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moneyer's name is probably Briun, which is previously unrecorded in the coinage of Henry but may be compared with Brun at Derby in Henry I types 13 and 14.⁵ The mint signature might be read as LV[N]DE for London.

It is possible that the dies for this coin were experimental, from an early stage in the development of type 9, but that would be difficult to prove beyond doubt. The coin does not have any characteristics that place it closer in design to the immediately preceding coinage, type 6, than other coins of type 9, apart from the lis sceptre head. This is a common design characteristic in the English coinage of the twelfth century and hardly convincing as evidence.

The coin was bent double when it was found (Figure 3). There is considerable documentary and coin find evidence for the bending of coins in this way in medieval England when making a vow or praying to a saint, seeking the saint's help in illness or adversity. The bending rendered the coin unusable in ordinary commerce, converting it to a religious purpose.⁶



Fig. 2. Henry I type 9 variant penny from near Gloucester (courtesy of the Portable Antiquities Scheme)



Fig. 3. The coin as found (courtesy of the finder)

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A NEW FIND OF A STEPHEN TYPE 7 PENNY FROM TELEMAR, NORWAY

MURRAY ANDREWS

In April 2022 an incomplete silver penny in the name of the English king Stephen (1135–54) was found by a metal detectorist searching land at Lindheim Søndre, a farm located 2 km south-west of Notodden, Telemark, in south-eastern Norway. The coin was reported to the regional archaeologist in accordance with the 1978 Cultural Heritage Act (*Kulturminneloven*), and was subsequently acquired by the Coin Cabinet of the Museum of Cultural History at the University of Oslo. The coin (Figure 1) can be described as follows:

Obv.: [†STI]EF[NE]

Rev.: †O[...]

Die axis 270°, weight 0.97 g (broken), diameter 22 mm. UMK 3616, M151722.



Fig. 1. Penny of Stephen type 7 (1153/4–58) found at Lindheim Søndre, Telemark, Norway (1.5 × actual size)

⁵ Allen 2022, 187.

⁶ Kelleher 2018.

The penny from Lindheim Søndre belongs to Stephen type 7 (the ‘Awbridge’ type, BMC VII), dated to 1153/4–58. Its style and fabric are reasonably normal for a coin of this period and compare favourably to other specimens of type 7.¹ While the moneyer and mint names are largely illegible, the surviving elements at least hint at a moneyer whose name begins with the letter O, such as Odde of Thetford, Oddo of Bury St Edmunds, Orgar of Bramber, the Osberns of Hereford, Ipswich, Lewes, and Sandwich, Oslac of Lincoln, Otburn of York, or Oter of Norwich.² Roughly a quarter of the coin is missing, although the irregular edges and absence of cut-marks suggest that this was more likely to have been caused by accidental post-depositional fragmentation than by deliberate pre- or peri-depositional division.³

While the Lindheim Søndre penny is, in many respects, an orthodox twelfth-century English coin, it is rather more remarkable for its northern provenance. Outflows of English currency to Scandinavia and the Baltic are well-known phenomena of the decades around 1000 and 1300,⁴ but are very poorly attested in the mid-twelfth century, a consequence in no small part of increased royal and state control over domestic coinages in the region.⁵ This circumstance is reflected quite clearly in the coin find evidence. None of the twelfth-century hoards from Denmark, for example, contain any English coins dated c.1135–58, while Sweden has produced a solitary Stephen penny found during the excavations at Sigtuna.⁶ The situation is slightly different in the eastern Baltic states like Estonia, where four hoards containing coins of Stephen have been reported, although even here the numbers are fairly marginal, particularly when compared with the abundant finds of contemporary German coins.⁷ Norway, for its part, conforms quite closely to the Scandinavian pattern: the penny from Lindheim Søndre is the first single find of a coin of Stephen to be recorded from the country, and forms a natural counterpart to the lone Awbridge type penny from the Dæli hoard, a major find of c.5000 silver coins, ingots, and hacksilver fragments buried at the end of the twelfth century.⁸ Given how rarely English coins feature in the Scandinavian and Baltic material, it seems likely that the few known Stephen pennies were essentially casual interlopers in local currency, arriving by means of a northern European trade in timber, fish, and furs,⁹ and circulating on a vastly smaller scale than the ‘international currencies’ of English pence prevalent in the late Anglo-Saxon and Edwardian periods. In the case of the Lindheim Søndre penny, we might also speculate on the role played by the trade in finished goods like whetstones, which were quarried locally from schist deposits in Eidsborg and, by the twelfth century, had an international distribution that extended into English towns like London, Norwich, and Oxford.¹⁰

While international commodity flows provide a coherent framework for understanding how an English penny might find its way across the North Sea in the mid-twelfth century, they can tell us rather less about the coin’s fate after its arrival on Norwegian soil. These questions are nonetheless quite pertinent, since the English and Norwegian coinages of this period were struck to markedly different standards. Despite some ambiguities surrounding the metrology of Stephen type 7, Stephen’s pence seem mostly to have been struck to a weight standard of c.1.43 g and

¹ Elmore Jones 1955–7; Allen 2006.

² Allen 2006, 291–7.

³ Post-depositional fragmentation is often observed on detector finds from Scandinavia, and is normally caused by agricultural equipment like mechanical ploughs, rotary harrows, and stone pickers: Henriksen 2016, 75–80; Rolfsen 2016, 120–2. Similar patterns of damage can be seen on other recent detector finds in the collection of the Museum of Cultural History, including a fourteenth-century German witten (M151952), a sixteenth-century Low Countries gulden (M151038), and a Danish 2 skilling dated to the 1620s (M150041).

⁴ On the export of English coins to Norway in the late Viking Age, see Skaare 1976; Gullbekk 2009, 42–56; Screen 2017; Gullbekk 2023; Gullbekk and Andrews 2023. For the sterling period, see Skaare 1959; Mayhew 1982; Gullbekk 2009, 169–75; Gullbekk and Sættem 2019, 89–93.

⁵ Gullbekk 2009, 60–70; Boros forthcoming.

⁶ Jensen *et al.* 1992; Lindblad 2007, 7.

⁷ Leimus and Molvögin 2001, 42–6. By far the largest group of Stephen coins ($n=73$) in Estonia is that found in the hoard from Vaida, Jüri (fd 1896, *tpq* 1180), although even these represent less than a third of the sum total of German coins present in the hoard. The hoard from Padiküla, Jüri (fd 1927, *tpq* 1158) is rather more typical, and contained four Stephen coins versus 74 German coins.

⁸ Screen 2015, 51–2; Gullbekk and Sættem 2019, 334–5, no. 65.

⁹ Norway was a leading source of English stockfish and timber imports by the fourteenth century: Childs 2002, 202–3. In this context, Svein Harald Gullbekk (*pers. comm.*, 27 February 2024) highlights the importance of timber production in the Telemark region, which contains more than half of Norway’s 136 surviving secular log-built (*laftebygg*) structures erected before the Black Death; Berg 1990.

¹⁰ Baug 2022, 25–30. For twelfth-century English finds of Eidsborg whetstones, see Durham 1977, 154; Pritchard 1991, 256; Margeson 1993, 197.

contain upwards of c.90% silver.¹¹ Conversely, the thin bracteates that circulated in Norway during the period c.1130–70 were struck at varying weight standards below c.0.20 g, although their silver content of c.95% was akin to the English standard.¹² Given the significant differences in weight and size, it is clear that a twelfth-century English penny would have been of significantly greater value than a contemporary Norwegian bracteate, although any obstacles that this might cause to their circulation would have been precluded by the customary reckoning of coins by weight, a practice that remained common in Norway well into the thirteenth century.¹³ Who, then, is likely to have possessed a valuable object of this kind, and in what social contexts might they have used it?

In the case of the Lindheim Søndre penny, some answers to these questions can be suggested through an assessment of its archaeological findspot. Located at the northern end of Lake Norsjø and on the east side of the River Gvarv, Lindheim Søndre is a descendent of the medieval magnate farm of Lindheim, which was divided into two neighbouring portions – Lindheim Nørdre and Lindheim Søndre – during the seventeenth century. While the farm first appears in the written record in 1337,¹⁴ its origins clearly belong to an earlier period: less than 400 m to the east are the excavated remains of an Iron Age (500 BC to AD 1050) settlement and cremation cemetery,¹⁵ as well as a partially-extant complex of at least ten contemporary grave mounds,¹⁶ which hint at a kind of *longue durée* place continuity seen at other important medieval farms in Norway.¹⁷ Its regional significance is clear from onomastic and historical sources, as the farm gives its name to one of the four historic administrative divisions (*skipreide*) of the Grenland region,¹⁸ and formerly contained a mound and stone circle known as the Tinghaug, which was a traditional meeting place for the district's administrative assembly (*thing*).¹⁹ The archaeological and historical evidence, therefore, directly connects the coin with a high-status medieval farm at the centre of a regional network of economic and social power, a location that would provide an obvious setting for the use of higher value silver currency in fiscal or commercial contexts, whether as a means of payment for taxation or as a medium of exchange for the transaction of land or agrarian produce. While the exact circumstances of its use and deposition must remain at least a little unclear, the Lindheim Søndre penny nonetheless provides an important illustration of the continued cross-border flow of English coins in the twelfth century, and offers fresh evidence for the circulation of higher-value silver coins among the rural elite, a social stratum that played a particularly important role in high medieval commercialisation and monetisation throughout northern and western Europe.²⁰

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¹¹ Blackburn 1994, 169–73; Allen 2006, 262–4.

¹² Gullbekk 2009, 363; Ramberg 2017, 131.

¹³ Gullbekk 2009, 191–6.

¹⁴ Rygh 1914, 229, nos 77–8.

¹⁵ These are recorded in the Norwegian Directorate for Cultural Heritage's *Askeladden* database as id 178395 and id 178397.

¹⁶ *Askeladden* id 32776-1.

¹⁷ Lindell 2023, 54–5.

¹⁸ Omholt-Jensen 1926, 48–51.

¹⁹ Ødegaard 2021, 358.

²⁰ Particularly as a consequence of the commutation of feudal services in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries: Pounds 1974, 209–12; Britnell 1996, 45–7. The role of lords and the aristocracy as vectors of twelfth-century monetisation is reflected in Norway by the number of coins found during excavations at castles and royal estates: Ramberg 2017, 210–37.

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NEW THIRTEENTH-CENTURY HOARDS FROM SCOTLAND

CARL SAVAGE

This short article will place on record five new Short Cross and Long Cross hoards from Scotland discovered from 2019 to 2023.

Short Cross hoards (c.1195–1250)

West Kilbride (North Ayrshire), 2020 (TTDB:2023/0788)

This small hoard of five silver Short Cross coins (four pennies and one fragmented cut half-penny) was discovered by metal detector. The hoard contains four Scottish coins (three pennies and one fragmented cut halfpenny) and one English penny. There is no evidence of a container