Melle denier, 1 Etienne denier of Guingamp and 4 uncertain	3/24/1905	?	Duplessy, <i>Les Tresors Monetaires</i> , p. 137: Comte Charles de Beaumont, "Trésor du Peude-Chevette", <i>B. trim. Soc. Arch. Touraine</i> , XIX, 1913-1914, p. 67
?? (Maine-et-Loire)	?	1195-1205	208	33 anon St Martin of Tours deniers, 104 Fulk Angevin deniers (24 +VRBS ANDEGAVIS, 35 +VRBS ANDEGAVS, 4 +VRBS ANDEGA???, 17 +VRBS AIDCCSV, 23 +ANDEGAVENSIS), 19 H II short cross English sterlings (9 London, 3 Canterbury, 1 Carlisle, 1 Lincoln, 1 Norwich, 4 York)	5/17/1905	dep. Maine-et-Loire, pres d'Angers	Duplessy, <i>Les Tresors Monetaires</i> , p. 138: Trésor vu chez M. Serge Boutin. Inventaire de J. Duplessy et J. Brand.
? <i>Liesbosc</i>	?	12th/13th C	?	Municipal and Episcopal deniers of Cahors , deniers of Melgueil, Rodez & Béarn ?			Duplessy v 1 p. 141; G. Depetrot & M. Dhenin, "Le Trésor de Castelnau-Montratrier (1950).... B. Soc. Et Lot, C., 1979, p. 155.
Aviron ou Gauville-la-Campagne	Normandy	1189-1205	c.400	Herbert denier of Le Mans/Maine , Fulk Angevin deniers (+VRBS ANDEGAVIS), Etienne deniers of Guingamp x200, H II short cross English Sterling (incl. Stivene of London, classes 2-4 and Henry of London classes 1 and 4-5 x 100)	21 October 1860	INSEE 27-031/ 27-282, cant. Evreux-Nord, arr. Evreux Eure	J.C. Moesgaard, <i>Les Tresors Monetaires</i> , p. 92
Bretagnolles	Normandy	1158-1247/1279 poss. 1185/1190-1200	21 (+ 2 pieces of Jewellery)	H II English Sterling minted in London (mainly short-cross)	1/8/1905	INSEE 27-11, cant. Saint-André-de-l'Eure, arr. Evreux, Eure	Moesgaard, <i>Les Tresors Monetaires</i> , p. 93
Caugé	Normandy	2nd half 12th C	c.800	Herbert deniers of Le Mans (the majority), Chartrain type deniers either Chartres, Blois, Vendome and Chateaudun	1st Feb 1856	INSEE 27-132, cant. Evreux-Ouest, arr. Evreux, Eure	Moesgaard, <i>Les Tresors Monetaires</i> , p. 95
Flipou (forest of the Mouquillonne, slope overlooking Romilly-Sur-Andelle, valley c.200m S of the RD 19 in the area 1km W of the RD 508)	Normandy	end of 12th C	16-17	Herbert deniers of Le Mans (Metcalf type 2, Duplessy, No. 98-104), Fulk Angevin deniers (R/ ANDEGAVENSIS(S retrograde) x1, R/ VRBS AIDCCSV x2, VRBS ANDEGAVIS x1), 2 deniers of St Martin of Tours , 1 obol of the anon. comital Chartres denier, 1 anon. comital obol of Vendome . 6-7 coins dispersed, 2/3 carry a rude face on the front (not Engl. sterlings)	?	INSEE 27-247, cant. Fleury-sur-Andelle, arr. Les Andelys, Eure	Moesgaard, <i>Les Tresors Monetaires</i> , p. 96-7

St-Cyr-du-Vaudreuil	Normandy	1180-124 (probl. 1194-1202)	600-800	H II short cross English Sterling (x1 minted by William in London of classes 1a-b and 2-5c c.1180-1209, class 1b Raoul of London, others possibly London mints)	2 March 1868	commune supprimée, cant. Val-de-Reuil, arr. Les Andelys, Eure	Moesgaard, <i>Les Tresors Monetaires</i> , p. 97-8
Bourg-Dun	Normandy	1189-1205	c.80	6 Herbert deniers of Le Mans , Etienne deniers of Guingamp , Fulk Angevin deniers (+VRBS ANDEGAVS, ANDEGAVIS, ANDEGAVENSIS, AID...CCSV, AIDCCSV x26), 8 deniers of St Martin of Tours , H II short cross English Sterlings (+VL(A?)[...].ON.CANT = Ular of Canterbury during classes 2-4b) x2	2/19/1905	INSEE 76-833, cant. Offranville, arr. Dieppe, Seine-Maritime)	Moesgaard, <i>Les Tresors Monetaires</i> , p 99-100
Déville-lès-Rouen/ Mont-Saint-Aignan	Normandy	?	c.10	10 coins of the chartrain type either of Chartres, Blois, Chateaudun and Vendome. Found in a hollow bone	1886/??	INSEE 76-216 ou 76-451, cant. Mont-Saint Aignan, arr. Rouen, Seine-Maritime	Moesgaard, <i>Les Tresors Monetaires</i> , p. 100
Houpeville	Normandy	2nd half 12th C	109	L VI ecclesiastical obols of Dreux , 1 denier of the Abbey of St Martin of Tours , 2 Fulk Angevin deniers (monogramme), 1 Melle denier immobilised in the name of Charles w. biliniary inscription)	?	INSEE 76-367, cant. Notre-Dame-de-Bondeville, arr. Rouen, Seine-Maritime	Moesgaard, <i>Les Tresors Monetaires</i> , p. 101-2
Lillebonne	Normandy	12th C	3	12th C coins - type unknown (archeological find)	July 1873	INSEE 76-384, ch.-l-cant., arr. Le Havre, Seine-Maritime)	Moesgaard, <i>Les Tresors Monetaires</i> , p. 102-3
Rouen	Normandy	1180-1205 (prob. 1200-1205)	140/150	23 in the Dept. of Antiquities of the Seine-Maritime: Angevin, Le Mans, Chartres, Chateaudun, England (H II/III) from the 1867/70 description: Conserved coins - deniers of Chateaudun (3 Duplessy type M, 2 Duplessy type n), comital denier of Vendome (Diry type 1x4), Immobilised Angevin deniers 1 Geoffrey (R/ VRBS AIDCCV), 5 Fulk (1 R/ ANEGAVEN, 2 VRBS AIDCCSV, VRBS ANDEGAV(I)S x2, 8 Etienne deniers of Guingamp (1 Belaubre class 3, 2 class 6, 2 class 6, 2 class 6 var with stars of the 3/4 of D, 1 class 4-6	2/8/1905	INSEE 76-540, ch.-l-dep., Seine-Maritime	Moesgaard, <i>Les Tresors Monetaires</i> , p. 103-4
Rouen (place de la Cathedrale)	Normandy	12th/13th C	?	Herbert deniers of Le Mans (only one preserved and studied)	Mar/Apr 1870	INSEE 76-540, ch.-l-dep., Seine-Maritime	Moesgaard, <i>Les Tresors Monetaires</i> , p. 105-6
Saint-Wandrille-Rancon	Normandy	10th-13th C (2nd half of 12th C)	3+	Herbert deniers of Le Mans x3	c.1871	INSEE 76-659, cant. Caudebec-en-Caux, arr. Rouen, Seine-Maritime	Moesgaard, <i>Les Tresors Monetaires</i> , p. 106??
?	Normandy	c.1194	8+	HII short cross and Tealby coins English Sterling (1 Tealby class A2 Wulf of Canterbury, 2 class 1b short cross denier of Fil-Aimer of London x2, 1 Isaac of York, 2 Class 1c of Raoul of London, 1 Class 4a of Willelm of London, 1 Stivene of London (possibly part of the hoard of Rouen/ of Vaudreuil)	?	?	Moesgaard, <i>Les Tresors monetaires</i> , p. 107
?	Normandy	c.1180/1200-1205/1210	c.12	Etienne deniers of Guingamp (2 Class 4 Belaubre, 1 Class 5, 1 class 5 with the stars of the 2 and 4), Fulk Angevin denier x2 (1 +VRBSAIDCCSV, 1 +ANECA[S]), Herbert denier of Le Mans (1 type 3, 1 type 4c, 1 type 4/5), 1 castle denier of St Martin of Tours , 1 anon denier of Chateaudun (Duplessy type M x1) - coins of Penthievre, Anjou, Maine and Penthievre correspond to successive variants = put together over a few decades. Denier of Chateaudun dated to 1180/1200	?	?	Moesgaard, <i>Les Tresors Monetaires</i> , p. ??
Capucins	Anjou	1194/1204-1215/1220	1,216	45 Herbert of Maine (11 class 1, 3 class 2, indeterminate, 12 class 2a, 13 class 2b, 6 class 2c); Count of Anjou – 510 deniers and 2 obols Fulk and Geoffrey – Geoffrey, 1 class 2, 4 ind., 1 class 3, Fulk 1 class 1 (ANDECAVIS CIVITAS), 97 class 2 (ANDEGAVENSIS), 157 class 3 (FVLCO) +VRBS AIDCCSV, 249 Class 4 (FVICO) +VRBS AN(-)DEGAVIS, 2 obols) St Martin of Tours – 106 deniers and 3 obols: 9 class 2, 22 class 3, 71 class 4, 3 obols, 3 indeterminate; 1 P II class 1; Guingamp Penthievre – 406 deniers of Stephen – 18 ind., 18 type IIa, 18 IIb, 2 Type II/III, 18 Type IIIa, 2 IIIa-b, 99 IIIb, 6 IIIb-c, 26 IIIc, 3 IIIb-IVa, 3 IIIc-IV, 15 IVa-b, 41 IVa, 148 IVb) ; Duchy of Brittany – 2 deniers, 1 of Conan II of Rennes and 1 of Conan III of Rennes ; England – 138 short cross sterlings, 118 whole and 20 half (Canterbury, Carlisle, Exeter, Lincoln, London, Northampton, Oxford, Rhuddlan, Wilton, Winchester, York)	2007-2008	INSEE 49 007	Le dépôt monétaire du Plateau des Capucins, Thibault Cardon

Appendix two

Coin ID	Denomination	Coinage type	Burial date	Coin description	Obverse Legend	Reverse Legend	Weight (g)	Find location	Region/Principality	Find site	Category	Discovery Date	Source
TC1 (Th. Cardon)		Roumois	late 11th-early 12th C	Mot A: Pointed pediment, flanked by two dots and surmounted by two curved lines, flanked by two circles. Below: cross, Mot B: Canton cross with 4 besants	Anépigraphe	+[-.]	0.59	Le Postel, Alizay	Haute-Normandy	Fortification	Archaeological discovery	2011	Dumas 1979, pl. XX, 1-2 (groupe C)
TC3		Roumois	c.1135-1145	Mot A: Illisible, Mot B: Canton Cross	N/A	[...JO(T ?)O(M ?)[...]	0.22	Le Postel, Alizay	Haute-Normandy	Fortification	Archaeological discovery	2011	Dumas 1979, pl. XIX,15-24 PA, n° 1643 ; Duplessy, n° 412 ; Legros, n° 809 sq. ; Cardon 2010c, classe 4.
TC4		Tournois	1150/60-1200	Mot A: Chatel Tournois; Mot B: Cross	+SCS MARTINVS	+TVRONVS CIVI	0.71	Le Postel, Alizay	Haute-Normandy	Fortification	Archaeological discovery	2011	
TC5		Roumois	1135-1145	Mot A: 2 keys; Mot B: Canton Cross (toothed edge)	[R]O[DOM]	N/A	0.83	Le Postel, Alizay	Haute-Normandy	Fortification	Archaeological discovery	2011	Dumas 1979, pl. XIX, 20
TC6		Roumois	1135-1145	Mot A: Cross between 2 frontons and surrounded by 2 circles; Mot B: Canton Cross	Anépigraphe	[...](R ?)O(T ?)O(M ?)[...]	0.5	Le Postel, Alizay	Haute-Normandy	Fortification	Archaeological discovery	2011	Dumas XIX,24
TC7		Paris	1180-1223	Mot A: FRA/NCO en boustrophédon; Mot B: Croix pattée	PHILIPVS REX	[...] S.I.I CIV [...]	0.69	Le Postel, Alizay	Haute-Normandy	Fortification	Archaeological discovery	2011	L. 181 ; D. 164
TC9		Mansois	12th-early 13th C	Mot A: Monogramme of Herbert Mot: B Canton cross with Alpha and Omega	+COMES CENOIMHNS	+SIGNVM DEI VIVI	1.04g	Castle, Falaise	Basse-Normandy	Château	Archaeological discovery	1985-6	PA 1585 var.
TC10		Tournois	12th-early 13th C	Mot A: Chatel Tournois; Mot B: Cross	+SCS MARTINVS	+TVRON*VS CIVI	0.76	Castle, Falaise	Basse-Normandy	Château	Archaeological discovery	1985-6	PA 1647 - publ. Nummus, Craham
TC11		Tournois	1150/60-1200	Mot A: Chatel Tournois; Mot B: Cross	+SCS M(?)*ARTINVS	+TVRON*VS CIVI	0.86	Castle, Falaise	Basse-Normandy	Château	Archaeological discovery	2008	PA 1636 et suiv. ; Cardon 2010c, classe 4 - publ. Brown, Carré 2011
TC12		Tournois	1150/60-1200	Mot A: Chatel Tournois; Mot B: Cross	+SCS M*A*RTIN*VS	+TVRON(*?)VS CIVI	0.82	Castle, Falaise	Basse-Normandy	Château	Archaeological discovery	2008	PA 1636 et suiv. ; Cardon 2010c, classe 4 - Brown, Carré 2011
TC13		Mansois	1170-1200	Mot A: Monogramme of Herbert Mot: B Canton cross of 2 besants with Alpha and Omega	+C[ON-E?]S CENO [MA]N*IS	+SIGNVM DEI VIVI	1.17	Castle, Falaise	Basse-Normandy	Château	Archaeological discovery	2008	PA, Pl. XXIX, 20 pour le style ; Legros 1984, p. 238-239, classe 2c - publ. Brown, Carré 2011
TC14		Tournois	1150/60-1200	Mot A: Chatel Tournois; Mot B: Cross	+SCS M*A*RTINVS	+TVRON*VS CIVI	0.9	Castle, Falaise	Basse-Normandy	Château	Archaeological discovery	2008	PA 1636 et suiv. ; Cardon 2010c, classe 4
TC15		Mansois	1140-1204	Mot A: Herbert Monogramme Mot B: Croix cantonnée d'un besant aux 1 et 2, de l'alpha et de l'oméga aux 4 et 3	+COM-ES CENOMANIS	+SIGNVM DEI VIVI	0.92	Coutisigny, Fosses Saint-Ursin, Courseulles-sur-Mer	Basse-Normandy	Village	Archaeological discovery	2000-2008	PA I 1552 ; D 2004, 399 - publ. Guillard, Hanusse 2015
TC16		Paris/Tournois	1180-1223	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	"Au Poller", Dieppe	Haute-Normandy	Personal Collection	pre-1904	JCM, découvertes monétaires à Dieppe, n°16	
TC17	Obol	Chartres	12th C	N/A	N/A	N/A	0.7	Region of Duclair, Wood of Harcourt, Notre-Dame-de-Gavenchon	Haute-Normandy	Metal Detecting	2000	Bd 210 - note and photo by JC Moesgaard	
TC18		Melgueil	1176-1202	N/A	N/A	N/A	0.85	Rue Imperatrice, Rouen	Haute-Normandy	Metal Detecting	1996		
TC19		Melgueil	12th-13th C	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	Rue Imperatrice, Rouen	Haute-Normandy	Personal Collection		PA 3842	
TC20		Melgueil	12th-13th C	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	Rue Imperatrice, Rouen	Haute-Normandy	Personal Collection		PA 3842	
TC21		Mansois	12th C	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	Coffre des Augustines de l'Hotel Dieu, Dan de l'Abbé Fouré, Rouen	Haute-Normandy	Gift		11/20/1980 J.C. Moesgaard?	
TC23		English Sterling	12th-13th C	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	une des cours du lycée corneille, Rouen	Haute-Normandy	Unclear/Unknown	Summer 1859	JCM, BSFN 1992, n°6	
TC24		Le Puy	12th C	N/A	N/A	N/A	0.34	en bordure de la D 33, 200m au sud du Hameau du Haut-Pas, Saint-Wandrille	Haute-Normandy	Unclear/Unknown			
TC25		Soissons	1180-1237	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	Sur la pente à l'est de la boucle formée par la D 64, Saint-Wandrille	Haute-Normandy	Unclear/Unknown		PA 6490	
TC27	Obol	Nogent-le-Rotrou	c.1170	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	Sotteville-sous-le-Val	Haute-Normandy	Unclear/Unknown	2004	PA 1903, XXXIX, 17	
TC28	Denier	Le Puy	12th C	N/A	N/A	N/A	0.67	Chapelle St-Gaud, Les Baux sainte croix	Haute-Normandie	Unclear/Unknown		?	
TC29	Denier	Melgueil	XIIe-XIIIe	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	Charleval	Haute-Normandie	Unclear/Unknown	1910	PA 3842	
TC30	Denier	Mansois	XIIIe	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	Pont saint Pierre	Haute-Normandie	Unclear/Unknown	Pre-May 1996	Metcalf 3 var (G 5-6)	
TC31		English Sterling	1154-1189	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	St-André de l'Eure ?	Haute-Normandie	Unclear/Unknown		North 963	
TC32	Denier	Mansois	12th C	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	Rigole alimentaire du canal de Caen à la mer, Caen	Basse-Normandie	Unclear/Unknown		BSAN I, 1860, Paysant 1860	
TC33		English Sterling (short-cross)	1180-1247	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	Rigole alimentaire du canal de Caen à la mer, Caen	Basse-Normandie	Unclear/Unknown		BSAN I, 1860, Paysant 1860	
TC34	Denier	Tournois	1200-1204	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	Rigole alimentaire du canal de Caen à la mer, Caen	Basse-Normandie	Unclear/Unknown		1860	
TC35	Denier	Mansois	12th C	N/A	N/A	N/A	0.92	Artisanal zone, Oustreham	Basse-Normandie	Metal Detecting		6/5/1994	
TC36	Denier	Mansois	12th C	N/A	N/A	N/A	0.66	(GR 261 (dans un lot ?)Secqueville-en-Bessin	Basse-Normandie	Unclear/Unknown		05/05/1994 , en prospectio n	
TC37	Denier	Angevin	12th C	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	Mont St-Michel	Basse-Normandie	Unclear/Unknown		BNJ 40, 1971, Dolley & Yvon, p. 13	
TC38	Denier	Angevin	v. 1150	N/A	+FVLCO COMES	+VRBS AIDCCSV	N	Férière aux étangs	Basse-Normandie	Unclear/Unknown		J-PH Cormier, Domfrontais Medieval 4, 1986, p. 45	
TC39	Denier	Paris	1180-1223	N/A	N/A	N/A	0.59	(Vieux-Chateau) Audrieu	Basse-Normandie	Château	Archaeological discovery	1970	22222222%D 164 - "L'enceinte fortifiée d'Audrieu (Calvados)" Archéologie Médiévale, II, 1972 . Rapport p. 64
TC41	Denier	Angevin	1130-1140/50	Mot A: Cross with alpha and omega, Mot B: Fulk monogramme	[+FV]LCO COME [S] (3h)	[+JANDEGAVENSIS (12h)]	0.51	Leper hospital of St Thomas, Aizier	Haute-Normandie	Léproserie puis Prieuré	Archaeological discovery	2005	PA 1513
TC42	Denier	Tournois	1130-1150/60	Mot A: Chatel Tournois; Mot B: Cross	+SCS MARTINVS, A à trois barres	+TV[RONVS] CIV[I]	0.76	Leper hospital of St Thomas, Aizier	Haute-Normandie	Léproserie puis Prieuré	Archaeological discovery	2006	PA 1636 à 1648 ; Cardon 2011, classe 3
TC43	Denier	Mansois	1140-1204	Mot A: Monogramme d'Herbert, Mot B: croix avec globules en 1 et 2, a en 3, O en 4	[...] ES CENOMANI (S rétrograde)	+SIGNVM DEI VIVI	0.72	Leper hospital of St Thomas, Aizier	Haute-Normandie	Léproserie puis Prieuré	Archaeological discovery	2001	PA 1548 ; Metcalf type 3 ; Capucins : type gras, 2b
TC44	Obol	Chartres	XIIIe	Mot A: croix, Mot B: profil bléso chartrain à droite, un besant pour l'œil, un autre devant le nez, un troisième derrière la tête.	+CARTIS [CIV]ITAS	anépigraphe	0.28	Leper hospital of St Thomas, Aizier	Haute-Normandie	Léproserie puis Prieuré	Archaeological discovery	2004	PA, n°1736, Pl. XXXIV, n°7D 2004, 433
TC45	Denier	Tournois	XIIIe	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	Priory of la Madeleine, leper cemetery Bernay	Haute-Normandie	Cimetière de léproserie	Archaeological discovery	1868	-

TC46	Denier	Tournais	XIe	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	Priory of la Madeleine, leper cemetery Bernay	Haute-Normandie	Cimetière de léproserie	Archaeological discovery	1868	-
TC47	Denier	Paris	1191-1223	N/A	N/A	--	--	43, Rue Franklin Roosevelt, Evreux	Haute-Normandie		Archaeological discovery	1996	D 170
TC48	Denier	Paris	1191-1223	N/A	N/A	--	--	43, Rue Franklin Roosevelt, Evreux	Haute-Normandie		Archaeological discovery	1996	D 170
TC49	Denier	Paris	1191-1223	N/A	N/A	--	--	43, Rue Franklin Roosevelt, Evreux	Haute-Normandie		Archaeological discovery	1996	D 168
TC50	Denier	Mansois	XIe-XIIe	N/A	N/A	0.77	0.77	Abbey Notre-Dame, Bernay	Haute-Normandie	Place devant l'abbatiale	Archaeological discovery	1980	PA 1546
TC51	Denier	Mansois	XIe-XIIe	N/A	N/A	0.82	0.82	Abbey Notre-Dame, Bernay	Haute-Normandie	Place devant l'abbatiale	Archaeological discovery	1980	PA 1556
TC52	Denier	Tournais	1150-1200	N/A	N/A	0.77	0.77	Abbey Notre-Dame, Bernay	Haute-Normandie	Place devant l'abbatiale	Archaeological discovery	1980	PA 1638
TC53	Denier	Tournais	1150-1200	N/A	N/A	0.38	0.38	Abbey Notre-Dame, Bernay	Haute-Normandie	Place devant l'abbatiale	Archaeological discovery	1980	PA 1638
TC54	Denier	Paris	1191-1199	N/A	N/A	0.49	0.49	Saint-Leonard, Beaumont-le-Roger	Haute-Normandie	Église et Habitat	Archaeological discovery	1991	D 166
TC55	Denier	Tournais	fin XIIe	N/A	N/A	0.67	0.67	Saint-Leonard, Beaumont-le-Roger	Haute-Normandie	Église et Habitat	Archaeological discovery	1991	PA 1647
TC56	Obol	Romorantin	XIe-XIIe	N/A	N/A	0.49	0.49	Rue Josephine, Evreux	Haute-Normandie	Habitat	Archaeological discovery	mars-juin 1996	PA 1891
TC57	Obol	Vendômois	XIIe	N/A	N/A	0.35	0.35	Rue Josephine, Evreux	Haute-Normandie	Habitat	Archaeological discovery	mars-juin 1996	PA 1770, 72, 75-77
TC58	Denier	Mansois	fin XIIe	N/A	N/A	1.16	1.16	Rue Josephine, Evreux	Haute-Normandie	Habitat	Archaeological discovery	mars-juin 1996	Metcalf 6
TC59	Denier	Angevin	fin XIIe	N/A	N/A	0.67	0.67	Rue Josephine, Evreux	Haute-Normandie	Habitat	Archaeological discovery	mars-juin 1996	Dumas 1969, p.469
TC60	Denier		1162-1192	N/A	N/A	0.4	0.4	Rue Josephine, Evreux	Haute-Normandie	Habitat	Archaeological discovery	mars-juin 1996	Dumas 6-1 ou 2
TC62	Denier	Mansois	1150-1200	Mot A: monogramme d'Herbert, Mot B: croix pattée cantonnée d'un a en 3 et d'un omega en 4	+COMES CENOMANNIS	+SIGNVM DEI VIVI		Château de Domfront, Domfront	Basse-Normandie	Château	Gardening	"avant guerre"	
TC63	Denier	Roumois	1130-1150	Mot A: croix potencée au centre losangé, surmontée d'un fronton, Mot B: croix cantonnée de quatre besants		0 +[...] OTOMA (G?) [...]	0.57	Metro Palais de Justice, Rouen	Haute-Normandie	Église St-Jean, cimetière	Archaeological discovery		DUMAS XIX,
TC64	Obol	Romorantin	1100-1200 env.	Mot A: tête bléso-chartraine à droite, Mot B: croix cantonnée d'un point au 1	+ReHOR[...]TI		0.32	Metro Palais de Justice, Rouen	Haute-Normandie	Église St-Jean, cimetière	Archaeological discovery		PA 1890, XL, 3
TC65	Obol	Chartres	1100-1250 env.	Mot A: tête chartraine à droite avec 5 besants, Mot B: croix, apparemment sans cantonnement		[...]TI CIVITA[...] début à 1h30	0.2	Metro Palais de Justice, Rouen	Haute-Normandie	Église St-Jean, cimetière	Archaeological discovery		PA 1736-1740
TC66	Denier	Paris	1180-1223	Mot A: FRA / NCO en boustrophadon Mot B: Cross	PHI.LIPVVS REX, début à 10h	+PARISII CIVI	0.84	Metro Palais de Justice, Rouen	Haute-Normandie	Église St-Jean, cimetière	Archaeological discovery		D 164
TC67	Denier	Angevin	1100-1200	Mot A: champ illisible, Mot B: Monogramme	+[...]V[...]OMES	[...]JBS[...]	0.37	Metro Palais de Justice, Rouen	Haute-Normandie	Église St-Jean, cimetière	Archaeological discovery		
TC68	Denier	Mansois (Fake?)	1100-1200	Mot A: illisible (plié), Mot B: Canton cross	illisible (plié?)	[...]SIGNVM D[...]I VIVI	1.11	Metro Palais de Justice, Rouen	Haute-Normandie	Église St-Jean, cimetière	Archaeological discovery		Met 3-4 (V), G non déterminé
TC69	Denier	Provins	1125-1152 ou 1197-1224	Mot A: croix cantonnée d'un V, Mot B: V	[...]T CO [...]	[...]ST[...] début 3h	0.24	Metro Palais de Justice, Rouen	Haute-Normandie	Église St-Jean, cimetière	Archaeological discovery		Bompaire 1 ou 5, RN 1999, p. 224-229
TC70	Denier	Tournais	1050-1200 env.	Mot A: châtel, Mot B: Cross	+SCS MARTI[...]	+TVRO(N bouleté)VS CIVI	0.39	Metro Palais de Justice, Rouen	Haute-Normandie	Église St-Jean, cimetière	Archaeological discovery		
TC71	Denier	Mansois	1100-1200				0.43	Metro Palais de Justice, Rouen	Haute-Normandie	Église St-Jean, cimetière	Archaeological discovery		
TC72	Denier	Angevin	1100-1200	Mot A: croix cantonnée de l'alpha et l'oméga, Mot B: Monogramme of Fulk	[+FVLCO COMES]	+A(NE ?) [...] (A ?)Ve(N?)Si(S rétrograde), début à 6h	0.78	Metro Palais de Justice, Rouen	Haute-Normandie	Église St-Jean, cimetière	Archaeological discovery		
TC73	Denier	Tournais	1050-1200 env.	Mot A: châtel, Mot B: Cross	[...]ART[...]	+[...]R[...]CIV[...]	0.46	Metro Palais de Justice, Rouen	Haute-Normandie	Église St-Jean, cimetière	Archaeological discovery		
TC74	Denier	Provins	1125-1152	Mot A: croix cantonnée d'un point au 1, V au 3, 2 et 4 illisibles, Mot B: peigne provinois surmonté d'un V accosté d'un point	[...]T COME [...]	[...]JNS CAST[...] début à 3h	0.41	Metro Palais de Justice, Rouen	Haute-Normandie	Église St-Jean, cimetière	Archaeological discovery		Bompaire 1 var (point à la place de l'annelet), RN 1999, p.226
TC75	Denier	Chartres	1100-1200	Mot A: tête chartraine à dr., Mot B: croix, apparemment pas de cantonnement		+CART ? [...] VIT (A ?)	0.26	Metro Palais de Justice, Rouen	Haute-Normandie	Église St-Jean, cimetière	Archaeological discovery		PA XXXIV, 2-6 var (sans cantonnement)
TC76	Obol	Chartres	1100-1200	illisible / illisible	illisible / illisible	[...]CA[...] / illisible	0.08	Metro Palais de Justice, Rouen	Haute-Normandie	Église St-Jean, cimetière	Archaeological discovery		
TC77		English Sterling	1180-1189					Barbacane du Chateau, Gisors	Haute-Normandie	Château	Archaeological discovery	1993	
TC79	Denier	Paris	1191-1199				0.79	Chapelle du Pin, Grosley-sur-Risle	Haute-Normandie	Château seigneurial (Xie - XIIIe) puis village (XIIIe-XVie)	Archaeological discovery	1984-1990	D 166
TC80	Denier	Mansois	XIe	Mot A: monogramme d'Herbert, Mot B: croix cantonnée d'1 besant au 1 et 2, oméga au 3, alpha au 4	+COMES CNEOIIANIS	+SIGNVM DEI VIVI	1.04	Chapelle du Pin, Grosley-sur-Risle	Haute-Normandie	Château seigneurial (Xie - XIIIe) puis village (XIIIe-XVie)	Archaeological discovery	1984-1990	Metcalf, type 4Legros, classe 2c
TC81	Denier	Angevin	XIe			[...]RBS[...]NDEGAVIS		Chateau, Ivry-la-Bataille	Haute-Normandie	Château	Archaeological discovery	1968-1970	
TC82	Denier	Angevin	XIe			[...]VRB[...]NDE[...]VI S		Chateau, Ivry-la-Bataille	Haute-Normandie	Château	Archaeological discovery	1968-1970	
TC83	Denier	Paris	1191-1223					Chateau, Ivry-la-Bataille	Haute-Normandie	Château	Archaeological discovery	1968-1970	D 168
TC84	Denier	Mansois	XIe					Chateau, Ivry-la-Bataille	Haute-Normandie	Château	Archaeological discovery	1968-1970	Metcalf 5 ou 6
TC85	Denier	Tournais	XIe					Chateau, Ivry-la-Bataille	Haute-Normandie	Château	Archaeological discovery	1968-1970	
TC86	Denier	Paris	1180-1223					Chateau, Ivry-la-Bataille	Haute-Normandie	Château	Archaeological discovery	1968-1970	D 164
TC87	Denier	Guingampois	fin XIIe					Chateau, Ivry-la-Bataille	Haute-Normandie	Château	Archaeological discovery	1968-1970	
TC88	Denier	Tournais	XIe					Merovingian necropole, Louviers	Haute-Normandie	Nécropole mérovingienne	Archaeological discovery		
TC89	Denier	Tournais	XIe				0.64	Merovingian necropole, Louviers	Haute-Normandie	Nécropole	Archaeological discovery	2003	PA 1636
TC92	Denier	Mansois	XIe-deb XIIIe				0.445	Cotes de la Ferriere, Sébécourt	Haute-Normandie	Château	Archaeological discovery	1971-1982	
TC95	Denier	Mansois	XIe-deb XIIIe				1.415	Cotes de la Ferriere, Sébécourt	Haute-Normandie	Château	Archaeological discovery	1971-1985	PA pp212 et suiv
TC96	Denier	Mansois	XIe-deb XIIIe				1.085	Cotes de la Ferriere, Sébécourt	Haute-Normandie	Château	Archaeological discovery	1971-1986	
TC97	Denier	Angevin	XIe-1204				0.827	Cotes de la Ferriere, Sébécourt	Haute-Normandie	Château	Archaeological discovery	1971-1987	PA 1509
TC98	Denier	Angevin	XIe-1204				0.722	Cotes de la Ferriere, Sébécourt	Haute-Normandie	Château	Archaeological discovery	1971-1988	PA 1509

TC99	Denier	Angevin	XIIe-1204			0.617	Cotes de la Ferriere, Sébécourt	Haute-Normandie	Château	Archaeological discovery	1971-1989	PA 1509	
TC102	Obol	Chartres	XIIe				"Basilique", Viell-Evreux	Haute-Normandie	Basilique romaine réoccupée	Archaeological discovery	1911-1914		
TC103	Denier	Dreux	XIe-XIIe				"Basilique", Viell-Evreux	Haute-Normandie	Basilique romaine réoccupée	Archaeological discovery	1911-1914	D 38 pour le prototype	
TC104	Denier	Angevin	XIIe		+(FVL ??)[CC]COMES, début à 3h		["...DEGAVE[...], début à 9h	Haute-Normandie	"Basilique", Viell-Evreux	Basilique romaine réoccupée	Archaeological discovery	2005	
TC105	Denier	Paris	1191-1223			?	Vieux Chateau, Vernon	Haute-Normandie	Château	Archaeological discovery	1986	D 168	
TC107	Denier		1066-1175	Mot A: temple aux 2 frontons			Maison-Forte, Cany-Barville	Haute-Normandie	Maison-Forte	Archaeological discovery	1978-1985		
TC108	Denier	Bezier	1194-1209				Maison-forte, Maromme	Haute-Normandie	Maison-Forte	Archaeological discovery	1988-1991	PA 3835-36, LXXXV, 11-12	
TC109	Obol	Dreux	1108-1184	Mot A: Église avec cloches			Ducal palace, Fécamp	Haute-Normandie	Palais ducal (Xe-XIe) puis abbaye (-XVIe)	Archaeological discovery		Lafaurie 108	
TC111	Obol	Tournois	fin XIIe-début XIIIe	Mot A: châtel, Mot B: Cross			Ducal palace, Fécamp	Haute-Normandie	Palais ducal (Xe-XIe) puis abbaye (-XVIe)	Archaeological discovery		PA 1649 et Pl XXXI, n° 17	
TC112	Obol		fin XIIe ?	Mot A: Temple ?, Mot B: croix pattée dans un grénétis			Ducal palace, Fécamp	Haute-Normandie	Palais ducal (Xe-XIe) puis abbaye (-XVIe)	Archaeological discovery		+C ou L.... ou S rétrograde	
TC113	Denier	Guingampois	XIIe			0.6	Chateau, Vatteville-la-Rue	Haute-Normandie	Château	Archaeological discovery	1994-1996	PA 1432, Bigot 1961ézequel type IIIc ou IVa	
TC114	Denier	Tournois	XIIe			0.87	Chateau, Vatteville-la-Rue	Haute-Normandie	Château	Archaeological discovery	1994-1996	PA 1636 et suiv	
TC115	Denier	Angevin	XIIe				Chateau, Vatteville-la-Rue	Haute-Normandie	Château	Archaeological discovery	1994-1996	PA 1508	
TC118	Denier		1108-1137-1180			0.79	Abbey Saint-Georges, Saint-Martin de Boscherville	Haute-Normandie	Abbaye	Archaeological discovery	1990-1993	D 120 ou 142	
TC121	Denier	Denier	mi XIIe			0.69	Abbey Saint-Georges, Saint-Martin de Boscherville	Haute-Normandie	Abbaye	Archaeological discovery	1990-1993	Pilet-Lemier 1985 J. Pilet-Lemière, 'Deniers inédits de Rouen à la légende METROPOLIS', BSFN, 40-5, 1985, p. 638-640	
TC122	Denier	Meaux	1172-1174			0.65	Abbey Saint-Georges, Saint-Martin de Boscherville	Haute-Normandie	Abbaye	Archaeological discovery	1990-1993	PA 6034	
TC123	Denier	Angevin	XIIe			0.7	Chateau, Notre-Dame-de-Gravenchon	Haute-Normandie	Château à motte	Archaeological discovery	1980	PA 1509	
TC125	Denier	Roumois (Ab)	v. 1150			0.76	Chateau, Notre-Dame-de-Gravenchon	Haute-Normandie	Château à motte	Archaeological discovery	1980	JPL 1985	
TC126	Denier	Roumois (Ab)	v. 1150			0.59	Chateau, Notre-Dame-de-Gravenchon	Haute-Normandie	Château à motte	Archaeological discovery	1980	JPL 1985	
TC127	Denier	Angevin	XIIe			0.69	Chateau, Notre-Dame-de-Gravenchon	Haute-Normandie	Château à motte	Archaeological discovery	1980	PA 1495	
TC128	Denier	Mansois	XIIe			0.66	Chateau, Notre-Dame-de-Gravenchon	Haute-Normandie	Château à motte	Archaeological discovery	1980	--	
TC129	Denier	Tournois	XIIe			0.61	Chateau, Notre-Dame-de-Gravenchon	Haute-Normandie	Château à motte	Archaeological discovery	1980		
TC130	Denier	Paris	1180-1223			0.84	51 Rue Victor Hugo, Rouen	Haute-Normandie	Habitat urbain	Archaeological discovery	1/1/1996	D 164 var (point)	
TC131	Denier	Mansois	XIIe				Coffre des Augustines de l'Hotel Dieu, Don de l'Abbé Fouré, Rouen	Haute-Normandie		Unclear/Unknown	don le 20/11/1980	PA 1557 var	
TC132	Denier	Mansois	1150-1204	Mot A: monogramme d'Herbert, Mot B: croix grecque alpha et oméga		1.02	Espace du Palais, Rouen	Haute-Normandie		Unclear/Unknown		Hucher, Pl. III, 3-5 et var	
TC133	Denier	Guingampois	1184-1212			0.51	Palais de Justice, Rouen	Haute-Normandie	Habitat urbain juif ou synagogue	Archaeological discovery	1976-1977	Bigot 218 var	
TC134	Denier	Guingampois	1184-1212			0.51	Palais de Justice, Rouen	Haute-Normandie	Habitat urbain juif ou synagogue	Archaeological discovery	1976-1977	Bigot 218 var	
TC135	Denier	Mansois	XIIe				Palais de Justice, Rouen	Haute-Normandie	Habitat urbain juif ou synagogue	Archaeological discovery	1976-1977	PA 1556	
TC136	Denier	Mansois	XIIe				Palais de Justice, Rouen	Haute-Normandie	Habitat urbain juif ou synagogue	Archaeological discovery	1976-1977	PA 1556	
TC137	Denier	Tournois	XIIe			0.49	Palais de Justice, Rouen	Haute-Normandie	Habitat urbain juif ou synagogue	Archaeological discovery	1976-1977	PA 1646	
TC138	Denier	Tournois	XIIe			0.35	Palais de Justice, Rouen	Haute-Normandie	Habitat urbain juif ou synagogue	Archaeological discovery	1976-1977	PA 1646	
TC139	Obol	Châteaudun	fin XIIe			0.09	Palais de Justice, Rouen	Haute-Normandie	Habitat urbain juif ou synagogue	Archaeological discovery	1976-1977	PA 1830	
TC140	Obol	Chartres	XIIe			0.125	Palais de Justice, Rouen	Haute-Normandie	Habitat urbain juif ou synagogue	Archaeological discovery	1976-1977	type PA 1733	
TC143	Denier	Paris	1180-1223				Palais de Justice, Rouen	Haute-Normandie	Habitat urbain juif ou synagogue	Archaeological discovery	1976-1977	L 184	
TC144	Denier	Provins	1197-1201				Palais de Justice, Rouen	Haute-Normandie	Habitat urbain juif ou synagogue	Archaeological discovery	1976-1977	PA 5978	
TC145	Denier	Tournois	1150-1204				Rue aux Juifs/ Rue des Carmes, Rouen	Haute-Normandie	? habitat ?	Archaeological discovery	1859 ?		
TC146	Denier	Meaux	1120-1134				Rue Champmeslé, Rouen	Haute-Normandie	Habitat BE / HM, remblais, cours BMA / presbytère	Archaeological discovery	février-mars 1998	PA 6015	
TC149	Denier	Mansois	XIIe			0.9	Rue des charrettes / gare routière, Rouen	Haute-Normandie	Habitat	Archaeological discovery	sept-nov 2001	Metcalf 3Legros 2	

TC150	Denier	Guingampois	XIIe-1204				0.37	Rue des charrettes / gare routière, Rouen	Haute-Normandie	Habitat	Archaeological discovery	sept-nov 2001	
TC151	Denier	Tournois	1050-1200				0.16	Rue des charrettes / gare routière, Rouen	Haute-Normandie	Habitat	Archaeological discovery	sept-nov 2001	
TC152	Denier	Melgueil	XIIe-XIIIe					Rue impératrice, Rouen	Haute-Normandie		Unclear/Unknown	? Coll. Thaurin	PA 3842
TC153	Denier	Melgueil	XIIe-XIIIe					Rue impératrice, Rouen	Haute-Normandie		Unclear/Unknown	? Coll. Thaurin	PA 3842
TC155	Denier	English Sterling	XIIe-XIIIe					une des cours du lycée cornelle, Rouen	Haute-Normandie		Unclear/Unknown	été 1859	
TC156	Denier	Mansois	1150-1200	Mot A: monogramme d'Erbert, Mot B: croix cantonnée d'un besant aux 1 et 2, de l'alpha et de l'oméga aux 3 et 4	+ COMES CENOMANIS	+SIGNVM DEI VIVI	0.92	La Butte du Chateau, Bretoncelles	Basse-Normandie		Unclear/Unknown		PA 1546
TC157	Denier	Vendômois	c. 1200	Mot A: profil dégénéré à droite, croissant devant le nez, Mot B: Cross	anépigraphe	+ V[DO]N CAOSTO	0.6	La Butte du Chateau, Bretoncelles	Basse-Normandie		Unclear/Unknown		PA n° 1779, pl. XXXV, 19
TC158	Denier	Paris	1180-1223	Mot A: FRA/OCN, Mot B: Cross	PHILIPVS REX	+ PARISII CIVIS	0.59	Vieux-Chateau, Audrieu	Basse-Normandie		Unclear/Unknown	1970	Duplessy 1988, n° 164
TC159	Denier	Meaux	1172-1174	Mot A: tête mitrée de face, devant une crose, Mot B: croix cantonnée de deux lis et de deux besants	PETRVS EPISCOP	+MELD CIVITAS	0.91	Le Thuis, Boulon	Basse-Normandie		Unclear/Unknown	14/04/1983	PA III, n° 6033
TC160	Denier	Blois	1150-1158	Mot A: buste couronné, de trois quarts à gauche et portant le sceptre en main droite, Mot B: croix double, fleur de lis dans chaque canton	STIEFNE	+H []	1.24	Le Pré de Chateau, Rubery	Basse-Normandie		Unclear/Unknown	12/07/1977	North 1963, I, n° 881 ; Awbridge type
TC161	Denier	Paris, 1er type	1191-1199	Mot A: FRA/OCN en deux lignes, Mot B: croix cantonnée d'un lis au 2 et 3	+PH[ILP]RE		0	Saint-Leonard, Beaumont-le-Roger	Haute-Normandie		Unclear/Unknown	1990	L 183, D 166
TC162	Denier	Tournois	Fin 12e	Mot A: châtel tournois, Mot B: cros	SCS MARTINVS (3e S à l'envers)	+TVRONVS CIVIS	0.67	Saint-Leonard, Beaumont-le-Roger	Haute-Normandie		Unclear/Unknown	1990	PA 1647
TC163	Denier	Paris, 1er type	1191-1199	Mot A: FRA/OCN en deux lignes, Mot B: croix cantonnée d'un lis au 2 et 3	+PHILIPRE	+ARRAS CIVITAS	0.79	Chapelle du Pin, Grosley-sur-Risle	Haute-Normandie		Unclear/Unknown	1985-90	D 166, L 183 ; Expo 1992 Evreux, n° 1, p. 35
TC165	Denier	Dijon	c. 1165-1185	Mot A: anille surmontée d'un besant ; au-dessous anneau entre deux billetes, Mot B: croix pattée	+VGO DVX BVRG: DIE (O rond au droit et au revers)	+ DIVIONENPIS (premier S à l'envers)	0.95	Quartier Gamilly, Vernon	Haute-Normandie		Gardening	14/01/2003	Dumas-Dubourg 1988, p. 268, n° 6-2-1
TC166	Denier	Boulogne	1191-1212	Mot A: BOLONV en deux lignes (BOL/ONV), Mot B: croix cantonnée d'un croissant	X RENAD'COM' (légende commençant à 9 h)	+ BOLVNEME	0.98	Quartier Gamilly, Vernon	Haute-Normandie		Gardening	14/01/2003	PA III, p. 74, n° 6630
TC167	Denier	Châteaunvers	1180-1200	Mot A: tête bléso-chartraine à gauche, entre deux croisettes, avec anneau en cœur et au-dessous pieu, la pointe à droite, Mot B: cross		+DVNIOSTIII	0.67	The great Cemetary, Colombiers	Basse-Normandie		Unclear/Unknown	1980	PA I, n° 1839 ; Duplessy 2004, n° 481
TC168	Denier	Angevin	1150-1180	Mot A: croix cantonnée de l'alpha et de l'oméga aux 2 et 4, Mot B: Fulk monogramme	+FVLCO COMES	+VRBS ADEGAVS	0.72	The great Cemetary, Colombiers	Basse-Normandie		Unclear/Unknown	1984	
TC169	Denier	Mansois	1150-1200	Mot A: monogramme d'Erbert, Mot B: croix cantonnée d'un besant aux 1 et 2, de l'alpha au 3, de l'oméga au 4	+COMES CENOMANNIS (M et E liés CONES)	+SIGNVM DEI VIVI	0.99	The great Cemetary, Colombiers	Basse-Normandie		Unclear/Unknown	1984	PA I, n° 1552
TC170	Denier	Mansois	1150-1200	Mot A: monogramme d'Erbert, Mot B: croix cantonnée d'un besant aux 1 et 2, de l'alpha au 3, de l'oméga au 5	+COMES CENOMANNIS (M et E liés CONES)	+SIGNVM DEI VIVI	1.18	The great Cemetary, Colombiers	Basse-Normandie		Unclear/Unknown	1984	PA I, n° 1584
TC171	Denier	Mansois	1150-1200	Mot A: monogramme d'Erbert, Mot B: croix cantonnée d'un besant aux 1 et 2, de l'alpha au 3, de l'oméga au 6	+COMES CENOMANNIS (M et E liés CONES ; les S sont petits)	+SIGNVM DEI VIVI (N et M bouletés)	1.15	The great Cemetary, Colombiers	Basse-Normandie		Unclear/Unknown	1984	PA I, n° 1552
TC172	Denier	Mansois	1050-1200 ?	Mot A: monogramme d'Erbert, Mot B: croix cantonnée de l'alpha et de l'oméga	+C[...]S	[+SIGNVM DEI VIVI]	0.3	Chateau du Rivray, Condé-sur-Huisne	Basse-Normandie		Unclear/Unknown	11-08-89	
TC173	Denier	Paris	1191-1223	Mot A: FRA/OCN en deux lignes, Mot B: croix cantonnée d'un lis au 1 et 4	PHILIPVS REX, lég. commençant à 9	+ARRAS CIVIS	1.1	Prieuré castral Saint-Symphorien, Domfront	Basse-Normandie		Unclear/Unknown	1991	L184, D 168
TC174	Denier	Paris	1191-1223	Mot A: FRA/OCN en deux lignes, Mot B: Cross	PHILIPVS [RE]X, lég. commençant à 9	+PARISII CIVIS	1.03	Prieuré castral Saint-Symphorien, Domfront	Basse-Normandie		Unclear/Unknown	1991	L 181, D 164
TC176	Denier	Mansois	fin 12e - début 13e	Mot A: monogramme d'Erbert, Mot B: croix cantonnée de l'alpha et de l'oméga	+COMES CENOMANNIS	+SIGNVM DEI VIVI	0.85	Le Vieux Chateau, Vatteville-la-Rue	Haute-Normandie	Château	Unclear/Unknown	24-07-1995	PA 1577
TC177	Denier	Angevin	XIIe	Mot A: croix cantonnée d'un A et d'un ? suspendus à la traverse de la croix, Mot B: monogramme de Fouleux inversé	+FVLCO COMES	+VRBS AIDCCSV	0.78	Le Vieux Chateau, Vatteville-la-Rue	Haute-Normandie	chateau	Archaeological discovery	26-07-1995	PA 1495
TC178	Denier	Paris, 2e type	1191-1199	Mot A: FRA/OCN, Mot B: croix cantonnée de deux lis	PHILIPVS REX	+ARRAS CIVIS	0.92	Maison-Forte, Cany-Barville	Haute-Normandie	Maison-forte	Archaeological discovery	1978-1985	Duplessy 1988, n° 168
TC179	Obol	Troyes	1125-1152	Mot A: monogramme, Mot B: croix cantonnée d'un besant au 2 et au 3	[+TRECAS] CIVITAS			Maison-Forte, Cany-Barville	Haute-Normandie	Maison-Forte	Archaeological discovery	1978-1985	PA III, n° 5948
TC180	Obol	Paris	1199-1223	Mot A: FRA/OCN, Mot B: Cross	PHILIPVS REX	+PARISII CIVIS	0.4	Maison-Forte, Cany-Barville	Haute-Normandie	Maison-Forte	Archaeological discovery	1978-1985	Duplessy 1988, n° 165
TC181	Denier	Paris	1199-1223	Mot A: FRA/OCN, Mot B: Cross	PHILIPVS REX	+PARISII CIVIS	0.73	Maison-Forte, Cany-Barville	Haute-Normandie	Maison-Forte	Archaeological discovery	1978-1985	Duplessy 1988, n° 164
TC182	Obol	Nogent-le-Rotrou	c. 1170	Mot A: tête chartraine à droite, Mot B: Cross		+PERTICENSIS		Sotteville-sous-le-Val	Haute-Normandie		Unclear/Unknown		cf. PA I, n° 1903, pl. XXXIX, 17
TC183	Denier	Roumois	1130/1150 env.	Mot A: 2 clés, Mot B: croix cantonnée de 4 besants, grénets extérieur denté	[...]DOM	anépigraphe	0.42	Metro Palais de Justice, Rouen	Haute-Normandie	Église St-Jean, cimetière	Archaeological discovery		Dumas XIX, 20, groupe E (cf. Dumas et Pilet-Lemière 1989).
TC186	Denier	Normandu	1130/1150 env.				0.35	Metro Palais de Justice, Rouen	Haute-Normandie	Église St-Jean, cimetière	Archaeological discovery		
TC194	Denier	Tournois	XIIe				0.8	Chateau, Vatteville-la-Rue	Haute-Normandie	Château	Archaeological discovery	1994-1996	PA 1636 et suiv
TC195	Denier	Guingampois	1150-1200					Marigny, Mortrée	Basse-Normandie	?	Unclear/Unknown		
TC197	Denier	Mansois	1100-1150 ?	Mot A: monogramme d'Herbert, Mot B: croix cantonnée de alpha et oméga	+COM-ES CENONAIIIIII	+SICVM DII VIVI	1.27	La Pommeraye, Château Ganne	Basse-Normandie	Château	Archaeological discovery	2009	
TC198	Denier	Roumois, groupe D	seconde moitié XIIe-début XIIIe	Mot A: GO/RA (?) en deux lignes, Mot B: croix cantonnée de 4 besants	0 NORMANN[II]A	?	?	La Pommeraye, Château Ganne	Basse-Normandie	Château	Archaeological discovery	2009	Dumas, 1979, p. 94 et Pl. XXI, 6.
TC199	Denier	Châteaun	1180-1200 (?)					La Pommeraye, Château Ganne	Basse-Normandie	Château	Archaeological discovery	2007 ?	PA 1834, Pl. XXXVI, 19.
TC200	Denier	Mansois	1100-1150 ?	Mot A: monogramme d'Herbert, Mot B: croix cantonnée de alpha et oméga	+COMES CENOMANNIS	+SIGNVM DEI VIVI	1.11	La Pommeraye, Château Ganne	Basse-Normandie	Château	Archaeological discovery	2009	
TC201	Obol	Châteaun	1180-1210	Mot A: Tête bléso-chartraine à dr. avec couronne crénelée, entre deux croissants, avec anneau en cœur et oméga vertical au-dessous, mot B: Croix cantonnée d'une "S" au 2 et 3	Anépigraphe	+ DVNIC []	0.34	Rue Guynemer, Elbeuf	Haute-Normandie	Habitat urbain	Archaeological discovery	2013	PA XXXVII, 18 ; D 2004, 484
TC203	Denier	Mansois	1140-1204 env.	Mot A: Monogramme d'Herbert, Mot B: Croix cantonnée de deux besants, d'un alpha et d'un oméga	[+COH-EI[S]CE]NOMA[NIS]	+SIGNVM DEI VIVI	1.32	Boulevard du général de Gaulle, Dieppe	Haute-Normandie	Habitat urbain, artisanat	Archaeological discovery	2016	Style gras, Classe 2c (Cardon 2010) ; Metcalf class 4 ; Legros class 2c
TC204	Denier (half)	Mansois	1140-1170	Mot A: monogramme d'Erbert, Mot B: croix cantonnée d'un besant aux 1 et 2, de l'alpha au 3 et de l'oméga au 4	[+COMES CENOMANNIS	+SIGNVM DEI VIVI]	0.72	Chateau, Caen	Basse-Normandie	Château	Archaeological discovery	13/08/1962	PA 1546 ; style gras, classe 1
TC205	Denier (half)	Mansois (Fake?)	1140-1204	Mot A: monogramme d'Erbert, Mot B: croix cantonnée d'un besant aux 1 et 2, de l'alpha au 3 et de l'oméga au 4	[+COM]ES CEN[OMANNIS]	+SICVM DEI VIVI], S renversé	0.58	Chateau, Caen	Basse-Normandie	Château	Archaeological discovery	13/08/1962	PA 1546 ; style gras, classe 1 ou 2
TC206	Denier	Mansois	1140-1204	Mot A: monogramme d'Erbert, Mot B: croix cantonnée d'un besant aux 1 et 2, de l'alpha au 3 et de l'oméga au 4	[...]ES CN-EOMANIS, M bouletés	+SIGNVM DEI VIVI, M bouletés	1.22	Chateau, Caen	Basse-Normandie	Château	Archaeological discovery	01/06/1965	PA 1546 ; style gras, classe 1 ou 2
TC207	Denier	Mansois (Fake?)	1140-1204	Mot A: monogramme d'Erbert, Mot B: Illisible	+CO[M]ES CEN[OMANNIS]	Illisible	1.24	Chateau, Caen	Basse-Normandie	Château	Archaeological discovery	26/06/1965	PA 1546 ; style gras, classe 1 ou 2
TC208	Denier	Mansois (Fake?)	1140-1204	Mot A: monogramme d'Erbert, Mot B: croix cantonnée d'un besant aux 1 et 2, de l'alpha au 3 et de l'oméga au 4	[+C]OMES CENO[MANNIS]	+SIGNVM DEI VIVI]	0.59	Chateau, Caen	Basse-Normandie	Château	Archaeological discovery	06/07/1966	PA 1546 ; style gras, classe 1 ou 2

TC209	Denier	Mansois	1140-1170	Mot A: monogramme d'Erbert, Mot B: croix cantonnée d'un besant aux 1 et 2, de l'alpha au 3 et de l'oméga au 5	+COMES CENOMANNIS, A non barré	+SIGNVM DEI VIVI	0.96	Chateau, Caen	Basse-Normandie	Château	Archaeological discovery	30/05/1967	PA 1548 ; style gras, classe 1
TC210	Denier	Mansois	1140-1170	Mot A: monogramme d'Erbert, Mot B: croix cantonnée d'un besant aux 1 et 2, de l'alpha au 3 et de l'oméga au 6	+COMES CENOMANNIS, ME ligaturés, M bouleté	+SIGNVM DEI VIVI, M bouleté	1.06	Chateau, Caen	Basse-Normandie	Château	Archaeological discovery	27/05/1967	PA 1552 ; style gras, classe 1
TC211	Denier	Mansois	1140-1170	Mot A: monogramme d'Erbert, Mot B: croix cantonnée d'un besant aux 1 et 2, de l'alpha au 3 et de l'oméga au 7	+COMES CENOMANNIS	+SIGNVM DEI VIVI	1.13	Chateau, Caen	Basse-Normandie	Château	Archaeological discovery	29/05/1967	PA 1546 ; style gras, classe 1
TC212	Denier	Mansois (Fake?)	1140-1170	Mot A: monogramme d'Erbert, Mot B: croix cantonnée d'un besant aux 1 et 2, de l'alpha au 3 et de l'oméga au 8	+COMES CENOMANNIS, ME ligaturés, A non barré	+SIGNVM DEI VIVI	1.01	Chateau, Caen	Basse-Normandie	Château	Archaeological discovery	22/03/1968	PA 1552 ; style gras, classe 1
TC213	Denier	Mansois (Fake?)	1140-1204	Mot A: monogramme d'Erbert, Mot B: croix cantonnée d'un besant aux 1 et 2, de l'alpha au 3 et de l'oméga au 9	+COMES CENOMANNIS	+SIGNVM DEI VIVI	0.85	Chateau, Caen	Basse-Normandie	Château	Archaeological discovery	?	PA 1546 ; style gras, classe 1 ou 2
TC214	Denier (half)	Angevin	1150-1200	Mot A: croix cantonnée d'un oméga au 2 et de l'alpha au 4, Mot B: Fulk monogramme	+FVLCO (COMES), début à 3h	[...]BS AND[...], début à 6h	0.54	Chateau, Caen	Basse-Normandie	Château	Archaeological discovery	13/08/1961	Legros, classe 7
TC215	Denier	Angevin	1130-1200	Mot A: croix cantonnée d'un oméga au 2 et de l'alpha au 4, Mot B: Fulk monogramme	[...]LCO[...][ME][...]	illis.	0.70	Chateau, Caen	Basse-Normandie	Château	Archaeological discovery	13/05/1964	Legros, classe 4, 5 ou 7
TC216	Denier	Angevin	1130-1140/50	Mot A: croix cantonnée d'un oméga au 3 et d'un oméga au 4, Mot B: Fulk monogramme	+FVLCO COMES	+ANDEGAUENSIS	0.75	Chateau, Caen	Basse-Normandie	Château	Archaeological discovery	23/04/1965	Legros, classe 4
TC217	Denier	Angevin	1150-1200	Mot A: croix cantonnée d'un oméga au 3 et d'un oméga au 4, Mot B: Fulk Monogramme (contourné)	+FVLCO COMES	+VRBS AN-DEGAVS	1.03	Chateau, Caen	Basse-Normandie	Château	Archaeological discovery	30/10/1967	Legros, classe 7
TC218	Obol	Angevin	1060-1160	Mot A: croix cantonnée d'un alpha au 3 et d'un oméga au 4, Mot B: Fulk Monogramme renverse a 90 degrees	+GOSEVDS COS	+GIEMIS CA	0.40	Chateau, Caen	Basse-Normandie	Château	Archaeological discovery	?	PA 1997 ; Legros 1561-1562
TC219	Obol	Angevin	1060-1160	Mot A: croix cantonnée d'un alpha au 3 et d'un oméga au 4, Mot B: Fulk Monogramme renverse a 90 degrees	+GOSEVDS COS	+GIEMIS CA	0.38	Chateau, Caen	Basse-Normandie	Château	Archaeological discovery	15/02/1964	PA 1997 ; Legros 1561-1562
TC220	Denier	Tournais	1130-1190	Mot A: Châtel tournais, mot B: Croix pattée	+SC[...][NVS]	+TVR[...][VI]	0.74	Chateau, Caen	Basse-Normandie	Château	Archaeological discovery	1957	PA 1646, classe 2 à 4
TC221	Denier	Tournais	1130-1150/60	Mot A: Châtel tournais, mot B: Croix pattée	+SCS MARTINV[S]	+TVRONV[S] CIVI	0.73	Chateau, Caen	Basse-Normandie	Château	Archaeological discovery	26/08/1967	PA 1646, classe 3 (Capucins)
TC222	Denier	Tournais	1150/60-1190	Mot A: Châtel tournais, mot B: Croix pattée	+SCS MARTINV[S]	+TVRONV[S] CIVI	0.94	Chateau, Caen	Basse-Normandie	Château	Archaeological discovery	30/10/1967	PA 1646, classe 4 (Capucins)
TC223	Denier	Tournais	1150/60-1190	Mot A: Châtel tournais, mot B: Croix pattée	+SCS MARTINV[S]	+TVRONV[S] CIVI	1.11	Chateau, Caen	Basse-Normandie	Château	Archaeological discovery	30/10/1967	PA 1646, classe 4 (Capucins)
TC224	Denier	Tournais	1130-1150/60	Mot A: Châtel tournais, mot B: Croix pattée	+SCS MARTINV[S]	+TVRONV[S] CIVI	0.88	Chateau, Caen	Basse-Normandie	Château	Archaeological discovery	30/10/1967	PA 1646, classe 2 ou 3
TC225	Denier	Tournais	1150/60-1190	Mot A: Châtel tournais, mot B: Croix pattée	+SCS MARTINV[S]	+TVRONV[S] CIVI	0.76	Chateau, Caen	Basse-Normandie	Château	Archaeological discovery	21/08/1965	PA 1646, classe 4
TC234	Denier	Brittany	1156-1169	Mot A: croix, Mot B: D/V/X	+CONANVS	+BRITANNIE	0.89	Chateau, Caen	Basse-Normandie	Château	Archaeological discovery	24/07/1962	PA 273, pl. IX, 19 ; J. 30
TC235	Denier	English Sterling	1158-1180	Mot A: buste couronné de face avec un sceptre en main droite, Mot B: croix cantonnée d'une croissette dans chaque canton, croix en sautoir au centre	+HENRI[...]	+RI[...][N:LVN]	1.33	Chateau, Caen	Basse-Normandie	Château	Archaeological discovery	04/07/1966	North 1963, p. 161
TC236	Denier	English Sterling	1180-1190	Mot A: buste couronné de face avec un sceptre en main droite, Mot B: croix double cantonnée d'une croissette dans chaque canton	heNR[...]	[...]JAVLON[...]	0.34	Chateau, Caen	Basse-Normandie	Château	Archaeological discovery	26/10/1967	North, I, n° 962-966, class 1 ou 2, atelier ind., Raul ?
TC237	Denier	English Sterling	1189-1190	Mot A: buste de face, couronné, tenant un sceptre, Mot B: croix courte, un quatre feuille dans chaque canton	heNRICVS ReX, X bouleté	[...]EINALD.ON.CA[...]	1.07	Chateau, Caen	Basse-Normandie	Château	Archaeological discovery	00/02/1968	North, I, n° 965-966, Class 2, Canterbury, Reinald
TC238	Obol	Château un	1180-1200 env.	Mot A: croix cantonnée d'un S en 2, mot B: Tête chartraine	+DVNIC []	Anépigraphé	0.39	Chateau, Caen	Basse-Normandie	Château	Archaeological discovery	09/06/1965	PA 1833 ; Legros 1110 ; D. 484
TC239	Denier	Angevin	1050-1200	Mot A: Restes du monogramme de Fouiques ?, Mot B: illisible	Illisible	Illisible	0.70	Chateau, Caen	Basse-Normandie	Château	Archaeological discovery	15/07/1966	cf. D. 369-378
TC240	Denier	Mansois	1140-1204	Mot A: monogramme d'Erbert, Mot B: croix cantonnée d'un besant aux 1 et 2, de l'alpha au 3 et de l'oméga au 4	+COMES CNEOMANIS	+SIGNVM DEI VIVI	0.73	Chateau, Caen	Basse-Normandie	Château	Archaeological discovery	?	PA 1546 ; Style gras, classe 2c (Capucins)
TC241	Denier	Tournais	1130-1150/60	Mot A: Châtel tournais, Mot B: Croix pattée	+ SCS [...]RTNV[S]	+TVR[...][CI]	0.62	Chateau, Caen	Basse-Normandie	Château	Archaeological discovery	1961-1962 ?	PA 1646 ; Classe 2 (Capucins)
TC242	Denier	Mansois	1040-1204	Mot A: « monogramme d'Herbert », Mot B: « croissette cantonnée aux 1 et 2 d'un besant, et de l'alpha et l'oméga aux 3 et 4 »	« COMES CENOMANNIS » en partie lisible	« SIGNVM DEI VIVI » en partie lisible	0.87	Chateau, Caen	Basse-Normandie	Château	Archaeological discovery	1960-1961	PA 1553-1554, pl. XXIX, 18-19 ; Capucin classe 2 ?
TC243	Denier	Mansois	1040-1204 ?	Mot A: « monogramme d'Herbert », Mot B: illisible	« +CO(M ou N) »	« SIG(N) »	Nr	Chateau, Caen	Basse-Normandie	Château	Archaeological discovery	1960-1961	-
TC244	Denier	Mansois	1140-1204	Mot A: Indéterminé, mot B: croix cantonnée d'un besant aux 1 et 2, de l'alpha au 3 et de l'oméga au 4	[...]OM-ES[...]MAN[...]	+SIG[...]DE[...]	1.13	Chateau, Caen	Basse-Normandie	Château	Archaeological discovery	00/12/1992 (?)	PA 1546. Style gras, classe ind.
TC245	Denier	Dijon	1162-1192	Mot A: Annule surmontée d'un besant ; au-dessous anneau entre deux billettes, Mot B: Croix pattée	+VGO DVX BVRG:DIE	+DIVIONENSIS (premier S rétrograde)	0.97	Villiers-en-désœuvre	Haute-Normandie	Habitat rural	Archaeological discovery	2019	Dumas 1988, 6-2-1
TC246	Denier	Tournais	1130-1150/60	Illisible	Illisible	[...]JONV[...], N pointé	0.07	Montoir-Poissonnerie, Caen	Basse-Normandie	Habitat urbain	Archaeological discovery	1986-1988	Capucins, classe 3
TC247	Denier	Mansois	1140-1204	Mot A: Monogramme d'Herbert, Mot B: Croix pattée cantonnée de deux besants, alpha et oméga	+COM-ES CN-EOMANIS	[...]IGNVM DEI VIV[...]	0.83	Montoir-Poissonnerie, Caen	Basse-Normandie	Habitat urbain	Archaeological discovery	1986-1988	Classe 2c
TC248	Denier	Roumois	1075-1140				0.58	Les Fauquieries (entre Fontenay et Saint-Clement), Gefosse-Fontenay	Basse-Normandie	-	Metal Detecting	-	Dumas XX, 1-3 (groupe C) (semble trop grand pour petit module, Dumas XX, 26)
TC249	Denier	Roumois	1140-1150				0.52	Sur la route de Colombiers à Tierceville, très proche de Colombiers, Colombiers-sur-Seulles	Basse-Normandie	-	Metal Detecting	-	Dumas XIX, 12-13 (groupe B/C selon Dumas, mais plutôt groupe E d'après style et trésor de Sombor?)
TC250	Denier	Paris	1191-1199	Mot A: FRA/OCN, Mot B: Croix cantonnée d'un lis au 2 et 3	+PH[...]	[...]	0.49	Rue Saint-Léonard, 4, Beaumont-le-Roger	Haute-Normandie	Église et Habitat	Archaeological discovery	1990	D. 166
TC255	Denier	Tournais	1130-1200	Mot A: Châtel, Mot B: Croix pattée	+SCS MARTINV[S]	+TVRONV[S] CIVIS	0.67	Rue Saint-Léonard, 4, Beaumont-le-Roger	Haute-Normandie	Église et Habitat	Archaeological discovery	1990	PA 1647
TC284	Obol	Périgueux	XIIe-XIIIe s.	Mot A: Croix pattée cantonnée de V en 2 et S en 3, Mot B: Cinq annelets en croix	+LODOVICVS	+EGOUSSIME (11h)	0.58	Place Roumégoux, Gradignan	Nouvelle-Aquitaine	Cimetière et église	Archaeological discovery	2018	PA LVII, 5 ; D. 987
TC285	Denier	Le Puy	XIIe-XIIIe s.	Mot A: Croix à six bras (chrisme), Mot B: Croix aux extrémités bouletées	Illisible	Illisible	0.72	Place Roumégoux, Gradignan	Nouvelle-Aquitaine	Cimetière et église	Archaeological discovery	2018	D. 839 ; PA XLIX, 6 ?
TC287	Denier	Mansois	c. 1100-1200	Mot A: Monogramme d'Herbert ?, Mot B: Croix cantonnée de deux besants (d'un alpha et d'un oméga ?)	[...]M[...]	+S[...][I]	0.35*	Parvis Cathédrale, Rouen	Haute-Normandie	Habitat urbain	Archaeological discovery	2019	D. 399-400
TC288	Denier	Paris	1191-1223	Mot A: FRA/OCN, Mot B: Croix pattée cantonnée d'un lis en 1 (et 4)	PHILIP[...][eX (9h)]	+ARRAS CIVIS		Abbaye Sainte-Marie, Longues-sur-Mer	Basse-Normandie	Abbaye	Archaeological discovery	2021	L. 184 ; D. 168
TC289	Denier	Angevin	1050-1200 env.	Mot A: Croix appendue de l'alpha et l'oméga, Mot B: Monogramme de Fouiques	[+ FVLCO] COMES	Illisible	0.35	Abbaye Saint-Guenolé, Landévennec	Bretagne	Abbaye	Archaeological discovery	1978-2000	P.A. 1498-1500
TC290	Denier	Gien	1050-1200 env.	Mot A: Croix cantonnée de l'alpha et de l'oméga dégénérés, Mot B: Fulk Monogramme	Illisible	Illisible	Nr	Abbaye Saint-Guenolé, Landévennec	Bretagne	Abbaye	Archaeological discovery	1978-2000	P.A. 1998
TC291	Denier	Paris	1180-1223	Mot A: FRA / NCO en deux lignes, Mot B: Croix pattée	PHILIPPVS REX (la légende commence à 9h)	PARISI CIVIS	0.73	Abbaye Saint-Guenolé, Landévennec	Bretagne	Abbaye	Archaeological discovery	1978-2000	D. 164
TC292	Denier	Tournais	1150/60-1190	Mot A: Châtel tournais, Mot B: Cross	+SCS MARTI[NVS], A bouleté	+TVRONV[S] CIVI[I]	0.82	Place Saint-Germain, Rennes	Bretagne		Archaeological discovery	2014	PA ; D. 412. Capucins Classe 4 (d.)
TC293	Denier	Mansois (Fake?)	1040-1204	Mot A: [Monogramme d'Herbert], Mot B: Croix appendue de l'alpha et l'oméga	+COMES CENOMANIS	+S[IGNVM] DEI VIVI	0.63	Place Saint-Germain, Rennes	Bretagne		Archaeological discovery	2014	Type de PA 1546-1598 ; D. 398-400. Faux.
TC294	Denier	Denier	1130-1150/60	Mot A: Châtel tournais, Mot B: Cross	[+S]CS MARTI[NVS], A barré, non brisé et non bouleté	+TVR[ON]VS C[IV]I	0,84*	Place Saint-Germain, Rennes	Bretagne		Archaeological discovery	2014	PA 1637 var ; Legros 798 ; Capucin classe 3 (d.)

TC295	Denier	Mansois (Fake?) Paris, 1er type	1040-1204 1191-1199	Mot A: monogramme d'Herbert, Mot B: Croix cantonnée de besants en 1 et 2 et appendue de l'alpha et l'oméga Mot A: FRA/OCN en deux lignes; Mot B: Canton Cross 'd'un lis au 2 et 3	Illisible +PH[LIP] RE]	Illisible -	0,56* 0.49	Place Saint-Germain, Rennes Saint-Leonard, Beaumont-le-Roger	Bretagne Haute-Normandie	Archaeological discovery Unclear/ Unknown	2014 183, D 166	Type de PA 1546-1598 ; D. 398-400. Faux. L 183, D 166
JPL1	Denier	Tournois	Fin 12e	Mot A: châtel tournois, Mot B: cros	SCS MARTINVS (3e S à l'envers)	+TVRONVS CIVIS	0.67	Saint-Léonard, Beaumont-le-Roger	Haute-Normandie	Unclear/ Unknown	1990	PA 1647
JPL2	Denier	Denier	1108-1137	Mot A: Châtel	LVDOVICVS REX	+SIVICVS CASTA	0.41	Blainville-Crevon	Haute-Normandie	Unclear/ Unknown	1979	
JPL3	Denier	Méreau	12-13e	Mot A: croix pattée dans un grènetis			0.52	Blainville-Crevon	Haute-Normandie	Unclear/ Unknown	22/07/79	
JPL4	Denier	Meaux	1172-1174	Mot A: tête mitrée de face, devant une crose, Mot B: Canton cross of 2 lis and of 2 besants	PETRVS EPISCOP	+MELD CIVITAS	0.91	Le Thuis, Boulon	Basse-Normandie	Unclear/ Unknown	14/04/1983	PA III, n° 6033
JPL5	Denier	Paris	1191-1223	Mot A: FRA/OCN en deux lignes, Mot B: canton cross of one lis at 1 and 4	PHILIPVS REX, lég. commençant à 9	+ARRAS CIVIS	1.10	Prieuré castral Saint-Symphorien, Domfront	Basse-Normandie	Unclear/ Unknown	1991	L184, D 168
JPL6	Denier	Paris	1191-1223	Mot A: FRA/OCN en deux lignes, Mot B: cross	PHILIPVS [RE]X, lég. commençant à 9	+PARISII CIVIS	1.03	Prieuré castral Saint-Symphorien, Domfront	Basse-Normandie	Unclear/ Unknown	1991	L 181, D 164
JPL7	Denier	Paris, 1er type	1191-1199	Mot A: FRA/OCN en deux lignes, Mot B: canton cross with a lis at 2 and 3	+PHILIP'IRE	+ARRAS CIVITAS	0.79	La Chapelle du Pin, Grosley-sur-Risle	Haute-Normandie	Unclear/ Unknown	1985-90	D 166, L 183 ; Expo 1992 Evreux, n° 1, p. 35
JPL8	Denier	Tournois	XIe	Mot A: Châtel, Mot B: cross	+SCS MARTINVS	+TVRONVS CIVI	0.85	Saint-Sylvain-d'Anjou	Loire Valley	Unclear/ Unknown	1985	PA I, n° 1646
JPL9	Denier	Mansois	fin 12e - début 13e	Mot A: monogramme d'Erbert, Mot B: canton cross with Alpha and Omega	+COMES CENOMANNIS	+SIGNVM DEI VIVI	0.85	Le Pré du Château, Vatteville-la-Rue	Haute-Normandie	Unclear/ Unknown	24-07-1995	PA I, n° 1577
JPL10	Denier	Denier	1150-1158	Mot A: buste couronné, de trois quarts à gauche et portant le sceptre en main droite, Mot B: double cross with fleur de lis in each Omega	STIEFNE	+H []	1.24	Le Pré du Château, Rubercy	Basse-Normandie	Unclear/ Unknown	12/07/1977	North 1963, I, n° 881 ; Awbridge type
JPL11	Denier	Guingamp	fin 11e-déb.12e	Mot A: croix cantonnée d'une étoile aux 1er et 2e, Mot B: profil à dr	+STEPHAN COM	+GVINGAMP	0.84	Saint-Martin-le-Vieux, Bréhal	Normandy	Unclear/ Unknown	1986-1987	Bigot 1857, pl. VIII bis, n° 7
JPL12	Denier	Guingamp	fin 12e-déb. 13e	Mot A: croix cantonnée d'une étoile à 6 rais aux 1 et 2, Mot B: profil à dr., une étoile devant la bouche	+STEPHAN COM	+GVINGAMP	0.75	chateau, Fougères	Bretagne	Unclear/ Unknown	00/03/2003	PA I, n° 1444, pl. XXVII, 8
JPL13	Denier	Denier	c. 1165-1185	Mot A: anille surmontée d'un besant ; au-dessous anneau entre deux billetes, Mot B: pattee cross	+VGO DVX BVRG: DIE (O rond au droit et au revers)	+DIVIONENRIS (premier S à l'envers)	0.95	Quartier Gamilly, Vernon	Haute-Normandie	Unclear/ Unknown	14/01/2003	Dumas-Dubourg 1988, p. 268, n° 6-2-1
JPL14	Denier	Denier	1191-1212	Mot A: BOLONV en deux lignes (BOL/ONV), Mot B: Canton cross	X RENAD'COM' (légende commençant à 9 h)	+BOLVNEME	0.98	Quartier Gamilly, Vernon	Haute-Normandie	Unclear/ Unknown	14/01/2003	PA III, p. 74, n° 6630
JPL15	Denier	Obole	c. 1170	Mot A: tête chartraine à droite, Mot B: cross		+PERTICENSIS		Sotteville-sous-le-Val	Haute-Normandie	Unclear/ Unknown	14/01/2003	cf. PA I, n° 1903, pl. XXXIX, 17
JPL16	Obol	Châteaudun	vers 1160-1180	Mot A: tête bléso-chartraine à gauche, entre deux croisettes, avec anneau en cœur et au-dessous pieu, la pointe à droite, Mot B: cross		+DVNIOSIII	0.67	Le Grand Cimetièr, Colombiers	Basse-Normandie	Unclear/ Unknown	1980	Duplessy 1988, n° 168
JPL17	Denier	Paris, 2e type	1191-1199	Mot A: FRA/OCN, Mot B: canton cross of 2 lis	PHILIPVS REX	+ARRAS CIVIS	0.92	Maison-forte, Cany-Barville	Haute-Normandie	Unclear/ Unknown	1978-1983	Duplessy 1988, n° 165
JPL18	Denier	Paris	1199-1223	Mot A: FRA/OCN, Mot B: cross	PHILIPVS REX	+PARISII CIVIS	0.40	Maison-forte, Cany-Barville	Haute-Normandie	Unclear/ Unknown	1978-1983	Duplessy 1988, n° 164
JPL19	Obol	Chartres	milieu 12e	Mot A: tête chartraine classique (sans points à droite et à gauche de la bouche ?), Mot B: cross	anépigraphe	+CARTIS []VITA[S ?]	0.26	Chateau, Caen	Basse-Normandie	Unclear/ Unknown	2005	PA I, n° 1736, pl. XXXIV
JPL20	Denier	Mansois	11e/12e	Mot A: monogramme d'Erbert, Mot B: canton cross of 2 besants in the 1 and 2 of an alpha at 3 and omega at 4	+COMES CENOMANIS	+SIGNVM DEI VIVI	0.73	Chateau, Mayenne	Unclear/ Unknown	1998		
JPL21	Denier	Mansois	11-12e	Mot A: monogramme d'Erbert, Mot B: canton cross of 2 besants in the 1 and 2 of an alpha at 3 and omega at 4	+COMES CENOMANNIS, A non barré	+SIGNVM DEI VIVI	1.05	Chateau, Mayenne	Unclear/ Unknown	1998		
JPL22	Denier	Brittany	1156-1158	Mot A: croix pattée, marquée au centre d'un anneau, Mot B: Grand lis cantonné de 4 annelets	+GAVFRIDVS	+DVX BRITANI	0.71	Chateau, Mayenne	Unclear/ Unknown	1999	PA I, n° 271, pl. IX, 18 ; Bigot 1857, n° 129, pl. VII, 8 ; Belaubre 1987, n° 703	
JPL23	Denier	Roumois	c. 1150	Mot A: croix aux extrémités fleurdelisées, un anneau en son centre, Mot B: canton cross	+METROPOLIS	+ROTOMAGVS	0.76	La Fontaine-Saint-Denis, Notre-Dame-de-Gravenchon	Haute-Normandie	Unclear/ Unknown	1980-1986	Pilet-Lemière 1985
JPL24	Denier	Roumois	c. 1150	Mot A: croix aux extrémités fleurdelisées, un anneau en son centre, Mot B: canton cross	+METROPOLIS	+ROTOMAGVS	0.59	La Fontaine-Saint-Denis, Notre-Dame-de-Gravenchon	Haute-Normandie	Unclear/ Unknown	1980-1986	Pilet-Lemière 1985
JPL25	Denier	Tournois	fin XIe	Mot A: Châtel, Mot B: cross	+SCS MARTINVS	+TVRONVS CIVIS	0.61	La Fontaine-Saint-Denis, Notre-Dame-de-Gravenchon	Haute-Normandie	Unclear/ Unknown	1980-1986	
JPL26	Denier	Le Puy	11e-13e	Mot A: croix en sautoir, Mot B: cross with 6 branches	illis.	illis.	0.66	Delle Saint-Martin, Montdeville	Basse-Normandie	Unclear/ Unknown	1993	PA I, n° 2228, pl. XLIX, 2
JPL27	Denier	Châteaudun	1180-1200	Mot A: tête bléso-chartraine à droite (avec couronne crénelée), entre deux croissants, avec besant en cœur et oméga vertical au-dessous, Mot B: canton cross with an 2 at 2 and 3		+D[V]NIC[S]A[STI]	0.92	Chateay Ganne, La Pommeraye	Basse-Normandie	Unclear/ Unknown	24/04/2007	PA I, n° 1834, pl. XXXVI, 19 ; Duplessy 2004, n° 483A
JPL28	Denier	Méreau	fin 12e	Mot A: croix cantonnée d'un besant dans chaque canton, Mot B: simple châtel tournois			1.38	La Bulle du Chateau, Roumoules	Haute-Normandie	Unclear/ Unknown	18/07/1997	PA I, n° 1478-1480
JPL29	Denier	Angevin	fin XIe - début XIIe	Mot A: croix cantonnée d'un besant, Mot B: Fulk monogramme	[...]	[...]RB [...] DCCV [...], début de la légende à 12h.	0.85	Leproserie Saint-Thomas, Aizier	Unclear/ Unknown	1999	PA I, n° 1548 ; Metcalf 1976, p. 178, variété 3	
JPL30	Denier	Mansois	fin XIe-début XIIIe	Mot A: monogramme d'Herbert, Mot B: cross with globules in 1 and 2, alpha in 3, omega in 4	[...] ES CENOMANI (S rétrograde)	+SIGNVM DEI VIVI	0.72	Leproserie Saint-Thomas, Aizier	Unclear/ Unknown	2001	PA I, n°1736, pl. XXXIV, 7 ; Duplessy 2004, n° 433	
JPL31	Obol	Chartres	milieu XIIe	Mot A: croix, Mot B: Bléso-Chartrain profile at the right, a besant for l'oeil, an other before the noze, the third behind the head	+CARTIS [CIV]ITAS	anépigraphe	0.28	Leproserie Saint-Thomas, Aizier	Unclear/ Unknown	2004		
JPL32	Denier	Denier normand	fin 11e - déb. 12e	Mot A: temple déformé en un seul (ou deux) piliers, accolés de deux globules ; au-dessous un large anneau entre deux 1 couchés, Mot B: canton cross			0.58	Sayon (près de)	Basse-Normandie	Unclear/ Unknown	08/12/2008	Dumas 1979, Groupe C, pl. X5, 3 ; Lapeyre 1986, pl. 300, 15 ; Monsegard 2011, n° 29
JPL33	Denier	Roumois	seconde moitié XIIe s.	Mot A: GO / RA (lecture incertaine). Nom d'homme (GORA) réparti en deux lignes., Mot B: Canton cross with 4 bezants		Autour du fan traces de la légende NORMANN(I)A		Chateau Ganne, La Pommeraye	Basse-Normandie	Unclear/ Unknown	2009	Dumas 1979, p. 94 et suiv, pl. XXI, 6. En dernier lieu Caron 1889.
JPL34	Denier	Mansois	Dès la fin du XIIe s.	Mot A: monogramme d'Herbert, Mot B: canton cross with 4 bezants at the 2st and 2nd	+COIES CENONAIIIIS	+SICMVM DII VIVI (les V sont présentés sous la forme de 2 barres détachées)	1.27	Chateau Ganne, La Pommeraye	Basse-Normandie	Unclear/ Unknown	2009	Poey d'Avant 1858, n° 1546 et suiv. ; Metcalf 1976, pl. XX, 27-32.
JPL35	Denier	Mansois	Dès la fin du XIIe s.	Mot A: monogramme d'Herbert, Mot B: canton cross with 4 bezants at the 2st and 2nd	+COMES CENOMANNIS	+SIGNVM DEI VIVI (les V sont présentés sous la forme de 2 barres détachées)	1.11	Chateau Ganne, La Pommeraye	Basse-Normandie	Unclear/ Unknown	2009	Poey d'Avant 1858, n° 1546 et suiv. ; Metcalf 1976, pl. XX, 27-32.
JPL36	Obol	Tournois	fin 13e	Mot A: croix			0.62	Rue des bons-Enfants, Rouen	Unclear/ Unknown	1989		

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