PART III, B

THE MINTS OF WILTSHIRE

FROM EADGAR TO HENRY III

By HUGH DE S. SHORTT

This article is an attempt to summarize the work done during the past hundred years in the field of late Anglo-Saxon and early medieval numismatics in the county of Wiltshire. It is not a catalogue, and minor varieties of type and spelling have therefore been ignored; but references are given where the subject can be read in greater detail.

NOTE. The following abbreviations of the titles of periodicals and catalogues have been used:
Arch. *Archaeologia.*
B.M.C. *British Museum Catalogue—Anglo-Saxon Series*, ii (1893); *Norman Kings* (1916).
B.N.J. *British Numismatic Journal.*
Hild. B. E. Hildebrand, *Anglosachsiska Mynt i Svenska* (Stockholm, 1881).
N.C. *Numismatic Chronicle.*
Num. Journ. *Numismatic Journal.*
Place Names. Gorer, Mawer and Stenton, *The Place Names of Wiltshire* (English Place-Name Society, 1939).
Spink's Num. Circ. *Spink's Numismatic Circular.*
W.A.M. *Wilts Archaeological Magazine.*
G. C. Brooke's numbering of coin types in his *English Coins* (1932), has been followed throughout.

It is almost a hundred years since Edward Hawkins wrote his 'Notices of the Mints of Wiltshire', published in *Memoirs Illustrative of the History and Antiquities of Wiltshire and the City of Salisbury*, 1851, which was read to the Archaeological Institute's Meeting in Salisbury in July 1849. Since he wrote, Great Bedwyn, Warminster, and possibly Devizes and Calne can be added to his list of mints, as well as a long list of moneyers. The only early document to which he was able to refer was Domesday Book, though in his *Silver Coins of England*[1] he referred to a previous discovery by Sir Henry Ellis that a Pipe Roll of the eleventh year of Henry II mentioned two moneyers who were working at Wilton during the issue of the Tealby type coinage.[2] Other documents will be referred to which have since thrown more light on the latter part of this period.

Hawkins also mentions a forgery[3] of a 'sovereign' type coin of Eadweard the Confessor,[4] engraved in Francis Price's *Description of the Cathedral Church of Salisbury*,[5] which he believed to have been made by the collector John White. The reverse reading is + GODRIC ON SEA RRVM—an impossible rendering of Salisbury at that or any other date. Ruding[6] was also suspicious of this coin for in a note he remarks that Mr. White 'discovered from this coin the meaning of SEA on a penny of Dr. Mead's[7] which had puzzled many antiquaries. Qu. whether it were not made for the express purpose of that discovery?' It was Hawkins, however,

[1] 2nd ed. (1876), 187.
[2] *Num. Journ.* (1837), ii, 253-4.
[3] Possibly only a mis-reading.
[4] This coin was in the St. Maryhill Church, London, find of 1774, and is listed in *Arch.*, iv, 363, with the spelling 'SEARVM'. It was then in John White's collection.
[5] Editions of 1774 and 1787.
[6] *Annals of the Coinage of Great Britain* (1840), 143.
[7] The coin in the collection of Richard Mead, M.D., appears in the Sale Catalogue *Museum Meadianum* (1755), 181, lot 7c.

who during his many years of work at the British Museum laid a sure foundation for the numismatic study of this period on which later research has been built.

Although late in the sixteenth century there were signs of an awakened interest in early medieval institutions and among them the coinage, it was not until the nineteenth that books and reports on finds began to appear, which are still works of reference to-day. Of the former, four may be mentioned as having contributed in particular to the study of Wiltshire coins, and all of them began well within the first half of the century. These are Ruding's *Annals of the Coinage of Great Britain* (1817-19), Hawkins' *Silver Coins of England* (1841), Lindsay's *View of the Coinage of the Heptarchy* (1842), and Sainthill's *Olla Podrida* (1844 and 1853).

By the end of the nineteenth century books were being written which are still the text-books of to-day. In 1881 B. E. Hildebrand published a second and enlarged edition of his *Anglo-Saxon Coins in the Royal Swedish Cabinet*—all the coins having been found in Sweden. This work had been first published in 1846 and contributed a mass of new material, being particularly complete from the reign of Eadgar down to the early part of the Confessor's, the point where a sudden increase is noticed in the British Museum collection. This appears to be a reflexion of the payment of Danegeld and the depredations of the Viking army—plunder which did not end with the accession of a Danish dynasty. It is unfortunate for most Englishmen that only the title-page of this work was translated into English.

The British Museum collection, to judge from the catalogue, is strong where the Swedish is weak. The later Anglo-Saxon coins were published in volume II of the *Catalogue of English Coins in the British Museum—Anglo-Saxon Series*, in 1893, by H. A. Grueber and C. F. Keary, and the work is naturally the complement to that of Hildebrand. Lists of mints and moneyers under the various kings not represented in the collection are given, but unfortunately without references, so that a considerable amount of searching is often involved before a coin can be run to earth, perhaps in some sale catalogue.

G. C. Brooke's catalogue of the Norman coins in the British Museum[8] takes the story down to the end of Stephen's anarchy. By the standards of to-day it seems to be a model of what a catalogue should be, and in fact amounts to a corpus, as coins not represented in the collection are given in the tables with full references and often illustrated, while at the foot of these tables, misleading errors in former works and sale catalogues are referred to and usually resolved. The long introduction provides a wealth of new information on the history of the coinage, the moneyers and their mints, drawing where possible on contemporary documents. Epigraphy and the *minutiae* of the types also receive careful attention.

The story is brought to a close by Dr. L. A. Lawrence in his well-known articles[9] on the Tealby type and 'short cross' coinages of Henry II, Richard I, John and Henry III and the 'long cross' coinage of the last-named king, in whose reign Wilton, the last of the Wiltshire mints, was closed.

One general handbook only need be mentioned, namely Brooke's *English*

[8] *A Catalogue of English Coins in the British Museum—The Norman Kings*, 2 vols., 1916.

[9] *British Numismatic Journal*, xiv (1918), xi (1915), ix (1913), x (1914), and again xi (1915), reprinted in one volume in 1920.

Coins from the Seventh Century to the Present Day.[10] This book contains so much original thought that it needs constantly to be consulted.

Many of the coinages struck by the different kings and dynasties falling within the period of the Wiltshire mints have been examined separately by various writers, chiefly in the *Numismatic Chronicle* and the *British Numismatic Journal*, and it is proposed to mention shortly the more important of these monographs.

Taken in historical order, the first monograph is Mr. H. A. Parsons' *Remarks on Hoards of Late Anglo-Saxon Coins*.[11] It deals with typology from the last coinage of Eadgar, which is the second known coinage of Wiltshire, and continues to the end of the Saxon period. He uses the evidence of hoards to arrive at a new order of types which has been largely followed by Brooke.

In the same volume[12] P. W. P. Carlyon-Britton examined the types of the coins of Eadweard the Martyr and Aethelraed II. His conclusions differ somewhat from those of Parsons. Allowing normally three years for the issue of each type, he allots 13 to Aethelraed of which the *Agnus Dei* issue becomes the eighth, covering the year 1000 A.D. when the Second Coming was expected. It is difficult, however, to consider that such a rare coin can have constituted a regular issue at all, and passing belief that it could have been in production for three years. As Parsons points out[13] the use of the preposition ON instead of the title *monetarius* on these coins should place them late in the reign, but one cannot then use the same argument to show that this coin was no coin at all, but a medal, and perhaps the type can best be described as a small commemorative issue, struck towards the end of the reign, perhaps in honour of the expected Millennium.[14] More recently Brooke has argued,[15] again from the evidence of hoards as well as from muled coins, that types do not always follow each other, but in some cases may have been issued concurrently, while the ' small cross ' type (type I) he considers to have been issued throughout the whole reign.

In the *British Numismatic Journal*, Mr. H. A. Parsons wrote detailed studies of the coins of Cnut,[16] Harold I,[17] Harthacnut,[18] and the first coinage of Eadweard the Confessor,[19] while in the *Numismatic Chronicle* for 1905, P. W. P. Carlyon-Britton wrote about the entire coinage of the last-named king. He also began a numismatic history of the reigns of William I and II,[20] a work which he never completed. Henry I's coinage by W. J. Andrew occupied the whole of the 1901 volume of the *Numismatic Chronicle*, but this writer's interest was later absorbed in the coinage of the anarchy of Stephen's reign, of which he began a history in the *Journal*.[21] This work, too, was left unfinished, but the writer made several contributions to the study of the irregular issues, notably ' Some Coins of the Reign of Stephen '.[22] Many of his readings are tentative and will require further proof. G. C. Brooke made further important observations on these coins in the following year,[23] and a note by the late Lord Grantley on some baronial coins[24] should also be mentioned.

[10] In Methuen's Handbooks of Archaeology, 1932.
[11] *B.N.J.*, xvi, 33 ff.
[12] Op. cit., 5 ff.
[13] *N. C.* (1910), 286-7.
[14] On this subject see also W. C. Wells in *B.N.J.*, xxiv, 96-7.
[15] *English Coins*, 66.
[16] xix.
[17] xv.
[18] xi.
[19] xx.
[20] *B.N.J.*, ii-x.
[21] vi, viii and x.
[22] *Spink's Numismatic Circular*, 1914.
[23] *N. C.* (1915).
[24] *B.N.J.*, xvi.

Henry II's first (Tealby) coinage was examined by Nathan Heywood[25] and Dr. Lawrence's conclusions on the same subject, referred to above[26] were clarified by G. C. Brooke.[27] The forthcoming British Museum Catalogue of Tealby coins, by Mr. D. F. Allen, will doubtless resolve many of the outstanding problems.

THE MINTS[28]

A law of Aethelstan[29] allotted a number of moneyers to the larger towns and cities according to their importance, and it was added that all other burghs should have one each. There is not sufficient evidence to show that this law was ever entirely implemented. The coins indicate that there were never more than six mints operating in Wiltshire at the same time. It is not easy to determine the necessary characteristics of a provincial mint town, but a clause in the same code of laws ' that no man may mint money excepting within port ' is an indication that the place should be walled or fortified. Geographical distribution must have been a consideration, and it will also be seen that most of the Wiltshire mints were in places held by the king, where a stone building capable of use as a treasury might be expected.

Only one Wiltshire mint, that of Malmesbury, is expressly referred to in Domesday[30] as paying 100 shillings for this privilege to the king, but on the same folio after a statement that the king has £50 from the Borough of Wilton, there follows a list of towns together with a sum of money representing the ' third penny ' due to the king from each of them. This list of towns with the sums due is as follows: Salisbury £6, Marlborough £4, Cricklade £5, ' Bade ' £11, Malmesbury £6. If Wilton, previously mentioned, perhaps as being the ancient capital, be included, and ' Bade ' be for the moment ignored, we have here all the mints of the county in operation during the last coinage of William the Conqueror, when Domesday was published. The meaning may be that the king's share, the third penny, of the tax levied on these mint-towns was paid by them in coin from the mint, instead of in kind. The name ' Bade ' has been thought to mean Bedwyn,[31] but the spelling and the large amount of tax involved make this improbable. It seems more likely to be Bath (correctly spelt) included here either by accident or for convenience.

Bedwyn belonged to the king both before and after the conquest. Coins of this mint are known only of Eadweard the Confessor and William the Conqueror. Carlyon-Britton[32] has shown that Cild (or Cilda) the only recorded moneyer, was transferred with the mint to Marlborough. BEDEƑINDE is the most complete form occurring on a coin.

Calne. Brooke[33] tentatively ascribes a coin of Matilda to this place. The reading on the coin is ⊏A....[34] which could not have been Canterbury[35] as that mint was not controlled by the Empress. A coin of Henry of Anjou from the Winterslow find[36] bears the mint-name ⊏AO (or ⊏G) and might be attributed to the same mint, though ⊏AV (for Cauna) would be a more correct form. Little reliance

[25] *B.N.J.*, i.
[26] P. 113.
[27] *N.C.* (1927).
[28] Interesting etymological notes on the place-names of Wiltshire mints are to be found in Alfred Anscombe's ' Names of Old English Mint-towns in the Saxon Chronicles '. *B.N.J.*, viii, ix and x.
[29] I, § 14.
[30] Fol. 64c.
[31] Jones, *Domesday for Wiltshire*, 6, n. 2.
[32] *N.C.* (1902), 20-5.
[33] *B.M.C.*, p. clxiv.
[34] Op. cit., p. cxix. Roth collection.
[35] Op. cit., p. lxxxvi.
[36] *B.M.C.*, no. 277, pl. LXI, 12.

can be placed in the lettering of Civil War coins, which may be intentionally misleading or merely ignorant copies. This attribution must therefore remain extremely doubtful, though Calne belonged to the king at the time of Domesday.

Cricklade was a royal burgh, which may well have been fortified about the time of Aelfred to protect the Thames crossing against the Danish Army. Coins of this mint are known from the reign of Aethelraed II, but not later than William Rufus in whose reign three of the small Wiltshire mints seem to have been closed. On the coins the spelling of the name is inconsistent, but usually begins ' Croc ' during the Danish period, ' Crec ' temp. Eadweard the Confessor and ' Cric ' after the Norman Conquest. One coin gives the unusually complete reading CRECCELAD.

Devizes. Attributions to this town must be accepted with even more reserve than those of Calne. The place does not appear in Domesday,[37] and probably owed its importance to the castle built there in Stephen's reign by Bishop Roger of Salisbury. The earliest form of the name is Divisae (1135-53), but the form Vises is found as early as 1330.[38] The meaning of the word is ' boundary ' and may be associated with ' Cannings ',[39] not far distant, which could have the same meaning from a Saxon root.

In certain old catalogues[40] PAXS type coins of William I of very coarse style, with reverse reading TVRRI ON DEVITVN are attributed to Devizes. They were first found in the Beaworth hoard and were thought by Hawkins to be contemporary forgeries. Carlyon-Britton has shown[41] that they belong to St. Davids. With more plausibility, certain coins of the Anarchy have been allotted to this place and even one coin of Stephen himself.[42] Matilda, Henry her son and a doubtful William, perhaps William de Mohun[43] or William of Gloucester[44] have also been credited with coins from this mint. All the irregular coins of Stephen's reign which may be attributed to Wiltshire are listed in Appendix I.

Malmesbury was held in part by the king at the time of the Domesday survey. It was also the seat of an important monastery, and is the first place to be mentioned in the Wiltshire section of Domesday.[45] It is the only place mentioned specifically in that inventory as having a mint.[46] One of the earliest Wiltshire coins was struck here under Eadgar (type 4) by the moneyer Wulfric and the mint continued in operation until the reign of William II (type 2). A single irregular coin of Stephen's reign, probably struck by the authority of Henry of Anjou, is ascribed to the mint[47] with obverse reading : REX.AN : and reverse + W . . . . . RI : DE : MAL . . :, but another coin attributed by W. J. Andrew to Humphrey de Bohun with reverse reading + VVALTERVS : ON : . . . .[48] can hardly be allotted to this place on the strength of the moneyer's name, which is very doubtful in the former coin. Early coin-forms of the name include MALDMES, MEALD, MELME, MEALM and MALME.

Marlborough.[49] Carlyon-Britton has shown that this mint was probably transferred from Bedwyn. The only known moneyer, Cild (or Cilda) coined in the

37 *Pace* Brooke, *B.M.C.*, p. clxix. Theodulveside→Tilshead, see *Place Names*, 236.
38 *Place Names*, 242-3.
39 Waylen, *Chronicles of the Devizes*, 12, but see also *Place Names*, 249, *s.v.* Cannings.
40 E.g. the Durlacher Sale, 1899, lot 8.
41 *B.N.J.*, ii, 58.
42 Rashleigh sale, lot 603.
43 Grantley, *B.N.J.*, xvi, 75.
44 Brooke, *B.M.C.*, p. cxxx.
45 Fol. 64c.
46 Ibid.
47 *B.M.C.*, p. cxxi, Roth collection.
48 ' Some Coins of the Reign of Stephen ', in *Spink's Num. Circ.* (1914), 12.
49 See *N. C.* (1902), 20-5.

last six types of William I and the first of William II. Marlborough was not a royal burgh, but a castle existed there at least from the twelfth century. The coin-form of the name is usually MÆRLEB.

Salisbury (*Old Sarum*) belonged to the Bishop even when the see was at Ramsbury and afterwards at Sherborne. It was sufficiently important to be fortified against the Danes in Aelfred's reign, but as no coins were minted there before the early years of Aethelraed II it was probably of less account than Wilton and Malmesbury, and its very existence may have depended upon its dominating the river-crossing at Stratford, and its position at the junction of Roman roads, which may have been still usable in the early middle ages. Its status must have been raised by the transference of Bishop Herman from Sherborne and the building of the stone castle by Bishop Roger, so that the mint remained at work down to the first (Tealby) coinage of Henry II—longer than any other mint in Wiltshire with the exception of Wilton. The spelling on the coins is usually Searb, Sereb, Serb, and in the Tealby coinage only, Saleb.

Warminster. Carlyon-Britton showed that coins given by Hildebrand, for no very good reason, to Warmington, were, in all probability, struck at Warminster. The mint was opened by Aethelraed II and no coins are at present known later than the first type of Harold I. It was held by Eadweard the Confessor and by William I at the time of Domesday, where it is spelt Guerminstre. It was, however, spelt Worgemynster early in the tenth century, and Worem' in 1253.[50] The longest version on a coin of Aethelraed II now in Mr. Cyril Lockett's collection is Worimen.

Wilton shares with Malmesbury the earliest known coins of Wiltshire, namely a ' small cross ' coin of Eadgar (type 4) by the moneyer Leofsige, but unlike Malmesbury it remained in operation, with only short periods of inactivity, down to the ' long cross ' coinage of Henry III when all ' provincial ' mints were closed. Mr. G. M. Young[51] has suggested that it was the kernel of the West Saxon kingdom, a theory borne out by its long-continued importance as a mint. Its pre-eminent position in south Wiltshire seems to have lasted until Bishop Bingham built the bridge at Harnham shortly before 1244[52] and after the closure of the mints, when the flow of trade was drawn to the new city of Salisbury. On the coins the name appears as an abbreviation of the Saxon form Wiltune. No less than five moneyers seem to have been employed at the same time in the reign of Eadweard the Confessor and probably four, or five, at the beginning of the reign of William the Conqueror.[53]

Historical Outline

The West Saxons were slow to begin the practice of coining money. Beorhtric (786-925) the son-in-law of Offa opened a mint, probably at Winchester,[54] and his rare coins naturally follow the style of Mercia. With his successor Ecgberht begins the true West-Saxon series, but Winchester was his most westerly mint and his types are taken from the coinage of Kent.[55] Not until the reign of Aelfred was there any extension of mints in the territory under West Saxon control, but in this reign the western cities of Bath, Gloucester and Exeter received the privilege. A further great extension to smaller towns was made by Aethelstan, no doubt in

[50] *Place Names*, 157.
[51] *W.A.M.*, xlix (1940), 29-30.
[52] *W.A.M.*, xxv, 122.
[53] *B.M.C.*, p. clxxxvi.
[54] Brooke's *English Coins*, 43.
[55] Op. cit., ibid.

pursuance of his law [1, §14], but not until the issue of Eadgar's 'small cross' type (type 4) are coins at present known to have been struck in Wiltshire, at Malmesbury and Wilton. The number of Wiltshire mints rose to five under Aethelraed II (Cricklade, Malmesbury, Salisbury, Warminster, and Wilton), and remained at about this figure until the smaller Wiltshire mints were closed under William Rufus, leaving only Salisbury and Wilton to coin money for Henry I. Even these two mints produced no coins during the issue of types 6 to 13 of this reign. Of the first five types, no coin is at present known of type 4, and only isolated specimens of the others. By comparison, the coins of type 14 are comparatively plentiful, but with the last type (type 15) another hiatus occurs.[56]

A few Wiltshire coins are known of Stephen's first type, but the mints then passed into the hands of the Angevin party, and the long period of civil war is only filled numismatically in this county by the irregular issues listed below,[57] many of which are of very doubtful attribution. Only the last issue of the reign (type 7) shows a return of royal authority to the two surviving mints.

Both mints remained in operation for the first issue of Henry II's 'Tealby' coinage,[58] after which the Salisbury mint was closed for good, though the 'short cross' coinage was issued from the Wilton mint till the end of Henry's reign.[59] The mint was closed during the reigns of Richard I and John. In 1247 the 'long cross' coinage replaced the 'short cross', but not until the following year was the Wilton mint given a final lease of life,[60] only to be closed for good, after two years, with the rest of the provincial mints in 1250.

Artistry

It does not fall within the scope of this paper to discuss in any detail the artistic merit of the coinage. It was not a Wiltshire art, but a specialist's craft, and requires to be dealt with on these lines. There can be little doubt that the dies were in nearly every case made by die-cutters at a central mint, at first, perhaps, at Canterbury or Winchester, but later in London, and sent to the provincial moneyers. Only in this way can the extraordinary uniformity of style and portraiture be accounted for. This rule is proved by its exceptions, examples being the locally made dies of William I's PAXS type at St. Davids, the irregular 'baronial' issues of the North and West in Stephen's reign and the occasional examples of a locally altered die, presumably with the intention of saving a moneyer's pocket. The great variety in the spelling of the names both of moneyers and mints tends to the same conclusion. Even a semi-literate moneyer must have formed a more standard way of spelling his own name and the name of his home-town than is often found on the coins, but the central die-cutters may be excused if, in the pressure of work, they were content to aim at a phonetic, though abbreviated, approximation to both.

Art, coining technique and standard are the three characteristics of a coin when it emerges from the mint. The last of these, as we learn from contemporary chronicles of Henry I,[61] and the Pipe Rolls of Henry II, was maintained by a system

[56] These gaps may of course be filled by future discoveries.
[57] App. I.
[58] Gp. A, 1158-62, *English Coins*, 110.
[59] Gp. I, early and late, 1180-9; op. cit., 111.
[60] Gp. III, 1248-50; op. cit., 112.
[61] *B.M.C. Norman Kings*, p. clxiv.

of fines and, in serious cases, mutilation. These three attributes are seldom present in the same degree, particularly towards the end of the period under discussion, yet at nearly every period the English coinage may at least lay claim to originality. Though, in the first place, imitated from Roman and continental sources, an insular tradition quickly grew up, and though English coins were copied, first in Scandinavia, Scotland and Ireland, and later in the Low Countries and elsewhere, the artists working in England remained for the most part aloof from foreign influence.

The heyday of West Saxon numismatic art was already drawing to a close when the first Wiltshire mints were opened under Eadgar. Simplicity and dignity had characterized the designs, virtues which were often lost when, at the end of Eadgar's reign, the king's bust became a regular feature of the obverse design.

After Eadweard the Martyr's short reign there is a marked coarsening of style under Aethelraed, only two of whose types, the ' Hand of Providence '[62] and the *Agnus Dei*[63] show a departure from the normal cruciform design of the reverse, and in the latter instance, from the royal portrait. It was towards the end of this reign that the abbreviation of the office of *monetarius* gave place to the preposition ON (A.S for ' at ') before the mint name.

Shortly after the accession of Cnut,[64] although the general appearance of the coins and the cruciform reverses remain the same, a new style of portraiture appears, which is marked by more carefully moulded features, a long, curved jaw-bone being prominent in most examples. The king, in addition to a diadem or crown, wears a helmet, not unlike a globular and inverted coal-scuttle. This style remained in vogue during the period covered by the Danish dynasty and until the first of the bearded types of the Confessor.[65] Norman influence may have accounted for the departures from tradition which followed, for example, the enthroned king and the four (?)ravens of type 7, and the full-faced portrait of type 9. The single issue of Harold II shows one of the best executed portraits in the whole series, even the muscles of the neck are drawn, and for those few months the cruciform reverse design gave place to the ill-omened word ' PAX '.

No clear break is found at the Norman conquest. Even the moneyers to a large extent remained in office. A growing preference for the facing portrait is the most noticeable change, and artistic skill, while a little unimaginative, remained competent during the Conqueror's reign. Yet under his successor there is a very marked decline in the graver's art, which continued into the reign of Henry I.

From the reign of Eadgar until the end of the reign of William Rufus, while there was a constant variation in artistry, the technique of striking the coins had remained as good as at any time during the middle ages, and with one or two lapses, the same may be said of the monetary standard of the coins. With Henry I there begins a period of fluctuation in all three attributes. While the art, particularly in portraiture, improved, the standard had constantly to be checked and the coiner's craft was for the most part at a very low ebb. This state of affairs continued in Stephen's reign, except that there was also a decline in the royal portraiture. The lowest point of all was reached in the Tealby coinage of Henry II ; yet as Taylor Combe showed in his report on the Tealby find,[66] accuracy of weight was maintained

[62] Type 2.
[63] Type 6.
[64] Type 4.
[65] Type 6.
[66] *Arch.*, xviii, 7.

to a remarkable degree, nor was the silver noticeably debased. This accuracy of weight is all the more remarkable in that it was evidently adjusted with a pair of shears.

Technique was revived and standard maintained during the long period of the ' short ' and ' long cross ' issues, but artistic endeavour seems to have faded from the minds of those in authority at the Exchequer. The fact that even the king's name was not changed for the reigns of Richard I and John is evidence of this, while the survival of these two kindred types for a hundred years (1180-1279) tells the same tale.

DOCUMENTS

No great additions to Hawkins' single reference in Domesday can be claimed. Reference has already been made to Sir Henry Ellis's discovery that a Pipe Roll of the eleventh year of Henry II mentioned two moneyers, Anschetil and Lantier, working at Wilton during the Tealby coinage of Henry II.

Two documents are referred to by Brooke[67] under the mint of Wilton. The first is a surviving Pipe Roll of Henry I (1129-30), which mentions the reduction of a fine imposed upon a Wiltshire moneyer called Tomas. But though coins by this moneyer are known of Stephen's first type, none has so far come to light of Henry I. The other document, dated *c.* 1200, is a grant in Wilton to the church of Salisbury, in which is mentioned William of Wilton, the organist, son of William the moneyer. ' This ', writes Brooke, ' is probably the William who struck coins of the last type of Stephen and of the first issue of Henry II.'

Carlyon-Britton listed and annotated all the entries relating to mints in the Pipe Rolls of Henry II so far published, which went up to and included the twenty-third year of his reign.[68] He found altogether eleven entries relating to Wiltshire ranging from the fourth to the twenty-first years of the reign, though the thirteenth year records the last fine to be paid in full. He also found several names of moneyers, many of them still unknown from the coins. Ivo is mentioned in the fifth and sixth years ; William in the fifth, sixth, seventh, eighth and tenth to twenty-first, his debt of 56s. and 8d. being repeated each year, though in the eighth year it is recorded that ' he does not remain in the county '. Reginald's name also occurs in the fifth and sixth years, and Hubert's in the fifth, sixth and seventh. Wineman and Alvred are mentioned in the fifth and sixth years, and Geoffrey in the sixth only. The well-known names of Anschetil and Lantier appear in the eleventh, twelfth and thirteenth years, but apart from these, William of Wilton is the only name so far known to us from the coins. Perhaps the Salisbury moneyers of this period, Daniel and Levric, were more businesslike, for their names are not once recorded in the Rolls.

No documentary light can be shed on Wiltshire during the issue of the ' short cross ' coinage.[69] Yet for the ' long cross ' coinage, Dr. Lawrence has provided a complete list of the officials as ordered at the Wilton mint in 1247[70] which he obtained from an appendix to John of Oxenedes's *Chronicle* and a transcription of the same in Hall's *Red Book of the Exchequer*. The list is as follows : Monetarii : Willelmus filius Radulfi, Willelmus Manger, Johannes Berte, Hugo Goldrun. Assaiatores :

[67] *B.M.C.*, pp. clxxxv-clxxxvi.
[68] *B.N.J.*, ii, 237-9.
[69] Dr. Lawrence's citation for 1218 (*B.N.J.*, xi, 14) is too late to apply to it.
[70] *B.N.J.*, xi, 78.

Johannes Acer, Mathaeus Bolegambe. Custodes: Robertus filius Johannis, Adam Atte, Ead Herinc, Rocelinus de Gube. Clericus: Willelmus de Biscopestede. All four moneyers are accounted for by the names HVGE, ION and WILLEM which appear on the coins, but there is, unfortunately, nothing by which the two Williams may be distinguished.

Dr. Lawrence also mentions[71] documentary evidence in the possession of Earle-Fox and Shirley Fox, pointing to the year 1250 as the date of the closure of provincial mints. This evidence remains unpublished.

Mr. W. C. Wells[72] has made known further documents relating to the opening and closure of the provincial mints for this coinage, and also to the pay of the custodians of the dies. In the *Lord Treasurer's Remembrancer's Memoranda Roll* under the date July 28th, 1250, is a warrant addressed to the sheriff of Wiltshire, ordering £4 13s. 9d. to be paid to the custodians of the dies for their services during the issue of the 'long cross' coinage. If these custodians were paid at twelve pence for every £100 struck as at London and Canterbury, he infers that this would give a total of £9,375 or 2,250,000 pennies struck at Wilton during the period, but if, as there is reason to believe, they were paid at half that rate, then the amount issued must be doubled, namely £18,750 or 4,500,000 pennies.[73]

Mr. Wells quotes the same *Memoranda Roll* under the date October 10th, 1248, to show that no warrant was sent to the Wilton mint to begin work until that date, and from the mint account of Shrewsbury he finds that in that place at least, coining was not begun until February 1249.

Finally this writer again quotes the *Memoranda Roll* at an entry in the Hilary Term (January 23rd to February 12th), 1250: 'Concerning the assays to be returned to the King and the Earl' from every town where minting was done, and also the *Close Roll* under date June 24th, 1250, ordering the house in Bristol, formerly occupied by the King's moneyers, to be given back to its owners, both of which documents indicate the closure of provincial mints early in 1250.

Many gaps in the numismatic history of Wiltshire remain to be filled, but the means of filling them may still be found. Further study of documents and the coins themselves may lead to further knowledge of the organization of local mints. Early documents may yet appear which have lain hidden for centuries in libraries, while manuscripts of more recent times may give useful notes of hoards long since dispersed and forgotten. Most helpful of all would be some new finds of coins which might complete the records of the local moneyers or solve the many problems presented by the baronial coinage of Stephen's reign. It is to be regretted that as in the past, so even to-day, any such finds run a grave risk of premature dispersion, whether by ignorance, greed, or the shortcomings of the law of Treasure Trove.

[71] *B.N.J.*, ix, 13.
[72] 'Notes on the Long Cross Coinage of Henry III', *B.N.J.*, xxii.
[73] Op. cit., 94-7.

APPENDIX

Irregular coins of Stephen's reign, which have been attributed to Wiltshire mints.

1. Stephen, Devizes (?) type 1. ℞ ..[EL ON VISE. From the Dartford find 1826, Rashleigh sale, lot 603, pl. IX, *B.M.C.*, p. clxix, 'now Fox collection'. *Wiltshire Notes and Queries*, vi (1911), 274, and 379 with fig.

2. Matilda, Calne (?) type 1 of Stephen. Two coins from the same dies, noted in the B. Roth Cat., 1918 (lots 150, 151) as being from the Nottingham find of 1880, but not mentioned in the account in *N.C.* (1881), 41. *B.M.C.*, p. cxix; see also p. lxxxvi, and Brooke in *N.C.* (1915), 115.
   1. O. .....IS.IMPE ℞. ..MER : [A.
   Roth Cat. (1918), lot 150, bought by S. M. Spink; *Spink's Num. Circ.* (1933), 21110, and (1934), 34566. The coin is mentioned in Mr. Spink's MS. notebook, now in the possession of Mr. R. C. Lockett.
   2. O. MATILDIS..... ℞. SI.ER : [A.
   Roth Cat. (1918), lot 151; Walters Cat. (1932), lot 129; now Lockett collection.

3. Henry of Anjou, Devizes (?) type 1 of Stephen. ℞.... ON D...ES. Brooke: *English Coins*, 96 and 101; also *N.C.* (1922), 63 and 83, and pl. III, 8, from the South Kyme find.

4. Henry of Anjou, uncertain mint, type 15 of Henry I. O. ..ENRICVS ℞. +ON : [AC (or G ?). From the Winterslow find, *c.* 1804. *B.M.C.*, 277, pl. LXI, 12, and p. cxxii. Calne is a possible attribution for this coin, though the correct form would be [AVNA.

5. ?Henry of Anjou, Malmesbury (?) type 1 of Stephen. O. : REX.AN : ℞. W...RI : DE : MAL.. : B. Roth collection, now in the B.M. *B.M.C.*, p. cxxi. W. J. Andrew, *Spink's Num. Circ.* (1914), 632.

6. ?William de Mohun or William of Gloucester or possibly (*B.M.C.*) Henry of Anjou. Devizes (?) O. Bust facing between two stars ...GONES. ℞ type 15 of Henry I, but with the cross voided +..LL DE VIƧΛI. Cuff, Rashleigh (lot 627) and Grantley (lot 1318, pl. x) sales. Now R. C. Lockett collection. *N.C.*, xiii, 181, fig. 4. *B.M.C.*, p. cxxiii. *B.N.J.*, xvi, 75.

7. ?Humphrey de Bohun or (*B.M.C.*) Henry of Anjou, uncertain mint; type as last. O. (Andrew) + : ꟼVNFREI.DE BVN (retrograde) or (*B.M.C.*) +E...IIꟼEXIINIIG : ℞. WA.TE..S : ON : Carlyon-Britton collection; *B.M.C.*, p. cxxiii, pl. LXII, 9, Andrew, *Spink's Num. Circ.* (1914), 632. Attributed by Andrew to Malmesbury, by analogy with no. 5 *supra*.

8. ?Patrick Earl of Salisbury or (Grantley) William de Mohun, Salisbury (?). O. Bust in armour and conical helmet, holding sword, right; eight-pointed star behind. ℞ type 15 of Henry I. *B.M.C.*, p. cxxxii, Andrew, *Spink's Num. Circ.* (1914), 632. Brooke, *English Coins*, 97 and 101, pl. XXI, 14, and Grantley, *B.N.J.*, xvi, 73, fig.
   1. From the Winterslow find *c.* 1804, *B.M.C.*, 292, pl. LXII, 14=Ruding, Sup., pt. II, pl. II, 21. O. ....[Oꝏ. ℞ +ꟹ..... ON : ꟹ Λ.
   2. From the site of the new bell tower of East Tytherley church, Hants, 1884. Grantley sale, lot 1323, pl. x, now R. C. Lockett collection. O. ...RI(?)... ℞.ꟹ TΛ(?)..... ON : ꟹ Λ.

These coins are attributed by Andrew to Patrick, and they are tentatively allotted to him by Brooke.[74] Grantley points out that the Winterslow find was almost certainly buried during the issue of Stephen's second type, whereas it is not known that Patrick was created Earl of Salisbury before 1149.[75] He therefore attributes the coins to William de Mohun, created Earl of Somerset and Dorset in, or before, 1141.[76] Patrick was castellan of Old Sarum for Matilda, and may have been created an earl by her earlier than the recorded date, while some weight may be given to Andrew's tentative reading PATRI.[77] The moneyer(s?) may be Stanung or Stanning who coined at Salisbury in Stephen's first[78] and seventh types.

[74] *English Coins*, 101.
[75] J. H. Round, *Geoffrey de Mandeville*.
[76] Op. cit., 271, 277.
[77] Cf. *B.N.J.*, xv, 307 and 308.
[78] The attribution of the coins of the first type is open to question.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

The present writer's debt to those who have written in former times, from John Speed in the seventeenth century to those who continue his work to-day, is apparent. He also wishes to record his deep indebtedness to Professor C. F. C. Hawkes and Lieut.-Col. C. E. Blunt for initial encouragement: to Mr. John Allan and Mr. R. A. G. Carson of the British Museum for providing information about many rare coins, and casts for all the illustrations in this article, not only from the British Museum's collection, but elsewhere: to the Keepers of the Hunterian and the Royal Swedish Cabinets for the provision of casts; to Mr. R. Cyril Lockett, Captain W. J. C. Youde and Mr. F. Elmore Jones for allowing casts to be made of certain rare coins in their collections, and to the latter in particular for many helpful notes, and, when he had read the typescript, for suggestions towards its improvement; to Messrs. Spink and Sons and Messrs. A. H. Baldwin and Sons for information about coins which had passed through their hands; to Mr. Erik Cinthio of Lund University for an English rendering of parts of Hildebrand, and not least to Miss I. M. Dawes of the Salisbury and South Wilts Museum for uncommon patience and careful work.

NOTES TO THE TABLES

1. A penny of Aethelstan type 4 by the moneyer Eadbald occurred in the Carlyon-Britton sale (1918), lot 1667, pl. XXXVIII, where it was tentatively attributed to Salisbury. The same attribution is given in *Spink's Num. Circ.* (1928), 83283, and elsewhere in the *Circular*. The reverse inscription is + EADBALD HO ZIRIERL. Should this attribution be accepted, the earliest known Wiltshire coin must be placed four reigns earlier than stated in this paper. The moneyer is otherwise unknown. The coin is now in Mr. R. C. Lockett's collection.

2. Brooke, in *English Coins*, p. 63, gives Eadstan as a Wilton moneyer of Eadgar, but the writer has not been able to trace any of his coins.

3. Eadweard Conf., *B.M.C.*, type xiv. Brooke considers this type, the reverse of which is the same as his type 10 and the obverse similar in portraiture to his type 9, to have been a type which was recalled owing to its similarity to the preceding type. The coins are very rare. He does not consider that it can be called a mule, the obverse die being different from that of his type 9. See *B.M.C. Norman Kings*, pp. xxxvi-xxxvii.

4. Certain moneyers mentioned by Hildebrand and others, e.g. Wulfred (Hild. Cnut 3193), Etsige (Hild. Cnut 3163), Aelfwine (*B.N.J.*, iii, 124, Will. I), Lifword (J. B. Bergne (1873), lot 320, Hen. I), Godan (Hild. Har. I, 994), Lifstan (*B.N.J.*, xv, 43, Har., I) have been omitted as it appears that their coins were wrongly attributed, or their names misread.

NOTE.—A list of the coins in the following tables with references exists in typescript at the Salisbury Museum. It is hoped to publish this list in due course in the *Numismatic Chronicle*.

KEY TO PLATES X-XII

Pl. x.
1. Eadgar type 4, Malmesbury, Wulfric. F. Elmore Jones collection.
2. Eadgar type 6, Wilton, Eadwine. *B.M.C.* 50.
3. Eadweard II type 1, Wilton, Boiga. In B.M.
4. Aethelraed II type 1, Cricklade, Aethelsige. In B.M.
5. Aethelraed II type 2, Wilton, Osbern. In B.M.
6. Aethelraed II type 3, Wilton, Saewine. *B.M.C.* 345.
7. Aethelraed II type 4, Salisbury, Goldus. In B.M.
8. Aethelraed II type 5, Warminster, Alfwold. *B.M.C.* 347.
9. Aethelraed II type 6, Malmesbury, Ealdred. In B.M.
10. Cnut type 2, Cricklade, Ethelwine. *B.M.C.* 42.
11. Cnut type 3, Salisbury, Goldus. In B.M.
12. Cnut type 4, Salisbury, Godwine. In B.M.
13. Cnut type 5, Salisbury, Wineman. Hild. 3185.
14. Cnut type 6, Salisbury, Lufestan. Hild. 3182.
15. Harold I type 1, Salisbury, Winstan. In B.M.
16. Harold I type 2, Cricklade, Aelfwine. In B.M.
17. Harthacnut type 1, Malmesbury, Hunna. Hild. 148.
18. Harthacnut type 2, Cricklade, Aegelwine. Hild. 19.

Pl. xi.
19. Eadweard III type 1, Salisbury, Alfwald. Hild. 653.
20. Eadweard III type 2, Wilton, Elfwine. In B.M.
21. Eadweard III type 3, Salisbury, Godwine. Hild. 658.
22. Eadweard III type 4, Salisbury, Godwine. Hild. 660.
23. Eadweard III type 5, Cricklade, Aeilwine (Aegelwine). *B.M.C.* 151.
24. Eadweard III type 6, Malmesbury, Ealdwig. *B.M.C.* 1082.
25. Eadweard III type 7, Wilton, Alfwold. *B.M.C.* 1337.
26. Eadweard III type 8, Bedwyn, Cild. *B.M.C.* 29.
27. Eadweard III type 9, Wilton, Herred. *B.M.C.* 1360.
28. Eadweard III type 10, Wilton, Alfwold. *B.M.C.* 1362.
29. Harold II type 1, Wilton, Alfwold. Salisbury Museum.
30. William I type 1, Bedwyn, Cild. *B.M.C.* 2.
31. William I type 2, Wilton, Godric. *B.M.C.* 157.
32. William I type 3, Wilton, Saevara. *B.M.C.* 219.
33. William I type 4, Malmesbury, Brihtwi. *B.M.C.* 262.
34. William I type 5, Salisbury, Godric. *B.M.C.* 364.
35. William I type 6, Marlborough, Cild. *B.M.C.* 424.
36. William I type 7, Wilton, Aelfwine. *B.M.C.* 479.
37. William I type 8, Salisbury, Esbern. *B.M.C.* 900.

Pl. xii.
38. William II type 1, Malmesbury, Seword. In B.M.
39. William II type 2, Salisbury, Esbern. *B.M.C.* 129.
40. William II type 3, Salisbury, Edword. *B.M.C.* 216.
41. William II type 5, Salisbury, Osbern. Carlyon-Britton, 1916, lot 1327.
42. Henry I type 1, Salisbury, Godric. W. J. C. Youde collection.
43. Henry I type 2, Salisbury, Osbern. Hunter collection.
44. Henry I type 3, Wilton, Ailward. R. C. Lockett collection.
45. Henry I type 5, Wilton, Brunig. *B.M.C.* 36.
46. Henry I type 14, Salisbury, Aldwine. R. C. Lockett collection.
47. Stephen type 1, Wilton, Tomas. R. C. Lockett collection.
48. Stephen type 7, Wilton, Willem. *B.M.C.* 216.
49. ?Patrick, Rev., type H.I.15, ?Salisbury, ?Stanning. R. C. Lockett collection.
50. ?Patrick, Rev., type H.I.15, ?Salisbury, ? Stanning. *B.M.C.*292.

Pl. XII 51. ?William, Rev., type H.I.15 var., ?Devizes, (?). R. C. Lockett collection.
52. Matilda, Rev., type St. I, ? Calne, (?). R. C. Lockett collection.
53. Henry of Anjou, Rev. type St. I, ?Malmesbury, ?Walter. In B.M.
54. Henry II, ' Tealby ' Gp. A, Wilton, Lantier. In B.M. (Tealby Cat. 754).
55. Henry II Gp. I (early), short cross, Wilton, Osber. In B.M.
56. Henry II Gp. I (late), short cross, Wilton, Osber. In B.M.
57. Henry III Gp. IIIb, long cross, Wilton, Willem. In B.M.
58. Henry III Gp. IIIc, long cross, Wilton, Ion. In B.M.

BEDWYN

MONEYER:	TYPES: EADWEARD THE CONFESSOR											WILLI	
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	BMC XIV	10	1	2
CILDA	x		x				x	x	x		x	x	

CRICKLADE

MONEYERS:	TYPES: AETHELRAED						CNUT					HAROLD	HARTHACNUT	EADWEARD THE CONFESSOR											WILLIAM I							WILLIAM II				
	1	2	3	4	6	6	1	2	3	4	5	6	1	2	1	2	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	BMC XIV	10	1	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	1	2	3	4	5
AELFWINE	x							x		x				x					x	x														x				
AETHELSIGE	x			x																																					
GODMAN	x							x																																	
TOCA	x							x																																	
AETHELSTAN		x																																							
AETHELWINE			x		x																																				
LEOFGOD			x		x																																				
SAEWINE			x																																						
BRIHTMAER				x																																					
HILDRED								x	x																																
SIDEWINE								x																																	
GODWINE									x																																
WULFWINE									x																																
AEGELWINE									x	x			x			x	x					x	x	x																	
LIFING										x																															
BRIHTWINE										x																															
LEOFRED																						x	x	x		x	x	x		x		x	x								
WULFSTAN																																	x		x						
EDOUF																																					x	x			

MALMESBURY

MONEYERS:	TYPES: EADGAR II BMC	AETHELRAED							CNUT						HAROLD	HARTHACNUT	EADWEARD THE CONFESSOR										HAR II	WILLIAM I									WILLIAM II				
	4	6	1	1	2	3	4	5	6	1	2	3	4	5	6	1	2	1	2	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	BMC XIV	10	1	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	1	2	3	4	5
WULFRIC	x																																											
EALDRED				x	x	x		x	x																																			
LEOFGET				x				x																																				
LEOFWINE					x	x																																						
LEOFNOTH							x																																					
BRIHTSTAN										x																																		
BRUNIN										x																																		
BRIHTNOTH											x																																	
HUNNA											x	x				x	x	x	x		x		x																				
BRIHTWINE																				x	x			x		x	x			x	x											
EALDWI(E)W-NE)																							x	x																		
EALDWIG																								x																		
EALDWINE																									x																	
GODSBRAND																																											
SEWORD																																											

MARLBOROUGH

MONEYER:	TYPES: WILLIAM I							WILLIAM II				
	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	1	2	3	4	5
CILDA		x	x	x	x	x	x	x				

TABLE I.

SALISBURY

MONEYERS:	TYPES: AETHELRAED 1	2	3	4	5	6	CNUT 1	2	3	4	5	HAROLD 1	2	HARTHA-CNUT 1	2	EADWEARD THE CONFESSOR 1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	HAR. 10	10	WILLIAM I 1	2	3	4	5	6	7	WILLIAM II 8	HENRY I 1	2	3	4	5	1	2	3	4	5	STEPHEN 14	1	7	TEALBY GROUP A-E
AELFNOTH	X							X	X																																						
GODWINE	X			X				X	X	X			X	X	X		X	X	X								X							X	X	X	X									
SAEWINE	X																																													
SAEMAN	X							X																																						
GOLDUS				XX				X	X	X																																				
LEOFWOLD								X																																						
AELFRED								X		X			X	X																																
AELFWINE								X	X																																					
WINSTAN								X	X		X		X	X																																
LEOFSTAN									X			X				X																														
WINEMAN										X								X																												
ALFWOLD																X		X																												
GODRIC																				X	X						X	X			X		X							X					
SAEBODE																						X																							
SEFARA																											X																		
ESBERN (OSBERN)																																		X	X	X		X		X	X				
EDWORD																																			X	X									
ALDWINE																																											X		
EALLA																																											X		
STANNING																																												X	X
LEVRIC																																													X
DANIEL																																													X

WARMINSTER

MONEYERS:	TYPES: AETHELRAED 1	2	3	4	5	6	CNUT 1	2	3	4	5	6	HAROLD 1	HARTHA-CNUT 1	2	EADW. CONF. 1
GODWINE	X															
OSMUND		X														
ALFWOLD					X											
WINEGOD									X	X						
LEOFSIGE									X							
WULFSTAN													X			

TABLE II.

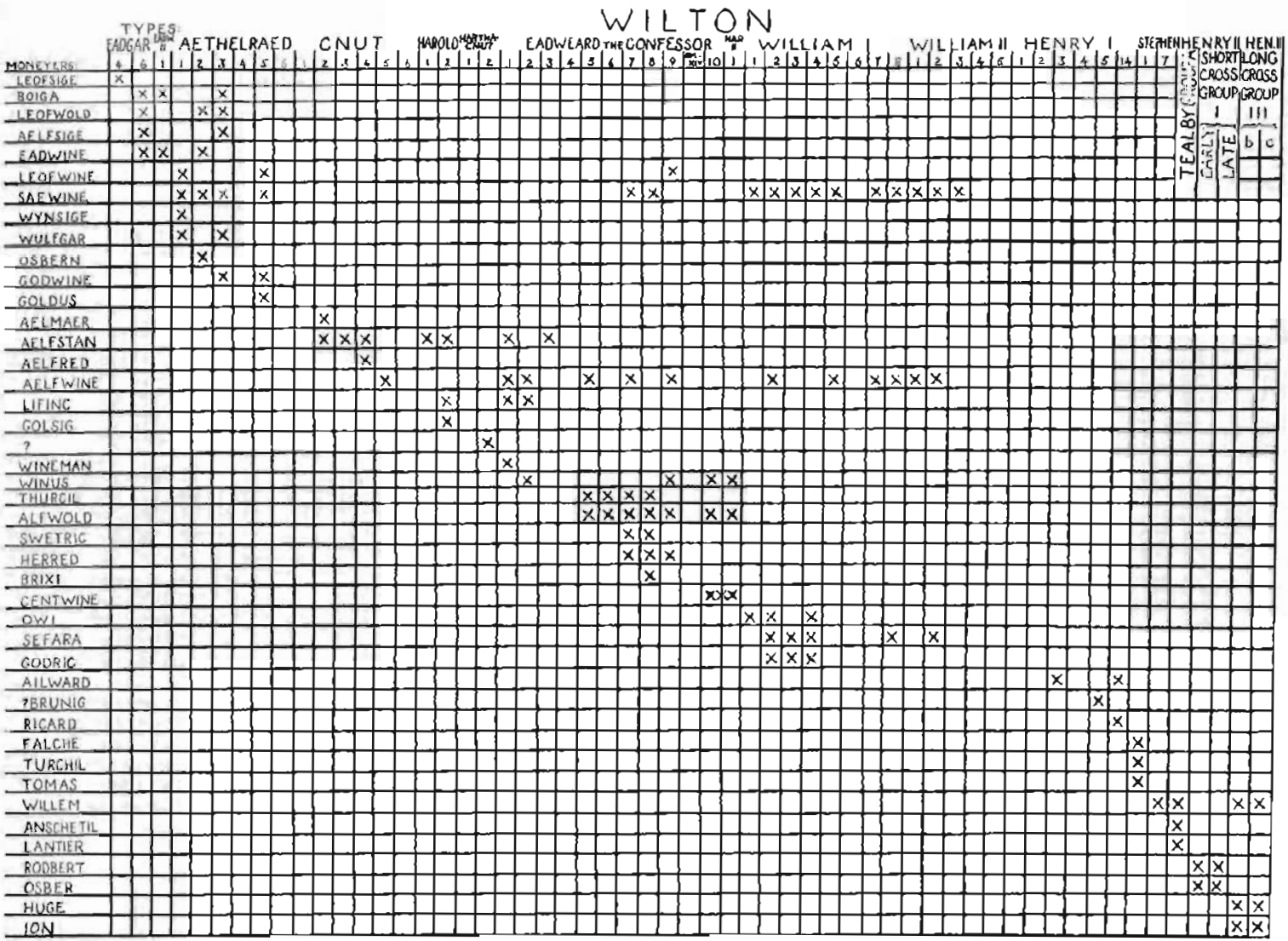
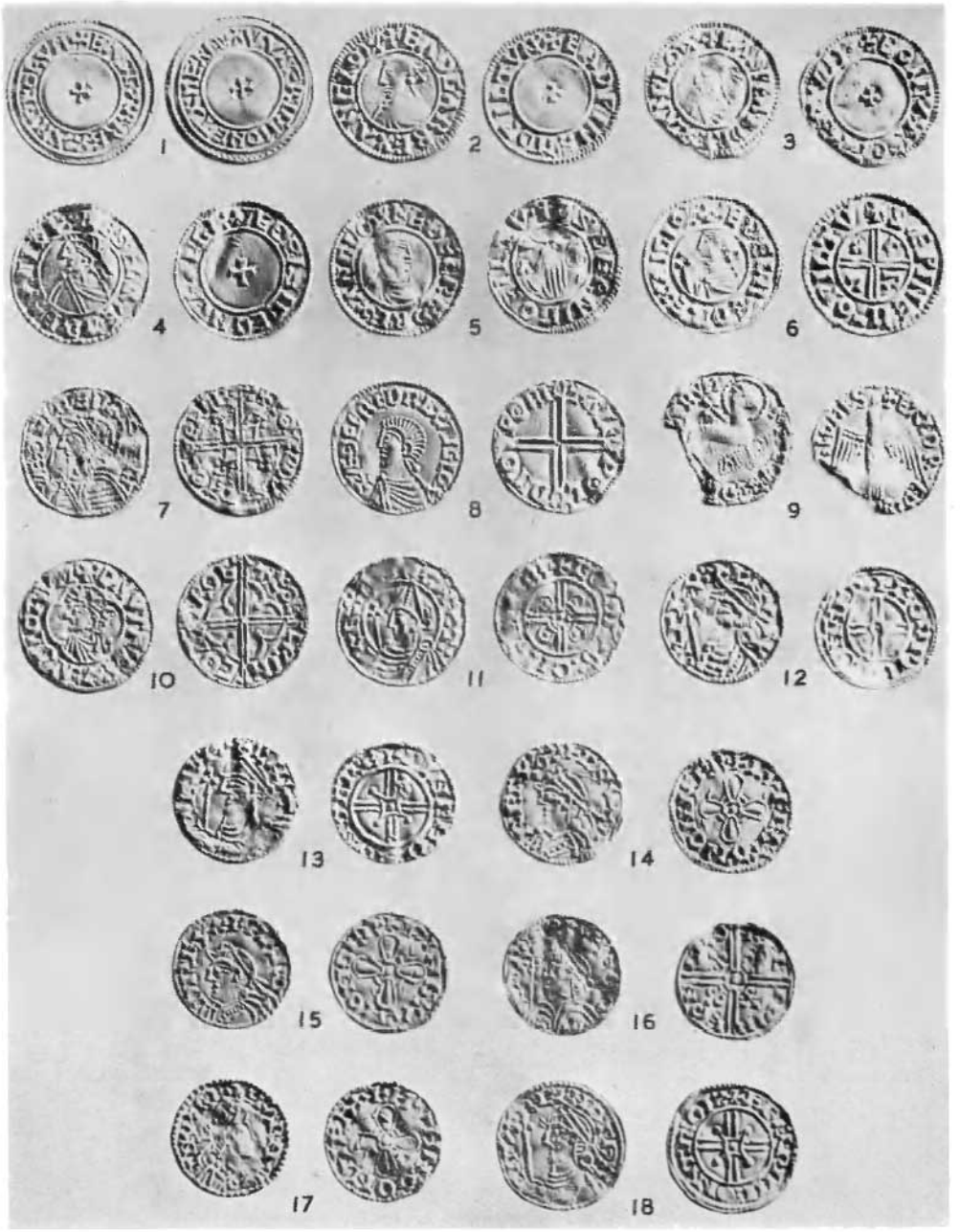
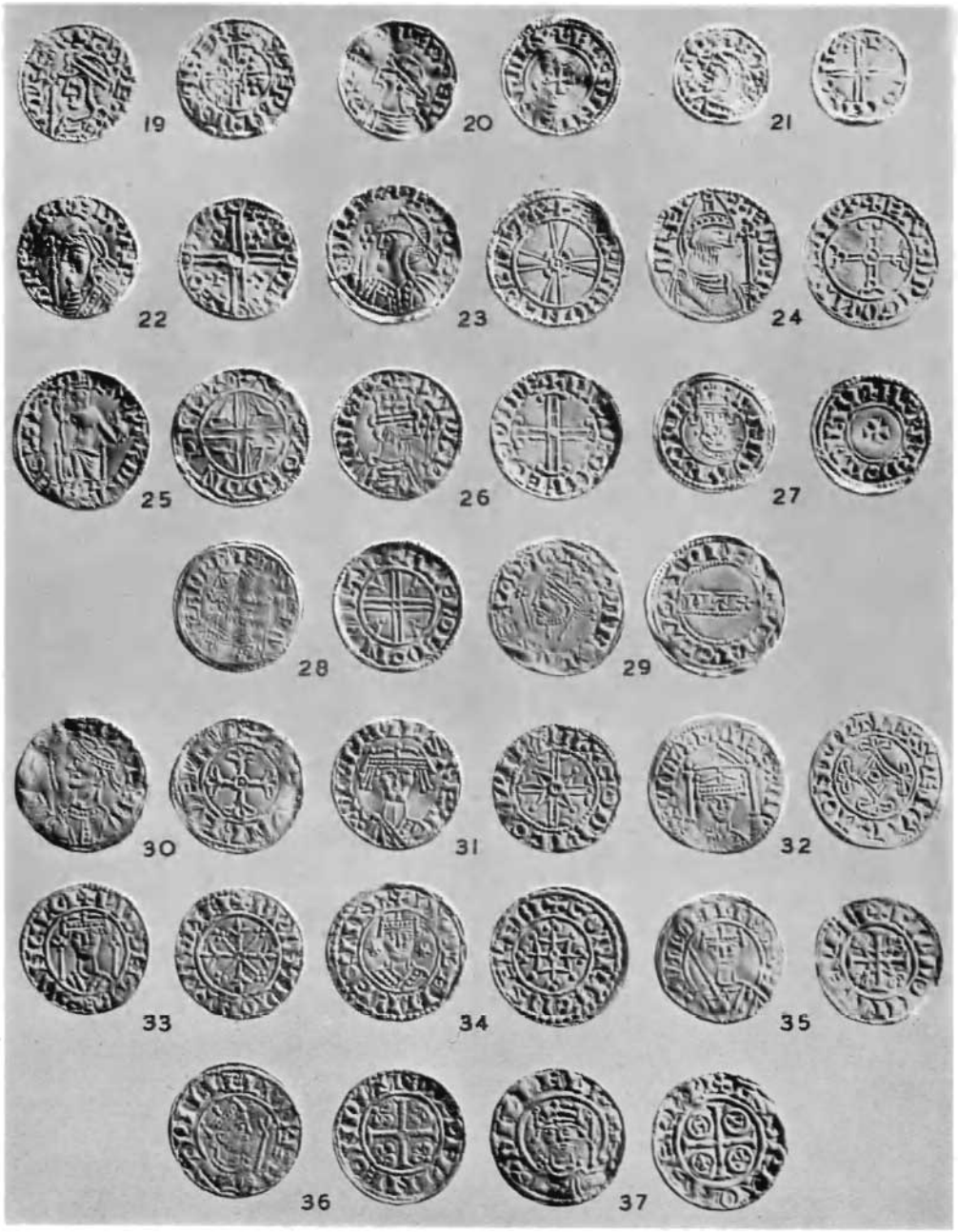

WILTON
TYPES:
EADGAR
AETHELRAED
CNUT
HAROLD
HARTHACNUT
EADWEARD THE CONFESSOR
WILLIAM I
WILLIAM II
HENRY I
STEPHEN
HENRY II SHORT CROSS GROUP
HEN. II LONG CROSS GROUP
TEALBY
EARLY
LATE
MONEYERS:
LEOFSIGE
BOIGA
LEOFWOLD
AELFSIGE
EADWINE
LEOFWINE
SAEWINE
WYNSIGE
WULFGAR
OSBERN
GODWINE
GOLDUS
AELMAER
AELFSTAN
AELFRED
AELFWINE
LIFING
GOLSIG
?
WINEMAN
WINUS
THURGIL
ALFWOLD
SWETRIC
HERRED
BRIXI
CENTWINE
OWI
SEFARA
GODRIC
AILWARD
?BRUNIG
RICARD
FALCHE
TURCHIL
TOMAS
WILLEM
ANSCHETIL
LANTIER
RODBERT
OSBER
HUGE
ION

TABLE III.



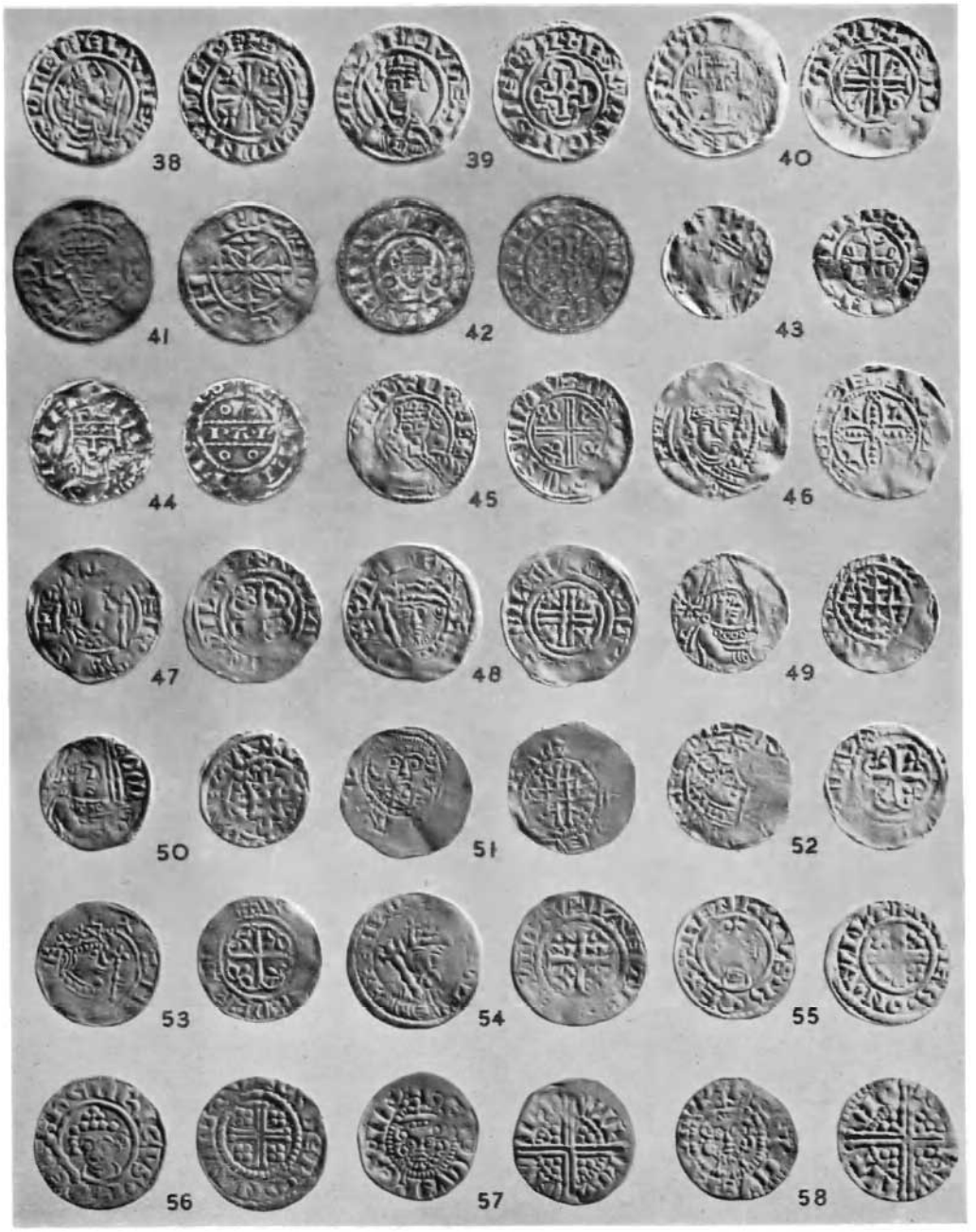
WILTSHIRE COINS

By Philip Glasier



WILTSHIRE COINS

By Philip Glasier



WILTSHIRE COINS

By Philip Glasier