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METHUEN'S HANDBOOKS OF ARCHAEOLOGY

General Editor.- ARTHUR BERNARD COOK, LITT.D.

ENGLISH COINS

**METHUEN'S
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General Editor.- ARTHUR BERNARD COOK, LITT.D.
LAURENCE PROFESSOR OF CLASSICAL ARCHAEOLOGY, CAMBRIDGE

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ENGLISH COINS

FROM THE SEVENTH CENTURY TO THE
PRESENT DAY

BY
GEORGE G. BROOKE

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FORMERLY SCHOLAR OF CORPUS CHRISTI COLLEGE, CAMBRIDGE
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WITH SIXTY-FOUR PLATES



METHUEN & CO. LTD.
36 ESSEX STREET W.C.
LONDON

First Published in 1932

PRINTED IN GREAT BRITAIN

TO
MY FRIEND AND HELPER
L. A. LAWRENCE

PREFACE

THE present volume is an attempt to provide at the same time a brief historical survey of the English Coinage and a classified description of the coins. In order to compress so large a subject into the necessary limits of space, I have made the descriptions of the coins as brief as possible, perhaps too brief; I hope the illustrations will supply the deficiency. The long and quasi-heraldic descriptions of types, which are usual in lists of English coins, are deliberately avoided ; a short descriptive label is substituted. So far as possible, I have adopted customary group-divisions and popular terms, which readily bring to the mind of those familiar with the subject a picture of the coin which cannot be so clearly conveyed by many words.

No attempt has been made to reproduce the form of the lettering on the coins, but I have indicated essential varieties. The use of special lettering imitative of the original is apt to be misleading, and its cost is prohibitive in a work which, it is hoped, will be within the reach of the young student and collector.

The choice of coins for illustration is aimed primarily at elucidating the text, but I have also borne in mind the valuable function of plates as a guide for the identification of coins. For this reason I have, so far as possible, particularly in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, placed coins of the same denomination

together on the plates; this should also enable the student, by the comparison of similar coins, to appreciate those subtle differences of style and of lettering which baffle description.

A few special terms and abbreviations require explanation.

" O " and " R," or obv. and rev., obverse and reverse of the coin.

" r." and " l." (right and left) are used from the spectator's point of view, *not* heraldically.

" mule " is a coin with an obverse and a reverse which are not strictly compatible, that is to say, the characteristics of one die are earlier than those of the other.

" i.m." (initial mark) is the cross or other symbol which is placed at the beginning of either legend. It used to be called the mint-mark, but that term is misleading.

" Royal cross " is a term I have invented, for the sake of brevity, to describe the design which usually occupies the reverse of medieval gold coins ; it is a floriate cross with royal emblems, lions and fleurs-de-lis, in its angles.

-4.S.C., Anglo-Saxon Chronicle. .

B.N.J., British Numismatic Journal.

Num. Chron., Numismatic Chronicle.

In the names of the Anglo-Saxon kings, I have wittingly offended against orthography. Though I think it desirable to render correctly the Anglo-Saxon forms, I have not displaced such familiar names as Alfred, Edmund, Edward by the ugly Aelfred, Eadmund, Eadward. I am frankly inconsistent.

To express my thanks to all who have helped me in the preparation of this book is not easy. It is a great pleasure to me to make special mention of my gratitude to the owners and curators of collections from which I have compiled my plates, and, in particular, to Miss

Helen Farquhar, Colonel Morrieson, and my colleagues, Mr. Allan, Keeper of Coins, and Mr. Mattingly, who have read part or whole of the book in proof. At the same time I regret that I cannot mention individually many others who have helped me, directly or indirectly, to acquire the detailed knowledge necessary for a work of this nature. They are joint creditors for the large debt which I owe to the work of the Royal Numismatic Society and of the British Numismatic Society, and to my colleagues, past and present, of the Department of Coins and Medals in the British Museum.

To Mr. L. A. Lawrence I have dedicated this book, because to his devotion to the study of English Coins, to his personal help from beginning to end of the work, and, above all, to his friendly encouragement, I owe more than can be expressed in words.

G. C. B.

BRITISH MUSEUM
January, 1932

CONTENTS

CHAPTER I		PAGE
THE BEGINNING OF ANGLO-SAXON COINAGE	Seventh and Eighth Centuries ; and Northumbria to A.D. 867.	1
CHAPTER II		
THE COINAGES OF KENT, MERCIA, AND EAST ANGLIA	From the second half of the Eighth Century to the close of the Ninth Century.	13
CHAPTER III		
THE VIKING INVADERS, c. 870-950		33
CHAPTER IV		
THE SUPREMACY OF WESSEX	Beorhtric to Edward the Elder. 786-925.	41
CHAPTER V		
AETHELSTAN TO EDWARD THE MARTYR. 925-979		56
CHAPTER VI		
AETHELRED II TO THE NORMAN CONQUEST. 979-1066		65
CHAPTER VII		
THE NORMAN KINGS. 1066-1154		79
CHAPTER VIII		
THE TEALBY, SHORT-CROSS, AND LONG-CROSS COINAGES. 1154-1279		102
CHAPTER IX		
THE EDWARDIAN PENNY AND THE EARLY GOLD OF EDWARD III. 1279-1351		116
CHAPTER X		
THE REFORMED COINAGE OF THE SECOND HALF OF THE FOURTEENTH CENTURY. 1351-1399		126

CHAPTER XI	
HENRY IV, V, AND VI. 1399-1461	PAGE 137
CHAPTER XII	
EDWARD IV TO RICHARD III. 1461-1485	148
CHAPTER XIII	
HENRY VII. 1485-1509.	162
CHAPTER XIV	
THE DEBASEMENT OF THE COINAGE.	174
Henry VIII and Edward VI. 1509-1553.	
CHAPTER XV	
MARY, ELIZABETH, JAMES I. 1553-1625	191
CHAPTER XVI	
CHARLES I. 1625-1649.	202
CHAPTER XVII	
COMMONWEALTH TO GEORGE V. 1649-1931	217
CHAPTER XVIII	
PATTERN COINS	232
BIBLIOGRAPHY.	243
KEY TO PLATES	249
INDEX	269

ENGLISH COINS

CHAPTER I

THE BEGINNING OF ANGLO-SAXON COINAGE

SEVENTH AND EIGHTH CENTURIES; NORTHUMBRIA TO 867

THE withdrawal of the Roman legions from Britain at the beginning of the fifth century brought to a definite close the supply of Roman coinage, its sole currency, which was already (c. 395) almost exhausted by the closure of Roman mints in Gaul. The economic condition of the country in the years that followed is completely unknown. It may be that a great part of the country, reduced by constant invasion from North, South, and West, lived from hand to mouth and ceased to use a monetary medium of exchange. But it is now generally believed that in some places, such as Richborough and Caerwent, the Roman civilisation remained, and that in these isolated centres Roman coins remained in currency. At the close of the sixth century a renewal of trade with the outer world is apparent in the discovery in the southern parts of England of Merovingian gold coins, and within a few years of the turn of the century a native coinage was in use which copied Merovingian, Byzantine, or Roman prototypes.

The currency problem of the two centuries intervening between Roman occupation and the introduction of Christianity in the South-East has had some light thrown upon it in recent years. Illustration of the money used in the dark ages must be sought in the masses of Roman copper coins, and their barbarous imitations, which have in all subsequent ages been turned up in the soil. The writer of the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle,

when he recorded under the year 418 that the Romans collected all the hoards of coin that were in Britain and hid some in the earth and carried some with them to Gaul, can only have been led to this statement by a knowledge of the frequent discovery of such hoards in Alfred's time, as in our own, or by a long tradition of their discovery.

Indication of a native currency, supplementary to the Roman, circulating in the latter years of the Roman occupation, or possibly even later, is to be found in the tiny copper coins, some specimens scarcely larger than a pin's head, which were known to us only from some isolated examples until a hoard of several hundreds was unearthed in the Lydney excavations of 1929. The position of the hoard proved that it could not have been buried before the year 385 ; it may well have been deposited many years later. The coins were struck in barbarous imitation of copper coins of the House of Constantine, but from dies too large for the flans. They probably served as a currency of small denominational value at a time when the value of the Roman copper had greatly appreciated in the absence of gold and silver. In the fifth and sixth centuries Roman copper coins, whether surviving in currency or dug up as treasure (*sceat* ?) from the earth, doubtless circulated with barbarous imitations to serve the monetary requirements of the invading and invaded peoples.

The first impulse towards the creation of an Anglo-Saxon coinage came from the intercourse between the South-Eastern district and the Merovingian kingdom. This intercourse, arising from the growing commercial prosperity of the two countries, developed a closer intimacy from the introduction of Christianity into the South of England and from the marriage of Aethelberht, king of Kent, to Bertha, the granddaughter of Chlovis, towards the close of the sixth century.

A small treasure of gold coins, found early in the last century in the churchyard of St. Martin's, Canterbury, was deposited there within a few years of the marriage of Aethelberht. One of the coins was a *triens* of Justin II (died 578), another a Merovingian *triens* struck not earlier than 585. All the coins had been mounted with a loop for use as pendants. Among them was a *solidus* bearing the names of a Frankish moneyer Leudulf and of an uncertain town **IVEGIO VICO**, which has a

rude portrait of an ecclesiastic and, on the reverse, a horseman saint with halo (Pl. I, i). More interesting still is a triens with the name of Bishop Liudard : *0. LEVDARDVS EPS* (retr.). Bust to r. JR. Double cross on globe. Barbarous legend (Pl. I, 2). This Liudard can hardly be other than the bishop who came over to Canterbury as Queen Bertha's chaplain.

A gold solidus, which is said to have been found in this country, was made in close imitation of a solidus of Honorius struck early in the fifth century, but it bears on the reverse, in addition to its blundered Roman legend, a runic inscription which has been read *SCANOMODV* (perhaps a personal name) and is dated on palæographical grounds to approximately 600. Whether made in this country or in Scandinavia, it has a peculiar interest as an instance of a northern goldsmith copying a Roman coin that had survived for two centuries (Pl. I, 3).

Thrymsa Series—There is not adequate reason for concluding that the curious coins of the St. Martin's treasure were struck in this country ; nor can we be certain that the runic solidus is of English work. Four Merovingian solidi, of which three are imitations of the solidus of Maurice Tiberius (582-602) with the Cross-on-steps type that is so commonly used on Merovingian tremisses, and the fourth a solidus of Chlotaire II (584-614), were found in 1860 at Reculver. Isolated Merovingian tremisses have also been found in Kent. They are found too in greater number in company with the early native coins of this country.

The earliest coinage that can definitely be regarded as Anglo-Saxon is a gold issue copied from the Merovingian tremisses. The usual weight of the coins is slightly over 20 grains troy. This denomination, the third of the solidus, was introduced by Constantine the Great and remained in the coinage of the Western and Eastern Empires until after the middle of the eighth century ; it was at one time struck at 27 or 28 grains, but was later adjusted to a solidus of 70 grains ; the Merovingian tremissis was probably lighter, 20 to 21 grains, at the period when it was adopted in the English coinage. In Anglo-Saxon documents it receives occasional mention under the name of *thrymsa*, but its value is uncertain. The issue of gold *thrymsas* was not of long duration ; it was soon

supplanted by the silver coins commonly called sceats, a few of which show a slight admixture of gold.

The types are derived sometimes from a Merovingian-Byzantine-Roman original, but, as in the silver coins, there are instances of Roman prototypes being used with which no intervening links can be found in either the Byzantine or Merovingian coinage. The obverse bears a bust, usually in profile to the right and usually diademed, which is sometimes accompanied by a cross or a staff, and therefore presumably represents an ecclesiastical authority ; the commonest reverse type is, as on Merovingian coins, a cross. The reverse type of no. 6 below is a most interesting copy, apparently taken direct from the *Victoria Augg* type which appears on Roman solidi of the last quarter of the fourth century. In its original form the type depicts two emperors seated, holding between them an orb, and above their heads hovers on outspread wings a little Victory or Angel. On the thrymsa are the two imperial heads with massively elaborated diadems, their bodies degraded into a conventionalised pattern, above them the head of the Victory with a group of pellets to represent either wing (cf. figures a and 9 on Pl. I). Legends, when they occur, are usually barbarous and unintelligible, but on the obverse we occasionally get names of moneyers, such as Eusebius and Abbo, who were doubtless Prankish goldsmiths. The names of both Canterbury (*Dorovernis Civitas*, no. i below) and London (*Londuni*, no. 2) are beyond doubt, but Winchester (*Wuneetton*, no. 5) is a less certain interpretation. A runic legend, on no. 7, has been tentatively dated to about 650.

The few coins described briefly below do not exhaust the many small varieties known, but embrace the range of their designs and style. The order in which they are placed has no chronological significance ; but the first may well be the earliest and its fine neat style is probably the work of a Merovingian craftsman :—

- I. O. EVSEBII MONITA. Bust to r. R. DOROVERNIS CIVITAS.
Cross. (Pl. I, 4.)

Near this in date, though widely remote in style, are the thrymsas from Crondale in Hampshire, where in 1828 were found 100 gold tremisses, of which nearly 50 were Anglo-Saxon, 20 Merovingian, and the remainder uncertain ; one, a coin of the Emperor Phocas (602-610) gives an approxi-

mate date for the burial of the hoard. The following three types, with varieties, comprise the Anglo-Saxon coins from the find :—

2. *O.* Facing bust, no legend. *R.* LONDVNI. Cross. (Pl. I, 5.)
3. *O.* Profile bust, no legend. *R.* Cross, uncertain legend.
A similar coin has been found in Wiltshire. (Pl. I, 6.)
4. *O.* Profile bust with trident-like staff. *R.* Cross, legend partly in runes.
A similar coin has been found near Canterbury. (Pl. I, 7.)

Other types not included in the Crondale find are :—

5. <9. Bust with trident-like staff. *R.* WVNEETTON. Cross. (Pl. I, 8.)
6. *O.* Profile bust, A, N and cross. *R.* Degraded *Victoria Augg* type.
(Pl. I, 90)
7. *O.* Profile bust, blundered legend. *R.* Runic legend (BEARTIGO?).
Cross on steps. (Pl. I, 10.)
8. *O.* Profile bust radiate, cross in front. *R'*. Clasped hands between A and NIO. (Pl. I, 11.)

This type seems to be copied from the *Concordia Militum* coins of the third century. (Pl. I, b.)

Sceat Series—The use of a gold coinage was not of long duration ; the silver currency to which it gave way was in circulation in, or very shortly after, the middle of the seventh century, for a sprinkling of it found its way into a hoard of Merovingian coins of the second half of the century which was found at Bais in Ille-et-Vilaine in 1904. The new silver must be regarded rather as a debasement of the gold than as a new coinage. We find the same type used in both metals, and some of the early silver coins have an admixture of gold in their composition. They are of the same style and fabric and are struck to the same weight, approximately 20 grains, with a tendency to depreciate later both in weight and in alloy.

This silver issue has been identified with the Sceat of the Anglo-Saxon laws. Sceat is used as a coin denomination in the code of Aethelberht I of Kent (c. 601-604) and is there equated to one-twentieth of a shilling. In the laws of Ine (c. 688-695) the penny is used and the sceat is not, but these laws are only known in Alfred's transcript and their original form may therefore have been altered, in which case the earliest reference to the penny is in a will of 833 or 835. The conclusion is drawn that the name of penny was first given to the broader and slightly heavier coin introduced in the time of Offa. The argument is a weak one. The silver coinage had not been introduced at the time that the laws of Aethelberht were compiled ; the only coins then in use in this country were

Roman coins and barbarous imitations of them, in addition, perhaps, to a few early arrivals of Merovingian and Byzantine gold. The word *sceat* means treasure, and it was not an unsuitable term to apply to Roman coins of which the main source of supply was probably their discovery in the soil. It is, however, possible that the old term *sceat* was applied to this new coinage, or indeed, *thrymsa* may still have been used after its debasement.¹

The interest of the *sceat* coinage—for, whether right or wrong, the name is now inseparably attached to it—lies in the wealth of illustration it gives us of native Anglo-Saxon art of the seventh and eighth centuries. The types are sometimes derived from Merovingian coins and occasionally from Roman gold coins, but not infrequently from Roman copper coins of the third and fourth centuries, a fact which confirms the belief that Roman copper formed the currency of the preceding centuries. But the native die-sinkers were not for long content with barbarous copying of the models they chose to adopt. The gradual debasement of the "Standard" type, it is true, seems to have continued for a considerable time, perhaps to the end of the century, but later there appears a new treatment of the subject, which, though on a smaller scale and with a more limited technique, is in some cases comparable to the art of the coins of Offa. Originality in the treatment of designs is seen in the transformation of the debased head into a bird on the "Standard" type (PL I, 16,17,18). In later work the manner is more vigorous. Subjects are set in circular movement with kaleidoscopic effect; the wolf-and-twins motif is made to revolve, the wolf with head to tail, and becomes, on PL II, 7, a torque with a wolf's head terminal, and ultimately (PL II, 8) the head alone survives; or again the wolf sprouts heads as it revolves and the four heads thus formed, with tongues interlaced, turn into a starfish on their way to becoming a bird (PL II, 9-12). Two birds revolve to form a rose ornament of four birds (PL I, 23, 24). Animal forms are the delight of the artist and assume strange and elegant shapes to fit the circular flan. The new portraiture, which is

¹ The objection to the application of the name penny to them is based on their weight. The English mark (233*275 grms.) should make 160 pence, i.e. 1.46 grms, or 22½ grs, to the penny.

so characteristic a feature of Offa's pennies, is here seen in its early stages ; the London coins show a definite attempt at modelling the face, but the more successful portraits are to be found on coins without mint signature. The figure holding a cup and the head within a wreath (PL II, 4, 14) are charming illustrations of Anglo-Saxon portraiture.

A few coins bear the name *Lundonia* correctly inscribed, but similar coins have it barbarously copied. Names in runic letters—Pada, Apa, Epa, Wigraed, Aethilraed—are probably names of moneyers, who were not mere craftsmen but officers responsible for the coins, and whose names were therefore, as on the Merovingian coinage, a guarantee. Pada and Aethilraed have been identified with the Mercian kings, Peada (655-656/7) and Aethelred (675-704); the identification is possible so far as date is concerned, but as the title Rex is absent and the name is not in either case on the portrait side of the coin, it is safer, though not necessary (Offa's pennies produce parallels for both anomalies), to interpret them, in the light of Apa, Wigraed, etc., as names of moneyers. It is interesting to note that, apart from the silver version of the *Victoria Augg* thrymsa, the Pada coins show the closest resemblance to the original *Virtus Exercitus* coin (PI. I, d, note the helmeted head) ; they are probably the earliest of the series ; some of them contain more than a trace of gold in their metal.

An attempt is made below to analyse the chief types of the sceatta and the offshoots of them without describing the many varieties that occur ; the numbers are given for convenience of reference and do not indicate a chronological sequence. The frequent intermingling of designs shows that several types ran together in circulation.

1. Same as thrymsa, no. 6 (*Victoria Augg*) but in silver.

The following, nos. 2-8 (except 4, a *Pada* coin with Merovingian reverse), show the "Standard" type and its degradation ; the type is derived from the *Virtus Exercitus* copper of Constantine the Great (PL I, d) ; the lower half of the reverse design is omitted, and VOT XX is changed to TOT XX and later turned into meaningless strokes.

2. O. Helmeted profile to r. R. PADA (runic) to r. of standard. (PI. I, 12.)
3. Similar but PADA (runic) placed on the standard. (PI. I, 13.)
4. O. Diademed profile to r. R. Cross and annulets ; PADA (runic) with meaningless Roman letters. (PL I, 14.)
5. O. Radiate profile to r. R. Standard type. (PL I, 15.)

6. Similar, but degraded, with runic legend, APA, EPA, or WIGRAED, before head.
7. Similar, without runes, with gradual change of obverse from head to bird. (PI. I, i<5, 17, 18.)

This obverse, having lost its resemblance to a head, is also used as a reverse type with a profile obverse.

8. Similar, with head nearly degraded to bird, AETHILRAED (runic). (PI. I, 190)
9. A cross and pellets design is used with either side of the standard type,

A coin of this type (profile obverse) with APA (runic) was in the Bais find.

The following, nos. 10-12, are from the Cross-on-steps design, introduced by Maurice Tiberius (582-602) and commonly used on Merovingian coins.

10. O. Diademed profile to r. R. Cross with annulets, and sometimes TT and two strokes (from standard type) added. (PI. I, 20.)
11. Similar, but with a bird on the cross. (PI. I, 21.)
12. Similar reverse with a facing head on obverse. (PI. I, 22.)
13. O. Profile to l., with cross, changing to two heads face to face with cross between. R. Two birds changing to a floral design formed of four birds. (PI. I, 23, 24.) This double profile is also used with a degraded wolf-torque reverse (found at Richborough).

The following three types have on obverse a diademed profile to r. (on no. 16 to l.) with the legend LVNDONIA or a blundered form of it. They were found in a lump in the Thames (c. 1860) with nos. 17, 21, 22 below.

14. R. Man holding two crosses (from Byzantine copper coins of Phocas, 602-610).¹ (PI. II, i.)
15. R. Seated figure holding bird and cross (from *Concordia Augg solidus* of Honorius with seated emperor holding Victory and sceptre). (PI. II, 2.)
16. R. Shield bearing Celtic cross between four bosses and with boss in centre. (PI. II, 3.)

The reverse design of no. 14 (Man with crosses, or with cross and bird) occurs also on coins without legend :—

17. O. Profile busts, finely worked; they sometimes have a cross in front, in one case a scroll; one is depicted holding a cup. (PI. II, 4.)
18. O. Victory holding wreath; traces of runes.

Derived from it, or taken direct from double-figure Byzantine coins, is

19. O. Two men holding crosses. JR. Degraded standard type.

The double figure type is also used with Sun-head and with Animal on obverse (see nos. 26, 32 below).

From the copper of Constantine the Great (PI. I, c.) is derived the following reverse type :—

20. O. Bird standing in vine, a native Celtic type.^a R. Wolf and Twins. (PI. II, 5.)

¹ Or, perhaps more probably, Celtic in origin; a similar figure occurs on Irish work (cf. the cross from Cloyne, pubd. in *Archæologia*, XLIV, p. 483). The Wilmington giant on the Sussex Downs is also of similar form.

² A very close parallel exists on the Ruthwell cross.

This reverse produces, in conjunction with profile to r. with cross :—

21. Wolf curved over head to tail, developing into torque and thence into a wolf's head. (PL II, 6, 7, 8.)

And the following, in conjunction with either Man-with-cross or Shield :—

22. Wolves' heads in whorl developing into bird.

And, in conjunction with Animal on obverse (the winged centaur-like form on the illustrated specimen is peculiar) :—

23. Whorl of wolves' heads and tongues. (PL II, 9.)

The London Shield type (no. 16) is also combined with the following types :—

24. Profile to r., of fine work, no legend.

25. Whorl of wolves' heads developing into starfish and bird forms, cf. no. 22 above; the shield changes, adopting as its device a face in the centre surrounded by bosses. (PL II, 10, 11, 12.)

From the facing head (PL II, 12) is developed the curious Sun-head, a face with hair and beard forming radiation all round ; it is used with :—

26. The Double-figure type.

27. The Animal type. (PL II, 13.)

Bird types, from the Bird-on-cross (no. 11 above) or the Wolf-bird motif (no. 22 above), or from a combination of the two, appear on the following :—

28. O. Fine profile, with cross, in wreath of curves. R. Bird on two steps or within a torque. (PL II, 14.)

29. O. Square frame containing four annulets (Standard motif?).

R. Small bird framed in a torque. (PL II, 15.)

Also in conjunction with Animal (see below, no. 33).

The Animal type may well be Celtic in origin, but an origin has recently been suggested in the horse of the *Fel Temp Reparatio* type of Constantinian copper ; it is coupled with the following types :—

30. Profile to r., with bird or cross.

31. Man with crosses.

32. Double figure. (PL II, 16.)

33. Bird to r. (PL II, 17.)

34. A quatrefoil design of Merovingian origin.

Also with the whorl of wolves (no. 23 above) and the Sun-head (no. 27 above).

A coin of free treatment, with characteristic Celtic curves on both obverse and reverse is :—

35. O. Bust facing with long curls at either side of face and with drapery of horizontal curves. R. An arabesque pattern. (PL II, 18.)

Sceatta of the Kings of Northumbria—In the North of England the sceat coinage remained until Northumbria was occupied by the Danes on the defeat and death of Osberht and Aella in 867, a century after the new penny had

supplanted it in the South. Debasement was rapid, and in the eighth century it became a copper coinage. The application to it of the term *Styca*, which translates the widow's mite in the Lindisfarne Gospels, is not justified ; the translator would not in this passage have used the name of the only coin which was circulating in his part of the kingdom. If a coin at all, the *styca* may have been the tiny copper of Roman or post-Roman times which formed the Lydney hoard. The copper Northumbrian coins show the silver coinage, *sceat* or whatever its name may have been, undergoing debasement in a district where the supply of silver was less plentiful. The names of kings and of archbishops of York appear on coins struck before the close of the seventh century, and continue to the Danish conquest. The earliest kings used silver, and for reverse design they employed the fantastic quadruped of the anonymous *sceats*, some of which may well be Northumbrian ; towards the end of the eighth century this type was abandoned and the coins were then marked on both sides with nothing more than a little cross, annulet, pellet, etc., in the centre of a flan of which the greater part is given up to the names of the king and the moneyer. In the reign of Aethelred II (841-849) there is a revival of the animal type, and there are belated instances of silver, or a fair alloy, being used instead of copper.

Ecgrith (670-685).

O. ECGFRID REX. Cross. R. LVXX in angles of a cross radiant.
(Pl. II, 190)

This coin is of copper; the religious legend of the reverse stands alone in the series. The attribution is not certain, but it is hardly possible to assign it to any other Ecgrith, or Ecgferth, than the *rex piissimus et Deo dilectissimus*. The Mercian Ecgrith, son of Offa, is out of the question.

Aldfrith (685-705).

O. ALDFRIDUS. Boss of pellets. R. Fantastic Quadruped to 1. The coins are of silver. (Pl. II, 20.)

Coins in silver or base silver bearing O. a cross, and R. a quadruped, have the names of the following kings :—

Eadberht (737-758). *Eotberehtus*, *Eadberhtus*, etc. (Pl. II, 21, 22.)

Alchred (765-774). (Pl. H, 23.)

Aethelred I. First reign (774-779).

Aelfwald I (779-789). (Pl. II, 24.)

The names of Eadberht, Aethelwald Moll (759-765), and Alchred also appear on coins of Abp. Ecgerht (734-766), q.v.

A silver styca (16¼ grs.), *0. BEONNA REX* (partly runic), Cross, R. EFE, pellets within square centre of a long cross, seems to belong to this series. (PI. II, 31.)

The remaining coins of the kings of Northumbria have on both sides an insignificant feature such as a small cross, a pellet, an annulet, etc.¹ On the obverse is the king's name, on the reverse the moneyer's. Both legends are sometimes retrograde and sometimes blundered. Coins, usually in copper but occasionally in silver, are known of the following kings; the names of moneyers are added. The date of the introduction of the new type is shown by the existence of sceats of Aethelred I and of Aelfwald I, by whom he was temporarily deposed, of both types.

Aelfwald I (779-789). The moneyer is Eardwulf.

Aethelred I. Second reign (789-796).

Ediluth, Eadwin, Eardwulf.

Eardwulf (796-806). (PI. II, 25.)

Brother, Coenred, Eanweard, i Eadwin, Eardwulf, Edelhelm, Ediluth, Herreth, Hwaetred, Monne, Odilo, Wulfred.

Hoaud, an unknown king. HOAVD REX. The moneyer is Hwaetred.

Aelfwald II (806-807). Moneyer, Eadwin.

Eanred (806-841 ?).² (PI. II, 26.)

Aldates, Badigils, Brother, Cudhard, Cunwulf, Daegberht, Eadwin, Eanred, Eardwulf, Edelweard, Folcnoth, Fordred, Gadutels, Herreth, Hwaetred, Monne, Odilo, Teveh, Tidwin, Wilheah, Wihtred, Wulfheard, Wulfred.

Aethelred II (841-849, deposed in 844 by Redwulf). (PI. II, 27, 28.)

Alghere, Brother, Ceolbald, Coenred, Cudehard, Cunemund, Eadwin, Eanbald,³ Eanred, Eardwulf, Edelhelm, Erwinne, Fordred, Herreth, Hunlaf, Leofthegn (also with quadruped on reverse), Monne, Odilo, Tidwulf, Wendelberht, Wihtred, Wulfred, Wulfsig.

The revival of the quadruped type on a rare com by Leofthegn (PI. III, 27) is interesting.

Redwulf (844). (PI. II, 29.)

Alghere, Brother, Coenred, Cudberht, Eanred, Eardwulf, Fordred, Hwaetnod, Hunlaf, Monne, Wendelberht, Wulfred.

Osberht (849-867). (PI. II, 30.)

Eanwulf, Eardwulf, Edelhelm, Monne, Winiberht, Wulfred, Wulfsig.

Aella (867).

A coin reading ALLEH REX on obverse, legend on reverse doubtful, resembles in style the careless workmanship of coins of Osberht.

Sceats of the Archbishops of York. The coins of the Archbishops, excepting that struck by Abp. Ecgberht in the reign of Eadberht, are all of the second type of the royal sceats, copper coins with cross, pellets, etc., on both sides. The archbishop's name is usually followed by the title *Arep*, *I rep*, *Ar*, *Ir*, etc.

¹A coin of Aethelred II, by Leofthegn, has the quadruped type.

²For a silver penny bearing the name of Eanred see below, p. 44, and PI. III, 2.

³Perhaps a coin of Abp. Eanbald II, by a moneyer Aethelred.

Ecgberht (734-766).

In reign of Eadberht (737-758).

O. ECGBERHT A (or AR). Mitred figure holding two crosses.

R. EOTBERHTVS (various spellings). Cross. (PL II, 32.)

In reign of Aethelwald Moll (759-765).

O. ECGBERHT AR. Cross. R. EDILALD C. Cross.

In reign of Alchred (765-774).

O. ECGBERHT AR. Cross. R. ALCHRD C. (retr.). Cross.

The letter C on the reverse of these two coins is interpreted as the initial of *Cunung* (King).

Eanbald II (796-808 ?).

Aedilred, Cunwulf, Eadwulf, Edilward. (PI. II, 33.)

Wigmund (837-854?).

There is in the British Museum a unique gold solidus of Abp. Wigmund, weighing 68¼ grs. (pierced). It has a facing head and on the reverse a cross within a wreath with the legend describing, presumably, the cross as *the Gift of God'; it is similar to solidi of Louis le Pieux. It reads :—

O. VIGMVNDAREP. Tonsured bust facing. R. MVNVS DIVINVM.

Cross. (PI. III, i.)

His copper coins have the following moneyers' names:—

Coenred, Edelhelm, Edilweard, Erwinne, Hunlaf, Wilheah. (PI. II, 34.)

Wulfhere (854-900). (PI. II, 35.)

Eardwulf, Wulfred.

CHAPTER II

THE COINAGES OF KENT, MERCIA, AND EAST ANGLIA

FROM THE SECOND HALF OF THE EIGHTH CENTURY TO THE
CLOSE OF THE NINTH CENTURY

THE New Penny and the Mint of Canterbury—During the last quarter of the eighth century the anonymous sceat coinage was replaced by a new silver coin, which is by general consent called the Penny and is commonly said to have been introduced by the famous Offa, king of Mercia from 757 to 796. The sceat was, as we have seen, a debasement of the gold thrymsa; the earlier issues of it were similar in style and fabric to the gold coins, they occasionally contained a perceptible trace of gold in them, and they were originally struck at the same weight as the thrymsa, 20 grains or slightly over. A large proportion of them weigh over 18 grains and are of good silver. The main bulk of the defaulters, apart from the Northumbrian coinage, consists of the London sceats and their derivatives, and the more barbarous specimens only of such early types as the "standard" and "bird on cross." These fall to 14 grains or even lower, and frequently have a considerable alloy of copper. The types that show pure Celtic work and resemble, on a small scale, the coinage of Offa, are always low in weight. The sceat seems therefore to have undergone a debasement which was more pronounced in certain districts, in London and in Northumbria for example. The debasement appears also to have been progressive everywhere during the eighth century.

Attempts to form conclusions from a general survey of the coinage of Offa have been misleading. An examination of his coins reveals two distinct groups into which his coins must be divided before any general conclusions can be drawn, The

first group comprises the fine portrait coins and the coins which are closely allied to those struck by Archbishop Jaenberht. The second group is marked by its affinity to the coins of Jaenberht's successor, Aethelheard, and to those of Coenwulf, who followed Offa on the throne of Mercia. The differences in the two groups are at once apparent; the earlier coins are of smaller diameter, the later are broader and thinner coins; the difference in style is no less marked. An examination of the weights of the two series shows a corresponding change; the weight of the earlier coins usually lies between 16 and 20 grains, but those of the later group are most frequently between 19 and 22 grains.¹ There are therefore two distinct changes in the coinage; firstly, a new coinage reviving the weight and silver standard of the sceat or thrymsa of 20 to 21 grains, which was probably introduced before the coinage of Offa began; secondly, a coinage of new weight, 22¹/₂ grains or 240 to the pound Tower,² which can be given an approximate date by the death of Jaenberht in 790/1.

This period of the coinage has been completely dominated by the personality of Offa. But its outstanding feature is the close alliance between his coins and those of the kings of Kent and the archbishops of Canterbury. The coinages of the Mercian overlord and of the subject kingdom have more in common than a mere resemblance of style, such as might be due to the spread of the new art from one district to another. That they are the work of one mint is suggested by their identity of form, of types, of style and of lettering; it is made certain by the names of the moneyers, which are identical in the three coinages. The moneyers of the kings of Kent are the moneyers of Offa. The coins of two archbishops bear the names of Offa and Coenwulf, and, when Archbishop Wulfred broke with this tradition, his coins, too, bore names of moneyers who worked for Coenwulf and for the kings of Kent.

No other mint than Canterbury can thus have served the kings of Mercia and Kent and the archbishops of Canterbury. It is inconceivable that the kings of Kent would have been

¹ The old method of weighing in bulk and taking an average is liable to error caused by abnormal specimens; the frequency system, tabulating the coins by graduated weights, gives more reliable results.

* Though the name of this pound is, of course, of later date, the system may well be of this age.

allowed a share in the work of a mint recently established by Offa. It is possible that, assuming control as overlord, he might have allowed an existing coinage of the kings of Kent and of the archbishops to continue at their mint together with his own ; but it more probable that Offa imposed as a tributary service upon the mint of Canterbury the issue of his own coinage, and let the prerogative of its kings and archbishops continue within prescribed limits.

We are thus led to the conclusion that the mint of Canterbury was already at work at the time of the Mercian conquest of Kent. The conclusion is confirmed by a coin bearing the name Aethelberht, which has been assigned to the East Anglian king who was put to death by Offa in 794. There is no trace of a mint in East Anglia till the close of Coenwulfs reign ; moreover, this coin, of which the two known specimens weigh approximately 17 and 19 grains, is not only allied to the earlier of the two groups of Offa's coins but justifies by its fabric and style the conclusion that it precedes them ; the reverse type of the Wolf and Twins has its parallel in the sceat coinage and not in the penny coinage ; the portrait has its counterpart in the London sceats no less than in the Offa coinage. The attribution of this coin to Aethelberht II of Kent (748-762) gives us a glimpse of the Canterbury mint before the battle of Otford.

Kings of Kent—The penny of Aethelberht II is the only coin remaining to us that was struck by an independent king of Kent. The next name we meet on the coins is that of Ecgbert ; he is mentioned in *A.S.C.* as the son of Alhmund, but this is corrected by a charter of 778 which shows him to be Alhmund's predecessor. His coins resemble the earlier group of Offa's pennies and are therefore consistent with a date within a few years of the battle of Otford. Of Alhmund we know no coins. Eadberht Praen reigned from 796 to 798 ; the chronicle tells of his deposition by Coenwulf, but the story of his torture by the Mercians is a later interpolation; he issued pennies bearing the type with a three-line inscription on both sides, which was used by Offa, who died in 796, and by Coenwulf. Eadwald is unknown to history, and for that reason it has been assumed that he was a king of East Anglia. His coins, struck by Eadnoth and Lul, are identical, but for the king's name,

with coins struck by Lul for Ofta and for Coenwulf. His date is therefore fixed with certainty at a year or two either side of 796. In style generally, and particularly in the three-line type of the obverse, the coins show a close connexion with those of Eadberht Praen and Archbishop Aethelheard as well as with those of Offa and Coenwulf; their attribution to the mint of Canterbury is therefore inevitable, and for this reason I have assigned Eadwald a place among the kings of Kent.¹ History seems to leave a gap between Eadberht and Cuthred which his coins are capable of filling. After the deposition of Eadberht in 798 there is no mention of a king of Kent before a charter of 801; the signature of Cuthred Dux to a charter of 799 may show, though the identification is doubtful, that in that year he had not yet been put on the throne by Coenwulf. The absence of any coins of Cuthred with the three-line obverse also suggests a date later than 798 for his accession.

Cuthred's pennies have parallels in the coinage of Coenwulf both for the tribrach type and for the type with profile bust and cross and wedges. Baldred, who on his earliest coins appears as *Beldred*, has, like Coenwulf, the moneyer Oba who adopts a fashion of placing the reverse design in the centre of a long cross which cuts the legend; with Archbishop Wulfred he shares the use of the letters DRVR CITS, for *Dorovernia Civitas*, as a coin-type, which perhaps suggested for Ceolwulf's coin the continuation of part of the word *Merci-orum* into the field.

Aethelberht II (748-762).

O. ETHILBERHT LUL (partly runic). Profile to r. JR. Wolf and Twins in a frame (standard?). REX above. (PL III, 3.)

On the attribution of this coin see above. The juxtaposition of the king's and moneyer's names is curious.

Ecgbert (c. 780).

0, EGCBERT. R (Rex) in centre. R. BABBA in angles of cross.
(7. As preceding. R. VDD across field. Cross, etc., above and below.
Wt. 17 to 18 grs. (PL III, 4.)

Eadberht Praen (796-798).

O. EADBEARHT REX in three lines. R. Moneyer's name in three lines. Babba, Ethelmod, Jaenberht. 18½ to 22½ grs. (PL III, 5.)

Eadwald (unknown king, c. 798-801 ?).

0. EADVALD REX in three lines. R. Moneyer's name on a quatrefoil. Eadnoth, Lul. 21 and 22 grs. (PL III, 6.)

0. As preceding. R. Moneyer's name in angles of cross upon a shield. Wihtred (Hunter coll.).

¹ One of his coins was found recently at Richborough.

Cuthred (801 ?-807).

1. O. CVTHRED REX. A small cross, or tribrach, or cross with wedges. Sometimes three arms from the inner circle cut the legend. R. Cross or tribrach moline, or voided tribrach. (Pl. III, 7, 8.)
Duda, Eaba, Sigebert, Werheard.
2. O. CVTHRED REX CANT. Profile to r. R. Cross and wedges, or Cross crosslet. (Pl. III, 9.)
Beornfrith, Dudda, Eaba, Heremod, Sigebert, Werheard.
Wt. usually 20 to 21 grs., some coins 18 to 19 grs.

Baldred (807-825).

1. BELDRED REX (or REX CANT). Cross pattee on either side. Diormod (rev. design over long cross fourchee), Oba (rev. design over long cross moline), Sigestef, Swefheard (sometimes cross crosslet on obverse), Tidbert, Werheard.
 2. O. Profile bust to r. BALDRED REX CANT (or REX N). R. Cross moline or crosslet, or a figure of 6 or 8 limbs radiating from an annulet. (Pl. III, 10, II.)
Diormod, Dunun, Ethelmod.
 3. O. As preceding, but head, instead of bust, to r. R. DRVR CITS in inner circle. (Pl. III, 12.)
Diormod, Oba, Swefherd, Tidbert.
- Wt. usually between 20 and 22 grs.

Baldred was expelled in 825/6 and driven across the Thames by the army which was sent into Kent under Aethelwulf after Ecgbert's victory over Mercia at Ellandune. This brings to an end the coinage of the kings of Kent.

We may probably assign to the period immediately following the conquest of Kent the anonymous issue :—

0. Head to r. as Baldred no. 3 above, with moneyer's name around.

R. DOROBERNIA CIVITAS in three lines. (Pl. III, 13.)

Diormod, Oba (obv. design placed over a tribrach crosslet), Swefherd, Werheard.

There is a similar anonymous coinage, but with a facing tonsured head, which therefore belongs to the archbishops' coinage and is there described (p. 20 below). The position of the two issues is clear. The moneyers of the regal issue struck for Baldred and for Ecgbert of Wessex ; those of the ecclesiastical issue struck coins for Archbishop Wulfred both before and after 825. The profile head is identical with that of Baldred, the tonsured bust the same as appears on coins of Wulfred. The two issues may be explained as a coinage struck under Ecgbert's authority before his own dies were

engraved and before the archbishop was authorised to continue the exercise of his prerogative (PL III, 13 ; IV, 3).

Archbishops of Canterbury—The coinage of the archbishops of Canterbury is, like that of the archbishops of York, of uncertain origin; but we may assume that the archbishops had a share in the thrymsa and sceat issues, for their use of the mint after Offa had taken control of it is more likely to have been an old prerogative than a new concession. There may have been a short period after the battle of Otford when the portrait coinage of Offa occupied the whole capacity of the mint, but before the death of Archbishop Jaenberht in 790/1 the Canterbury moneyers were striking for the archbishop and for the king of Kent as well as for Offa.

The pennies of Jaenberht are of the light weight, usually about 18 grains ; they have his name on one side and that of Offa on the other. Aethelheard, his successor, issued some coins with Offa and others with Coenwulf as overlord; some rare coins with the title *Pontifex* are assigned to the two years, 791-793, when he was elected but not consecrated. The coins of these two archbishops determine the features of the earlier and later groups of Offa's coins ; the poor condition of the *Pontifex* coins of Aethelheard leaves doubt whether they should be placed in the lighter or heavier group; their type suggests the latter.

A weakening of the Mercian control seems to be indicated in the coinage of Archbishop Wulfred, who drops the name of the Mercian overlord and puts the moneyers' names on his coins ; he is also the first to have his dies engraved with the tonsured portrait. In the description of his coins are indicated the points of contact between them and the coins of the overlords of Mercia and Wessex, by means of which their order and approximate date may be ascertained. The anonymous issue, which is assigned to the period immediately following Ecgberht's conquest of Kent, is parallel to a similar issue by the king's moneyers after the expulsion of Baldred (see above, p. 17).

Archbishop Ceolnoth opens his coinage with issues of a monogram type similar to those of Wulfred but cruder in workmanship. On these and on the Chi-Rho coins the Kentish form

of the name, Cialnoth, is used ; the Wessex form, Ceolnoth, on his later coins is probably due to a change in the personnel of the mint at Canterbury. A second group is closely related to coins of Aethelwulf (838-858), and is followed by a type which Aethelwulf and Aethelberht (858-866) have in common with him. Finally he issued the lunettes type, which was introduced by Aethelred I (866-871) and used also by Alfred and by Burgred of Mercia. Archbishop Aethelred (870-889) has two types, both of which are reproduced in the coinage of Alfred.

Plegmund (890-914) is the last archbishop of Canterbury whose name appears on coins ; his coins are similar to coins of Alfred ; many coins of the archbishop, as of the king, have blundered legends, which may be the work of Viking imitators or due perhaps to the difficulty of the conditions under which Anglo-Saxon moneyers worked. The abnormally heavy weight of some of Plegmund's coins, exceeding even 27 grains, is in keeping with the coinage of the kings of Wessex ; the weight of the penny reached 24 to 25 grains in the reign of Alfred and went still higher under Edward the Elder, owing perhaps to the influence of the Frankish denier through Viking intercourse.

Jaenberht (766-790/1). No coins earlier than 775.

1. O. IAENBERHT (or IENBERHT) AREP (or ARP). A cross with wedges, or a flower of 8 petals. R. OFFA REX in two lines with ornamented bar between. (PL III, 14, 15.)
2. O. IENBERHT AREP in three lines. R. OFFA REX between the limbs of a Celtic cross.

Wt. usually c. 18 grs., but varies between 20 and 14 gis.

Aethelheard (el. 791, cons. 793, d. 805).

First issue (791-3) with title *Pontifex*, Offa as overlord.

0. AEDILHARD PONT. R. OFFA REX MERC. Star of 6 rays on either side.
- O. AETHILEARD PONT. Cross crosslet. R. OFFA REX M in and between two lunettes.

Second issue (793-6) with title *Archiepiscopus*, Offa as overlord.

- O. AEDILHEARD ARCEPI in three lines. R. as preceding.
- O. AEDILHEARD ARC, EP in inner circle. R. as preceding.
- O. as preceding. R. OFFA REX between limbs of a cross potent, which has M in a circle in the centre. (PL III, 16.)

Third issue (796-805). Coenwulf as overlord.

- O. as preceding. R. COENWLF REX, M in centre. (PL III, 17.)
- O. as preceding. R. COENVVLF REX, M between limbs of a voided tribrach. (PL III, 18.)

Wt. usually between 20 and 22 grs.

Wulfred (805-832). The obverse of his coins has a tonsured bust facing with the legend VVLFRED ARCHIEPISCOP (slightly more abbreviated on some coins). The reverse types are described below.

Group I (805-825).

1. DRVR CITS in inner circle. (Cf. Baldred no. 3.) (PL IV, x.) Swefheard, Vilnoth.
2. DOROVERNIA CIVITAS in five lines. (PL IV, 2.)

Group II (c. 825). Anonymous coinage under Ecgberht.

3. As preceding but with moneyer's name (Luning, Saeberht, Swefheard, Vilnoth), instead of the archbishop's, on obverse. (PL IV, 3.)

Group III (825-832).

4. DOROVERNIAE CIVITATIS. Cross crosslet; (PL IV, 4) cf. coins of Beornwulf and Ludican of Mercia, and of Ecgberht of Wessex nos. 5 and 6.
5. *Dorobernia*, or *Dorob C*, in monogram; cf. Ceolnoth no. I, and Ecgbeihthno. i. (PL IV, 5.) Saeberht, Swefheard.

Wt. usually between 20 and 22 grs.

Ceolnoth (833-870). On obverse tonsured bust facing with legend CIALNOTH, or CEOLNOTH, ARC (ARCEPIS, etc.).

Group I, with name *Cialnoth*.

1. *Dorobernia*, or *Dorob C*, in monogram (degraded); cf. Wulfred no. 5. (PL V, 6.) There were 10 coins of Ceolnoth, all of this type, in a hoard buried soon after Aethelwulfs accession. Biornmod, Wunhere.
2. Chi-Rho monogram. (PL V, 7.) Biornmod, Swefheard, Wunhere.

Group II, with name *Ceolnoth*. Types of Aethelwulf.

3. CIVITAS in the angles of a cross. DOROVERNIA or LIL MONETA DORVER.
4. Quadrilateral on a cross moline. DIALA MONETA DORO.

Group III (c. 855-866). Type of Aethelwulf and Aethelberht.

5. Moneyer's name on and between the limbs of a cross. (PL V, 8.) Biarnred, Biarnwulf, Cenwald, Cialmod, Ethelwald, Hebeca, Hereberht, Liabing, Toega.

Group IV (c. 866-870). Type of Aethelred I, Alfred, and Burgred.

6. Moneyer's name in and between two lunettes. (PL V, 9.) On some of these coins the archbishop is represented with a diademed head to r. Hebeca, Toega.

Wt. usually between 19 and 22 grs. Some 18 and 17 grs. One of no. 5 weighs 24 grs.

Aethered (870-889). Obverse has profile bust to r. with legend ETHELRED (or ETHERED) ARCHIEPI.

1. Quatrefoil bearing moneyer's name, Ethered; cf. Alfred, no. 3. (PL IV, ID.)
2. Long cross with lozenge panel in centre containing a cross; cf. Alfred no. 5. Torhtmund. 20½ grs. (PL IV, II.)

Plegmund (890-914),

The obverses of Plegmund's coins have the letters **DORO** or XPF (for XPS?), or a cross in the centre, with the legend PLEGMUND ARCHIEPISCOPUS (in various forms); the reverses have the moneyer's name in two lines, with crosses or pellets between. (PI. IV, 12, 13, 14.)

One design, crosses moline and pommee, occurs also on coins of Edward the Elder. (PI. IV, 15; cf. XIV, 2.)

An obverse is known reading ELFRED REX PLEGN.

The moneyers are : Berhtelm, Diarwald, Eicmund, Elfstan, Ethelfreth, Ethelstan, Ethelwulf, Hunfreth, Sigehelm, Tidweald, Wulfric.

Wt. varying from 20 to 24 grs. but some over 26 grs., one 27½ grs.

Several coins blundered.

This is the last coinage bearing the name of an archbishop of Canterbury, Probably the coins of Aethelstan and later kings bearing the signature of the Canterbury mint were in some proportion struck from the archbishops' dies.

Kings of Mercia—The coinage of Mercia was the natural result of the conquest of Kent following the battle of Otford in 774. With the mint of Canterbury in his control Offa proceeded to strike a grandiose issue of portrait coins under the influence of a romanising tendency which he had acquired at the court of Charlemagne. He even went so far in imitating the imperial grandeur of Rome that he authorised at the same time an issue bearing the name and portrait of his wife Cynethrith (PI. V, 21). This coinage of Offa is one of the most attractive in the whole series of the coinage of England. The somewhat crude, though vigorous, efforts of the engravers of the sceat coinage develop on his coins into the fully matured art of the Lindisfarne Gospels and of English and Irish stone and metal work of the eighth century. Cross and foil patterns and snake designs are admirably adapted to the small circular flan of the coin. The portraits are full of life, exquisitely modelled, and embellished with charming detail in the treatment of the hair and drapery and in the free rendering of the bust, sometimes with a jewel pendent from the neck (PI. V, 10).

Illustration of the wealth and magnificence of the court of Offa is seen in the gold dinar bearing his name. Eastern trade had brought the gold coins of the Caliphs into common currency in France in the eighth century, and Pepin prohibited their circulation when he introduced his new denier

in 755, probably without success. Offa shared Charlemagne's friendly relations with the East, and received presents of gold from the Caliph. It was therefore natural that, when contemplating a gold issue, Offa should take the dinar, the gold coin familiar to him, as his model. The unique dinar in the British Museum is a copy of one struck in 774 by the Caliph Al-Mansur ; the die-cutter reveals his ignorance of Arabic by such errors as an Arab engraver would not have made ; he did not even know the right way up of the Arabic inscription when he inserted Offa's name between its lines (PL V, i).

The portrait pennies have a great variety of artistic designs ; usually their subject is some decorative form of cross, but they include an interlaced snake pattern and a snake-headed torque ; they were probably all issued within a short period. A large group of coins without portraits is also of the early fabric and weight belonging to the period before the death of Archbishop Jaenberht. Their designs are for the most part similar varieties of ornamental crosses; another common type is a two-line inscription in lunettes or divided by an ornamental bar, which is the usual design for the royal title on Jaenberht's pennies. The latest group, pennies with broader flans and of slightly higher weight, have on one side or both the three-line inscription which is the common type on coins of Archbishop Aethelheard and of Eadberht Praen and Eadwald.

The name *Eadberht Ep[iscopus]*, on a coin of Offa of the earlier group without portrait, identifies a separate issue of the Bishop of London who died in 787-789 (PI. V, 23). Some, or all, of the London sceats may be ecclesiastical issues, but there is no trace of a coinage by a bishop of London in later time.

The coinage of Coenwulf begins with pennies similar to the latest of Offa. At an early date he revived the vogue of the portrait, but in a conventional and less artistic form. Comparison of his types with those of Cuthred and Baldred gives some indication of his earlier and later issues.

In Coenwulf's reign there is, in addition to the normal coinage, a series of coins of a very distinct style with portraits, lettering, and design of almost barbarous workmanship; the moneyers of this group are Botred, Hereberht, Wihtred, and

Wodel (Pl. VI, 9-12). The series continues under Ceolwulf with the names of Eadgar and Eacga (perhaps Eadgar) as well as the four appearing in the previous reign (Pl. VII, 6-8). Again in Beornwulfs reign the same peculiarity of style is seen on coins of Eadgar, Eacga, Eadnoth, and Monne (Pl. VII, n, 12). This distinctive style continues therefore, side by side with a coinage of ordinary style, down to the conquest of the southern kingdoms by Wessex. None of the moneyers' names, except Hereberht, are found on coins of the archbishops or of the kings of Kent. After the conquest there is no similar issue in the coinage of the kings of Wessex, but its parallel is to be found in some early pennies of Aethelstan of East Anglia, which have a similar barbarous portrait and the same weakness of lettering and design, and tfyere the names Eadgar, Eadnoth, and Monne again appear. The conclusion that a mint was established in East Anglia by Coenwulf, which is strongly indicated by this group of coins, has at least a vague historical justification in the appeal of the East Anglians to Ecgberht, in 825, for protection against the terror of the Mercians, which resulted in Beornwulfs death and an unsuccessful attempt by Ludican to avenge it.

Ceolwulf is the first Mercian king on whose coins the name of Canterbury appears; incidentally the form of the name, *Dorobrebia Cibitas* (with the last three letters used to form the design in the centre of the coin) is of interest both as an example of the interchange of the letters B and V (or F), which we get also in Fotred for Botred, and later in Albred for Alfred, and as an instance of the use of the field of the coin for the completion of the legend, as in *Merci-oru[m]* and, quite commonly, *Monet-a[r]ius*.

Wiglaf was deposed by Ecgberht in 829 and restored by him to the Mercian throne a year later. His coins are of two types; the earlier (Pl VII, 14, 15), similar to that of his predecessor Ludican, was probably struck at Canterbury, but the later (Pl VII, 16), by the moneyer Redmudh, is of a different style closely resembling the London coinage of Ecgberht, who employed the same moneyer. The use of the London mint was therefore probably granted to him by Ecgberht on his restoration.

Berhtwulf's death is placed in 852 by the evidence of

charters, and therefore, if Florence of Worcester is correct, his reign of thirteen years began in 839. Many of his coins seem to be of poor silver and their weight is usually as low as 17 to 19[^] grains. Their portraiture and lettering connect them with coins of Aethelwulf and the Canterbury mint, but a coin by the moneyer Tatel, which alone has no portrait, is of peculiar style and may be the work of a London craftsman (PL VIII, 3).

Burgred's coins, which have survived in large numbers in hoards, are all of the lunettes type (PL VIII, 4) which was introduced by Aethelberht. There is no coinage by Burgred prior to the year 866 ; he did not participate in the large issue with the moneyer's name on and between the limbs of a cross, which was struck by Aethelwulf and Aethelberht and Archbishop Ceolnoth. This gap in the Mercian coinage may perhaps be due to the poor economic condition of the kingdom, which caused a very base alloy to be used when Burgred resuscitated the coinage ; there is no corresponding debasement in the coins of Wessex or of the archbishops of Canterbury. Or it may be that the gap is due more directly to the invasions of the Danes and of the North Welsh ; possibly the peace he made with the Danes in 868 enabled him to resume coinage.

It is impossible, with so vague a knowledge of the history as the chroniclers have left us, to estimate the effect of the political conditions upon the coinage of this period. From the chronicler's account of the raid of 851, if we overlook that of 842 (A.S.C. 839) as a swift dash for booty, we should conclude that the removal of the mint from Canterbury was inevitable ; yet any effect upon the mint was too short to leave a trace in the coinage. Aethelwulf's coins which bear the signature of the Canterbury mint are probably of the early part of his reign ; but throughout his reign and in the reign of Aethelberht there is the same close intimacy as before between the coins of Wessex and those of the archbishops of Canterbury and, more important still, a similar identity in the personnel of the moneyers, which is hardly consistent with any serious break in the work at Canterbury on coinage for the kings and archbishops.

On the deposition of Burgred, Mercia became a Danish dependency. Ceolwulf II, contemptuously called in the Chronicle " an unwise king's thane/" was placed on the Mercian

throne by the Danish army in 874, with pledges to surrender his kingdom on demand and to give military aid when required. In 877 he was made to redeem his pledge of surrender, and part of his kingdom was put under Guthrum, the commander of the Southern Army. The part that remained to Ceolwulf was probably ceded on the division of the country between Alfred and Guthrum after the peace of Wedmore. His coins are of two types, both borrowed from the coinage of Alfred. That with a long cross containing a small cross in its central panel (Pl. VIII, 6) is an early type of Alfred and the second of Ceolwulf. The other (Pl. VIII, 5) is the interesting type which is directly imitated from the Roman gold coins bearing on the reverse the seated figures of two emperors with a Victory above them. It is used not only by Alfred and Ceolwulf, who have portrait obverses, but also by Halfdene the Dane, in conjunction with the London monogram. Halfdene's coin is therefore dated by his occupation of London in 872 which may possibly have lasted to 875. Ceolwulf's coin cannot be before 874. The date of Alfred's coin is uncertain (see below, p. 44). It is possible that the type was used by the three kings with definite reference to some pact or settlement of the country, but this is doubtful; it may be only a fanciful use by Alfred of a Roman type copied about the same time by the other two kings; the question is discussed below under the coinage of Alfred. The three moneyers of Ceolwulf II (Cuthulf, Ealdulf, Liofwald) are all moneyers of Alfred's coins of the Canterbury mint; the tradition of Canterbury to provide the coinage of the Mercian kings as well as the Wessex coinage still remained.

Offa (757-796). No coinage before 774. The title is usually OFFA REX, also OFFA REX MERCIORVM or OF R M.

*Gold Dinar**

Copy of dinar of Caliph Al-Mansur, dated 157 A.H. (A.D. 774) with OFFA REX inserted between the lines of the Arabic inscription on the reverse (upside down). (Pl. V, I.)

Silver Pennies. Portrait Group.

Portrait with features always in profile to r.; the body in profile, three-quarter, or facing. Note the treatment of the hair (Pl. V, 6), and the rendering of the bust, sometimes nude and heart-shaped, occasionally with pendant jewel (see Pl. V, 2-6, and (obv. only) 7-11). The reverse designs are (a) varieties of cross, Celtic, floriate, or crosslet, with open

panel in centre containing small cross (PL V, 2, 5, 6). Occasionally the king's and moneyer's names are transposed (PL V, 2, 7, 8). Sometimes the central panel is omitted and the lobe-shaped limbs of the cross form a quatrefoil, or the cross-ends are omitted leaving the panel only; (&) a small cross or eight-foil is within an inner circle, and four foliate or plain bosses divide the legend; the bosses are sometimes omitted; (c) an interlaced snake pattern (PL V, 3); (d) a snake-headed torque enclosing the moneyer's name. (PL V, 4.)

Moneyers:—Aired, Ciolhard, Dud, Eadhun, Ealhmund or Alhmund, Eoba, Ethilvald, Ibba, Lulla, Oethelred, Pehtvald, Rendied, Wmoth. Wt. usually between 16 and 20 grs.

Early group without portrait. Small flans, wt. 17 to 20 grs.

A large variety of designs is used on either side of the coin: (a) forms of crosses, some with central panel, as in portrait group; (b) small design in inner circle with or without bosses in legend; (c) king's or moneyer's name in two lines divided by ornamental bar or in lunettes, the type usual on Jaenberht's coins; (d) square panel containing king's or moneyer's name, usually set over a long cross; (e) triangle or hectagram patterns. (PL V, 12-16.)

Moneyers:—Alhmund, Babba, Bahhard (cf. Beagheard), Botred (runic), Dud, Ealred, Eoba, Ethelnoth, Ethelwald, Osmod, Pehtwald, Tirwald, Wihtred, Wmoth.

Late group without portrait. Large flans, wt. usually 19 to 22 grs.

Obverse type always, with one exception (rosette in inner circle PL V, 17), a three-line inscription (PL V, 18-20); the reverse designs are: (a) small design (rosette, cross, etc.) in inner circle; (d) large cross, Celtic or crosslet (PL V, 18); (c) moneyer's name in two lunettes; (d) two-line inscription divided by dumb-bell ornament (PL V, 19); (e) quatrefoil bearing moneyer's name (PL V, 20); (f) three-line inscription (PL V, 17). For the last two types compare coins of Eadberht Praen, Eadwald, and Abp. Aethelheard.

Moneyers:—Babba, Beagheard, Ealhmund, Eoba, Ethelmod, Ethelnoth, Ibba, Lul, Wihtred, Wilhun, Winoth.

Cynethrith, wife of Offa. Coins struck probably during the early period of Offa's coinage.

0. Bust to r. with or without cross behind. EOBA. R. CYNETHRITH REGINA M in inner circle. (PL V, 21.)

0. as reverse of preceding. R. EOBA on leaves of a quatrefoil. (PL V, 22.)

Wt. 16 to 20 grs. A few portrait coins of Offa similarly bear the name of the moneyer Eoba on the obverse, or portrait side.

Eadberht, Bishop of London (died 787/9).

0. EADBERHT EP in three lines. R. O F R M in the angles of a cross. (PL V, 23.)

0. as preceding. R. OFFA REX. Lozenge enclosing small cross within circle.

Coenwulf (796-822). Title usually COENVVLF REX M. Wt. usually 20 to 22 grs.

A. *Coins of the Canterbury Mint.*

Group I, reproducing types of Offa.

0. Three-line inscription. R. Moneyer's name in two lunettes. (PL VI, i.)

0. M in inner circle. R. Voided tribrach; cf. Cuthred, no. I. (PL VI, 2.) This reverse also occurs with the preceding obverse.

O. Bust to r. R. Moneyer's name on leaves of a quatrefoil; (PL VI, 3), cf. Eadwald, p. 16.

Moneyers :—Babba, Ciolheard, Duda, Eanmund, Eoba or Oba, Ethelmod, Ludoman, Lul, Sigeberht, Wilhun.

Group II, allied to coins of Cuthred of Kent.

Obverses have a profile bust to r., rarely to L; reverse types are cross and wedges, cross crosslet, sexfoil, and a curious form of cross like a "noughts and crosses" board. The moneyers Dealla and Oba divide the reverse legend by three limbs springing from the inner circle. (PL VI, 4-6.)

Moneyers :—Beornfrith, Ciolhard, Dealla, Diormod, Dun, Eaba, Ealhstan, Elhun, Ethelmod, Hereberht, Oba, Sigeberht or Seberht, Tidbearht, Werheard.

Group III, allied to coins of Baldred of Kent.

The portrait is more clumsily drawn, usually with large features.

Reverse types are : cross moline; cross fourchee ; cross with crescents turned inwards in each angle. (PL VI, 7.)

Moneyers :—Ciolheard, Diormod, Duda, Ealhstan, Oba (with 3 limbs springing from inner circle), Swefherd, Tidbearht, Werheard.

Group IV, allied to coins of Ceolwulf.

Portraits similar to those of Group III. Reverses : cross with crescent turned outwards in each angle, four crescents without cross, cross patte'e and pellets (on one the cross has diamond panel in centre), the letter A. (PL VI, 8.)

Moneyers :—Ceolbald, Dealla, Diormod, Dunn, Ealhstan, Sigestef, Tidbearht, Werheard.

B. *Coins probably struck at a mint in East Anglia (Thetford ?).*

The obverse has a portrait of crude, almost barbarous workmanship, the lettering is thin and poor. The reverse types are: small crosses, crosslet, moline, etc.; a small tribrach with wedges ; long crosses, moline, crosslet, etc., with central voiding enclosing cross, pellet, etc.; diamond containing cross ; rosette of pellets ; the letter A. (PL VI, 9-12.)

Moneyers :—Botred or Fotred, Hereberht, Wihfred, Wodel.

Ceolwulf I (822-823/4). The title is CEOLVVLF, or CIOLVVLF, REX M, occasionally MERCIORVM. Wt. usually between 20 and 22 grs.

A. *Coins of the Canterbury Mint.*

Group I, allied to coins of Coenwulf.

The portrait is similar to that on the latest coins of Coenwulf. The reverse designs are : the letter A (continuing the word *Monet-a[rtus]*);

cross and crescents ; cross crosslet. The last reverse also occurs with obverses having a cross crosslet or the letters ORV (of *Merciorum*) beside a cross. (PI. VI, 13-16.)

Moneys :—Aelhun, Ceolhard, Ciolbald, Ealhstan, Sigestef.

Group II, allied to the coins of Ecgberht of Wessex.

The portrait is, except on one type, the head without bust which is found on coins of Wiglaf and of Ecgberht.

The reverse types are : the letter A of *Monet-alrius*!; cross crosslet; 4 crescents back to back; TAS completing legend *Dorobrebia Cibi-tas* with cross ; an unusual form of A (possibly for a monogram of *tas*, but the legend is *Dorobrebia* without *Cibi*)—the last two types have no moneyer's name—Alpha-Omega monogram as on coins of Ecgberht and Aethelwulf (the obverse has a portrait with bust). (PI. VII, 1-3.)

Moneys :—Dunn, Ealhstan, Eanwulf, Ethelmod.

Group III, allied to coins of Beornwulf.

0. Bust to r. R. Moneyer's name in three lines with or without bails between. (PI. VII, 4, 5.) Eanwulf, Oba, Werbald.

B. *Coins probably struck at a mint in East Anglia (Thetford?).*

Coins of crude style and lettering with barbarous portraits ; the reverses have : cross with annulet terminals ; cross crosslet ; moneyer's name in three lines. (PL VII, 6-8.)

Moneys :—Botred or Fotred, Hereberht, Eacga (Eadgar ?), Eadgar, Wihtred, Wodel.

Beornwulf (823/4-826). Title BEORNWULF REX (the letter *wen* appears for the first time in the -wulf termination). Wt. 19 to 22 grs.

A. *Coins of the Canterbury Mint.*

0. Head to r., two crescents form the bust. R. Moneyer's name in three lines. Werbald. (PI. VII, 9.)

O. as preceding. R. Cross crosslet. Eadnoth. (PI. VII, 10.)

B. *Coins probably struck at a mint in East Anglia (77iefford?).*

Similar in type but of coarse work, with different style of portrait.

O. Bust to r. R. Moneyer's name in two lines with crosses between.

Moneyer :—Eadgar. (PI. VII, xx.)

O. Bust to r. R. Cross crosslet. (PL VII, 12.)

Moneys :—Eacga (Eadgar?), Eadnoth, Monna.

Ludican (826-828). Title LVDICA RX ME.

The coins are similar in style to the coins of Beornwulf above attributed to Canterbury.

0. Bust to r. R. Moneyer's name in three lines. Werbald. 21J grs.

O. Bust to r. R. Cross crosslet. Eadnoth. 22¼ grs. (PL VII, 13.)

Wiglaf (828-829, deposed ; restored 830/1-839).

Coinage of first reign. *Canterbury Mint.*

0. Head to r. R. Cross crosslet, no inner circle. (PL VII, 14, 15.)

Moneys :—Burgherd, Oellhun. Wt. 21½ to 22¼ grs.

Coinage of second reign. *London Mint.*

0. Cross and pellets. R. Moneyer's name in and between two-lunettes. Redmudh. Wt. 21½, 22¼ grs. (PL VII, 16.) Cf. Ecgberht of Wessex, no. 16.

Bcrltwulf (839-852). Title BERHTVVLF REX, rarely with M added. Wt. usually 17 to 20 grs. One weighs 23[^] grs. Metal often base.

The obverse, except on one coin below, has a square-shouldered bust of Aethelwulf style; the reverse designs—crosses of various forms; the letter A, or Alpha-Omega monogram; TA (of *Mone-tar*tus§ beside a cross—also resemble types of Aethelwulf. (Pl. VIII, i, 2.)

Moneys :—Brid, Burnwald, Deneheah, Eanbald, Eanna, Liaba, Oswulf, Sigeheah, Wine.

A coin without portrait, of peculiar style, possibly of London, has on obverse a cross potent over small saltire, on reverse a cross potent. It weighs 22¹/₄grs.

Moneyet :—Tatel. (Pl. VIII, 3.)

Burged (852-874). No coinage before 866. Title BVRGRED RE, or REX, sometimes with M. Most coins are of base metal. Wt. varies widely, but the large majority weigh between 19 and 22 grs.

The obverse always has a bust to r.; the reverse has the moneyer's name in three lines, usually in and between two lunettes; sometimes the lunettes are broken in the centre of their curve, or are replaced by two hooked lines. (Pl. VIII, 4.)

Moneys :—Adhelm, Beagstan, Berheah, Berhtelm, Biornoth, Burghelm, Cenred, Cethelwulf, Cethhaf, Ciallaf, Cunehelm, Cuthberht, Dealge, Dealinc, Dela, Denewald, Diarwulf, Diga, Dudda, Dudecil, Dudeman, Dudwine, Eadnoth, Eadwulf, Ealdwulf, Eanred, Ecgulf, Ethelheah, Ethelstan, Ethelwulf, Framric, Guthere, Guthmund, Heawulf, Hereferth, Hugerod, Hussa, Huthere (Guthere?), Idiga, Lefle, Liafman, Liafwald, Luda, Ludiga, Lulla, Osmund, Tata, Tatel, Tidhelm, Wine, Wulfear.

Ceolwulf II (874-877 ?) Title CEOLVVLF REX M or CIOLVVLF REX.

O. Bust to r. R. Two emperors seated, Victory above. (Pl. VIII, 5.)

Ealdwulf. Cf. Alfred, no. 2, and Halfdene penny.

O. Bust to r. R. Long cross with small cross in central panel. (Pl. VIII, 6.)

Cuthulf, Liolfvald. 19 to 21 grs. Cf. Alfred, no. 5.

Kings of East Anglia—None of the kings of East Anglia are known to history from the time of Aethelberht, who died at the hands of Offa in 793/4, to the king-saint Edmund, who was murdered by the Danes in 870. For this reason there has been a tendency to assign uncertain coins to this kingdom. A coin of Aethelberht (p. 15 above) is better associated with the Kentish than with the East Anglian king. *Beonna Rex* appears on a sceat (p. n) which should probably have a place in the Northumbrian coinage. Eadwald, another king unknown to history, has a coinage so closely connected with coins of Offa and Coenwulf that it can hardly have been struck elsewhere than at Canterbury (see above, p. 15), Beorhtric's coins cannot

be so late as 840-845, the date of charters signed by a "son of a Mercian king," and are more appropriately attributed to Beorhtric of Wessex, who married Offa's daughter (p. 41 below). These coins have all been attributed to East Anglian kings on conjectural grounds, but apart from them there is no trace of a mint in East Anglia until near the close of Coenwulf's reign.

We have already seen that certain coins of Coenwulf have a connecting link, through the coinages of later Mercian kings, with coins of peculiar fabric and style bearing the name of Aethelstan, who on some coins signs himself *Rex Ang.* The style, and particularly the lettering, of the coins, and the moneyers' names which they bear are conclusive evidence that this Aethelstan was succeeded on the throne of East Anglia by a king named Aethelweard, who in turn was succeeded by Edmund, the martyr of 870. Hoards of coins confirm this arrangement. The London find of 1893, which closed with a few coins of Aethelwulf and was therefore buried c. 838-840, had 39 coins of Aethelstan and no other East Anglian coins; the Dorking (1817) hoard, which had coins of Aethelwulf and Aethelberht (861-866) in almost equal numbers, contained 3 of Aethelstan, 16 of Aethelweard, and 3 of Edmund; the Gravesend (1838) hoard, buried c. 871 (it contained one coin of Alfred), had 2 of Aethelstan, 5 of Aethelweard, and 50 of Edmund. From these figures we may conclude that Edmund began his reign^x at some time in the reign of Aethelberht, and that Aethelstan continued till after the accession of Aethelwulf, having presumably acquired the East Anglian kingdom at the time of the rising against the Mercians which ended in the death of Beornwulf in 825/6.

The frequent use of the letter A as the obverse type may at first have denoted the Alpha in conjunction with Omega, which is sometimes used as reverse type to it; but before long its significance was the initial of *Anglorum*, for it is always used on the memorial coins of St. Edmund where the Omega is never used.

After the death of Edmund a large coinage was issued bearing the name of the saint, by moneyers whose names are mostly Frankish. This coinage was probably struck by the Danish settlers in East Anglia between 870 and 878, when Guthorm-

¹Fl. Wore, records it at the end of the period 855-859.

Aethelstan received his kingdom by the pact with Alfred, but it may have continued to 905. Such memorial coinages of saints seem to have been popular with the Danish settlers; that of St. Edmund is the earliest, but in the tenth century similar issues were struck in the names of St. Martin of Lincoln and St. Peter of York.

There are also a few uncertain coins, bearing names of kings Oswald and Ethelred, which bear some resemblance to the East Anglian coinage and may have been struck in East Anglia after the death of Edmund. The use of the Frankish type of the temple facade (*Christiana Religio* type) limits them to a date not much later than 877. One such coin with the name of Aethelred was found at Lindisfarne, which may indicate a more northerly mint; the others are from the Cuerdale hoard.

Guthrum, under his baptismal name Aethelstan, issued a coinage of close resemblance to the common coins of Alfred, on which the letters of the obverse legend are divided into four groups crosswise; the names of the moneyers are mostly Frankish. The coins were probably struck after the peace of Wedmore (878). Guthrum died in 890/1.

Aethelstan I (c. 825-840?). Title EDELSTAN REX, EDELSTANI, etc.

The weight of the coins is usually 19 to 22 grs.

O. Bust to r. or l. R. Cross crosslet. (Pl. VIII, 7.)

O. Bust to r. R. Moneyer's name in three or four lines. (Pl. VIII, 8.)

O, Alpha or A. R. Omega. REX ANG in place of moneyer's name. (Pl. VIII, 9.)

O. Alpha or A. R. Cross (various forms). (Pl. VIII, 10.)

O. Alpha or A. R. Moneyer's name in three lines. (Pl. VIII, II.)

O. Alpha or A. R. Pellet in inner circle.

O. and R. Cross with or without wedges or pellets in angles.

Moneyers :—Aethelhelm, Eadgar, Eadnoth, Mon, Reghelm, Rernher (Raegenhere ?), Torthelm, Tuduwine.

Aethelweard (c. 840-865?). Title ETHELWEARD REX. Wt. usually 20 to 22 grs. The reverse type is always a cross with pellets or wedges; the obverse types are : Alpha or A; Omega; Cross and crescents. (Pl. VIII, 12, 13.)

Moneyers :—Aethelhelm, Dudda, Eadmund, Raegenhere, Tuduwine, Twicga.

Edmund (c. 865 ?-870). Title EDMVND REX, sometimes with AN. Wt. 19 to 22, some over 23 grs. The reverse type is always a cross with wedges or pellets; the obverses are : Alpha or A; Omega; Cross and crescents; Cruciform figures; Cross with pellets. (Pl. VIII, 14, 15.)

Moneyers :—Aethelhelm, Baeghelm, Beornferth, Beornheah, Dudda, Eadberht, Eadmund, Eadwald, Ethelwulf, Sigereth, Twicga.

St Edmund. Memorial coinage by Danish settlers (c. 870-905).

O. SC EADMVND REX (often blundered). A in inner circle.

R. Cross pattde. Moneyer's name round. (PL VIII, i<5.)

Moneyers (many blundered names appear; one coin has AELFRED REX on rev.) :—Abbonel, Adalbert, Adradus, Aedinwine, Ainmer, Albert, Alus, Ansfred, Ansiger, Arus, Asten, Bado, Basic, Beringar, Berner, Beslin, Bomecin, Chenapa, Daegmund, Deinolt, Denutae, Eadred, Eadwine, Eadwulf, Eldecar, Elismus, Ergemond, Erlefred, Ersalt, Eura, Fredemund, Gislefred, Grim, Gundbert, Haiebert, Hamin, Hlodovicus, Huscam, laocd, Johannes, Martin, Meuther, Odo, Odomer, Odulbert, Odulf, Onnonea, Oswulf, Otbert, Otibuinio, Quaran, Rather, Reart, Remigius, Risleca, Robert, Sigemund, Snefnen, Stein, Stephan, Tedwine, Usca, Walter, Wandefred, Widbold, Winedulf, Wineger, Wulfold.

Sometimes the words ME FEC[IT] follow the moneyer's name. There are also halfpennies of the same issue, weighing 8 to 9½ grs., with names of moneyers Gilehart, Odulf, Wineger.

Aethelstan II, Guthrum (878-890/1). Title EDELTA (EDELIA, etc.) RE. Wt. 19 to 22 grs.

O. Cross patte*e. Letters of king's name in four groups ciosswise.

R. Moneyer's name in two lines. (PL VIII, 17.)

Moneyers :—Abenel, Aelven, Bericbe, Berter, Ciolwulf, Ecg\\ulf, Edelgar, Elda, Enodas, Guntere, ludelberd, ludoel.

The moneyer's name is alone or is followed by ME FEC[IT].

Other Danish issues in East Anglia of 870-878?

Oswald (unknown). Title OSWALD RE. Wt. 22½ grs.

O. Alpha or A. R. Cross pattde. Moneyer uncertain (Eanwald?).

Aethelred (copying name of Aethelred I?). Title ETHELRED RE (or blundered). Wt. 19 to 21½ grs.

O. Temple facade. A'. Cross crosslet. Heahmod.

O. Temple fagade. R. Cross and pellets. Beornhae, Wulfheere. (Pl. X, 13.)

In the name of Alfred. Coins bearing the name or monogram of Lincoln.

O. Cross pattee. ELFRED RE. R. LINCOLLA in two lines, moneyer's name *Heribert*[^] monogrammatically, between. 18½ grs.

O. Bust r., with moneyer's name HERIBERT, or blundered legend.

R. LINCOLLA in monogram, 20 to 21 grs. (PL X, 14.)

These coins, in spite of the use of Alfred's name, must have been struck by Danes in East Anglia.

CHAPTER III
THE VIKING INVADERS

c. 870-950

THE Viking settlers in England have left a coinage which has a peculiar interest both for the historian and for the student of coins. The interpretation of their coins is often doubtful, but there are always points of contact with coins of more certain attribution by which approximate positions and dates can be ascertained. Pieces of less doubtful interpretation illustrate the activities of earls and kings of whom history speaks with hesitating voice. The coins described in this chapter must not be regarded as a single or continuous series ; we are concerned largely, but not entirely, with settlers in Northumbria.

A part of the Viking coinage has already been seen in the issues of Guthrum-Aethelstan in East Anglia, and of Ceolwulf II, the Mercian puppet-king set up by the Army on their deposition of Burgred. Halfdene, their contemporary, who occupied London in 872, went North with the Army in 875 and ruled, with York as his capital, until, after a reign famous for its cruelty, he was deposed by the Army in 877. To him may be ascribed the introduction of two features which now appear in the English coinage, the halfpenny denomination and the design of the London monogram, both of them probably suggested by Frankish models. The London monogram on Halfdene's penny connects the coin with his occupation of London in 872 ; the obverse type, the two emperors seated with a Victory above them, is equally interesting (PI. IX, i). We have already met this type on a penny of Ceolwulf II, and it occurs again in the coinage of Alfred ; by which of the three kings the type was originated and whether any political significance can be attached to its use are questions which will

be considered later (p. 45 below). The halfpennies of Halfdene (Pl. IX, 2) are closely allied in style to the pennies of Guthrum-Aethelstan and Alfred; on one of them is the name of the moneyer Tilwine who struck pennies for Alfred with the London monogram. The whole of Halfdene's coinage may therefore be ascribed to the London mint and was issued within the years 872-875; his halfpennies are the earliest in the coinage of England, and his use of the London monogram precedes its use on coins bearing the name of Alfred.

From the history of Symeon of Durham we learn that after, perhaps immediately after, the expulsion of Halfdene the Northern kingdom was held by Guthred, whose chief interest to the chronicler lay in his provision of a resting-place for the relics of St. Cuthbert at Chester-le-street. Guthred was succeeded in 894 by Siegfred, who may perhaps be identified with the Siegfred who took part in Hasting's naval raid in the mouth of the Thames two years previously.

It is to the large hoard of coins found at Cuerdale in 1840 that we owe our knowledge of the Viking coinage of the late ninth century. The hoard contained no coins that need be dated later than a few years after the end of the century; about fifty of Edward the Elder, in a total of about 7000 coins, are the latest that can be dated with any certainty. The main bulk of the find consisted of coins of Alfred (about 900 in number), memorial pennies of St. Edmund (about 1800), and more than 3000 pennies bearing the names of Cnut and Siegfred. The coins of these two kings are very closely associated (Pl. IX, 3-11); their types are the same; both kings use as reverse legends the phrases from the Liturgy *Mirabilia fecit* and *Dominus Deus Rex*, and the mint signature *Ebraice Civitas*, though Cnut alone has coins with the *Quentovic* signature and with the uncertain name *Cunnetti*. Muled coins, struck with obverse dies of the two kings, Cnut on one side and Siegfred on the other, emphasise the close relationship. But no king is known of this period who had the name of Cnut. On the other hand there were in the find no coins bearing the name of Guthred, whose coinage, if he had any, could not fail to be represented. It has been conjectured that Cnut was a baptismal name assumed by Guthred, as Aethelstan was by Guthrum, and general opinion has accepted the large coinage

bearing the name of Cnut as the coinage of Guthred, who reigned at York between the reigns of Halfdene and Siegfred.

The signature *Ebraice* on the Cnut-Siegfred coinage, as it occurs also on some of the memorial coins of St. Peter, must be that of York, not Evreux as has been suggested. But Cnut and Siegfred had some of their coinage struck in France. Quentovic leaves no doubt of this, and the uncertain *Cunnetti* may possibly be Conde, though Chester-le-Street, the Cuneca-ceastre of Symeon, is, as the place of St. Cuthbert's shrine, a more attractive, but not more probable, interpretation.

Earl Sihtric, of whom the Cuerdale hoard contained two coins (PI. IX, 12), cannot be identified. The coins, which are alike, were struck at *Sceldfor*, presumably the Shelford in Nottinghamshire, by a moneyer named Gundibert, and their resemblance to the Oxford pennies of Alfred gives them an approximate date. Another uncertain coin from Cuerdale has the name of a king Alwald (PL IX, 13); a second specimen of his coin has since been found in a hoard of Northumbrian sceatta at York. The *Dominus Deus Rex* legend, which occupies the reverse, suggests a connexion with the Cnut-Siegfred series, though the style of the coin is that of the Alfred and Guthrum-Aethelstan group. The coin will therefore fit the conjectural identification of Alwald with Aethelwald, the cousin of Edward the Elder, who claimed the throne on Alfred's death and was accepted as king by the Northumbrian Danes in 901 and later, in 904/5, by the Danes of East Anglia.

Of the remaining group the pivotal coinage is that of Anlaf, who on his earlier coins used the style *Anlaf Cununc*¹ and later *Anlaf Rex To[tius] B[ritanniae]* and *Onlaf Rex* (Pis. IX, 16, 17 ; X, 1-4). Associated with his earlier issues by a common type, the Danish Shield and Standard, are coins of kings who take the titles *Regnald Cununc* and *Sitric Cununc* (PI. IX, 14, 15). For his later coins Anlaf employed moneyers who worked for Edmund and also for Eric, who is styled *Rex Efor[wic]*, and through Eric's coinage a link is established with the coinage of St. Peter of York and with a Regnald (on the coins *Raienalt* without title) whose coins bear the signature of the York mint. This association of names suggests that the earlier group is the

¹ Followed by S, I, O, or an uncertain letter F ? (for *EfytmQ* ? kut not M, as in **B.M.** Catalogue).

coinage of the Regnald who took York in 919, and Sihtric, the successor of Regnald in 921 (or 924 ?), who married Aethelstan's daughter in 926 and died in the following year, and of Anlaf Sihtricsson who is said to have crossed from Dublin on his father's death.¹

The history of Anlaf is somewhat obscure, but he is believed to have been expelled from Northumbria in 927 and then to have gone to Scotland where he married the daughter of Constantine III. Ten years later, 937, he came down with Constantine to avenge, it is said, Aethelstan's raid in Scotland three years previously. He seized York, but in the same year, 937, came the defeat at Brunanburgh, and Anlaf fled to Ireland. In 941² he was back at York, and his return seems to have caused a rising in the Danelaw which was followed by the reduction of Mercia by Edmund in 942. In 943 he invaded Mercia again and seized Tamworth ; a peace arranged by the archbishops made Watling Street the boundary of the two kingdoms. In the following year he was again expelled. Having been received back at York on Eric's expulsion in 948, he was finally expelled in 952. He is said to have been at the battle of Tara in 980 and to have died as a monk at Iona in 981.

Between the earlier and later groups of Anlaf's coins there is a distinct difference in style ; the earlier coins, nos. i to 5 below, are of the fine style which is commonly found on the coins of both Aethelstan and Edmund, and his later coins, nos. 6 and 7, on which his name appears as *Anlaf Rex*, are of a coarse style which is the same as that of Eric's coins. The later coins may perhaps be assigned to the reign of Anlaf Quaran after Eric's first expulsion, 948-952, and the Regnald who appears as Raienalt on the coins would be the younger Regnald who was accepted by Edmund in 942 and expelled with Anlaf in 944. The closer dating of Anlaf's earlier group is not possible with the history of the period so confused. The close connexion of Anlaf's coins with coins of the earlier Regnald and Sihtric may imply some truth in the very doubtful statement that he got to York on Sihtric's death in 926, and, if so,

¹ The only evidence is William of Malmesbury's statement that he was expelled with his brother Guthfrith from Northumbria in 926/7.

* I am following Plummet's chronology (*Two A.S. Chronicles*, Vol. II). See also *B.M. Cat. A.S. Coins*, Vol. I, pp. Ixx, Ixxi, on the two Anlafs.

his coins nos. i to 3 would fit the short period before his expulsion in 927 ; else they must be put to his brief reign in 937. Nos. 4 and 5, although so near in style to the earlier coins, are for historical reasons more suitably placed in the years 941-944, when Anlaf raised the Danelaw against Edmund and afterwards invaded the Mercian kingdom so successfully that Edmund had to leave him for a year in possession of the country as far south as Watling Street. One of these two coins (PI. X, 2), by the moneyer Sigar, has the letter M (Merciorum ?) in the field of the obverse and is in this and other respects very similar to a coin struck by the same moneyer for Aethelstan at Derby ; this coin of Anlaf must have been struck at Derby, which, unless the chronicles have omitted to mention important movements in the intervening years, was in the hands of the kings of Wessex from the time of its capture by Ethelfleda in 917 until Anlaf invaded Mercia in 941 or 943. The other coin (PI. X, 3) has on the reverse a flower design in the exact style of a similar coin by Edmund or of one by Edward the Elder, whose coin of this type cannot be distinguished in style from Edmund's; it bears the title *Rex Totius Britanniae*. This may possibly be merely a meaningless imitation of a coin of Aethelstan, but it seems more likely that both the obverse legend and the reverse type were adopted by Anlaf as a swaggering gesture on such an occasion as his victorious invasion of 941/3.

The memorial coinage of St. Peter (PL X, 10, n) is linked with the coinages of the later Regnald and Eric, by the hammer and the Karolus monogram with Regnald (PI. X, 5-7), by the sword with Eric (PI. X, 8). It probably began about the middle of the tenth century ; perhaps we may conclude from their loss of weight that the issue of these pennies continued for a long period.

The rare memorial coins of St. Martin at Lincoln (PI. X, 12) are also connected, by their adoption of the sword type, with the period of Eric's coinage, the middle of the tenth century ; there is no trace of the issue having lasted for any length of time.

Halfdene {occupied London 872, went north 875, expelled to Ireland 877).
Penny of London.

O. ALFDENE RX. Seated emperors. R. London monogram. 2½J
 grs. (PI. IX, I.)

Halfpenny (also of London ? note the moneyer Tilwine).

0. ALFDENE RX, Cross patte'e. *ft.* Moneyer's name in two lines.
Rainoald, Tilwine. 9, 9\$ grs. (PL IX, 2.)

Cnut (Guthred ? died 894).

Pennies and Halfpennies of York.

0. CNVT REX at ends of long cross. R. EBRAICE CIVITAS (on half-pence CIV or CIT). Cross patte'e.

One penny has the Karolus monogram as reverse type. (PL IX, 3, 5.)

Pennies and Halfpennies of "Cunnetti" mint.

- As preceding but with reverse legend CVNNETTI. (PL IX, 6.)

A few have the Karolus monogram as reverse type. (PL IX, 4.)

Pennies and Halfpennies of Quentovic.

- As preceding but with reverse legend QVENTOVICI. Often blundered.

Pennies without name of mint.

- As preceding but with reverse legend MIRABILIA FECIT (FEC, etc.).

- As preceding but with reverse legend DNS DS REX. (PL IX, 7.)

The pennies usually weigh 20 to 22 grs., halfpennies 8 to 9 grs.

Cnut and Siefred. Pennies struck with two obverse dies.

0. CNVT REX at ends of long cross. R. SIEFREDVS. Cross pattee.
(PL IX, 8.)

Cnut or Siefred. Pennies struck with two reverse dies.

0. MIRABILIA FECIT. Cross patte'e. R. EBRAICE C. Cross patte'e.

0. MIRABILIA FECIT. Cross pattee. R. DNS DS REX in two lines.

A halfpenny is also known of this type.

0. DNS DS REX. Cross pattee. R. EBRAICE C. Cross pattee.

Siefred (894-898).

Pennies of York.

0. SIEFREDVS REX. Cross crosslet. R. EBRAICE CIVI. Cross patte'e. (PL IX, 9.)

0. C SIEFREDVS REX in two lines. R. EBRAICE CIVI. Cross patte'e.

There is a halfpenny of this type reading C SIEFRE.

0. SIEVERT RX in two lines. R. as preceding.

0. R SIEVERT between limbs of long cross crosslet. R. as piercing.

There is a halfpenny of this type.

Without name of mint.

0. SIEFREDVS. Cross patte'e. R. REX at ends of limbs of a long cross. (PL IX, 10.)

0. SIEUERT REX. Patriarchal cross. R. MIRABILIA FECIT.
Cross patte'e. (PL IX, n.)

There is a halfpenny of this type.

0. as preceding. R. DNS DS REX. Cross patte'e.

The pennies usually weigh 20 to 22 grs.

Earl Sihtric (unknown).

O. SITRIC COMES in two lines, crosses between.

R. GVNDIBERTVS SCELDFOR in three lines. 19[^] and 21 grs. (PI. IX, 12.)

Alwald (perhaps Aethelwald, claimant to throne on Alfred's death, received as king by the Danes 901-905).

O. ALVVALDV. Cross pattee. R. DNS DS REX in two lines. 18, 23i grs. (PI. IX, 13.)

Regnald (919-921 or 924).

O. REGNALD CVNVC. Cross moline. R. AVRAMONITRE. Cross pattee. 20J grs. (PI. IX, 14.)

A fragment reading REGN . . . has the type of Sihtric's coin below.

Sihtric (921 or 924-926/7).

O. SITRIC CUNVC A. Shield trefoil-shaped. R. ASCOLV MONET R A. Danish Standard. 16 grs. (PI. IX, 15.)

Anlaf Quaran, son of Sihtnc (in York, 926-927 ?, 937, 941-944, 948-952).

Pennies reading ANLAF CVNVNC, 926-927 or 937 (nos. 1-3) and 941-944 (nos. 4, 5).

1. Type as on preceding coin of Sihtnc. (PI. IX, 16.)

Moneyers : Ascolu, Famlan (Farman ?), Farman. 16 to 17½ grs.

2. O. Raven. A¹. Small cross. Athelferd. 18 to 20 grs. (PI. IX, 17.)

3. O. Cross moline. R. Small cross. Rathulf. 14 grs. (PI. X, i.)

4. O. Small cross. R. Small cross, M in field. Sigares. 23i grs. (PI. X, 2.)

5. O. ANLAF REX TO D (B?). Small cross. R. Flower above RADVLF. 20½ grs. (PI. X, 3.)

Pennies reading ONLAF, or ONLOF, REX. c, 948-952.

6. O. Small cross. R. Small cross. Farmon, Ingelgar. 20 to 22 grs.

7. O. Small cross. R. Name in two lines, crosses between. (PI. X, 4.) Baciager, Ingelgar. 21¾ to 23½ grs.

Regnald, son of Guthfrith ? (942-944 ?). Obv. legend RAIENALT (often blundered).

O. Head tor. or 1. R. EARICECT. Karolus monogram. 17¼, 18 grs. (PI. X, 5.)

O. Open Hand. R. as preceding. 15½, 17½, 25½ grs. (PI. X, 6.)

O. Hammer. R. Bow and Arrow. Legends much blundered. 19¼ grs. (PI. X, 7.)

Eric, son of Harold Blue-tooth ? (king of York, 948 ; expelled same year on invasion of Northumbria by Edred ; restored, 952-954). Title ERIC REX EFOR (AL, IO, etc.).

O. Small cross. R. Name in three lines.

Hunred, Ingelgar, Radulf. 20 to 23 grs. (one coin 16 grs.).

O. Two-line legend, Sword between. R. Small cross. (PI. X, 8.)

Aculf, Ingelgar. 19, 21 grs.

Uncertain (Sihtric ?); cf. coins of St. Peter of York below.

O. LVDO SITRC. Sword and Key (?). R. ERIC MOTI. Cross with crescents and pellets. (PI. X, 9.)

St Peter of York.

1. O. SCI PETRI MO in two lines, Sword and Key (?). R. EBORACEI.
Cross and pellets.
2. O. as preceding. A'. Key (?). (PL X, 10.)
3. O. as preceding. R. Hammer. (PL X, 11.)
4. O. Similar without sword. R. Karolus monogram or cross pattee*^e.

Weights indicate two series, the earlier averaging 18 to 23 grs. (one coin, 26 grs.), the later, of type 4 only, 9 to 15 grs. There are many varieties of legends; blundered coins are common. Halfpenny (R. Cross pattee) 44 grs.

St. Martin of Lincoln.

- O. SCI MARTI in two lines, Sword. R. LINCOIA CIVIT. Cross on voided cross. 17½ grs. (PL X, 12.)

CHAPTER IV

THE SUPREMACY OF WESSEX

BEORHTRIC TO EDWARD THE ELDER, 786-925

WE have seen that at the close of the ninth century, after the introduction of the new penny, Canterbury was the only mint south of the Humber; it supplied the coinage of the Mercian overlords as well as that of the archbishops and the kings of Kent. There is a solitary exception in a coinage bearing the name of a King Beorhtric, which, though its style is that of the coinage of Offa, shows some originality of design and was struck by moneyers who are not found elsewhere (Pl. XI, i, 2). This coinage is assigned with good reason to Beorhtric of Wessex, whose friendly relations with Mercia culminated in marriage with Offa's daughter. The style of the coins shows the source of their inspiration; their individuality of type and personnel indicates a separate mint, presumably at Winchester.

Beorhtric's successor, Ecgberht, did not continue this Winchester coinage; it probably had only a brief issue in Beorhtric's reign. The coinage of Ecgberht owes its origin, like that of Offa, to his conquest of Kent, which followed his defeat of the Mercians at Ellandun in 825. The anonymous issues which superseded the coinages of the kings of Kent and of the archbishops of Canterbury after the battle of Ellandun (see above, p. 17) were the initial step in the transfer of the mint to the new overlord,

Ecgberht's coinage does not leave its origin in doubt. His most prolific issue, and probably his earliest, bearing the Dornbernia monogram (Pl. XI, 3), was struck by moneyers who were previously in office at Canterbury. The gradual change from the Kentish to the Wessex form of the king's name (Ecgbearht to Ecgbearht) may be taken, like the similar change on the

coins of Archbishop Ceolnoth, as an indication of a tendency for Wessex men to supplant the Kentish holders of the higher offices in the mint; but the arrangement of the coins on this basis must not be regarded as strictly chronological. The rarer types, with crosses and similar figures, were varied by each moneyer, and were in all probability issued at the same time as the great monogram coinage, which employed both early and late moneyers.

St. Andrew of Rochester had during the previous half-century received considerable grants from the kings of Kent and Mercia. Ecgberht added the privilege of coinage, a grant not recorded in history but proved by the coins, which are known to us through a valuable hoard of pennies buried, in London it is believed, early in the reign of Aethelwulf and discovered in 1893. Those of which the attribution is beyond question bear the name of the Saint on the reverse (PI. XI, 11, 12), but there is also a coin by the moneyer Beagmund (PL XI, 10) of which the reverse type, a double-A monogram, may well indicate *Andreas Apostolus*; the type occurs only on this coin, and the style of this and of other coins struck by Beagmund in this reign and the next resembles closely that of the St. Andrew pennies. It is not necessary to assume that a mint was opened at Rochester; the coinage may have been struck at Canterbury.

London, originally East Saxon, had become a Mercian town when Offa's kingdom embraced the whole country between Humber and Thames except the kingdom of East Anglia. No mint had been in operation there since the seventh or early eighth century, when it issued sceatta of base silver bearing the *Lundonia* signature.¹ In 829 Ecgberht conquered Mercia and deposed its King Wiglaf, but in the following year restored him as a tributary king. He took this opportunity of establishing a mint at London and issued the fine coin, with *Lundonia Civit*² in three lines across the field of the reverse, on which he styled himself King of the Mercians (PL XI, 13). Another

¹ I think that the pennies bearing the name of Eadberht, Bishop of London, are likely to have been struck for the bishop with the rest of Offa's coinage at Canterbury.

² The first appearance of the *London Civitas* signature. It does not occur again until the end of the thirteenth century. It retains the form *London[ia] Civitas* on the groats of Edward I and on the early groats of Edward III; *Civitas London* seems to have come into vogue about 1355.

coin, on which he used the same title and obverse design, is also of the London mint (PI. XI, 14); it was probably struck during the reign of Wiglaf as his tributary king; the same moneyer, Redmudh, struck a similar coin bearing Wiglaf's name.

Ecgberht also issued a coinage of peculiar style (PI. XI, 15, 16), on which he is termed *Rex Saxomomm*; his successor, Aethelwulf, added the word *Occidentalium* to the title on his similar coins. Winchester is doubtless the mint of this West Saxon coinage; its earlier activity under Beorhtric was short-lived, its second period came to an end in the reign of Aethelwulf. Perhaps its exposure to Viking raids made its closure necessary, but the coins do not justify the obvious conjecture that it remained open till Winchester was captured in 860. Four out of five Winchester moneyers of Aethelwulf were transferred to Canterbury and worked there for both Aethelwulf and Aethelberht.

The coinage of Aethelwulf is preserved chiefly by the London (1893) and Dorking (1817) hoards; the former was buried early in his reign, the latter in the reign of Aethelberht. He had two mints only, Canterbury and Winchester. Some Canterbury pennies bear the *Dorob[ernia]* signature in the field, and monograms of *Can[tiae]* and *Can[tiae] M[oneta]* are also used. The numerous coins with miscellaneous figure types, crosses, etc., were struck by the same Canterbury moneyers. The Winchester coins are similar to those of Ecgberht, but on some the word *Occidentalium*, in place of a moneyer's name, completes the king's title (PI. XII, 12). The early closure of the mint of Winchester, indicated by the signature of Winchester moneyers on Canterbury coins of Aethelwulf's later types, is confirmed by the comparatively small number of Winchester coins in the Dorking hoard.

No coins can be attributed to Aethelstan, who received the kingdom of Kent on Aethelwulf's accession; the sub-king did not obtain the right of coinage.

Aethelbald, who headed the rebellion of 856 and was given the kingdom of Wessex while Aethelwulf retained the eastern portion, had no coinage; the mint at Winchester had closed earlier in Aethelwulf's reign. Pennies bearing his name have long been a subject of dispute, and they are now, I think rightly, regarded as forgeries.

Aethelberht, who used the mint of Canterbury only, struck the majority of his coins to the design introduced at the end of Aethelwulfs reign, but he also issued a few pennies of a new type (PI. XII, 13, 14). Aethelred introduced the type which is so common on coins of Burgred of Mercia and of Alfred (PI. XII, 15).

One of the mysteries of this period is a silver penny struck in the name of *Eanred Rex* (PI. III, 2) ; the moneyer, *Thes*, does not occur elsewhere ; the reverse type is a curious form of cross, two limbs moline and two crosslet, which is found on St. Andrew pennies of Ecgberht and on early pennies of Aethelwulf. It belongs to the period of the accession of Aethelwulf, which agrees with the only explanation that has been offered, that it represents an attempt by Eanred of Northumbria to introduce a silver coinage. This is by no means convincing. No other Northumbrian coin was found in the Trewhiddle hoard, which was the source of this penny. The style of the coin seems to me to prove it to be an issue of the Canterbury mint.

At the accession of Alfred, who in 871 was proclaimed as king of Wessex and of Kent, Canterbury was the only mint in operation. The opening of new mints at Gloucester, London, Oxford, Exeter, and Winchester reflects the spread of Alfred's kingdom in Mercia and the more peaceful organisation of his Wessex kingdom.

The unsettled condition of the country at the beginning of his reign has left us a wealth of hoards, found at Gravesend (1838), Croydon (1862), Beeston Tor (1924) and other places, which were probably buried within a few months of his accession. They contained a number of pennies, varying from one to twenty, of the type used by his predecessor, Aethelred, by Burgred of Mercia, and by Archbishop Ceolnoth. This is the first type of the reign, and probably of short duration. The frequent use on the early pennies of the form *Aelbred* for *Aelfred* recalls the legend *Dorobrebia Cibitas* on a coin of Ceolwulf I (PI. XIII, i).

Following the brief issue of the first type I should place, quite early in the reign, the unique coin in the British Museum which, in common with a penny of Half dene and one of Ceolwulf II, adopts as its reverse design the Roman type of two em-

perors seated with a Victory above (Pl. XIII, 2). The moneyer is Cenred, who struck coins for Aethelberht. The small, neat lettering, and particularly the form of the letter M with a crescent above the two verticals, is characteristic of the "Burgred" type, and so too is the careful workmanship of the design and of the portrait, which is unlike any other of Alfred. It is the only coin on which Alfred is styled *Rex Anglorum*. The Ceolwulf coin, while retaining very closely the style of the reverse design, differs from Alfred's coin in having the portrait of the later type which is common to him and Alfred. The style of Halfdene's coin is quite different.

Three explanations of this coinage are possible : (i) that it represents, in adopting the Roman type, treaties of peace between the two pairs of kings, Alfred and Halfdene, Halfdene and Ceolwulf, or a tripartite treaty;¹ (2) that Alfred copied the Roman type without any definite meaning ;² (3) that Alfred, early in his reign, inspired perhaps by the recent finds of coins, which also inspired the statement in the Chronicle that the Romans on their withdrawal collected hoards of coins and hid some in the earth (see above, p. 2), adopted this type with a rather vague understanding of its original meaning. The prominent feature is the enthronement of two figures and the blessing of them by a Victory or Angel, and it may have been applied by Alfred to his accession and coronation (the second figure being his queen), or, perhaps more suitably, to his accession to his brother's throne with special reference to the victories, Ashdown in particular, in which they had recently been associated. Ceolwulf's use of the type is, I think, to be traced to the old tradition, which still persisted, for the Mercian kings to have their share with the overlords of Wessex in the work of the Canterbury mint.³ On Ceolwulf's accession a Canterbury moneyer struck this type for him, just as moneyers had in earlier

¹ Sir C. Oman in *Num. Chron.*, 1929, pp. 169 ff. This theory implies in Alfred and the other two kings a quite modern understanding of Roman coin-types ; it also involves an agreement between the kings on the use of a coin-type as a political broadsheet, which is not compatible with ninth century mentality. There seems to be no ground for dating a definite peace treaty to 874.

² Keary, in *B.M.C.*, Vol. II, p. xxxviii, seems to hold this view. It is dull and unimaginative, which is perhaps in its favour.

³ All the three known moneyers of Ceolwulf II struck Canterbury pennies for Alfred.

days struck uniform types for the kings of Kent and of Mercia. Halfdene's coin bears the London monogram; his use of the type is the result of the new, or newly revived, mint of London taking as its model for a new coinage a coin of Alfred recently issued.

Whatever explanation be accepted, the one point of certainty is that Alfred was the originator of the type. No Viking would have adopted a classical model; and the style of the coins is ample proof that the Alfred and Ceolwulf coins are the work of original artists, i.e. the Canterbury die-sinkers; the Halfdene penny has all the marks of a copyist's work.

Two other rare types may be placed in the early period, c. 871-875. One is known from a fragment only, but it suffices to show that it is identical in reverse with the coin of Archbishop Aethred, no. I; the type is the same and the moneyer the same. The other, a Cuernedale coin, is similar in style but more ornate in design (no. 4 below, PL XIII, 3).

The next type, a long cross with a lozenge in the centre enclosing a small cross (PL XIII, 4), is shared by Alfred, Archbishop Aethred, and Ceolwulf II. It may therefore be dated to approximately 875-878. The title *Rex Saxonum* is usual on these coins but it does not imply Western mintage; the moneyers are the Canterbury moneyers.

A similarity of style links with this issue the rare Gloucester penny (PL XIII, 8). It has a long cross of three limbs, or Tau-cross, as its reverse design. We may conclude that Alfred struck a coinage at Gloucester after his occupation of South-West Mercia as the result of the so-called Treaty of Wedmore in 878.

The coinage of Guthrum-Aethelstan (878-890) gives a date for the very common type of the coinage of Alfred (PL XIII, 5). The type is copied from the Viking coinages, and from the same source the round halfpenny is now introduced. There are several varieties: the addition of *Doro[berniae]* to the king's title, the crosswise or continuous arrangement of the obverse legend, the use of pellets or crosses to divide the reverse legend. It was a large issue and probably ran for many years. It was freely borrowed and imitated in the Viking settlements, with the result that the pennies of Alfred and of East Anglia are much confused. Obverses of Alfred are muled with the St.

Edmund obverse, and with an obverse of Cnut (Guthred). Names of East Anglian moneyers, Abenel, Elda (with *Me Fecit* legend), ludelbard, and others, appear on coins with Alfred obverses. The Lincoln pennies, some of which have Alfred's name, others moneyers' names on the obverse, must also be a coinage of the Danelaw (see above, p. 32 and PL X, 14).

Finally, I am inclined with hesitation to assign to the Canterbury mint the penny with an uncertain monogram, no. 7 below (PL XIII, 6), which has been interpreted as either *Roisenges* (Castle Rising) or *Londoniensis*. Neither interpretation is satisfactory. Castle Rising was never in Alfred's power. The reading *Londoniensis* forces the monogram unreasonably. I think *Dorovernis* is possible; the moneyer Aethelwulf struck Canterbury coins of various types.

It is uncertain when the London pennies of Alfred (PL XIII, 9, 10) were struck. It is sounder on historical grounds, to place them after the rebuilding of London in 886. This leaves an awkward gap between Halfdene's coin which introduced the London monogram (872-875) and the use of the type by Alfred. It has been suggested that they were struck in Alfred's name by the Londoners after Halfdene had left for the North. The position of London at this time is doubtful. It is supposed to have fallen to Guthrum's kingdom under the treaty of 878, but this is a disputed point. There are halfpence with the London monogram, and also some halfpence bearing the name of the London moneyer Tilwine, which have on the reverse a figure which perhaps represents a monogram of Alpha and Omega; but it is possible that these, which were in the Stamford find, are Viking imitations.

Oxford pennies with the name *Ok[or h]snaforda*¹ had a large output, which we may assign to the last ten years of Alfred's reign (PL XIII, 11). The two fine pennies of the West Saxon mints, Exeter, and Winchester were probably struck near its close (PL XIII, 7, 12); the same type was used by Edward the Elder for a penny of Bath (PL XIV, i). A halfpenny of Alfred has been assigned to Bath owing to the

¹ I have little doubt that the second letter, which is usually read R, was intended for K.

misreading of a moneyer's name, which is scarcely legible, on a coin of the Alfred-Guthrum type (PL. XIII, 14).

A piedfort, which has been somewhat unreasonably called an "Offering Penny," has an obverse similar to that of the Winchester and Exeter pennies, and on the reverse the name of a moneyer, *Eli Mon[etarius]*, in two lines (PL. XIII, 13). It weighs 161½ grs. Its purpose is not known; perhaps it was a standard or model piece for use in the mint. A cut fragment of a similar piece does not seem to have been cut for use as a half value; the cutting of it was probably done for the purpose of its destruction.

The weight of the penny was raised to approximately 25 grs. The early pennies of Alfred, nos. i to 5 below, fall most frequently between 20 and 22 grs.; in the "Guthrum" type, no. 6, there is a wider range of frequency, showing the introduction of the heavier penny in this issue. A similar increase is seen in the weight of Archbishop Plegmund's coins. London and Oxford pennies of Alfred have the wide range of 20 to 25 grs.; the Gloucester penny is 24½ grs., and the Exeter and Winchester pennies, which are undoubtedly late, are also over 24 grs. The increase of weight, which goes even further in the next reign, was probably due to the influence of the Viking coinages, which approximated to the weight of the Frankish denier.

The highest level of artistic treatment and originality of design in the Anglo-Saxon coinage, after the great period of Offa, is reached in the reign of Edward the Elder. Portraiture on his coins, though often deficient in modelling, developed character and charm out of the elementary and somewhat clumsy realism of the London pennies of Alfred. His new designs show original inspiration and a delight in decorative forms. The flower types are beautiful compositions; the Hand of Providence as an outline drawing, if quaint, is graceful. But these fanciful designs were exceptional issues; their rarity is not due to the chance of survival, but to the small number that were struck; for in early and late hoards alike only an odd specimen or two is found. The common coins are those that bear the moneyer's name across the field of the reverse, and of these only a small proportion have portrait obverses. The fine execution of the commoner coins, which constituted

the chief output of the reign, is the truest illustration of the quality of Edward's coinage ; skilful decorative treatment of design and neatness of execution are its characteristics.

An attempt to form a chronological sequence of Edward's types is doomed to failure. The unique penny of Bath (Pl. XIV, i), identical in type and style with the Winchester and Exeter coins of Alfred, is undoubtedly a very early issue ; it was found in the Cuerdale hoard. Another type (no. 2 and Pl. XIV, 2) has its counterpart, with identical moneyer, in the coinage of Archbishop Plegmund, and was therefore struck not later than 914. Finds throw little light upon the order of the coins. Hoards that were buried during Edward's reign hardly differ in the proportion of Edward's types from hoards which include coins of his successors. In both groups of hoards there is usually a small, but only a very small, sprinkling of the rare types ; in both groups the bulk of Edward's coins have the reverse design with the moneyer's name across a field ornamented with crosses and pellets, and of them the portrait coins are few in proportion. It is not clear what relation the portrait coins bear to the others ; they may be earlier or later, or they may be, throughout the reign, a small part of the output of many, or of all the moneyers ; the same problem appears in the coinage of later kings. The coins with the more imaginative designs represent an effort to vary the dull monotony of coin-types ; perhaps the king, with the object of encouraging artistic enterprise, permitted the gravers or the moneyers to display their originality on some small proportion of the coinage while using a standard type for their main output.

There are two special points of interest about the so-called " Burg " type pennies, the origin and the historical significance of their design. One variety, probably the earliest type of this rare issue (Pl. XIV, 9), is a very close copy of the *Providentia Augusti* coins, on which Constantine and his sons displayed a city gate as an emblem of their restoration of the defences of the Gallic cities. It is interesting to find this type of Edward, like the " Two Emperors " type of Alfred, coming direct from a Roman original ; but no more suitable model could have been found for commemorating the new military device, the building of the burgs, which was so successfully employed by

Edward and Aethelflaed against the Danes. We may reasonably assume that on the ordinary coins of this issue the Roman gateway was developed into a passable likeness of the Anglo-Saxon burg (PI. XIV, 10).

Another type, which is even more rare, has a curious little outline drawing of a church (PL XIV, 3). This is probably the New Minster of Winchester, the building of which was a work bequeathed to Edward by Alfred.

It is disappointing that the movement in Alfred's reign towards the differentiation of mints upon the coins was not developed by Edward. The Bath penny is the only coin of his reign that bears the name of a mint.¹ Winchester is probably the mint of the Minster type. The type which Edward struck in common with Archbishop Plegmund must have been struck at Canterbury, and names of Canterbury moneyers seem to prevail upon the common coins of his reign.

The weight of the pennies is usually between 23 and 25 grs. ; a few of the common type, probably early coins, and the Bath penny weigh 27 or even 28 grs. Some round halfpennies are known of the common type.

A gold coin in the Musée Cantonal at Lausanne, weighing 70 grs., is of doubtful authenticity. If genuine it was struck by the moneyer Deorwald from dies of the silver penny.

Imitations, probably made in Danish towns or in Ireland, are fairly frequent, especially of the portrait type ; they usually have blundered legends and the bust sometimes to the right,

Beorhtric (786-802).

O. BEORHTRIC REX, A in centie. X. ECGHARD. Cross and pellets. 18 grs. (PI. XI, 2.)

O. BEOREHTRIC RE. Alpha-Omega. A\ PEOCHTHVN. Omega or M ? 20J grs. (PI. XI, i.)

Ecgbert (802-838/9). No coinage before 825.

Pennies of the Canterbury Mint.

Group I, ECGBEARHT or HECBEARHT REX.

1. O. Bust to r. R. DOROB C in monogram ; cf. Abp. Wulfred, no. 5, and Ceolnoth, no. i. (PI. XI, 3.)

Biorhmod, Bosel, Dealla, Deibus, Diormod, Dudinc, Oba, Osmund, Swefheard, Tidbearht, Tilwine.

¹ A few coins read *Walter Eo*. The E is probably M placed sideways. Edward could not have had the use of a mint at York.

2. *O.* and *R.* A cross pattee, or a radiation of six or eight limbs.
Oba, Swefherd, Werheard. (Pl. XI, 4.)
3. *O.* Pellet. *A'*. Cross or Tiibrach.
Tidbearht.
4. *O.* Head to *r.* *R.* Tribrach moline.
Werheard. (Pl. XI, 5.)

Group II. Types with both HECBEARHT and ECGBEORHT.

5. *O.* as no. 4 above. *R.* Cross crosslet or patte'e.
Diormod, Sigestef, Swefherd. (Pl. XI, 6.)
6. *O.* Cross patte'e. *R.* Cross crosslet.
Diormod, Sigestef, Wulgar.
7. *O.* Head of new form, cf. Aethelwulf, no. 3. *R.* Cross and wedges.
Edelmod, Osmund (Pl. XI, 7.)

Group III. ECGBEORHT REX.

8. *O.* Bust to *r.*, cf. Aethelwulf, no. 1. *R.* Cross patte'e. (Pl. XI, 8.)
Dunun.
9. *O.* Head as on No. 7 above. *R.* Four crescents. (Pl. XI, 9.)
Dunun.
10. *O.* as preceding. *R.* Cross potent.
Dunun.
11. *O.* and *R.* Cross potent.
Beagmund, Edelmod.

Pennies of St. Andrew of Rochester. King's title ECGBEORHT REX.

12. *O.* Bust to *r.* *R.* SCS ANDREAS APO, in centre STOLVS.
(Pl. XI, II.)
13. *O.* Bust *tor.* *R.* SCS ANDREAS, in centre A, or Cross. (Pl. XI, 12.)
Cf. Aethelwulf, nos. 1, 2, and the silver penny of Eanred (p. 44).
14. *O.* AA monogram. *R.* Cross potent. Moneyer: Beagmund.
(Pl. XI, 10.)

Pennies of the London Mint. King's title ECGBERHT REX M.

15. *O.* Cross potent. *R.* LVNDONIA CIVIT in three lines. (Pl. XI, 13.)
16. *O.* as preceding. *R.* REDMVDH MONET, in centre A; cf. coin of
second reign of Wiglaf. (Pl. XI, 14.)

Pennies of the Winchester Mint. King's title ECGBEORHT REX.

17. *O.* SAXO or SAXONIORVM in centre. *R.* Cross patte'e. (Pl. XI,
15, 16.)
Beornehart, Bosa, Eanwald, Ifa, Tideman, Tilred.
The usual weight of his coins is between 20 and 22 grs.

Aethelwulf (838/9-858). Title AETHELVVLF, or ETHELVVLF, REX.

Pennies of the Canterbury Mint.

1. *O.* Bust to *r.* *R.* A in centre. (Pl. XII, i.) Beagmund. Cf. Ecg-
berht, no. 13.
2. *O.* Larger bust to *r.* *R.* Crosses or bars, moline, patte'e, etc.; or the
letter A. (Pl. XII, 2.)
Beagmund, Biarnmoth, Dun, Ethelhere, Maninc.
3. *O.* Head as on Ecgberht, nos. 7 and 9. *R.* Cross patte'e. (Pl. XII, 3.)
Beagmund, Wilheah.

4. O. Cross over Saltire. R. Various crosses or the letter A. (Pl. XII, 4.)
Beagmund, Brid, Dun, Ethelhere, Maninc, Welheard, Wilheah.
5. O. DORIB in centre. R. CANT monogram. (Pl. XII, 5.)
Biarnmod, Brid, Deiheah, Eagmund, Eanmund, Ethelhere, Ethelmund,
Herebeald, Hunbearht, Maninc, Osmund, Welheard, Wilheah.
The types are sometimes reversed. The obverse is also used with the
reverse of no. 4 above (Diar).
6. O. as reverse of preceding. R. CAN M[oneta] in angles of cross
(cf. Ceolnoth, no. 3).
Hebeca, who signs as *Monet[arius] Dor[pberniae]*.
7. O. Bust of new style. A', Cross, A, or Chi-Rho. (Pl. XII, 6-8.)
Deiheah, Diar, Eanmund, Herebeald, Hunbearht, Liaba, Manna,
Osmund.
8. O. Bust to r. R. Name on and between limbs of cross. (Pl. XII, 9.)
Daegberht, Diar, Dudwine, Ethelgeard, Ethelmod, Ethelnoth, Hun-
bearht, Hunred, Maninc, Manna, Tirvald, Torhtulf, Vermund.

Pennies of the Winchester Mint.

9. O.SAXON monogram. R. Cross and wedges. Eanwald. (Pl. XII, 10.)
10. O. Cross and wedges. R. SAXONIORM in centre. (Pl. XII, 11.)
Diar, Herebeald, Manna, Osmund, Torhtwald.
11. As preceding, but on reverse OCCIDENTALIVM in place of
moneys name. (Pl. XII, 12.)

Aethelberht (858-866). Title AETHELBEARHT REX.

Pennies of the Canterbury Mint.

1. O. Bust to r. R. Name on and between limbs of cross. (Pl. XII, 13).
Cf. Aethelwulf, no. 8, and Abp. Ceolnoth, no. 5.
Bademund, Badenoth, Beag(h)mund, Biarnmod, Biarnwine, Burn-
wald, Cealeard, Cenred, Cenweald, Cunefreth, Dealla, Degbearht,
Deglaf, Denemund, Diarmod, Dudwine, Eadulf, Ealdred, Ethelgeard,
Ethelhere, Ethelnoth, Ethelred, Ethelweald, Ethelulf, Heabearht,
Herebeald, Herefreth, Heregeard, Heremund, Hunbearht, Hunred,
Liabinc, Luceman, Maninc, Nothulf, Osbearht, Oshere, Sefreth,
Sigehere, Torhtmund, Torhtulf, Vermund, Vihtmund, Vinoth,
Ulaneard, Wulfheard.
2. O. Bust to r. R. Cross fleury over Quatrefoil. (Pl. XII, 14.)
Cenwald, Cunefreth, Herebeald, Oshere, Torhtmund.

Aethelred I (866-871). Title AETHELRED REX.

- O. Bust to r. R. Name in and between lunettes (hooked lines rarely
take the place of the lunettes). (Pl. XII, 15.)
Biarneah, Biarnmod, Biarnwine, Burgnoth, Dealla, Denewald,
Diarulf, Diga, Dudda, Dunn, Elbere, Ella, Ethelred, Herebeald,
Herewulf, Lang, Liabinc, Lulla, Mann, Manninc, Oshere, Tirwulf,
Torhtmund, Wine.

Some rare coins, with the temple type, which have been attributed to
Aethelred I, belong to the Viking coinages of Eastern England. They
are described above, p. 32.

Alfred (871-900/1).

Pennies of the Canterbury Mint.

1. O. Bust to r. AELBRED, or AELFRED, REX. R. Name in and between lunettes. (PL XIII, i.) Cf. Aethelred I, Burgred of Mercia, and Abp. Ceolnoth, no. 6. Wt. usually 20 to 22 grs., occasionally 24½ to 25½ grs.
Biarnred, Biarnwald, Bosa, Cialmod, Cialwulf, Deigmund, Diarwulf, Duninc, Dunn, Eadwulf, Ethelere, Elbere, Elelaf, Etheleah, Ethelmund, Ethelred, Ethelulf, Heaberht, Hebeca, Herebald, Herewulf, Manninc, Oshere, Sefreth, Sigestef, Tata, Tidbald, Tidbearht, Tilefein, Torhtmund, Wine, Wulfearð.
2. O. Bust to r. AELFRED REX ANGLOR. R. Two seated figures with Victory above. (Pl. XIII, 2.) Cf. Halfdene penny, and Ceolwulf II, no. i. Cenred. Wt. 20 grs. (chipped).
3. O. Bust to r. AELFRED REX. R. Name on quatrefoil. Cf. Abp. Aethered, no. i. Known from a fragment only. Moneyer: Aethered.
4. O. AELFRED REX on limbs of cross, trefoils in angles. R. Name on decorative quatrefoil. Moneyer: Luda. (Pl. XIII, 3.)
5. O. Bust to r. AELFRED REX (SAX sometimes added). R. Lozenge panel containing cross in centre of long cross; cf. Abp. Aethere, no. 2, and Ceolwulf II. Wt. 19 to 22 grs. (Pl. XIII, 4.)
Burenoth, Ciolvulf, Diarmund, Dunna, Eadelm, Eadulf, Ethelmod, Guthere, Hereferth, Liafwald, Luceman, Lulla, Reginild, Torhtmund.
6. O. Small cross. AELFRED REX (DORO sometimes added). R. Name in two lines with pellets, or three crosses, between. (Pl. XIII, 5.) Cf. Aethelstan II of E. Anglia. Wt. usually between 20 and 25 grs.
Abenel, Aelf- see Elf-, Aethered, Beagstan, Beorhmer, Berewald, Berhtere, Bernred, Bernwald, Brithard, Boga, Burgnoth, Burnhere, Burnhelm, Burnwald, Chrestien, Cuthberht, Cuthwulf, Cynewulf, Dealinc, Dealla, Diarwald, Dudig, Dunna, Dunninc, Eadwald, Ealdwulf, Ecwulf, Elda (*mefecit*), Elfstan, Elfwald, Ethelstan, Ethelwine, Ethelwulf, Ethered, Goda, Guthere, Heawulf, Hereferth, Heremod, -mund -wulf, Hunberht, Hunfreth, Iudelbard, Ludig, Lulla, Oswulf, Samson, Sigewald, Simon, Stefanus, Tilewine, Tirwald, Wigbald, Wine, Winiger, Wulfred, Wynberht.

There are also halfpennies of this type, both cut and round.

7. O. Bust to r. AELFRED REX. R. Uncertain Monogram, perhaps *Dorovernis*[^] between two lines of name AETHELUF MO. (Pl. XIII, 6.) Wt. 23 grs.

Halfpenny attributed to Bath.

A misreading of a halfpenny of type 6 above, with moneyer's name Eillath (?). (Pl. XIII, 14.)

Penny of Exeter. (Pl. XIII, 7.)

0. AELFRED REX SAXONVM in four lines. R. EXA vertically. 24¼ grs.

Penny of Gloucester. (PL XIII, 8.)

0. Bust to r. AELFRED. R. AET GLEAWA. Long cross of three limbs. 24J grs.

Pennies of Lincoln. See under East Anglia above, p. 32.

Pennies of London.

1. O. Bust tor. AELFRED REX. R. London Monogram. (PL XIII, 9.) Wt. usually 23 to 25½ grs. Some, usually barbarous, 17 to 21 grs. Some barbarous imitations have moneyer's name, Frotbolt or Tedwin, on obverse. There are also halfpennies of this type.
2. Similar but with moneyer's name above and below monogram. (PL XIII, 10.) Aelfstan, Heawulf, Tilewine. Wt. 22 to 24 grs.
3. Similar to preceding, but with small cross, instead of portrait, on obverse, king's name divided crosswise, no inner circle. Tilewine. Wt. 21 grs.

There are also halfpennies, perhaps imitations, weighing 7½ and 6½ grs., with obverse as no. 3 above but with inner circle, and on reverse TILVVN in two lines with Alpha-Omega monogram between.

Pennies of Oxford. (PL XIII, II.)

O. AELFRED with OKSNAFORDA in two lines above and below.

R. BERNVALD MO in two lines, three crosses between. One has a crossed bar in place of the crosses. Wt. 20 to 25½ grs. There are many blundered varieties.

There is also a halfpenny of this type.

Penny of Winchester. ((PL XIII, 12.)

O. as obverse of the Exeter penny. R. WIN vertically. 24½ grs.

Piedfort, the so-called Offering Penny. (PL XIII, 13.)

0. as obverse of the Exeter and Winchester pennies. R. ELI MON in two lines. Broad margin. Wt. 161½ grs.

Edward the Elder (900/1-925). Title EADWEARD REX.

I. The rare types.

Penny of Bath.

1. O. EADWEARD REX SAXONVM in four lines. R. BA between crosses and pellets. Wt. 28 grs. (PL XIV, i.)

Canterbury Penny.

2. O. Ornament of crosses moline and pommee. R. Name in two lines, 'ornaments. Eicmund, Wulfheard. Cf. Abp. Plegmund. (PL XIV, 2.)

Winchester Penny.

3. O. Small cross. R. Minster on central line, name below. Wulfgar. (PL XIV, 3.)

Uncertain Mints. The obverse design is in each case a small cross.

4. R. Name in single line across field. Athulf, Lanfer, Wiberht. (PL XIV, 4.)
5. R. Name between two stars or flowers. Brece. (PL XIV, 5.)

¹ See Beaven in *E.H.R.*, 1917, p. 517.

6. *ft.* Flower above a central line, name below. Athulf, Heremod, lofer-mund. (PI. XIV, 6.)
 7. *ft.* Floral design with name across field. Boiga (Buga), Cudberht, Hunlaf, Norbert, Osulf, Willaf. (PI. XIV, 7.)
 8. *ft.* Bird holding twig, name below. Wighard.
 9. *ft.* Hand of Providence between letters of moneyer's name. Alhstan, Athulf, Deormod. (PI. XIV, 8.)
 10. Roman design of City Gate. Cudberht. (PI. XIV, 9.)
 - ir. *ft.* Anglo-Saxon Burg. Cudberht, Eadmund, Eadwald, Irfara, Wulf-sige. (PI. XIV, 10.)
- II. Ordinary types.
12. O. Bust to 1. (occasionally to r.) *ft.* Name in two lines, crosses, etc. (PI. XIV, n.)
Aethered, Beahred, Beahstan, Biornwald, Buga, Burhelm, Cudberht, Deorwald, Diora, Dudig, Eadwald, Ealhstan, Ellaf, Framwis, Gareard, Grimwald, Heremod, Igere, Iva, Liofhelm, Londbriht, Manna, Raegenulf, Sigod, Thurlac, Tila, Wulfred.
 13. O. Small Cross, *ft.* as preceding. (PI. XIV, 12.)
Abba, Adalbert, Aelfred, Aethel-ferth, -sige, -stan, -wine, -wulf, Aethered, Alfeau, Badda, Beah-red, -stan, Beorht-elm, -red, -wald, -wulf, Beorn-ere, -ferth, -red, -wald, -wulf, Berngar, Boicga (Buga), Bonus Homo, Brece, Burhelm, Cenbreht, Ciolwulf, Clip, Cunulf, Cudberht, Deorwald, Diora, Diormod, Dryhtwald, Dudig, Dunning, Ead-elm, -ered, -mund, -stan, -wald, -wulf, Ealdwulf, Ealhstan, Eardwulf, Eicmund, Elfstan, Ellaf, Engelram, Eofermund, Erwald, Fritheberht, Fulcrad, Gareard, Garulf, Godeferth, Grimwald, Gundberht, Hathe-bald, -berht, Heardmaer, Heremod, Hunfred, Iohann, Iva, Landac, Liofhelm, Londbriht, Magnard, Mann, Medethen, Odo, Ordulf, Osbeain, Osgar, Ossere, Pitit, Raegen-aid, -ulf, Rihard, Sansun, Saravvard, Sigar, Sige-brand, -ferth, -helm, Sigot, Snel, Sprov, Stefvan, Thurlac, Tidfred, Tila, Torhtelm, Tuda, Waldulf, Waleman, Walter, Warmer, Wealdhelm, Willaf, Winegar, Wulf-heard, -red, -stan, Wynberht.
- There are halfpennies of this type.

CHAPTER V

AETHELSTAN TO EDWARD THE MARTYR

925-979

THE earliest surviving law relating to the coinage is one of the measures enacted by Aethelstan at Grateley (c. 925-935). It provided that a single coinage should be current and that the striking of coin should take place only within a town, and it ordered the penalty of the loss of a hand for forgery. It also assigned the quota of moneyers for each mint, namely, Canterbury 7 (king 4, archbishop 2, abbot 1) ; Rochester 3 (king 2, bishop 1) ; London 8, Winchester 6, Lewes 2, Hastings 1, Chichester 1, Southampton 2, Wareham 2, Exeter 2, Shaftesbury 2, and for each of the other burgs, 1.

The influence of this monetary legislation is apparent on coins of Aethelstan, which bear a reverse legend indicating both the moneyer and his mint, frequently with the word *Civitas* or *Urbs* added to the mint name. This form of legend appears on two distinct types, with a portrait, or with a small cross or rosette as the obverse type ; both have a small cross or rosette on the reverse. These types (nos. 4, 5, and 6 below, and Pl. XIV, 16, 18) were presumably issued after the Grateley reforms were put into effect.

At the beginning of the reign Aethelstan issued a coinage similar to the common coinage of Edward ; it was a large issue and occupied a great number of moneyers. This probably continued until the Grateley reforms ; but the portrait issue, which is also found in hoards buried early in the reign, is sometimes struck without the name of the mint, and was therefore in use early in the reign. The portrait type presents the same difficulty in this reign as in the last ; it is not only found with the commoner type both in hoards buried early and late in the reigns, but always in smaller numbers. One is led to the con-

elusion that the two types were issued concurrently in both reigns, but no reason has been given for so curious a system of coinage.¹

The coins of Aethelstan retain the neatness of style and careful execution of Edward's coins ; but the ornamental designs that figured on his rare coins mostly disappear. There is a rare type with floral ornament above and below the moneyer's name, and one on which a tower, possibly a reminiscence of the burghs, is represented (nos. 2, 3 ; Pl. XIV, 14, 15).

Edward's conquest of the Danelaw is reflected in the mints which operated in his son's reign. The names of Derby, Tamworth, Nottingham, and others, appear now for the first time. The death in 927 of Sihtric Gale, whom Aethelstan's daughter had married in the previous year, put York into his hands, and York provided a coinage of Aethelstan which has a remarkable portrait in high relief (Pl. XIV, 17) ; other coins, one of the tower type, may be attributed to the York mint. In Edmund's reign, when Northumbria was in revolt under Eric and Anlaf, the mint passed from hand to hand and the same moneyers worked at various times under any of the three kings.

The king's title on the early coins is *Aethelstan Rex* ; *Totius Britanniae* is added later, presumably from 931 onwards, when this and similar titles appear on charters. The unusual form *Rex Saxonum* is found on Derby, Nottingham, and Tamworth coins.

A coin of the type common to Edward and Aethelstan has the obverse legend *Howael Rex* (Pl. XV, i). The identification of Howael on the coin with Howel Dda, the legislator of Wales who was one of the kings subdued in 926, is hardly open to doubt. The uncommon name Gillys, borne by the moneyer of this coin, appears again in the reigns of Edred and Edgar, under the latter king with the name of the mint of Chester added.

The monetary reforms of Aethelstan seem to have undergone some modification after his death. In the reigns of Edmund and Edred the mint is named on very few coins and only on those that have a portrait on the obverse ; the coinage of both kings consists almost entirely of the common type with

¹ See below, p. 66.

the moneyer's name in two lines. Halfpennies of this type are known of both kings. A floral type is struck again in Edmund's reign, and the cross crosslet type of Aethelstan is repeated by him with its helmeted portrait.

The type with the moneyer's name in two lines appears to have been regarded as the standard type of the penny. All the kings from Aethelstan to Edgar had their largest issue in this type, and Edwig, who increased the coinage with named mints, adapted this type for the purpose by the insertion of the mint name in place of the crosses. Edred, on an Oxford coin of this type, transferred the name of the mint to the obverse legend (PL XV, 6). Edwig has a slight revival of ornamental designs, but they lack the spirit and fine workmanship of the similar issues of Edward the Elder.

The coinage of Edgar resembles that of Aethelstan ; it was a large coinage of very good workmanship, and it had a wide range of mints and a very large number of moneyers. At the close of his reign Edgar adopted the smaller portrait which was used on the only type issued by Edward the Martyr, from whose time to the present day silver coins have scarcely ever been struck in England without the king's portrait on the obverse.

The weight of the penny continued at a high level in the reign of Aethelstan ; the majority of his coins weigh between 23 and 25 grs., but there are traces of a reduction in subsequent reigns. Pennies of Edward and Edred are known weighing 26 grs. or even more, but these are very few, and the usual weight is between 19 and 23 grs. After the death of Edred coins weighing more than 22¹ grs. are rarely found.

Aethelstan (925-Q39).¹ Title: **AETHELSTAN REX; TO BRIT** is added on coins of types 5 and 6 and on a few of type 4, **SAXONVM** on Derby, Nottingham, and Tamworth coins of type 5.

i. O. Small cross. *JR.* Name in two lines, crosses between. (Pl. XIV, 13.)

A variety (moneyer, Paulus) has on the reverse a star between D and T and two pellets in place of the crosses.

Abba, Abonel, Aelfred, Aelfstan, Aelfwine, Aethel-ferth, -sige, -wald, -wine, -wulf, Aethered, Alfeau, Alhstan, Are, Asulf, Beah- red, Bioga, Biorhtric, Biorhtwald, Burehelm, Burnwic, Cenbreht, Clac, Cristign, Cunulf, Domences, Dryhtwald, Eadmund, Eadulf, Ealhstan, Earnulf,

¹ See Beaven in *E.H.R.*, 1917, p. 517.

Ecgberht, Ellaf, Eofermund, Eric, Fram, Fugel, Gareard, Garulf, Gislemar, Gota, Grimwald, Harder, Hathelwold, Herebeau, Heremod, Hunlaf, Igere, Iohann, Landac, Liofhelm, Litilman, Magnard, Manna, Megenfreth, Nother, Oda, Osulf, Paulus, Pitit, Raegen- aid, -ulf, Rihard, Sige- brand, -helm, -land, -wulf, Snel, Sota, Stefanus, Weald- helm, Wilebald, Willaf, Wilric, Wimund, Winele, Wulf- gar, -heard, -sige, -stan.

2. O. Small cross. R. Flower above and below name. Montheegn. (PI. XIV, 14.)

3. O. Small cross. R. Tower above moneyer's name.

YORK (Eboraca C): Regnald. (PI. XIV, 15.)

Without mint name : Adelbert, Etram, Frotier, Turstan, Wyltsig.

4. O. Bust to r. R. Small cross. (PI. XIV, 16.)

A variety (York : Arnulf, Rotbert) has a bust in high relief. (PI. XIV, 17.)

DORCHESTER : Aelfric, Aethelsige, Torthelm.

EXETER : Sigeland.

HERTFORD (Hiortfd): Abonel.

LANGPORT : Wynsige.

LEWES : Eadric.

LONDON : Aelfstan, Aelfwald, Beahred, Biorneard, Ellaf, Grimwald, Igere, Liofhelm, Man, Wulfhelm.

MALDON (Maeld) : Abonel.

NORWICH (Norwic, Northwe) : Barbe, Burdel, Eadgar, Giongald, Hrodgar, Lifine, Manne, Manticen.

OXFORD : Eardulf, Uthelric, Wynelm.

ROCHESTER (Rof Civit): Hungar.

WALLINGFORD : Athelm, Beornwald.

WAREHAM ; Aelfred.

WINCHESTER : Aethelm, Amelric, Leofric, Otic, Raegenulf, Wulfheard.

YORK (Efec): Aethelerd.

Without Mint Name : Aethelfreth, Aethelgar, Alfeau, Brihtwald, Burnwald, Diarwald, Frethard, Folcred, Gareard, Grimwald, Hunrice, Lifing, Manning, Sigewulf, Smala, Torhtelm.

There are mules with this obverse and reverse of no. I : Aethelwine, Wulfsige.

5. O. Small cross. R. Small cross. (PI. XIV, 18.)

BATH : Biorhtulf, Herecis.

CANTERBURY : Eadgild, Elfric, Ethelfreth.

CHESTER (Leigeceastre): Abba, Aethered, Boiga, Cnath, Deorerd, Deorulf, Eadlaf, Eadmund, Efrard, Maeldomen, Maerten, Oslac, Osulf, Paules, Raenulf, Sigeferth, Thurstan, Tidgar, Wulfgar, Wulfstan.

CHICHESTER (Cissan Civ): lohan.

DARTFORD (Darent Urb): Beorhtulf.

DERBY (Deoraby) : Beornard, Boiga, Iofa, Maegenfreth, Martin, Sigar.

DORCHESTER (Dor Civit): Ethelfreth, Manna, Torhtelm.

EXETER (Eaxan Civ): Raegenold.

GLOUCESTER (Gleawas): Ethelwo.

HEREFORD: Ecgberht, Hunlaf.

LANGPORT: Burhtelm, Wynsige.

LEWES (Laewe, Lae Urb): Wilebald.

LONDON (Lond or Lund Civit): Aethered, Beahred, Biorhtred, Efe,
Ellaf, Gareard, Igere, Liofhelm, Wulfhelm.

NOTTINGHAM (Snotinceham): Ethelnod.

OXFORD (Ox Urbis): Ingelri, Hathelwald, Sigeland.

SHAFTESBURY (Sceftes): Aethelwine.

SHREWSBURY (Scrob): Berhtelm, Cenberht, Ecgherd, Eofrmund,
Frotger, Wulaf.

STAFFORD (Steth, Stef): Eardulf, Wihgmund.

TAMWORTH (Tomwearthge): Manna.

WAREHAM (Werham): Wulfsige.

WEARDBYRIG (Wardborough?): Burhtelm.

WINCHESTER (Win Civit): Athulf.

YORK (Eforwic): Regnald.

Without mint name: Maegenfreth (Derby?).

6. O. Rosette. A. Rosette.

CHESTER: Beorard, Deorulf, Eadmund, Efrard, Maeldomen, Megreth,
Oslac, Paules, Tidgar, Wulfgar, Wulfstan.

SHREWSBURY: Eadmund, Ecgherd, Edred, Eofermund, Frotger.

STAFFORD: Eardulf.

- 5/6. O. Small cross. R. Rosette.

CHESTER: Abba, Oslac, Totes.

SHREWSBURY: Ecgherd.

STAFFORD: Eardelf.

WAREHAM (Veri): Montheagn.

- 6/5. O. Rosette. R. Small cross.

CHESTER: Aelfwine, Eadmund, Wulfstan.

SHREWSBURY: Eofermund.

7. O. Bust to r. of coarse work. R. Cross crosslct.

YORK (Ebro); Heldulf. (Pl. XIV, 19.)

Without mint name: Baldric, Cenard, Smala, Wiard.

Howel Dda (died 948).

0. HOWAEL REX. Small cross. R. GILLYS. Name in two lines,
crosses between. Wt. 23½ grs. (Pl. XV, i.)

Edmund (939-946).! Title: EADMVND REX.

1. O. Small cross. R. Name in two lines, crosses between. (Pl. XV, 2.)

Varieties have rosettes on obverse or on reverse in place of crosses. A
halfpenny exists of this type; moneyer, Baldwin.

Abba, Aelf-ric, -stan, -wald, -wine, Aethelm, Aethel-
mund, -wine, -wulf, Alberic, Amund, Are, Arnulf, Asulf, Baciager, Baldwin,
Beahred, Benedictus, Beorhtulf, Beorwald, Berht-elm, -red, -wig,
Besel, Biorneard, Boiga, Bonsom, Clac, Cnap, Demenec, Diarelm,

¹ See Beaven in *E.H.R.*, 1917, p. 517.

Diarwald, Dorulf, Dregel, Dudelet, Dudig, Durant, Ead- mund, -red, -stan, -weard, Eardulf, Ecgbriht, Eferulf, Egered, Eofermund, Faraman, Folcred, Frard, Fredard, Fugel, Grimwald, Gundferth, Here- mod, -wig, Hun- laf, -sige, Igere, Ingelgar (York ?; EC, EB, etc., at end of obverse legend), Landwine, Leofric, Liafinc, Liofhelm, Litolman, Maeldomen, Maerten, Manna, Megred, Oda, Os- ferth, -lac, -mund, -ulf, -wald, Othelric, Otic, Paul, Pitit, Raegenold, Regnulf, Regther, Rodberht, Saraward, Saxsa, Sideman, Sigar, Sigwold, Sota, Stefvan, Theodulf, Thermod, Warn, Wigearð, Wihtelm, Wilaf, Wulf- gar, -helm, -ric, -stan, Wynhelm, Wynsige.

2. 0. Small cross. R. Flower above moneyer's name. Aethelmod. (PL XV, 3.)

3. 0. Helmeted bust to r. R. Cross crosslet. Baldric, Bese. (PL XV, 4.)

4. 0. Crowned bust to r. R. Small cross. (PL XV, 5.)

BATH : Nother.

NORWICH : Barbe, Giongbold, Haheh ?, Hrodgar, Manticen.

Without name of mint: Clac, Ergimbalt, Fredard, Fugel, Reingrim, Sperflinc, Wine.

Edred (946-955). Title: EADRED REX.

1. 0. Small cross. R. Name in two lines, crosses between.

A variety (moneyers: Oslac, Thurulf) has rosettes for crosses on both sides.

OXFORD : Wynnelm (obv. *Eadred Rex Ox Urbis*). (PL XV, 6.)

Without name of mint: Aelf- red, -sige, -stan, Aetard, Aethelm, Aethel- mund, -ulf, Aethered, Arnulf, Bald- ric, -win, Bern- ard, -eie, -ferth, Bese, Biorhtulf, Boiga, Cenberht (obv. *Anglorum*), Copman, Demence (one has *Saxorum* on obv.), Deorulf, Dermod, Dudig, Eadmund, Eadulf, Eferulf, Englbred, Frard, Frothric, Gilles, Gislemer, Godm, Grim, Heriger, Hun- laf, -red, Husebald, Ingelgar, Landferth, Leofric, Lifinc, Maneca, Manna, Northgar, Os- ferth, -lac, -wald, Othelric, Otic, Raedwine, Regther, Reinfirth, Siefereth, Sigar, Sunu, Theod- maer, -ulf, Thurmod, Waldfreth, Warin, Werstan, Wilaf, Winebreht, Winuc, Wulfstan, Wulgar, Wynnelm.

A halfpenny of this type (moneyer, Biorhtulf) was found at Tewkes- bury.

2. 0. Small cross. ??. Rosette. Culein.

3. 0. Bust to r. JR. Small cross. (PL XV, 7.)

EXETER : Ascer?, Wilfred.

NORWICH : Manne, Secgse.

Without name of mint: Albert (*on aemi*), Anna (Manna ?), Are, Bene- dictus, Clac, Farman, Fredard, Hrodman, Ive, Manna, Mannecin, Radwin, Reinfirth, Unbein.

Edwig (955-959). Title: EADWIG REX.

- i. 0. Small cross. R. Name in two lines, crosses or mint-name between. (PL XV, 8.)

BATH or BEDFORD (Betha): Herewig.

BEDFORD (Beda) : Baldwin, Boiga, Frothgar, Grim, Leofstan.

HERTFORD(Hir): Abenel.

HUNTINGDON (Hun): Duninc.

NEWARK ? (Newe): Clac.

SOUTHAMPTON (Ham): Dudeman, Husebald, Mangcxl, Thurferth, Waerin.

TAMWORTH ? (To): Wilsig.

WINCHESTER (Win): Manngod.

YORK (Eo): Aelfsig, Deorulf, Eadmund, Eoferad, Frard, Frothric, Thurmod.

Without name of mint: Aelfred, Aescwulf, Aetard, Athelwerd, Baldric, Berenard, Brother, Bruninc, Cytel, Dunn, Eaenolf, Efrard, Folchard, Frethic, Godefeth, Godser, Heremod, Heriger, Levinc, Mann, Sedeman, Sperlinc, Waerin, Wilebert, Wulfgar.

2. O. Small cross. *ft.* Name in one line, rosette above and below. (Pl. XV, 9.)
Birver, Cnapa.
3. O. Small cross, R. Floral design. Oswald, . . . wine. (Pl. XV, 10.)
4. O. Small cross. *ft.* Rosette or small cross. Aelfsige (rosette), Aethelgar (cross).
5. O. Bust tor. R. Small cross. (Pl. XV, xx.)
LONDON : Athulf.

Edgar (959-975). Title: EDGAR REX, sometimes with ANGLORVM or TO BRI added.

1. O. Small cross, *ft.* Name in two lines, crosses between. The type sometimes varies with rosettes and annulets. (Pl. XV, 12.)
Usually without name of mint; but some coins have, between a cross and two annulets, LE (Chester) and TE (Tamworth?).
2. O. Small cross. R. Floral design (cf. Edwig, no. 3). Oswald. (Pl. XV, 13.)
3. O. Small cross, R. Flower above name (cf. Edmund, no. 2).
A halfpenny only (8½ grs.) is known; moneyer, Hildulf.
4. Small cross or rosette on both sides.
With and without name of mint.
5. O. Bust to r. *ft.* Small cross. (Pl. XVI, I.)
With and without name of mint.
6. Small bust to l. (cf. coins of Edward the Martyr), *ft.* Small cross.
With name of mint. (Pl. XVI, 2.)

The mints and moneyers of Edgar's coinage are :—

BATH (Batha Civi): Aethelsige, Burhferth.

BEDFORD (Bedafo): Aelfsige, Frothgar, Grim.

CANTERBURY (Catwara, Caent): Boga, Wine.

CHESTER (Leo, Lee) : Aelfsig, Aelfstan, Aldewine, Deorlaf, Eadmund, Eoroth, Ethelm, Flodgar, Frothric, Gillys, Maelsuthan, Thurmod, Wul[^]ar.

CHICHES[^]ER (Cise Ci): Flodewin.

DERBY (Ūr Dbi, Deorbi) : Aelfstan, Frethic, Osulf.

DOVER (Ďof: Leofgar.

EXETER (Eaxnc): Iuhan.

HERTFORD (Hirtfor): Ha ...

HUNTINGDON (Huntn): Borhtnoth, Pirimor Wirim.

IPSWICH (Gipes): Leofric.

LEICESTER (Ligar): Mani.

LEWES (Laewe): Goldstan, Theodgar.

LINCOLN (Lindco): Ascman.

LONDON (Lund Civi, etc.): Aelfnoth, Aethel-red, -stan, -wald, Hiltwine.

LYMNE (Lime): Aethestan.

MALDON (Meald): Richtmund? (Moneta Mi), Wulfric.

NEWPORT (Niwanpo): Aelfsige.

OXFORD (Oxna Urbs, etc.): Aethelwine, Eaferard (*M Ox*), Wulfred, Wulfstan.

ROCHESTER (Hrof, Rhof): Sideman.

SHREWSBURY (Scrob): Hildic, Oswald.

SOUTHAMPTON (Ham): Cylm, Eadmer? (/), Eadnoth, Leofsig, Mantat, Oswold.

STAFFORD (Staeff): Siulf.

STAMFORD (Stanford): Aescman, Cnapa, Ogea, Wulgar.

TAMWORTH (Te, Tomwer): Deorulf, Eofermund, Eofrulf, Monna.

THETFORD (Theotf): Aelferd, Aelfgar.

WALLINGFORD (Welegafor, Weali): Beorhtric, Eadwine, Heremod.

WILTON (Wiltun): Aelfsige, Eadstan, Eadwine, Leofsige.

WINCHCOMBE (Wencles): Aelfnoth.

WINCHESTER (Winto): Aelfsige, Deal, Eadstan, Marscale, Raegenold, Wihtsige, Wynstan.

YORK (Eb, Eoforwi): Brentinc, Dun, Fastolf, Herolf, Manna, Osmund, Tunna, Unspac.

Without name of mint: Adel- aver, -gar, -ulf, Aden, Aelf- red, -sig, Aesculf, Aetferd, Aethel- brand, -red, -sie, Aethulf, Albutic, Aldewine Alhmund, Asferth, Asmahed, Ba . . . in, Benedict, Beorhtric, Bernard, -ferth, -win, Boga, Britfer, Bruninc, Byrgstan, Capelm, Cnapa, Col- grim, -nard, Copman, Demenge, Deorulf, Dudeman, Durand, Eadmund, Ealfsige, Eanulf, Elf- stan, -wald, Eofermund, Eoroth, Ethelwine, Farna, Farthein, Fastolf, Fastolf Boiga, Fastolf Rafn, Fastolf Woda, Flodwin, Folchard, Frethig, Frothric, Gillys, Grid, Gunar, Gunverd, Haculf, Harger, Heie- bert, -man, Heriger, Herolf, Hrothulf, Hunbein, Igenc, Ingelberd, Ingolf, Ingolfferth, Iole, Isembert, Ive, Lefinc, Lefman, Lenna, Leof- helm, -inc, -stan, Lond- ferth, Mamolet, Maninc, Manna, Manticen, Marcer, Martin, Meinard, Morgnan, Oswald, Oswald, Othelric, Ricolf, Sedeman, Siferth, Sigar, Thur- ferth, -mod, Werstan, Wiferth, Wilsig, Wine, Wulfstan.

Edward the Martyr (975-979). Title : EADWEARD REX, sometimes with ANGLORVM, etc., added.

O. Bust to I. as on last issue of Edgar. R. Small cross. (Pl. XVI, 3.)
BATH, Brihferth; BEDFORD, Aelfstan, Baldic; BUCKINGHAM, Tunulf;
CAMBRIDGE, Hunstan; CANTERBURY, Aelfstan, Boga, Wine;

CHESTER, Boga ; DERBY, Grim, Osulf; EXETER, lohan ;
 GLOUCESTER, Burhstan; GUILDFORD, Aelfweard; HERTFORD,
 Wulfmaer; IPSWICH, Leofric, Wilebeart; LEWES, Mannic, Theodgar ;
 LINCOLN, Adelaver, Eanulf, Grim, Grind, Hafgrim, Leofwig (Levig);
 LONDON, Aelfweard, Aethelred, Aethelwold, Eadelm, Wigferth ;
 LYDFORD, Aethered; LYMNE, Aethestan, Wine; NORWICH, Brantinc;
 OXFORD, Wulfred ; ROCHESTER, Sideman; SOUTHAMPTON, Cutel,
 Cylm, Eadnoth, Leofsige, Oswold; STAMFORD, Aelfwold, Aescman,
 Boia, Cnape, Grim, Hild, Leofinc, Ogea, Wacer, Wine, Wulfgar,
 Wulfstan; TAMWORTH, Deorulf; WARWICK, Osmaer; WILTON,
 Boiga; WINCHESTER, Eatstan, Wihtsige, Wulfstan; YORK, Aelfstan,
 Aethelwald, Beolan, Dun, lustun, Oda, Regenbald, Surklos, Stircar,
 Styr.

CHAPTER VI

AETHELRED II TO THE NORMAN CONQUEST

979-1066

THE steady accumulation of wealth in England during the tenth century is revealed in the enormous coinage of Aethelred II. Its survival in large numbers at the present day is not entirely due to the chance of discovery ; the number of mints was increased in his reign to about seventy-five and his moneyers were correspondingly numerous. The need for so large a coinage was occasioned by the payments of tribute to the Danes, which, it is believed, were made in great part, if not entirely, in coin. Hoards have been found very frequently in Scandinavia and neighbouring parts of Europe, and comparatively rarely in England. Six tribute payments amounted to a total of 155,000 lbs. of silver ; if this was paid in coin, neither the frequency of finds in Scandinavia nor the imitation of Aethelred's coins in Northern Europe are matters of surprise.

The workmanship of the coinage falls to a level of adequate but spiritless efficiency ; the designs are carefully but heavily engraved ; the striking of the coins is good. The size of the flan is reduced and the field in consequence tends to be crowded. One type, a very rare one, is an exception (Pl. XVI, 5); it bears the Agnus Dei and the Dove, which may be accepted as an allusion to the approach of the Millenium ; the issue can therefore be dated approximately to the year 1000. The other types do not present any particular interest, but the voiding of the cross on the reverse, which was introduced by Aethelred and later became a common device, had a financial aspect in its object of simplifying the division of the penny for small change.

The arrangement of the types in their proper sequence is

made possible by the numerous finds which were buried at such periods throughout the reign as to exclude from various hoards, one, two, three or four of the five types (disregarding the rare *Agnus Dei*). But the first type is always present in large numbers, and, as that type is muled with each of the other types and also provides the model of some rare early coins of Cnut, there seems no doubt that its issue was either continuous or spasmodic throughout the reign. It is usual to attribute this prolonged or repeated use of the first type to the abnormal conditions caused by the huge and hurried output for the indemnities to the Danes, but it is well to remember that in the previous reigns also the evidence of finds indicates a continuance of the first type of the reign after other types had come into use.

Perhaps we should not be wrong in regarding the coinage from the reign of Edward the Elder to that of Aethelred II as undergoing experimental development in two directions, towards the introduction of the king's portrait as an essential part of the coin-type, and towards the establishment of a suitable variety of designs, by means of which the king was able, at some date prior to the Norman Conquest, to enforce the payment of moneyers' fees ; the payment was made obligatory on delivery of dies at such times as the type was changed. Each of the kings from Edward the Elder to Edgar struck a portrait coinage and a plain coinage, but in every reign the portrait coinage was considerably smaller than the other and, as we have seen, the composition of the hoards suggests, or even demands, the conclusion that the two were issued at the same time. The kings seem at this period to be endeavouring to establish their effigy on the coin but at the same time to be not quite sure enough of their ground to abandon the traditional plain type ; it is only at the end of Edgar's reign that the portrait wins the day, and from that time the coinage is never without it save in very exceptional issues such as the Millenium type of the *Agnus Dei* and the Dove. The second experiment was the development of the designs ; at first this was done with no other object than the artistic improvement of the coins. Edward the Elder, Aethelstan and, occasionally, the later kings issued some coins which bear unusual artistic types and which are always exceptionally rare ; we have suggested above that the moneyers were permitted, perhaps encouraged, with this

development in view, to display on some small portion of their output their original designs. At the beginning of Edgar's reign were struck a rare penny and halfpenny with floral designs, which were probably issued while his first type was in issue. Later in his reign, when the naming of mints on the coins had come into regular use, a plain type, no. 4, and a portrait type, no. 5, were perhaps issued concurrently, but eventually his latest portrait issue, no. 6, held the field alone and was continued, with the necessary change of the king's name, by his successor.

Hoards buried in the reign of Cnut mingle with coins of Aethelred coins of type 2 alone,¹ or types 2 and 3, or types 2, 3, and 4 in a proportion which shows that in this reign the types were issued in sequence, not concurrently; the intervals between the changes of type, if the changes were made at regular intervals, were longer than in the Confessor's reign, when there were ten types issued in twenty-four years. Aethelred's coinage, therefore, represents an incomplete stage in the development of the type-changing system, when the first type continues while other types appear in succession; the reason for this peculiar feature may be found, if we have rightly interpreted the coinage of previous reigns, in a conservative regard for the type introduced by Edgar.

The eleventh century is not remarkable for the interest of its coin designs, unless the word *Pax*, which appears on pennies of the Confessor, Harold II, William I, and Henry I, was used with political significance; attempts to find political events to fit all the dates required have led to the word being strained in its sense and attached to bargains and dubious pacts. Perhaps it is safer to regard it as nothing more than a conventional design, or at least to admit that it may have conveyed a prayer in evil times as well as a boast in peaceful days.

The portraits of Cnut introduce for the first time the crown and the peaked helmet (Pl. XVI, 12, 13). Edward is represented beardless on his first five types; his ninth type makes the first attempt at a facing portrait (Pl. XVII, 13); in one issue the usual portrait is displaced by a somewhat naive

¹ Type i of Cnut is a brief continuation of the Aethelred coinage with name changed.

representation of a throned figure with a reverse design disposing birds, perhaps martlets, about a cross (Pl. XVII, II).

Hoards buried at various times in the Confessor's reign, of which the more noteworthy were found in Co. Wexford in 1838, at Sedlescombe in 1876, at Chancton in 1865, at Whitchurch, and at St. Mary Hill, London, in 1774, combine various groups of types and fully demonstrate their mutually exclusive issue; their order is proved by mules, which are known combining every consecutive pair of types except nos. 2 and 3 and nos. 3 and 4.

The most important feature of the period is the reduction of the weight of the penny, probably to meet the lower weight of Scandinavian systems. A few of Cnut's early coins were struck at the heavier standard, probably $22\frac{1}{2}$ grs., which was not restored till the issue of the fifth type of the Confessor, when some pennies soared as high as 25 to 27 grs. before they returned to the normal level; the lower weight was therefore adopted from shortly after Cnut's accession till approximately the year 1055.

There are two gold coins of this period. One, which was found in Sussex in 1808, was struck with dies made for a Lewes penny of the fourth type of Aethelred II; its weight is $51^{\wedge}$ grs. (Pl. XVI, 4). The other, of the fifth type of the Confessor, weighing $54^{\wedge}$ grs., is of the Warwick mint; its provenance is not known, but it is believed to be a genuine coin.

The types of the silver pennies of Aethelred II to Harold II are:—

Aethelred II (979-1016). AETHELRAED REX, with or without ANGLORVM.

1. O. Bust to 1. JR. Small cross. (The type continued concurrently with the following issues.) (Pl. XVI, 6.)
2. O. Bust to r. R. Hand between Alpha and Omega. (Pl. XVI, 7.)
3. O. Bust to 1. with sceptre. R. CRVX in angles of short cross voided. (Pl. XVI, 8.)
4. O. Bust to 1. in radiate helmet. R. Quadrilateral over long voided cross. (Pl. XVI, 9.)
5. O. Bust to 1. dividing legend. R. Long cross voided. (Pl. XVI, 10.)
6. A type struck probably in connection with the Millenium (its place in the series is not known). O. Agnus Dei. R. Dove. (Pl. XVI, 5.)

Cnut (1016-1035). CNVT REX, with or without ANGLORVM.

1. Coins with Aethelred's types nos. i and 5 bearing name of Cnut. (Pl. XVI, ii.)
2. O. Crowned bust to 1. in quatrefoil. R. Cross voided, quatrefoil frame. Varieties have sceptre added, or bust to r. (Pl. XVI, 12.)

3. *O.* Bust to 1. in pointed helmet. *R.* Short cross voided with bosses. A variety has bust to r. (PL XVI, 13.)
4. *O.* Long bust to 1. with sceptre. *R.* Short cross voided. (PL XVI, 14.)
5. *O.* Long bust to 1. with hand holding sceptre. *R.* Small quatrefoil over short cross voided. (PL XVI, 15.)
6. *O.* Bust to 1. without sceptre. *R.* Cross of four jewels. (PL XVI, 16.)

Harold I (1035-1040). HAROLD REX.

1. *O.* Bust to 1. *R.* Cross of four jewels (as last type of Cnut). (PL XVII, i.)
2. *O.* Bust to 1. with sceptre. *R.* Long cross voided with trefoils or fleurs. (PL XVII, 2.)

Harthacnut (1040-1042). HARTHACNVT or HARTHCNVT with or without REX.

1. *O.* Bust to r. (occasionally to 1.) *R.* Cross of four jewels (as reverse of Cnut, no. 6, and Harold, no. i.) (PL XVII, 3.)
2. *O.* Bust to 1. with sceptre. *R.* Quadrilateral over cross voided (as Cnut, no. 5). (PL XVII, 4.)

Edward Confessor (1042-1066). EDWARD or EDWERD REX, etc.

1. *O.* Bust to 1. with sceptre. *R.* Quadrilateral over cross voided (similar to Harthacnut's second type, but with trefoils at angles of the quadrilateral). (PL XVII, 5.)
2. *O.* Radiate bust to 1. *R.* Small cross. (PL XVII, 6.)
3. *O.* Bust to 1. *R.* Cross voided. Very small flans. (PL XVII, 7.)
4. *O.* Bust to 1. with sceptre. *R.* PACX in angles of voided cross. (PL XVII, 8.)
5. *O.* Bust to 1. with sceptre. *R.* Expanding cross. (PL XVII, 9.)
6. *O.* Bust to r. with peaked helmet and sceptre. *R.* Cross voided with crescent ends. (PL XVII, 10.)
7. *O.* King enthroned. *R.* Cross voided and martlets. (PL XVII, ix.)
8. *O.* Crowned bust to r. with sceptre. *R.* Cross voided with hammer ends. (PL XVII, 12.)
9. *O.* Crowned bust facing. *R.* Small cross. (PL XVII, 13.)
10. *O.* Crowned bust to r. with sceptre. *R.* Cross voided and pyramids. (PL XVII, 14.)

Harold II (1066). HAROLD REX ANGL, etc.

- O.* Crowned head to 1. with sceptre. *R.* PAX between two lines across field. (PL XVII, 15.)

In the following list of mints and moneyers the reigns in which the moneyers worked are indicated by the letters Ae (Aethelred II), Cn (Cnut), Hi (Harold I), Ht (Harthacnut), Ed (Confessor), Hii (Harold II). AXBRIDGE ? (Acxepo, Agepor): Golda (Ht), Goldcuta (Ht), Leof-ric (Ht), -wine (Cn).

AYLESfCURY (Aegel): Aethelwine (Cn), Aelf- wi (Cn), -gar (Ae), -werd (Cn), Eadric (Cn), Leof- stan (Ae), -wine (Ed), Wulfred (Ed).

BARNSTAPLE (Bearda, Bard): Aelf- elm (Ae), -gar (Cn Hi), -ric (Ed), -sige (Ae), Ata (Cn), Beorhtvulf (Ae), Birhsige (Ae Cn), Huniga (Ae), Wulf- maer (Ae).

- BATH : Aegel- maer (Cn to Ed), -ric (Ae), -wine (Cn), Aelf- ric (Ae Cn), -wig (Hi), -wine (Cn), -wold (Ae Cn), Aethel- maer (Ed), -ric (Ae Cn), -stan (Ae Cn), Brunic (Cn), Burnwine (Ae), Eorlewine (Ed), Godric (Ed), Hildesige (Ae), Leofwine (Ae), Osmaer (Ed), Waedell (Cn to Ed), Willewine (Ed), Wynstan (Ae).
- BEDFORD : Aegelmaer (Cn Hi Ed), Aelf- stan (Ae), -wi (Ae), Byrnwine (Ae), God- cild (Ed), -ric (Ae Cn Ed), -wine (Cn Ed), Gunni (Ae), Leof- noth (Ae), -si (Cn), -thegn (Hi Ed), -wine (Ae Cn Hi), Lufinc (Ae), Mangod (Cn), Os- gar (Ae), -wig (Ae), Sigod (Ed Hii), Swota (Cn to Ed), Swotric (Ed), Ulfcytel (Ed), Wulfwig (Ed Hii).
- BEDWYN (Bedewin): Cild (Ed).
- BERKLEY (Beorc): Edgar (Ed).
- BRIDPORT (Brydge): Aegelmaer (Cn), Aestestan (Ae), Eadnoth (Ae), Godric (Ae), Hwateman (Cn Ht Ed), Wine (Ae). Or STOCKBRIDGE (see B.N.J., XX).
- BRISTOL (Bricsto): Aegelwine (Cn to Ed), Aelf- ric (Cn Ed), -werd (Ae Hi Ed), -wig (Ed), -wine (Cn Ed Hii), Aestestan (Ae Cn Ed), Ceorl (Ed Hii), God- wine (Ed), Leofwine (Cn Hi Hii), Saewine (Cn to Ed), Wulf- noth (Hi), -stan (Cn), -wine (Cn to Ed), Wunsige (Cn).
- BRUTON (Briut): Effi (Cn), Aelfelm (Cn).
- BUCKINGHAM (Bucin): Aelfwi (Ae), Aestan (Ed), Brihtwine (Hi), Leof- ric (Cn), -wine (Hi Ed), Tunulf (Ae).
- BURY ST. EDMUNDS (Edmund) : Leofwine (Hi), Morcere (Ed).
- CADBURY (Cadanburi, Cadebr): Aelfelm (Cn), God (Ae), Godefryd (Ae), Swet (Cn), Winas (Ae Cn), Wulfelm (Ae).
- CAMBRIDGE (Granteb): Ada (Cn), Aelf- ric (Ae), -wig (Ae to Ed), -wine (Ae Ed), Cnit (Ae Cn), Ead- mund (Ae), -ric (Ae), -werd (Ed), -stan (Ed), -wacer (Hi), -wine (Ae Cn), God- lamb (Ed), -ric (Ae), -sunu (Cn Ht Ed), -wine (Ae Cn Ed), Grim (Cn), Hunstan (Ae), Leof- noth (Ae), -sige (Ae Cn), Os- cytel (Ae), -get (Hi), Saecolf (Ed), Sidwine (Ae), Staengrim (Cn), Stircere (Hi), Wibaern (Ed), Wulf- gar (Ae), -maer (Cn), -sige (Ae Cn), -wine (Hi Ed Hii).
- CANTERBURY : Aelf- red (Ae to Ed), -ric (Cn Hi Ed), -ward (Ed), -wine (Cn Hii), Boga (Ae), Brihtred (Cn Hi), Brunman (Ed), Cytel (Hi), Duda (Ae), Ed- ric (Ed), -ward (Ed Hii), -wine (Hii), -wold (Ae Cn), God- man (Ae Cn), -ric (Ae Cn), -sunu (Cn Ed), -wine (Ae Cn), Goldwine (Ae Hi Ed), Leof- noth (Ae to Ht), -ric (Ae), -stan (Ae Cn Hi Ed), -wine (Cn to Ed), -wold (Ae), Lifinc (Ae Hi), Mana (Ed Hii), Rudcarl (Ed), Sired (Ed), Stan- herd (Ed), Ulf (Ae), Win- daeg (Cn to Ht), -raed (Cn Hi), Wulf- noth (Hi), -red (Ed Hii), -stan (Ae Cn Hi Ed), -wig (Ae to Hi).
- CHESTER (Leigeces, etc.): Aelf- noth (Ae Cn), -sige (Cn to Ed), -sige Alda (Ed), -stan (Ae Hi), -wine (Ae Cn Hi), Aetheric (Cn), Alcsige (Ae Cn Ed Hii), Boga (Ae), Bruninc (Ed), Brunnusel (Ed), Ciolnoth (Cn), Col- bein (Cn), -brand (Ed), Croc (Cn Hi), Deorlaf (Ae), Dunninc (Ed), Eadric (Ae), Fargrim (Ed), Gillicrist (Hi Ht), God- a (Ae), -ric (Cn Ed), -wine (Ae Cn), Gunleof (Ae Cn), Huscarl (Ed), Leof- a (Ae), -noth (Ae Cn Hi Ed), -sige (Cn), -wig (Cn Hi Ed), -wine (Ae to Ed), Lifinc (Cn), Macsuthan (Cn),

Riculf (Ae), Snell (Cn to Ed), Sweart- col (Ed), -inc (Cn Hi), Swegen (Ae Cn Hi), Trotan (Cn), Thorald (Ae), Thront (Ed Hii), Wul- laf (Ae), -noth (Cn Hi), -sie (Cn).

CHICHESTER : Aegelm (Cn), Aelf- ric (Cn Hi), -wine (Ae Ed Hii), Aeth- elm (Ae Cn), -estan (Ae), Brihtnoth (Cn), Cunna (Ae), Ead- noth (Ae), -wi (Ed), God- a (Hi), -ric (Hi), -wine (Ed Hii), Heawulf (Ae), Leof- ric (Ae Cn Hi), -wine (Cn Ht), Wulf- ric (Ed), Wunstan (Ae).

COLCHESTER : Aelfv- vine (Ae Cn Ed), Brihtric (Ed Hii), Brun- man (Cn), -hyse (Ed), Deorman (Ed), Ead- mund (Ae), -wine (Ae Cn), God- ric (Ae to Hi), -wine (Ae Ed), Goldman (Ed), Leof- red (Ae), -stan (Ae), -ward (Ed), -wig (Ae), -wold (Ae), Manwine (Ae), Sidwine (Ae), Stanmaer (Ed), Swetinc (Ae), Toca (Ae), Wulf- noth (Ae), -ric (Ae), -wine (Ae Cn Hi Ed Hii), -stan (Ae).

CREWKERNE (Crucem): Winas (Ae Cn).

CRICHLADE (Crocglad): Aegelwine (Cn to Ed), Aelfwine (Ae Cn Hi Ed), Aethel -sige (Ae), -stan (Ae), -wine (Ae Cn), Brihtwine (Cn), God- man (Ae Cn), -wine (Cn), Hildred (Cn), Leof- god (Ae), -red (Ed Hii), Lifinc (Cn), Saewine (Ae), Sidewine (Cn), Toca (Ae Cn), Wulfwine (Cn).

DERBY : Blacaman (Ae Hi Ed), Colbin (Ed), Froma (Ed Hii), God- ric (Cn Hi Ed), -wine (Ae), Gunar (Ae), Leofwine (Ed), Os- gar (Ae), -ulf (Ae), Swartinc (Cn to Ed), Wulf- eh (Cn to Ed), -sige (Ae), -stan (Ae).

DEREHAM? (Dyr): Wulgar (Ed).

DORCHESTER : Aegelic (Hi Ht), Blacaman (Ed), Godwine (Hi to Ed), Hwateman (Cn Hi Ed), Osbern (Cn), Sweta (Cn), Wulfnoth (Ae).

DOVER : Aelf- stan (Cn), -wine (Ed), Boga (Ae to Ed), Brihtmaer (Ae Cn), Cenric (Ae), Ceolwi (Ed), Cin- sige (Ae Cn), -stan (Cn to Hii), Ead- sige (Ae to Ed), -wine (Cn Hi Ed), God- man (Ae Cn), -wine (Ae Ed), Gunsig (Cinsig ?) (Ae Cn), Leof- ric (Ae Cn), -wine (Ae Cn Ht Ed), Man- nine (Ae Cn), -wine (Ed), Osferd (Ae), Sweartafe (Cn), Wulf- stan (Ae), -ward (Ed Hii), -wi (Ed).

EXETER : Aelf- ic (Cn), -maer (Ae), -noth (Ae), -ric (Ae Cn Ed), -stan (Ae Ht), -wine (Cn Ed), Aestestan (Ae), Brun (Ae), Byrh- aed (Ae), -ferth (Ae) -sige (Ae), -stan (Ae), -trie (Ae Hii), Carla (Ae to Hi), Cytel (Ae), Dodda (Cn Ht), Dudel (Ae), Dunstan (Ae), Ead- maer (Ae to Ed), -ric (Ae), -sige (Cn Ed), -sige Ware (Cn), -stan (Ae), -ward (Ed), -wine (Ae Cn Ed), Ealdaberd (Cn), God- a (Ae Cn), -wine (Ae Ht), Haer- ra (Hi Ht), Hunna (Hi), Hune- man (Cn), -wine (Ae Cn Ed), Isegod (Ae Cn), Leof- ric (Ae), -sun (Ae), -wine (Cn Hi Ed Hii), Lifinc (Cn Ed Hii), Luda (Ae), Man- god (Ae), -leof (Hi Ht), -a (Ae Cn), Sae- wine (Ae Cn Ed), -wulf (Ed), Scula (Cn), Thegnwine (Cn Ht), Thurgod (Ae Cn), Tuna (Ae), Wicing (Ed), Wine (Cn), Wulf- maer (Ed), -noth (Hi to Ed), -ric (Cn Ed), -sige (Ae Cn), -stan (Ae Cn), -ward (Cn), -wine (Ed), Wynsige (Ae).

GLOUCESTER : Aegelic (Cn to Ed), Aelfsig (Cn to Hii), Bolla (Cn), Brihtnoth (Ed Hii), Eawulf (Ed), God- ric (Cn to Ed), -wine (Ae Cn Ed), Leof- noth (Cn to Ed), -sige (Ae Cn), -stan (Ed), -wine (Ed Hii), Ordric (Hii), Selc- wine (Ed Hii), Silac (Ed), Sired (Ae Cn), Wihtsige (Ae), Wulf- gaet (Ed Hii), -noth (Cn Ht), -werd (Cn to Ed), -wig (Ed).

- GOTHANBYRIG (Ythanceastre on site of Bradwell-on-sea ?; Giotha, lotha): Aelfward (Cn), Carla (Cn), Goda (Ae), Leofmaer (Cn Hi), Wulfmaer (Ae Cn).
- GUILDFORD : Aelf- ric (Ed), -wine (Ed), -wold (Cn), Blacaman (Cn Ht Ed), Dun- cild (Ae), -stan (Ae), Godwine (Ed), Leofwold (Ae Ed Hii), Smeawine (Cn), Wulfsig (Cn).
- HAMWIC (possibly Southampton, see *N.C.*, 1921, p. 96, but the moneyers are not found with the reading *Hamhuri*): Aethel- man (Ae), -weard (Ae), God- man (Ae), Isegel (Ae).
- HASTINGS : Aegelsige (Cn), Aelf- red (Ae Cn Ht), -ward (Ae to Hi), Brid (Cn to Ed), Brihtnoth (Cn), Colswegen (Ed Hii), Duninc (Ed Hii), Ead- noth (Cn), -sige (Ae Cn), Leofwine (Cn Ed), Lifinc (Ae Hi), Theodred (Ed Hii), Wulf- ric (Ed).
- HEREFORD : Aegelric (Ed), Aelf- gaet (Ae), -stan (Ae), -wig (Ae Cn Hi Ed Hii) -wine (Ae), Aethel- wig (Ae), -wine (Ae), Byrhtstan (Ae), Dilion (Ae), Earnwi (Hi to Ed), Edric (Ae Cn Ed Hii), Eistan (Cn), Godman (Ae), Hwateman (Ae), Leof- gar (Ae Cn), -here (Cn), -noth (Cn to Ed), Lumar (Ae), Ordric (Cn to Ed), Raedulf (Ed), Wulf- sige (Cn to Ht), -wine (Ed).
- HERTFORD (Heort): Aelfwine (Ed), Aethelwerd (Ae), Beornulf (Ae), Boga (Ae), Byrhtlaf (Ae), Deorsige (Cn Hi Ed), Edwi (Ae Ed), God- man (Hi Ed), -wine (Ed), Goldwine (Ed), Leof- inc (Cn), -ric (Cn), Saemaer (Ed), Thidraed (Ed), Wilgrip (Ed), Wulf- noth (Ae), -ric (Ae Cn).
- HORNDON? (Hornidune): Dudinc (Ed).
- HUNTINGDON : Ada (Cn), Aelf- gaet (Ae), -noth (Ae Cn), -ric (Ae), -sige (Cn), -wine (Ht Ed), Aethel- stan (Ae), -werd (Cn), Ead- noth (Cn), -wine (Ae), Faerden (Cn), God- leof (Cn), -man (Cn), -ric (Cn Ed), -wine (Ed Hii), Leofn (Ae), Leof- ric (Ae Ed) -wine (Cn Ed), Manwine (Ae), Osgod (Ae), Saewine (Ae), Staner (Cn), Ulfcetel (Ed), Wulf- gar (Ae), -stan (Cn), -wig (Ht Ed), -wine (Hi to Ed), Wynsige (Cn).
- HYTHE : Aelfwine (Ed), Goldwine (Ed), Guthred (Ed).
- ILCHESTER (Gifelcst): Aegel- wig (Cn Ht), -wine (Hi to Hii), Aelf- elm (Ae), sige (Ae Cn), -wine (Cn Ed), -wine Mus (Cn), Aethel- maer (Cn), -ric (Ae), -wi (Cn), Dunberd (Ed), God (Ae), God- ric (Cn to Ed), -wine (Cn), Hune- wine (Ae), Leof- ric (Ae), -sige (Ae Cn), -wine (Cn Ed), Os- ward (Ed), -wig (Cn), Winas (Ae), Wulf- elm (Ae Cn), -ric (Ed).
- IPSWICH (Gipeswic): Aegelbriht (Cn Hi), Aelfwine (Ed Hii), Aethelberht (Cn), Brantinc (Ae Cn), Brihtric (Ed), Bruman (Ed Hii), Brunmc (Ed), Ed- ric (Ae Cn), -wi (Ed), Festulf (Cn), Folherd (Cn), God- ric (Ae), -wine (Ae), Gotsa- linc (Cn), Leof- man (Ae), -ric (Ae Cn), -sige (Ae Cn), -stan (Ae Cn Ed Hii), -wold (Ed), Lifinc (Ae to Ed), Lytelman (Ae), Ode (Ae Cn), Osulf (Ae), Siwold (Ae), Waltferth (Ae), Widfara (Hi), Wilebeart (Ae), Wulsie (Ed).
- LANGPORT: Aegelwine (Cn Hi), Aelfwerd (Hi), Dunberd (Ht), Edric (Cn), Eilwine (Ed), Godwine (Cn),
- LAUNCESTON (Lansth): Brun (Ae).

LEICESTER (Liger, Liher): Aegel- ric (Ed), -wig (Cn), -wine (Cn Ed Hii), Aelf- ric (Ae), -wig (Ae Cn), Aethelwig (Ae Cn), Dun (Ae), Edwine (Ed), Gildewine (Ed), Godric (Ed), Leofric (Ed Hii), Osferth (Ae), Outholf (Ed), Saewine (Hi Ht Ed), Thurulf (Ae), Wlancthegn (Cn), Wulf- gaet (Ae), -noth (Ae Cn Hi Ed), -ric (Ae Ed), -stan (Cn Hi), -wine (Cn Ht).

LEWES : Aelf- gar (Ae), -noth (Ae), -sie (Ed), -werd (Ae Cn), Dirinc (Ed), Ead- gar (Ae), -ward (Cn to Ed), -wig (Ed), -wine (Cn Hi Ed), Godferth (Ae Cn), -man (Ae Cn), -ric (Ed), -wine (Hi Ed Hii), Goldstan (Ae), Hereberht (Ae), Leof- a (Ae Cn Hii), -man (Ed), -noth (Ae Cn), -si (Cn), -stan (Ae), -ward (Ed Hii) -wine (Ae Cn Ed), Merewine (Ae), Northman (Cn to Ed), Os- laf (Ae), -mund (Ed), -wold (Ae Ed Hii), Theodgar (Ae), Wulf- stan (Ae), -wine (Ed).

LINCOLN : Aegel- maer (Cn Hii), -wine (Ht), Aelf- gaet (Ed Hii), -noth (Cn to Ed), -ric (Cn), -sige (Ae Cn), -wig (Hi), -wine (Ed), Aescman (Ae), Aethelbriht (Ae), -maer (Ae Cn), -noth (Ae Cn), Agamund (Ed Hii), As- see Os-, Auti (Ed), Boga (Ae), Bnhtric (Cn Ed), Brun- inc (Ed), -tat (Ae Cn), Cillm (Ed), Cinwig (Cn), Cnut (Cn), Colgrim (Ae to Ed), Crina (Cn), Cytllbern (Ae), Dreng (Ae Cn), Ead- mund (Ae Ed), -ric (Cn Hi Ed), -wine (Cn Hi Ed), Faer- man (Ae), -then (Ae), Garfin (Ae Ed Hii), Gife (Ae Ed), God- inc (Ae), -ric (Cn to Ed), -ric Swot (Cn), -wine (Ae Cn), Grim (Ae), Grimcetel (Cn), Grind (Ae), Harthacnut (Cn Hi), Hildulf (Ht), lustein (Ae Cn), Leodmaer (Cn Ed), Leof- man (Ae), -noth (Hi), -ric (Ae Cn), -wig (Ae Hi), -wine (Ae Cn Hi Ed), -wold (Ed), Leothan (Cn Hi), Lifinc (Ae to Ed), Mana (Ae Cn Ed), Matathan (Cn Hi), Matathan Balluc (Cn), Os- ferth (Ae to Ed), -fram (Ae Cn), -got (Ae Cn), -lac (Cn Hi Ed), -mund (Ae to Ht), Oth- bern (Ae Cn Hi ? Ed), -grim (Ae Cn Hi Ed Hii), Raeinold (Ae) Rafen (Ae), Rodberht (Ae), Snelinc (Ae Cn), Stegen- bit (Ae), -cil (Ae), Stircar (Ae), Sumerlede (Ae to Ed), Sunegod (Ae Cn), Swafa (Cn Hi Ed), Swart (Cn), Swart- brand (Cn Hi), -inc (Cn to Ed), Theod- geld (Ae), -red (Ae), Thur- cetel (Ae Cn), -grim (Cn Ht Ed), -stan (Ae Hi), -ulf (Cn), Ulf (Ae Ed Hii), Ulf- see Wulf-, Unbegen (Ae), Utti see Auti, Wadlos (Cn Hi), Walraeffan (Cn Hi Ed), Weddes (Cn), Wineman (Ed), Wulf- beorn (Ae to Ed), -cetel (Ae Cn), -gaet (Ae Cn Hi), -gar (Ae Ed), -grim (Ae), -maer (Ae Hii), -noth (Cn Hi Ht), -ric (Ae Cn Hi Ed), -wine (Ae Cn),

LONDON : Aegel- ric (Ed), -ward (Cn Ht Ed), -wig (Ed), -wine (Ae Cn Ed), Aegnulf (Ae), Aelf- eh (Cn), -gar (Ae Cn Ed Hii), -get (Ae Cn Ed), -noth (Ae Hi Ed), -red (Ae Cn Hi Ed), -ric (Ae Cn Hi Ed), -sige (Ae Cn Ed), -stan (Ae Cn Ed), -ward (Ae Cn Ed), -wig (Ae Cn Ed), -wine (Ae to Ed), -wold (Ae Hi Ed), Aethel- maer (Ae), -red (Ae), -ric (Ae), -sige (Ae), -stan (Ae), -werd (Ae), -wine (Ae Cn Ht), -wold (Ae), -wulf (Ae), As- see Os-, Beornulf (Ae), Boga (Ae), Borstig (Cn), Briht- fei th (Ae Cn), -laf (Ae), -maer (Ae Cn Hi Ed), -noth (Ae Cn), -red (Cn Ed), -sige (Ed), -wine (Cn Ed), -wold (Ae Cn), Brun (Ae Hi Ht), Brun- gar (Cn Hi Ed), -inc (Cn Ed), -man (Ae to Ed), -sige (Ae), -stan (Ae), Bured (Ed), Carel (Ae ? Cn), Ceolnoth (Ae), Cine- maer (Ed), -wig (Hi), -wold (Hi), Coleman (Cn), Corf (Hi Ht Ed), Cynsige (Ae), Deor- inc (Cn Ed), -man (Ae Cn Ed), -sige (Ae), -wig (Cn), Dudinc

(Hi Ed), Dunstan (Cn), Ead- elm (Ae), -gar (Ae Cn Ed), -laf (Ae), -mund (Ae Cn Ed), -noth (Ae Cn), -red (Ae Cn Hi Ed), -ric (Ae to Ed), -sige (Ae Cn Ed), -werd (Ae Cn), -wig (Ae to Ed), -wine (Ae to Hii) -wold (Ae Cn Hi Ed), -wulf (Cn Ed), Eald- gar (Ae Cn Ed Hii), -red (Ae Cn), Ealhstan (Ae), East- maer (Ed), -mund (Ed), Ecferth (Ae), Fareman (Hi), Frethi (Cn), God- a (Ae to Ht), -ere (Ae Cn Ed), -inc (Cn), -leof (Cn), -man (Ae to Ed), -ric (Ae Cn Hi Ed Hii), -ric Calic (Cn Ht), -sige (Hi Ht), -sun (Ed), -wine (Ae to Ed), -win Steper (Hi), Goldwine (Ae Ed), Goltsige (Hi Ht Ed), Heawulf (Ae), Huwine (Cn), Leof- maer (Cn), -noth (Ae), -red (Ae to Ed), -red Brun (Cn Ht), -ric (Ae Cn Hi Ed), -sige (Cn Ed Hii), -stan (Ae to Ed), -wig (Cn Ed), -wine (Ae Cn Hi Ed), -wold (Ae Cn), Lifinc (Ae to Ed), Oda (Ae), Orlaf (Ed), Os- cytel (Ae), -ferth (Ae Cn), -mund (Ae Ed Hii), -ulf (Ae Cn), -wig (Ae), -wold (Ae), Sibwine (Ae), Si- nod (Cn), -red (Cn Ed), Spracinc (Ed), Stithulf (Cn), Sunegod (Ae), Swan (Cn), Swet- inc (Ae Cn), -man (Ae Ed Hii), Theod- red (Ae Cn), -ulf (Ae), Thor (Ed), Thor- ed (Cn), -sige (Ae), Toca (Ae Cn), Widia (Hi), Wihfred (Ed), Wulf- gar (Ae Cn Hi Ed Hii), -maer (Ae Cn), -noth (Ae Cn), -red (Ae Cn Ht Ed), -ric (Ae Cn Ed), -sige (Ae Cn Hi Ed), -stan (Ae Cn Hi Ed), -ward (Hi Ed Hii), -wine (Ae Cn Hi Ed), Wyn- sige (Ae Cn Hi), -stan (Cn).

LYDFORD: Aelf- ric (Cn Hi Ed), -stan (Ae), -wine (Cn Hi), Aethe- red (Ae), -stan (Ae), Bruma (Ae Cn), God- a (Ae), -ric (Ae Cn), -wine (Ae), Saewine (Cn), Wilinc (Cn Hi).

LYMNE (Limen): Eatstan (Ae), Edwerd (Ae), Godric (Ae Cn), Leofric (Ae), Wine (Ae).

MALDON (Maeldun): Aelfwine (Ae Cn), Aethelwine (Ae Cn), Ceolnoth (Cn), Daeinint (Ed), Eadwold (Ae), God- ere (Cn), -man (Hi), -ric (Ed), -wine (Cn Ed Hii), Leof- thegn (Hi), -wine (Ae Cn), Swetric (Ed), Toga (Ae), Wulfwine (Hi).

MALMESBURY (Mealdmes): Briht- stan (Cn), -noth (Cn), -wine (Ed Hii), Brunin (Cn), Eald- red (Ae), -wig (Ed), -wine (Ed), Hunna (Cn to Ed), Leof- get (Ae), -noth (Ae).

MILBORNE? (Myle): Aethelric (Ae), Godwine (Cn), Swetinc (Cn).

NEWPORT (Newir): Leofvvine (Ae), Saewan (Ed), Sired (Ed).

NORWICH: Aelf- erth (Cn), -ric (Ae Cn), -wine (Hi Ed), -wold (Hi), Aethel- wine (Ae), Asdrith (Ae Cn), Boga (Hi), Brantinc (Ae), Cen- elm (Ed), -ric (Ae), Ead- mund (Ae Cn), -wacer (Ae Cn), -wine (Ae Ed), Folcard (Ae), God- man (Ed) -wine (Cn Ed Hii), Grim (Cn), Hwateman (Ae Cn), Leof- maer (Ae), -ric (Ae Cn Hi Ed), -stan (Ae), -wine (Ae to Ed), Lifinc (Ae), Maninc (Ae), Manna (Cn Hi Ed), Os- lac (Cn), -mund (Ht Ed), -wold (Ae Cn), Price (Ed), Ringulf (Cn Hi Ed), Siric (Cn), Swertinc (Ae Cn), Thur- ferth (Cn Ed), -grim (Ed Hii) -stan (Ae Cn Ed Hii), Ulfcetel (Ae), Wulf- maer (Ae), -sige (Ed).

NOTTINGHAM (Snotinc): Alhmund (Ed), Arngrim (Ed), Blacaman (Cn to Ed), Brunic (Cn), Forna (Ed Hii), Haldene (Ed), Leofsige (Ed), Manna (Hii), Oswold (Ae), Saegrim (Cn Hi), Snoter (Ed), Sumerlede (Ae), Wulnoth (Ht Ed).

OXFORD : Aegel- ric (Cn to Ed), -wig (Hi to Ed), -wine (Ht Ed), Aelf- maer (Ae Hi), -wig (Ed Hii), -wine (Ae Cn Hi Ed) -wold (Ae Cn), Aethel- maer (Ac), -ric (Ae Cn), -wine (Ae), Briht- red (Ed), -wine (Ae Cn), -wold (Ed Hii), Coleman (Ae Cn Hi), Ead- wig (Cn Hi Ht), -wine (Cn Ed), God- inc (Ae), -man (Cn), -wine (Cn to Ed), Halfdene (Ed), Heregod (Ed), Leof- man (Ae), -wine (Ae Hi Ed), Lifinc (Cn Hi Ht), Saewine (Cn), Sibwine (Cn), Swetman (Ed), Wulf- maer (Cn), -wine (Ae Cn Ed).

PERSHORE ? (Peresc): Wulfric (Ed).

PETHERTON ? (Pedr) : Brihtric (Ed).

READING (Readin): Aethestan (Ae), Brihtric (Ed), Corff (Ed).

RICHBOROUGH. Coins attributed to this mint are all probably Danish.

ROCHESTER (Rofec) : Aelf- ege (Cn), -heh (Ae to Ht), -wold (Cn), Brihtmaer (Ae), Ead- helm (Ae), -noth (Ae Cn), -sige (Ae), -werd (Ae), -wine (Ae Ed), Godwine (Ae to Ed), Goldwine (Ae), Leof- ric (Ae), -stan (Ed Hii), -wine (Cn Ed Hii), Lifwine Horn (Ed), Osferth (Ae), Side- man (Ae) -wine (Ae), Wulfric (Ed).

ROMNEY : Aelfwerd (Cn), Aethel- ric (Cn), -wine (Ae), Brungar (Ed), Ead- maer (Hi), -noth (Cn), Estin (Ed), God- man (Cn) -ric (Cn), Leof- ric (Ed), -stan (Ae), -wine (Ae Cn), Manna (Ae), Wul- maer (Ed Hii), -noth (Ae Cn Hi).

SALISBURY (Serebyrig) : Aelf- noth (Ae Cn), -red (Cn Hi), -wine (Cn), -wold (Ed), God- ric (Ed), -wine (Ae to Ed), Goldus (Ae Cn), Leof- stan (Cn), -wold (Cn), Sae- bode (Ed), -man (Ae Cn), -wine (Ae), Wineman (Cn Ed), Winstan (Cn Hi).

SANDWICH : Brunstan (Cn), Farehir (Ed), Leofwine (Ed), Swartgar (Ae).

SHAFTESBURY (Sceftesbr, Ceftes): Aegel- ric (Ae to Ht), -wine (Hii), Aelf- noth (Hii), -werd (Ed), -wine (Ae Cn), Aethel- gar (Ae), -maer (Ae), -ric (Ae Cn), -stan (Ae), -wig (Ae), Beola (Cn), Byrhtwold (Ae), God- a (Ae Cn), -esbrand (Ed), -ric (Hii), Lufa (Ae Cn), Saewine (Ae Cn), Wulf- noth (Cn), -ric (Hi Ed), Wydecoc (Ed).

SHREWSBURY (Scrobes) : Aefic (Ae), Aegelric (Ed Hii), Aelf- heh (Ae Cn Ht Ed), -helm (Cn), -stan (Ae), Brungar (Ae Cn), Crinan (Cn), Eat- sige (Ae Cn), -stan (Cn), Earnwi (Ed), God- esbrand (Ed), -wine (Cn Ed), Grim (Cn), Leof- helm (Ae), -noth (Ae), -sige (Ae), -stan (Cn Hi Ed), -sunu (Ae), -wine (Cn Hi Ed), Martin (Ae), Oswold (Ae), Riculf (Ae), Swota (Cn), Unspac (Ae), Winsige (Ae), Wydeman (Ed), Wulf- gaet (Cn Hi Ed), -maer (Ae Cn Ed Hii), -red (Cn Hi).

SIDBURY (Sithesteb) ? : Ciolnoth (Ae), Godwine (*Sidmes*, Ae), Leofwine (Cn).

SOUTHAMPTON¹ (Ham tun : see also HAMWIC above) : Aelf- sige (Cn), -werd (Cn), -wine (Cn to Ed), Aethelnoth (Ae), Bruninc (Ae), Cinsige (Cn), Ead- wine (Cn), Godric (Cn Ht), Leof- noth (Cn), -ric (Ed), -sige (Ae), -stan (Ae Hii), -wine (Ae Cn Hi Ed), -wold (Ae Cn), Lifinc (Ae), Saewine (Ed Hii), Seolca (Ae), Siboda (Cn), Swetman (Ed Hii), Swileman (Ae) Thur- cetel (Ae), Wulf- noth (Ae Ed), -ric (Ae).

SOUTHWARK (Suthgew): Aegel- ric (Cn), -wine (Cn Hi Ht), Aelf- gar (Cn), -ric (Ae Cn), -sige (Cn), -werd (Cn), -wine (Ae Cn Ht Ed), Aethelwerd (Ae), Boga (Ae), Briht- helm (Ae), -maer (Cn), Eadwerd (Cn), -wine (Ae Cn),

¹ Or Northampton ? see *B.N.J.* XVII, i; XIX, 69.

Godman (Ed), Huneman (Cn), Leof- red (Ae Ed), -ric (Cn Hi), -stan (Ae), -wine (Ae Ed), Lifinc (Cn Hi), Osmund (Ed Hii), Sperlinc (Cn), Swegen (Cn), Swetman (Ed), Toga (Cn), Wulf- ric (Cn), -si (Cn), -stan (Cn).

STAFFORD : Aegenulf (Ae), Aelf- ric (Cn Hi Ed), -wold (Ae), Cullinc (Ed), God- ric (Ae), -wine (Ed).

STAMFORD : Aelf- gaet (Ae), -gar (Ae), -heh (Cn Ed), -wine (Cn Hi), -wold (Ae), Aesc- man (Ae Cn), -wig (Ae), Aethel- stan (Ae Cn), -wine (Ae), Arfra (Ed), Arncitel (Hi), Baldwine (Ed), Boia (Ae), Brand (Cn), Brunwine (Cn to Hii), Cawelin (Cn), Cristin (Ae), Ead- werd (Cn), -wine (Ae Cn Ed), Faergrim (Cn to Ed), God- aeg (Ae), -ere (Ae), -leof (Ae Cn), -ric (Ae to Ed), -wine (Ae to Ed), Grim (Ae), Haerthcyn (Ed), Leof- daeg (Ae Cn Hi), -ric (Cn Hi Ed), -sige (Cn), -wine (Ae Cn Ht Ed Hii), -wold (Cn), Lifinc (Ae Hi), Morulf (Cn), Os- mund (Ae), -werd (Cn Hi Ed), -wold (Cn), Scot (Ae), Swart (Ae to Ed), Swart- brand (Cn), -col (Ed), -gar (Ae), Thur- cet (Hi), -stan (Ae to Ed), -ulf (Cn to Ed), Wilgrim (Hi), Wulf- gar (Ae), -noth (Cn), -ric (Ed), -sige (Cn), -stan (Ae), -wine (Ed).

STEYNING : Deorman (Ed Hii), Frithiwine (Cn to Ed), Widia (Cn), Wulf-gaet (Ed), -ric (Ed).

SUDBURY (Suthbur): Aelf- noth (Ae), -ric (Ae Cn Ed), Aethelwerd (Ae), Brantine (Ae Cn), Briht- elm (Cn), -laf (Ae), -noth (Ae), -ric (Ae), Eadwi (Ae), Folcwine (Ed), God (Ae), God- ric (Ae Ed), -wine (Ae), Heawulf (Ae), Mansige (Cn), Tuneman (Ae).

TAMWORTH : Aegelwine (Ed), Aelf- gar (Ae), -stan (Cn Hi), Bruninc (Ed) Colinc (Ed), Fastolf (Ae), Leof- ric (Ae), -wine (Ae), Wine (Ae).

TAUNTON : Aelfsig (Cn), Boia (Ht Ed), Brihtric (Ed Hii), Eadric (Ae Cn Ht), Gillecris (Ed), Leofwine (Ae).

THETFORD : Aegel- maer (Hi), -sie (Ed), -wine (Hii), Aelf- cetel (Ae), -ric (Ed), -wig (Cn Hi Ed), -wine (Ae to Ed), -wold (Ae Cn Hi), Aethelwold (Ae), Atsere (Ed), Blacere (Ed), Boge (Ae), Brihtric (Ae), Brunstan (Cn to Ed), Derewine (Ae Cn), Ead- gar (Ae), -ric (Ae Cn Hi Ed), -werd (Ae), -wig (Ae Cn), -wine (Ae Cn), -wold (Ae), Ealdred (Cn), Eastmund (Ed), Fastulf (Ae), Folcercd (Ae Ed), God- leof (Ed), -man (Ae Cn), -ric (Ed Hii), -wine (Ae Cn Ht Ed Hii), Grim (Ae), Leof- ric (Ae Cn Hi Ed), -thegen (Ae), -wine (Ae to Ed), Lifinc (Cn), Mana (Ae Cn Ed), Os- bern (Ae), -ferth (Ae), -ulf (Ae Cn), Saegrim (Cn), Stanmaer (Cn), Sumerlede (Ae Cn Ed), Sweartlinc (Ae), Tidred (Cn Ed), Thur- ferth (Cn Ed), -god (Hii), Waelgist (Ae Cn), Wineman (Cn), Wulf- maer (Cn), -noth (Ae).

TORKESEY. Coins attributed to this mint are probably Danish.

TOTNES: Aelf- stan (Ae), -wine (Cn), Briht- ferth (Ae), -wine (Ae), Dodda (Ae), God- a (Ae), -vune (Ae), Hune- man (Ae), -wine (Ae), Leofgar (Cn), Lerman (Cn), Manna (Ae), Saewine (Cn), Thurgod (Cn), Wulfmaer (Ae).

WALLINGFORD : Aegelwi (Cn Ed), Aelf- maer (Ae), -ric (Ae Hi Ht), -sige (Cn), -werd (Ae), -wig (Ae Cn Hi Ed), -wine (Cn Hi), -wold (Ae), Aescwine (Cn), Brand (Ed Hii), Briht- maer (Ed Hii), -ric (Ed), -wine (Ed), Brunwine (Ht Ed), Burewine (Cn Hi Ed Hii), Coleman (Cn), Ead- ric (Ae), -werd (Cn Hi), -wig (Ae), Godwine (Cn), Leof- ric (Ae), -stan (Ae), -wine (Ae Cn Hi), Mana (Ae Cn), Oda (Ae), Sigulf (Ae), Wine (Ae), Wulfwine (Ae Cn Hi Ed).

- WAREHAM : Aelf- gar (Ae Cn), -slge (Ae), Aethelric (Ae), Biorn (Ed), Brihtric (Ae), Byrnsige (Ae), Godeman (Ed), Oda (Ae), Sideman (Ht Ed Hii), Wulf- ric (Ae Ed), -sige (Ed).
- WARMINSTER (Worimen) : Alfwold (Ae), Godwine (Ae), Leofsige (Cn), Osmund (Ae), Winegod (Cn), Wulstan (Hi Ed).
- WARWICK : Aelfsie (Ed), Aestan (Ed), Aethel- ric (Ae), -stan (Ae), God- a (Hi), -wine (Cn), Huse (Ae), Leof- ric (Hi Ed), -wig (Cn Hi), -wine (Cn Ht Ed), -wold (Ae), Lifinc (Ae Cn Ed Hii), Osmaer (Ae), Siwerd (Ht), Theodric (Ed), Thur- cil (Ed), -stan (Ed), Wulfric (Ae Cn).
- WATCHET (Weceð): Godcild (Cn to Ed), Hunewine (Ae Cn), L-c (Ed), Sigeric (Ae).
- WILTON : Aelf- maer (Cn), -red (Cn), -sige (Ae), -stan (Cn Hi Ed), -wine (Cn Ed), -wold (Ed Hii), Boia (Ae), Brixi (Ed), Centwine (Ed Hii), Eadwine (Ae), Godwine (Ae), Goldus (Ae), Golsig (Hi), Haerred (Ed), Leof- wine (Ae Ed), -wold (Ae), Lifinc (Hi Ed), Osbern (Ae), Saewine (Ae Ed), Swetric (Ed), Thurcil (Ed), Wineman (Ed), Winus (Ed Hii), Wulfgar (Ae), Wynsige (Ae).
- WINCHCOMBE (Wincel) : Aelf- elm (Ae), -gar (Ae), Aethelman (Cn), Draca (Ht), Dropa (Cn), Godeleof (Ae), Goldwine (Ae Ed Hii).
- WINCHESTER : Aegel- ric (Cn Hi Ht), -wine (Ed), Aelf- eah (Ae Cn), -elm (Ae Cn), -gar (Ae), -maer (Ae), -red (Cn Ht), -ric (Cn Hi), -sige (Ae Cn), -stan (Ae Cn Hi Ed), -werd (Hi), -wig (Hi), -wine (Cn to Hii), -wold (Ae Cn), Aestan *see* Aethelstan, Aethel- gar (Ae), -ric (Cn), -stan (Ae Cn Hi Ed), -stan Loc (Cn Ed), -wine (Ae Cn), Anderboda (Cn Hii), Brand (Ed), Brihtmaer (Ae Ed), -noth (Ae Cn), -red (Ae), -ric (Ae), -sige (Ae), -wold (Ae Cn Ed), Brunstan (Ae Cn Hi), Cunna (Ae Cn), Ead- noth (Ae), -sige (Ae), -werd (Cn), -wine (Ae Cn Hi Ed), Frithemund (Ae Ed), God- a (Cn), -man (Ae Cn Hi Ed), -ric (Cn Ed), -wine (Ae to Ed), -wine Ceoca (Cn to Ed), -wine Cis (Cn), -wine Widia (Cn to Ed), Heawulf (Ae), Ingelri (Ae), Leodmaer (Cn to Ed), Leof- noth (Cn), -ric (Hi), -stan (Cn Hi Ed), -sunu (Ae Cn), -wine (Ae Cn Hi Ed), -wold (Ae Cn Ed Hii), Lifinc (Cn Hi Ed Hii), Loc (Ed), Oda (Ae Cn), Ordbriht (Ae Cn), Osgut (Ae), Raegenulf (Ae), Sae- wine (Cn Ht), -word (Hi Ht Ed), Seolca (Ae Cn), Si- bode (Ae Cn), -gar (Cn), -ric (Ae), Sperhafuc (Cn), Spraeclinc (Ed Hii), -ulf (Hi), Swear- tine (Ed Hii), Swileman (Ae Cn Hi Ed), Toca (Ae), Widia (Cn Hi Ed), Wihtsige (Cn), Wine (Cn Ht), Wulf- bern (Cn), -noth (Ae Cn Hi), -ric (Cn), -stan (Ae), Wynstan (Ae Ed).
- WORCESTER (Wihrac, Wiher) : Aegelwine (Cn Hi Ed), Aelf- werd (Ae), -wine (Cn Ed), -wold (Ae Cn), Aethel- maer (Ae), -wig (Ae), Baldric (Ed), Durant (Ae), Eastmaer (Ed Hii), Garulf (Ae Cn Ed Hii), God- a (Ae Cn), -wine (Ed), Hethewulf (Ed Hii), Leof- god (Ae), -ric (Cn Ed Hii), -stan (Cn to Ed), Man (Ae), Martin (Ae), Sige- ferth (Ae), -wine (Ae), Wicing (Ed Hii), Wulf- maer (Cn), -ric (Ae), -wi (Ed).
- YORK (Eoferwic. The York coins of the Confessor have an annulet in one angle of the reverse): Aegelwine (Cn Hi), Aelf- ere (Cn Hi Ed), -stan (Ae), -wine (Cn Hi Ed), Aethelwine (Cn Hi Ed), Aleif (Ed Hii), Arn- cetel (Ae Cn Hi Ed Hii), -grim (Cn Hi Ed), -thor (Ae), -ulf (Cn), As- *see* Os-, Beolan (Ae), Beorn (Cn to Ed), Brand (Cn), Bretecol (Ae Cn), Briht- noth

(Ae Cn), -wine (Ae), Cetel (Ae Cn Ed), Colgrim (Ae Cn), Crinan (Cn), Crucan (Cn Hi), Dahfin (Ae Cn), Ead-ric (Ae), -stan (Ae), -wine (Ed), Eilaf (Ae), Eltan (Ed), Far-grim (Cn), -man (Ae), -them (Cn), Fastulf (Ae Cn), Frithcol (Cn), Frostulf (Ae), Godman (Cn Hi), Geola *see* lola, Grimulf (Cn Hi Ed), Hild-red (Cn), -ulf (Ae Cn), Hundulf (Ae), locetel (Ed Hii), lola (Ae Ed), Ira (Ae Cn), Leisinc (Hii), Leof-noth (Ed), -ric (Ht), -stan (Ae), -wine (Ae Cn), Man (Ed), Oban (Ae), Oda (Ae Ed), Osbern (Cn), -cetel (Ae), -ferth (Ae Cn), -god (Ae Cn), -ulf (Ae), Oth-bern (Ed Hii), -grim (Ae Cn Ed Hii), -in (Cn Hi Ed), -ulf (Ae Ed Hii), Raefen (Cn Ed), Roscetel (Hii), Saefuel (Ed), Scula (Cn Hi Ed), Sne-bern (Ed Hii), -col (Cn), Stir-car (Ae Cn), -col (Ae Cn Hi Ed), Sumerlede (Ae), Sunulf (Ae Cn Ed), Sutere (Hii), Swart (Ae Hi), Swart-col (Ae Ed Hii), -gar (Ae), -inc (Ae Cn), Swegen (Cn Hi Ed), Thor (Ed), Thor-grim (Ae Cn Hi Ed), -stan (Ae), -ulf (Ae), Toca (Cn), Tumme (Ae), Ucede (Cn Hi), Ulf (Ae), Ulf-cetel (Ae Cn Ed Hii), -grim (Cn), Unulfj^ Sunulf, Ustman (Cn), Wencos (Ae), Winter-fugel (Ed), -lede (Ae), Witherin (Cn Hi Ht), Wulf-noth (Cn), -sige (Ae), -stan (Cn).

YTHANCEASTRE, *see* Gothanbyrig.

CHAPTER VII
THE NORMAN KINGS

1066-1154

WILLIAM I and William II—The Norman Conquest has left scarcely any trace upon the coinage other than the change of the king's name. The smattering of foreign names among the moneyers, perceptible on the Confessor's coins, shows hardly any increase until the reign of Henry I. The coinage of England had already acquired the good reputation which caused it to be widely imitated on the Continent in the later Middle Ages ; in France, on the contrary, the evils inherent in the feudal system were so firmly rooted that an attempt to reform the coinage of Normandy led to the closure of the Duke's mints.

Occasional references in Domesday, notices in the Pipe Rolls of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, the *Dialogus de Scaccario* (temp. Henry II), together with information gleaned from the coins themselves, give us a fair picture of the system that obtained in the mints before and after the Conquest.

The qualification for the possession of a mint was borough status, and to every mint (*moneta*) was attached an exchange (*cambium*) ; the function of the exchange was to purchase bullion for the mint and to issue coin from the mint to the public. As it was the only source through which the moneyer could circulate his coins, the exchange in the person of the warden (*custos cambii*) was a watch-dog set by the king over the moneyer ; he checked the weight and standard of the coins and satisfied himself that they bore the true imprint. The mint had one or more moneyers, who were men of substance,¹ personally responsible to the king, living rent-free and having the limited jurisdiction of *sac* and *soc*, and liable to a penalty of

¹ One in the reign of Henry III was the king's tailor, another the king's surgeon, another the king's goldsmith.

death or mutilation if convicted of forgery. The emoluments of the moneyer were obtained at the time of the Conquest neither by salary nor by commission (mintage) ; he made what profit he could after paying the necessary labour, buying dies from the graver, and paying at London, on receipt of his dies, the King's dues (usually 205.) when the type of the money was changed. Thus we learn from Domesday the explanation of the regular and frequent change of coin-types as a means of collecting the king's sharfi of the profits, which was later taken in the form of seignorage.

The temptation of forgery was alluring in spite of the heavy penalties that followed conviction, and, in the Norman period at least, moneyers resorted to subtle devices to cover their tracks. Dies were altered so as to deface the reverse legend, and one can even trace attempts by a moneyer to change his name on a die to that of another moneyer. Ordinary forgery, debasement of metal or shortage of weight, was sufficiently common to be the subject of a mass conviction of moneyers in 1125, resulting, the chronicler relates (perhaps with exaggeration), in sentence of mutilation being passed on all the moneyers in the country ; ninety-four are said to have been mutilated.

The cost of dies was sufficient to make economy in their use a matter of vital importance.¹ The dies had to be bought from the goldsmith (*aurifaber*), a post which later developed into the Graver of the Dies (*cuneator*) and was in Norman times held hereditarily in the family of Otto the Goldsmith. In exceptional cases dies were made elsewhere. The York, Stamford, and Lincoln coins of the fourth type of William I have a uniform peculiarity of style which suggests the temporary establishment of a local centre of die engraving; but the barbarous coins of St. Davids and Cardiff are better regarded in the light of siege pieces. Examination of the coins reveals the occasional use of an obverse die by two neighbouring mints, such as Canterbury and Hythe, Exeter and Barnstaple, Guildford and Chichester, Marlborough and Salisbury, Salisbury and Wilton, Cricklade and Wilton, which were perhaps perfectly legitimate borrowings as temporary expedients.

¹ In 1373 the fee chargeable by the graver is quoted as seven shillings for every dozen dies.

An abuse frequently committed for economy was the retention of an old die for use with a complementary die of a new type ; in this way the so-called " mules " were struck, which are to us a valuable guide in the classification of the types. It must have been easy to deceive the eye of the warden of the exchange with coins which on one side were true to type, but sometimes a moneyer took the precaution of doctoring the old die sufficiently to make it a passable imitation of the new type.

The control exercised by the exchange over the mint is responsible for the coins called " overstrikes," that is, coins which have been restruck with dies of a later type. As the over-type is frequently that immediately following the one which the coin originally bore, the purpose of the re-striking cannot have been to render available for currency a coin which was no longer legal tender. In sales of bullion to the exchange coin was no doubt added as makeweight or *blanching* (compensation for shortage of weight or fineness) ; such coin could only be reissued by the exchange if it bore the type of the latest issue ; otherwise it was necessary for it first to be re-struck by the current dies.

For purposes of accounts Domesday shows a system of reckoning in pounds, shillings, marks (13s. 4d.), and gold marks (£6), but the silver penny was the only coin struck after the Conquest until the second half of the thirteenth century. For small change the penny was cut into halves and quarters.

The pennies struck in the name of William bear no evidence which of the two kings is indicated. There are thirteen types, and we must be content with a proportional distribution, giving the first eight to the Conqueror and the remaining five to Rufus. It has been conjectured that the Beaworth hoard represents one of the gifts which William II distributed in 1087 to the monasteries for his father's soul; some of the gifts, the A.S.C. tells us, were of 10 gold marks, others of six, so the view has support in the large size of the hoard, of which 6500 pennies were examined and many were dispersed and lost. If we may accept this attractive account of the find, we have ample evidence for the above division of the coins of the two reigns, with the " Pax " type, the latest in the hoard, as the last of William I.

The arrangement of the types depends on the usual evidence. Finds at Soberton and York mingled the first two types with pennies of the Confessor; finds from St. Mary Hill, London (1774), and from the City of London (1872), combine those with types III (Canopy) and IV (Two Sceptres); and the great Beaworth find (1833) contained the last four types only of William I. At Tamworth (1877) "Pax" pennies were found with pennies of the first two types of William II.

Overstrikes (II on I, V on IV, VI on IV, VII on VI, VIII on VII, i¹ on VIII, 2 on I, 4 on 2, 4 on 3) and Mules (I/II, II/III, III/IV, IV/V, VII/VIII, 1/2, 4/5) serve to complete the classification of the types of the two Williams. The lettering, without variation of height, broadens and grows rougher in execution towards the close of the Conqueror's reign and on the first two types of his son; a new and very coarse style is then introduced, with large, ill-formed letters, and is followed on the last type of Rufus by a thinner and shorter lettering, which by its use on one type of Henry I indicates the earliest type of his reign. It should be noted that the letter *wen*, or W, does not differ on the coins from P (the king's name thus appears to read Pillem), that A and V are both formed of two upright strokes, often parallel, and that the diphthong *JE* therefore appears as IE, the second upright of A doing duty for the upright of E.

A coin of the second type of William II, which has been attributed to Lewellyn of Wales, is more probably a blundered penny of William II, struck perhaps at Rhuddlan. Rhyd y Gors, where it is supposed to have been struck, is phonetically improbable, *Lewellyn Rex* is historically impossible.

Sixteen of the Confessor's seventy-three mints were now out of action, or their coins are at present unknown; ten new mints appear on the Conqueror's coins, with Totnes added in the reign of Rufus.

The usual weight of the pennies is between 20 and 22 grs., the standard was probably 22½ grs., the fineness II oz. 2 dwt. fine and 18 dwt. alloy.

¹ Arabic numerals are used for convenience to distinguish the types attributed to William II.

The types of pennies of the two Williams are :—¹

William I (1066-1087). Title WILLEM REX, or, on the earlier types, WILLELMVS, WILLELM, or WILLEM, REX, sometimes (on early coins) with ANGLOR, or a shorter abbreviation of *Anglorum*, added.

- I. Profile—Cross Fleury type. (Pl. XVIII, i.)
- II. Bonnet type. (Pl. XVIII, 2.)
- III. Canopy type. (Pl. XVIII, 3.)
- IV. Two Sceptres type. (Pl. XVIII, 4.)
- V. Two Stars type. (Pl. XVIII, 5.)
- VI. Sword type. (Pl. XVIII, 6.)
- VII. Profile—Cross and Trefoils type. (Pl. XVIII, 7.)
- VIII. Pax type. (Pl. XVIII, 8.)

William II (1087-1100). Title WILLELM REX, RE, or R, sometimes with A or I (half the letter A) added.

1. Profile type. (Pl. XVIII 9.)
2. Cross in Quatrefoil type. (Pl. XVIII, 10.)
3. Cross Voided type. (Pl. XVIII, u.)
4. Crosses Patte'e and Fleury type. (Pl. XVIII, 12.)
5. Cross Fleury and Piles type. (Pl. XVIII, 13.)

The mints and moneyers of the two reigns are :—

BARNSTAPLE (Bardi, Bard); Seword.

BATH (Bathan): Aegelmaer, Brungar, Godesbrand, Osmaer.

BEDFORD (Bedeford): Godric, Lifwi, Sibrand, Sigod.

BEDWYN (Bedewind): Cild.

BRIDPORT (Briput, Bridi, Brd): Aelfric, Brihtwi, Hwateman.

BRISTOL (Bricgstow): Barcwit, Brihtword (Brwode, etc.), Brunstan, Ceorl (Carel), Colblac, Leofwine, Sendi, Swegn.

BURY ST. EDMUNDS (*Buri*, *Byri* in A.S. documents; coins read Buri): Leofwine.

CAMBRIDGE (Grant, Gra, etc.): Aeghmaer, Godric, Odbeam, Ulfcihtl, Wibern.

CANTERBURY (Cantulbi, Can war, Catwai, Cntl, Cant, etc.): Aeglic, Aelfred, Ahgemund, Aeldred, Algod, Brihtwold, Burnoth, Eadweard, Edwine, Godric, Manna, Simaer, Winedi, Wulbold, Wulfred, Wulfric, Wulfwine.

CARDIFF (Cairdi, Cariti): Aelfsie, Aelfsi Turi?

CHESTER (Legece, Lehece, Lecestr, Leice, Lee, Leg, etc. Cestre occurs once in type VIII): Aelfsi, Aelfweard, Aelfwine, Alcsi, Bruninc, Lifinc, Lifnoth, Lifwine, Sunulf, Unnulf.

CHICHESTER (Cicst, Cices, etc.): Biunman, Edwine, Godwine.

CHRISTCHURCH (Twin; in Domesday *Tuinani*): Coleman.

COLCHESTER (Coleces, Cole, etc.): Aelf-ric, -si, Brihtric, Dorman, Gold-havec, -man, -stan, Swigen, Siword, Wulf-ric, -ward, -wine.

CRICKLADE (Cric, Cruc, Cri): Aelfwine, Edouf, Leofred, Wulfstan.

DERBY (Diorbi, Derbi, etc.): Colbein, Froma, Godwine, Leofwine.

DORCHESTER (Dorcest, Doreces, etc.): Aelfgaet, Godwine, Lifric, Oter.

¹A descriptive label only is given of each type, A full description serves little purpose; each type is figured on the plates.

- DOVER (Dofrn, Dof, etc.): Cinstan, Edword, Godwine, Goldwine, Lifwine, Lulfric, Manwine.
- DURHAM (Dune): Cutthbert, Ordric.
- EXETER (Execesi, Exec, Aexec, Xecst, etc.): Aelfwine, Brihtric, Brihtwine, Goda, Lifwine, Livinc, Semaer, Saewine, Saeword, Sweetinc, Wulfwine,
- GLOUCESTER (Glewece, Glew, Gw, etc.): Brihtnoth, Godwin, Liofwine, Ordric, Sae- wine, -wold, Silac, Silacwine, Wulfgaet (Ufgaet).
- GUILFORD (Gildfrd, Gldf, etc.): Aelfric, Seric.
- HASTINGS (Aesti, Haesti, Hstanc, Hsti, etc.): Cipincc, Colswegen, Dorman, Dunninc, Godric, Sperlinc, Thiodred.
- HEREFORD (Herefor, Here, Hirfor, etc.): Aegel- ric, -wine, Aelfwi, Aestan, Brihtric, Edwine, Godric, Hethewi, Lifstan, Ordwi, Wulfwine.
- HERTFORD (Hrtfr, Hrt, etc.): Aelgar, Saeman, Thidric.
- HUNTINGDON (Untedu, Hunten, Huted, etc.): Aelfwine, God- ric, -wine, Siwate.
- HYTHE (Hithen, Hiuthi, Hthe, etc.): Edred.
- ILCHESTER (Givelcsti, Gifcl, Gif, etc.): Aegelwine, Aelword (Aehlfward), Lifwine, Wichsi (Wixie).
- IPSWICH (Gipesw, Gip, Giebi, etc.): Aegel- briht, -wine, Aelf- ric, -wine, Lif- stan, -wine, Swegn, Wulf- wine, -word.
- LAUNCESTON (Sasgti Stefani, Stefni, etc.; cf. Domesday; *Canonici Sancti Stefani tenent Lanscavetone*): Aeglmaer, Godric, or without name of moneyer.
- LEICESTER (Lehre, Lerec, Legri, etc.): Aegelwine, Frithugist, Godric, Lieric, Sewine.
- LEWES (Laewe, Lew, etc.): Aelf- ric, -wine, Brihtmaer, Oswold, Winraed.
- LINCOLN (Lincolne, Incone, Line, etc.): Ascil, Aelfnot, Aelmer, Agemund, Folcaerd, Garvin, Gifel, Osbert, Outhgrim, Sefifarth (Sihfeorth), Segward (Siguaerith), Siword, Thorstan, Ulf, Unspac, Wihtric, Wulf- -si, -stan, -wine.
- LONDON (Lundene, Lu, L, etc.): Aegel- ric, -wine, -word, Aelf- gar, -red, -si, -wine, Aewi, Bat, Blagsun, Briht- maer (Bricmar), -ric, -wine, Brunic, Colswegen, Ead- ric, -wine (Edwi, etc.), Ealdgar, Estmaer, God- ric, -wine, Lifsi, Manic, Ordgar, Sibode, Smaewine, Swetman, Theodric, Uhtred, Walcin, Wulf- gar, -noth, -ric, -wine, -word.
- MALDON (Mid, Maeli, etc.): Aelf- wine, -ord, Lifesun, Wulfwine.
- MALMESBURY (Malme, Mlm, Mai, etc.): Brihtwine, Godsbrand, Seword.
- MARLBOROUGH (Maerlbi, Maerleber, etc.): Gild.
- NORTHAMPTON (Nothant, Hant, etc. The distinction between Northampton and Southampton is uncertain; both appear as Hantone in Domesday. One coin of Saewine (type II) has *Nothant*; all the Saewine coins are therefore placed here): Saewine.
- NORWICH (Northwic, Nor, etc.): Aegelric, Alfri, Eadwine, Edwold, God- ric, -ric Brd, -wine, Howorth, Inhuhe, Liofwold, Oter, Thurgrim, Ulfchitel (Ulfctl, etc.).
- NOTTINGHAM (Snotingi, Sno, Sot, etc.): Aetcer, Forna, Haldene (Aldene), Manna, Wulfric.

- OXFORD (Oxenef, Oxeford, Oxe, etc.): Aegl- noth, -wine, Aelfwig, Brihtraed, God wine, Heregod, Man, Swetman, Wulfwi.
- PETERBOROUGH (Buri; Domesday : *Burg*): Leofwine. (More probably Bury St. Edmunds, q.v.)
- PEVENSEY (Pefnese, etc.): Aelfheh.
- RHUDDLAN (Rudili): Aelfwine, Hrveov?.
- ROCHESTER (Rofecs, etc.): Aelfstan, Guthraed, Lifstan, Lifwine Horn, Wulf-wine.
- ROMNEY (Rumne, etc.): Aelmaer, Coc, Gold, Winedi, Wulfmaer.
- ST. DAVID'S (Devitun, etc.): Turri.
- SALISBURY (Saereb, Serbir, etc.): Edword, Esbern or Osbern, Godric, Godwine, Safara.
- SANDWICH (Sandw, etc.): Aelf- gaet, -heh, -gar, Godwine, Wulfwart.
- SHAFTESBURY (Scaefti, Scifiti, Scf, etc.): Aelnoth, Aldred, Baldwine, Cniht-wine, Godesbrand, Osmund, Swegn, Wulfgaed.
- SHREWSBURY (Srobesbi, Scrub, Sru, etc.): Earnwi, Eglnc, Godesbrand, Hathebrand, Segrim, Wulf -maer, -ric.
- SOUTHAMPTON (Hamtnun, Ami, etc. Not distinguished from Northampton, q.v.) Godwine, Saewine,¹ Swetman, Wulwi.
- SOUTHWARK (Suthew, Sudwe, etc.): Aeldoulf, Algar, Godric, Leofwine, Lif-word, Osmund, Sprot, Wulgar.
- STAFFORD (Stfrdi, StefTor, Staef, etc.): Aelfnoth, God -nc, -wine, Wulfnoth.
- STAMFORD (Stan, Stnf, etc.): Arntl, Brun-htan, -wine, Diric, Elfwine, Godelef, Heirman, Liof- ric, -wine, Wulfword.
- STEYNING (Stnig, Stenc, Stae, etc.): Dermon, Lifsi, Thurbern.
- SUDBURY (Suthbi, Sudb, Sub, etc.): Folcwine, Wulfric
- TAMWORTH (Tamwith, Tamw, Taman, etc.): Bruninc, Colinc.
- TAUNTON (Tant, etc.): Aelfwine, Biihtric.
- THETFORD (Theotnf, Thtfrd, Theot, etc.): Aelfwine, Bundi, Burhard, Cinric, Esbearn or Osbearn, Folcaerd (Folchred), God, God- elef, -inc, -red, -lie, -wine, Neigel.
- TOTNES (Totnese): Dunic.
- WALLINGFORD (Wallingi, Walig, etc.): Aegelwine, Aelfwine, Brand, Bnht-maer, Colbern, Edword, Sweartlinc, Swetlind, Wideman.
- WAREHAM (Werha, etc.): Aegelic, Bern, Godwine, Side- loc, -man.
- WARWICK (Werwic, Werw, etc.): Aelric, Goldinc, Lifric, Lufinc, Sperhafuc, Thidraed, Thurcil, Wulfwine.
- WATCHET (Wicedi, etc.): Sigolf or Siwolf.
- WILTON (Wiltunen, Wilt, etc.): Aelfwine, Godric, Owi, Sefara, Sewine.
- WINCHCOMBE (Wind, Wicl, Wine, Win; distinguished by the moneyer from Winchester) : Goldwine.
- WINCHESTER (Wincest, Wine, etc.): Aelfwine, Aestan, Aldwine, Anderboda, Brunic, Edwine, God- noth, -wine, Goldinc, Leofwold, Lifine, Siword, Spraecline, Wimund.

¹ See Northampton above.

WORCESTER (Wihrec, Wih, Wig, etc.): Aelfgaerd, Baldric, Eastmaer, Ed wine, Garulf, Heathewulf, Liofric, Refwine, Sewine Wiginc.

YORK (Eofrwic, Eofe, lufe, etc.): Aleif, Althurolf, Arcetel, Harthoulf, Laesinc (Leigsinc), Outhbeorn (Uwthbern), Outhgrim (Autgmn), Outholf (Autholf) Roscetel, Sweartcol, Thorr, Ulfcetel.

Henry I (1100-1135)—Coins of the reign of Henry I are, with the exception of the last two types, very rare. Finds deposited in his reign are few, small, and inadequately described; one only, from Canterbury, composed chiefly of the last type but one, is of real value. But the last two types have been well represented in hoards buried during the anarchy of the early part of Stephen's reign.

Forgery was in this reign a constant source of trouble. A charter issued in 1100 (or 1103) recites the laws against forgery and the making of coin by unauthorised persons. In 1108, the chronicles inform us, measures were taken to eradicate forgery and to protect the currency of genuine coins, as these were often suspect on account of the many forgeries in currency; the clumsy workmanship of the early coinage must have simplified forgery. Whether these measures were effective against common forgery or not, abuses by the moneyers were soon as rife as ever. In 1125^a a comprehensive inquisition of moneyers was set on foot. All the moneyers throughout the country were summoned to Winchester, and, if the *A.S.C.* Continuator is correct, sentence of mutilation was passed on every one of them; the *Margam annals* say that ninety-four suffered the penalty; the *Winton annals*, prejudiced probably by local pride, assert that all except three Winchester moneyers were punished.

Apart from their historical interest, the two passages in the chronicles have a special importance for the students of the coins. It is evident that the two incidents were accompanied by some reform in the coins themselves. A glance at the types of Henry I, which are illustrated in their order on *Pis.* XVIII, nos. 14-18 and XIX, i-10, shows that the new types introduced as the result of the two monetary upheavals were types V and XII (*Pis.* XVIII, 18; XIX, 7).

It is a peculiarity of the coinage of England subsequent to the Norman Conquest that enquiries into mint affairs, which produce a sudden improvement in the workmanship of the

coins, are always followed by a gradual deterioration, so that our medieval coinage, when correctly arranged, falls into several series of gradually deteriorating style. It is particularly noticeable in the Short-cross, Long-cross, and Edwardian pennies. Graphically it may be represented by a series of vertical rises and gradual descents. It is not so marked before the twelfth century; the introduction of less careful foreign workmen after the Conquest was perhaps a contributory cause, but it was more directly due to the alteration of the conditions of coinage in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. The direct responsibility of the moneyer and his control over the workmen were weakened by gradual steps. In 1242 we find one moneyer alone working the two mints of London and Canterbury, and in 1247 the king farmed out the mints of England, Ireland, and Wales to his brother, the Earl of Cornwall. In 1279 a definite diminution of responsibility is evident, when the moneyers' names cease to appear on the coins. The gradual severance of direct control led to other safeguards, such as the trials of the pyx, and to the privy marking of the coins (see below, p. 126); this made necessary a more automatic copying of the dies, and it accounts to some extent for the gradual loss of vigour and the general weakening of the design as the series develops.

In the early coins of Henry I the increasing barbarism of the workmanship reaches its crisis in type IV ; but type V, as a result of the monetary reform of 1108, is of fine style with a new lettering, of more shapely form, with serifs (PL XVIII, 18). Deterioration is again quickly evident and it culminates in the clumsy double-inscription type, No. XI (PL XIX, 6). Type XII (PL XIX, 7) is of a neat style, and here for the first time we can claim to have a genuine attempt at realistic portraiture ; this is therefore the type which followed the enquiry of Christmas, 1125. The tin-like metal of many pennies of type XIV shows for how short a time the example of 1125 acted as a deterrent to the moneyers.

Another abuse of this period was the practice among traders of cutting a snick in the edge of the coins in order to test their genuineness. The public were nervous of such coins, as they had the appearance of being cracked, and they refused to accept them. Instead of the traders being forbidden to snick

coins, an order was issued for all coins to be so snicked before circulation, so that the public could not refuse acceptance to any. William of Malmesbury, who recounts this interesting episode, does not date it; but, as all the coins from type VII to type XII have a snick in their edge, we can fix as an approximate date 1112-1115 for the imposition of the order and c. 1127-1128 for its termination. Probably the greater confidence produced by the reform of 1125 made it unnecessary to continue the order, which had presumably itself checked the practice of the traders.

Twelve mints disappear in the reign of Henry I, but their absence may be due to the rarity of his coins at the present day. Two interesting mints open. Pembroke, the moneyer of which, Gillopatic, is mentioned in the Pipe Roll of 1130, struck pennies of type XIV and of the first type of Stephen. Carlisle, the Border mint, divided its allegiance between the English and Scottish kings; its earliest coinage is struck for Henry I and bears his fourteenth type; in the last type of the reign the moneyer is Erebald, the head of the wealthy family which held the lease of the Cumberland silver mines and provided for many years the moneyer of Carlisle. Coins of the Abbot of St. Edmund, to whom the privilege of one moneyer was granted by the Confessor, are known of the reigns of Henry I and of Stephen.

The varying character of the lettering affords valuable evidence. With the issue of type V, after the reform of 1108, a completely new style with natural forms and serified letters was adopted. Of this lettering three consecutive series occur, differing in the height of the letters, the last of them being retained on the first type of Stephen. The earliest group, types I to IV, has on the first type the lettering of the last type of Rufus, and on the other three types a short square style, which in type IV adopts for the first time new forms of the letters A and V, and the Lombardic h instead of the Roman H.

Mules are rare, namely, V/VI, IX/X, XI/X, XIII/XIV. No overstruck coins are known.

The usual weight of the pennies is between 20 and 22 grs. The following is the order of the fifteen types of Henry I :—

- I. Annulets type. (PL XVIII, 14.)
- II. Profile and Cross Fleury type. (PL XVIII, is)
- III. Pax type. (PL XVIII, 16.)
- IV. Annulets and Piles type. (PL XVIII, 17.)
- V. Voided Cross and Fleurs type. (PL XVIII, 18.)
- VI. Pointing Bust and Stars type. (PL XIX, 1.)
- VII. Quatrefoil and Piles type. (PL XIX, 2.)
- VIII. Larger Profile and Cross with Annulets type. (PI XIX, 3.)
- IX. Cress in Quatrefoil type. (PL XIX, 4.)
- X. Full Face and Cross Fleury type. (PL XIX, 5.)
- XI. Double Inscription type. (PL XIX, 6.)
- XII. Smaller Profile and Cross with Annulets type. (PL XIX, 7.)
- XIII. Star in Lozenge Fleury type. (PL XIX, 8.)
- XIV. Pellets on Quatrefoil type. (PL XIX, 9.)
- XV. Quadrilateral on Cross Fleury type. (PL XIX, 10.)

A list of the mints and moneyers is appended (for abbreviations, see pp. 83-86):—
BARNSTAPLE: Oter.

BATH : Wmterlede.

BEDFORD : Edric.

BRISTOL : Ailwald (Alwold), Barcuit, Edric, Herdig, Riccard, Sendi, Turchil.

BURY ST. EDMUNDS (*Sancti Edmundi*. Edmn, S. Edm, San, Sa. E): Godric (types XII¹, XIV), Gilebert (type XV).

CANTERBURY : Aelred, Aghemund, Algar, Edwme, Gregori, Perm, Rodbert, Willem, Winedi, Wulfric, Wulsi.

CARLISLE (Carli): Durant, Ere bald.

CHESTER (the form *Cestre* is used in the latter part of the reign): Ailmer, Ailnc, Andreu, Cristret, Gillemor, Levenod, Lifnoth, Ravenswart, Thurbern, Walter.

CHICHESTER : Brand, Godwine.

CHRISTCHURCH : Aeldred, Tovi.

COLCHESTER : Aelfsi, Edward, Goldhavec, Swegen.

DERBY : Brun.

DORCHESTER: Osbern, Sween.

DOVER : Goldwine, Manwine.

DURHAM : Ordwi.

EXETER : Bricdwi, Hlud, Sewine.

GLOUCESTER : Alfwine, Godwine, Rodbert, Sawold, Thur, Wiberd, Wulfwi.

HASTINGS : Boniface, Drman, Dunmg, Sperlig.

HEREFORD : Adebrant, Edric, Ed wine, Ravens wert, Saric.

HUNTINGDON : Derlig.

ILCHESTER : Elwi.

IPSWICH : Aedgar, Edmund, Germane, Lifwine, Osbern, Rodland.

LEICESTER : Chitel, Fulchred, Owthin, Warmund, Wulfwine.

LEWES : Aelfwine, Brihtmar, Edmund, Oswold, Winraed.

LINCOLN : Acil, Aelmer, Arnwi, Aslac, Godric, Lefric.

LONDON : Aedgar, Aelf- red, -ric, -wine, -wine Sultan, Baldwine, Blacaman, Bricmar, Brihtwi, Brunic, Dereman, Dereman Ri, Eadwine, Ealdgar, Estmaer, -mund, God- ric, -wine, Lefwine, Lifred, Ordgar, Osebern, Raulf

90 COINS OF THE NORMAN KINGS

- (Radulus), Roger, Sigar, Smaewine, Sperling, Sultan, Theodric, Thured, Tomas, Tovi, Ulfraven, Wulf- gar, -wine, -word.
- NORTHAMPTON : Geffrei, Ghahan, Gosfrei, Païen, Saewine ?, Stifne, Wulnod.
- NORWICH : Aedstan (Etstan), Ailwi, Baldewine, Chitel, Edwine, Eustace, Godwine, Howorth, Oter, Sihtric, Stanchil, Suneman, Ulfchitel.
- NOTTINGHAM : Haldene.
- OXFORD : Aeglnoth (Ailnot), Rawulf, Sagrim, Sawi.
- PEMBROKE : Gillepatric.
- PEVENSEY : Alvred ?
- ROCHESTER : Aelfstan, Wulfwine.
- ROMNEY : Godric, Wulfred.
- SALISBURY : Aldwine, Ealla, Esbern or Osbern.
- SANDWICH : Adalbot, Godhese, Osbern, Wulfwart, Wulstan.
- SHAFTESBURY : Aldred, Aldwine, Sagrim, Saric.
- SHREWSBURY : Wulfric.
- SOUTHAMPTON : Dort, Saewine,¹ Ulf.
- SOUTHWARK : Algar, Godwine, Leofwine, Lifword, Sprot.
- STAMFORD : Arcil, Godric, Heirman, Lefsi, Leftein, Mor.
- SUDBURY : Osbern, Wulfric.
- TAMWORTH : Hermer, Lefwine.
- TAUNTON : Elfic.
- THETFORD : Acus, Ailnot, Alfward, Aschetil, Brhthoth, Bundi, Burchart, Folcaerd, God- elef, -ric, -wine, Neigel, Norman, Odde, Stan . . . , Thurtan.
- TOTNES : Dunic.
- WALLINGFORD : Brihtric, Godwine, Osulf, Rodberd.
- WAREHAM : Derlinc, Turchil.
- WARWICK : Eldred, Essuwi, Godwine, Sperhafuc.
- WILTON : Aeglward, Brunig, Ricard.
- WINCHESTER : Aelfwine, Aestan, Ail ward, Alfric, Alwold, Edwine, Engelram, Godwine, Kippig, Lefwine, Sâiet, Sawulf, Stigant, Tovi, Wimund.
- WORCESTER : Api, Godric, Wulfric.
- YORK : Coc or Toe, Forn, Laïsing, Odbern, Raulf, Turstan, Ulf.

Stephen and the Anarchy (1135-1154)—The political conditions of Stephen's reign could not fail to have their influence on the coinage. During several years there was almost a dual monarchy ; the Angevin party, at first under the nominal leadership of the Empress Matilda and later in the name of her son, the Duke Henry, was in control of a large part of the country including nearly the whole of the western half. The lack of strong control put the more powerful barons in the position of the feudal magnates of France, autonomous in their own domain. Provincial mints were often severed from the

¹ Or Northampton, q.v. above.

direct control of the Exchequer and thrown upon their own resources for the making of their dies.

The regular coinage of Stephen consists, so far as we can ascertain, of seven types, but some of them are so rare and the coins so badly executed that it is open to question whether they should not be regarded as imitations or contemporary forgeries. The first type is well represented owing to finds at Watford, South Kyme and other places, in which these coins were mingled with the latest issues of Henry I. The Linton find associates the second type with it. The last type of the reign is the only other type on which light is thrown by hoards ; the Awbridge find contained coins of this type and of the first issue of Henry II. The coins of the first type retain the lettering of the latest coins of the previous reign, which on the second type is changed to a smaller style ; this continues to the sixth type, which has the same large lettering as is found on coins of the Awbridge type. Mules only serve to confirm conclusions formed from the finds ; the first type is muled with the* last of Henry I and with the second of Stephen.

The establishment of the Angevin strongholds in the West limited the king's mints to the Eastern half of the country, except in the first and last types of the reign. New mints were opened at Castle Rising (*Risings*) and Rye (*Rie*). Another result of the civil war was the failure to change the first type at the usual period ; it was the model for coins which were struck by the Empress not earlier than 1139, and other varieties of the first type seem to belong to the time of Stephen's captivity in 1141.

The chief interest lies in the abnormal issues. The chronicles record an issue in 1149 by Henry of Anjou which came to be known as the Duke's money, and also the striking of coins by barons in their castles. This seems to imply a baronial coinage in the French feudal manner rather than a mere forgery of the current coin, and coins that survive show that the statement may be accepted in that sense. It does not rule out the possibility of irregular coinages bearing the king's name, which may account for the many coins of coarse and blundered work and for some that develop peculiar varieties of the normal types. They may, on the other hand, be the work

of regular moneyers estranged from the unifying control of London. A curious example is the so-called Horseman's Mace type, which has been alternatively described as having, in place of the sceptre, the Host elevated, in allusion to the bearing of the Host before the army at the Battle of the Standard in 1138 (Pl. XX, i).

Divergence from the regular type by moneyers of distant mints is seen in the Exeter coinage with a long cross fleury imposed upon the reverse design, and in the Midland group with the martlet type of Derby, the similar Nottingham issue with fleurs instead of martlets, and the Newark coin w^yhich has similar lettering but less resemblance in general style (Pl. XX, 2-5). A special group of the Southampton mint (Pl. XX, 7), though modelled on Stephen's first type, is later in date; specimens were present in the Linton and Awbridge finds, but not at Watford, Sheldon, Dartford or South Kyme; two of its three moneyers, Sanson and Willem, appear as tenants in the Winchester inquest compiled in 1148, and it has been plausibly conjectured that this coinage at Southampton was the result of a removal of the mint from Winchester after the destruction of the city by fire in 1141. In the Eastern counties both Lincoln and Thetford issued coins with a short, thick cross over the reverse design (Pl. XX, 6). The coins with varieties of the normal type are usually of low weight, but their attribution to baronial and ecclesiastical magnates is highly conjectural.

The coinage of the Scottish Border has a special interest owing to the frequent transfer of the mints from English to Scottish control and vice versa, which resulted in similar coins being struck in the name of Stephen and in that of David or of his son Henry, who was created Earl of Huntingdon, including Carlisle, in 1136, and, in 1138, Earl of Northumberland, excluding Newcastle. At Carlisle the moneyer, Erebald, who worked there for Henry I, struck coins for Stephen at the beginning of the reign and similar coins, after 1136 presumably, in the name of David, and also for the Earl Henry whose name appears, as on other coins, as *Rend Con (Henrici Comititis)*. There is also a coin of the Earl, struck at Corbridge by the same moneyer, on which the obverse legend appears to be *Henric[us] F[ilius] R[egis]* (Pl. XX, 8). Another issue, of which there are coins in Stephen's name and also in Earl Henry's, bears

a special type and was struck at a mint which has been interpreted as either Outchester or Newcastle (p. 99 below, and PL XX, 9-11). Though Newcastle was excluded from Henry's earldom in 1138, it seems to have been added later, perhaps in 1141.

A coinage of the Bishop of Durham resembles in style the Border coins, but is of Stephen's first type with small peculiarities.

York has a large coinage, beginning with pennies of the first type of Stephen which have, instead of a sceptre, a triple flag representing, it is thought, the banners of St. Peter of York, St. John of Beverley, and St. Wilfred of Ripon, which were carried at the Battle of the Standard ; the reverse legends are usually in abbreviated form, one ends with *on Ev[erwic]* and others contain letters of the words *Petri, Ecclesiae, and Domini* (PL XX, 12, 13). Another York coinage is the double-figure type (PL XX, 15), which portrays figures of the king and queen supporting a tall sceptre, an allusion to the queen's leadership during the captivity of the king in 1141. The king wears a peaked helmet instead of the crown ; one might otherwise see in this type a reference to the state celebration of Easter at York, in 1142, after the king's release in the previous November. The use of ornamental objects in place of the reverse legend, and sometimes on the obverse, is a peculiar feature of the York group. One such issue, in Stephen's name, has the same reverse as the coins of Robert de Stuteville (PL XX, 14 ; XXI, 4).

The York mint, isolated in the disordered state of the country during the civil war, rose to the occasion in designing attractive types and cutting dies of excellent draughtsmanship. Its coinage is not confined to issues bearing the king's name. There are coins struck in the name of Eustace, one of which, a fragment only, describes him as *Filius Iohannis* and thus identifies him with Eustace Fitzjohn who, after Henry's death, favoured the cause of the empress, and joined David at the Battle of the Standard ; he adopted the shifty policy common to the barons, for in 1142 he witnessed a charter of Stephen, and witnessed Scottish charters of earlier and later dates. He struck a portrait type, a meagre little figure in full length, armed and holding a sword, and also a type which has a lion on obverse

with ornaments below, possibly the keys of York; the two types are intimately connected in style and must be assigned to the same Eustace (PL XXI, 1-3). Eustace, the king's son, was scarcely more than ten years of age when these coins were struck. Robert de Stuteville, at the time of David's invasion, a supporter of Stephen, issued a penny with a charming, though somewhat crude, horseman type on obverse (Pl. XXI, 4); it is associated closely with the flag-type coins by a penny recently found near Peterborough, which has the type of Stephen's first issue with Robert's name on the obverse and on the reverse a legend, retrograde, which appears on flag-type pennies. To York must also be attributed, on account of their style, lettering, and reverse type, the pennies that have the name *Henricus Episcopus* (Pl. XXI, 5). This can be no other than the Bishop of Winchester, though his connexion with York is not easy to explain. The only other bishop of this name was Murdac, the Archbishop of York; he succeeded to the See in 1147, a date too late for the coins, and, had the coins been his, they would have given him the title *Archiepiscopus*.

An attempt has been made¹ to distinguish the issues of the ecclesiastical and royal mints of York, the ecclesiastical comprising the flag-type and similar coins under Archbishop Thurstan and in the vacancy following his death, the pennies of Henry, Bishop of Winchester, during the king's captivity, the See still vacant, the lion-type of Eustace Fitzjohn as sequestrator during the prolonged vacancy; the royal comprising the coins of Robert de Stuteville during the king's captivity, the portrait coins of Eustace Fitzjohn as leader of the empress's party in the North at the close of 1141, and the double-figure type after the king's release.

A much debated group, of the type of Stephen's first issue, bears the mysterious legend *Pereric* instead of the king's name (Pl. XX, 18); the coins bear the names of half a dozen mints and of moneyers who struck ordinary coins of Stephen, and the style of the coins is in no way unusual. The interpretation of *Pereric* as *Impemtrix* or *Empereriz* (an Old French form),

¹ W. J. Andrew's classification of these issues has been published only in the proceedings of the British Numismatic Society. Attractive as it is, it draws rather heavily on conjecture; the office of sequestrator appears to be given to Fitzjohn on the evidence of the coins alone, and it is a cardinal point in the arrangement of the series.

for the Empress Matilda, is hardly possible in view of the mints participating in the issue. It is more likely that *Pereric* was an incomprehensible form used deliberately by the authorities of the mint, just as the anonymous coinage of 825 (see above, p. 17) omitted the name of king and archbishop. It is possible that such an issue might have been struck during the king's captivity in 1141, in order to conceal any trace of allegiance to either king or empress. But there are reasons for assuming the coins to be of an earlier date ; their incidence in finds—six at South Kyme, two at Watford, one at Nottingham, one at Sheldon, and two at Linton ; the use of the form *Nicole* for the Lincoln signature ; the forms Rawulf and Siward for the Lincoln moneyers, whose names appear on the later coins of Stephen's first issue as Raulf and Siguard ; the good workmanship and lettering of the coins. All these points suggest a date earlier than the majority of the coins of Stephen's first type. The announcement of Henry's death was followed by a short period before Stephen's claim to the throne was accepted ; at this juncture the officers of the mint may have temporised by using, in place of the king's name, a jumble of letters to which no definite meaning could be attached ; the vague resemblance of the word *Pereric* to *Henricus* points to the source of their inspiration.

A series of coins, also of the first type of Stephen, was struck after the obverse dies had been erased by stamping a cross over the king's face (PL XX, 16, 17). The mints are Bristol, Norwich, Nottingham, Stamford, Thetford, and (with an obliteration of two vertical lines instead of a cross) York. The erasure was probably an attempt by moneyers to spike their guns, so to speak, when in danger of capture by an enemy. The coins may have been struck either by an enemy into whose hands the dies fell or by the moneyers themselves after the danger had passed. The circulation of the coins probably offered little difficulty at such a time. It is also possible that dies which fell into the hands of the Angevin party were so treated before use by partisans of the empress.

The Angevin party had a coinage of appreciable extent, first in the name of Matilda and later in that of her son Henry. The coins of the Empress were all made in imitation of Stephen's first type ; her name appears on them as *Matildis Imperatrix*,

Matildis Comitissa, or *Imperatrix* alone (Pl. XXI, 6). The mints are Bristol, Oxford, Wareham, and others uncertain. The weight of the coins is low, in no case exceeding 18 grs. ; their workmanship is thin and poor, the dies being engraved freehand without the use of punches. Her coinage may be dated approximately from the time of her landing in England in 1139 to the end of 1142, when she abandoned her claim to the throne in favour of her son, who came over in that year.

The name of Henry of Anjou appears on coins of three different types (Pl. XXI, 7-10). The first is similar to Stephen's first issue ; but on his later coins he adopted a reverse after the model of the last type of his grandfather, Henry I. The profile portrait was retained for a time but was later supplanted by a facing head with a star at either side. Hereford, Malmesbury, Devizes, Cirencester, Bristol, Gloucester, Sherborne, Wivelscombe are possible interpretations of the mint signatures.

There are also some pennies closely resembling the latest coins of Henry of Anjou, but bearing the name *Willelmus*, or *Will Cn Duo* (Pl. XXI, n, 12). The mints are doubtful, but Cirencester, Dorchester, Wareham, Wivelscombe are likely, and these were mints of the Duke's money. Perhaps they represent a coinage of the Angevin party continued by William of Gloucester in the period between the death of his father, Robert, and the return of Duke Henry to England in 1149. But the attribution is very doubtful.

Other baronial coins are of doubtful attribution. The name Robert on pennies struck either at Hereford or Leicester (the first letter of the mint is uncertain) may possibly be Robert of Gloucester, but his loyalty to the empress makes a coinage in his own name unlikely. If Leicester is the correct reading, Robert de Beaumont is more probable.

A penny has been alternatively attributed to Brian Fitzcount and Baldwin de Redvers (Pl. XXI, 13). Both were partisans of the empress ; the former was besieged twice, in 1142 and 1146, in his castle at Wallingford ; the latter was present with the empress at the siege of Winchester in 1141. The little that remains of the obverse legend favours the attribution to Brian FitzCount, *Br[ianus] C[on]it[is]*.

Two coins that intrigue one's curiosity have nothing left

of the obverse legends save the titles, *Com[es]* and *Ep[is]c[opus]* (PL XXI, 14, 15); the former has been assigned, on the doubtful evidence of the reverse inscription, to Patrick, Earl of Salisbury; the latter is quite uncertain.

The types of Stephen's coins are as follows, the title of the king being usually STIEFNE, but on coins of the first type sometimes with R or RE added, or STIFNE REX, or STEFANVS REX:—

- I. Watford type. O. Bust to r. R. Cross Moline with Fleurs. (PL XIX, n.)
- II. Cross Voided and Mullets. (PL XIX, 12.)
- III. Cross and Fleurs. (PL XIX, 13.)
- IV. Lozenge Fleury and Annulets. (PL XIX, 14.)
- V. Three-quarter Face type. (PL XIX, 15.)
- VI. Cross Fleury and Trefoils. (PL XIX, 16.)
- VII. Awbridge type. O. Bust three-quarter left. R. Cross Voided and Fleurs. (PL XIX, 17.)

The mints and moneyers are:—

BEDFORD: Tomas.

BRAN . . .?: Orgar, Willem.

BRISTOL: Fardein, Gurdan?

BURY ST. EDMUNDS: Acel, Gilebert, Hunfrei.

CANTERBURY: Edward, Godhese, Iun, Rodbert, Rogier, Willem, Wulfric, Wulfwine.

CARLISLE: Erebald, Willem.

CASTLE RISING: Hiun (Iun), Rodbert.

CHESTER: Aimer, Ravenswert, Thurbern, Walter.

CHICHESTER: Godwine.

COLCHESTER: Edward.

DERBY: Uncertain moneyer.

DOVER: Adam.

DURHAM: Henri.

EXETER: Ailric, Algar, Brihtwi, Simun.

GLOUCESTER: Alfwine, Gillebert, Ralf, Wibert.

HASTINGS: Aldred, Rodbert, Sawine, Wenstan.

HEREFORD: Edric, Siber, Witrie.

HUNTINGDON: Godmer.

ILCHESTER: Adam.

IPSWICH: Aedgar, Edmund, Germane, Gilleber, Osbern, Paien.

LAUNCESTON? (*Lansd*): Willem.

LEICESTER: Samar.

LEWES: Almar, Herrevi, Hunfrei, Osebern, Willem.

LINCOLN: Gladewin, Godric, Hue, Oslac, Paien, Raulf, Reynald, Sigward.

LONDON: Adam, Adelard, Alfred, Algar Man, Alisandre, Baldewin, Bricmar, Dereman, Edward, Estmund, Gefrei, Godric, Hamund, Lefred, Raulf, Ricard, Rodbert, Rogier, Smeawin, Tierri D, Tomas, Tovi, Wulfwine,

NORTHAMPTON : Païen, Stiefne ?

NORWICH : Aedstan, Ailwi, Alfri, Alfward, Etrei, Eustace, Godwine, Hermer, Hildebran, Oterche, Raulf, Sihtric, Stanchil, Suneman, Swetman, Thor, Waltier, Willem.

NOTTINGHAM : Swein.

OXFORD : Gahan, Rawulf, Swetig.

PEMBROKE : Gilpatric.

PEVENSEY : Alwine, Hervei.

RYE : Rawulf.

SALISBURY : Stanning.

SANDWICH : Osbern, Wulfric.

SHAFTESBURY : Ricard, Sagrim.

SHREWSBURY : Revensart, Rodbert.

SOUTHWARK : Alfwine, Edward, Sigar, Turchil, Wulfwold.

STAFFORD : Godric.

STAMFORD : Lefsi, Siward.

SUDBURY : God bert.

TAM WORTH : Alfred.

TAUNTON : Alfred.

THETFORD : Baldewin, Driv, Geffrei, Odde.

WARWICK : Edred, Everard, Forn, Lifric.

WATCHET : Fo . . . , H . . .

WILTON : Falche, Tomas, Turchil, Willem.

WINCHESTER : Alwold, Gefrei, Hue, Kippig, Rogier, Saiet, Siward, Stiefne.

WORCESTER : Godric, Wulfric.

YORK : Autgrim, La . . . , Martin, Turstan, Ulf.

Irregular Issues of Stephen's reign.

I. *Nondescript Varieties of Stephens first type.*

(a) Bust to left; coarse work. Moneyers : Dagun, Robertus.

(b) Horseman's Mace type. Mace, or Host elevated, in place of sceptre. ROBERT ON CA (Canterbury ?). 20 grs. (Pl. XX, i.)

(c) Rosette types. One of the ordinary type but with rosette in front of the sceptre, i6j grs., is by a moneyer Brihtwin. Another has rosette in front of face, no sceptre, and on reverse has a cross with mullet in each angle, reading ADAM ON OX (Oxford), and ... VBERT ON . . . (i6j grs.).

(e) Small quadrilateral on voided cross as reverse type. OSBER ... X (Oxford or Exeter ?). 17½ grs.

II. *Local Variants.*

Exeter. A long cross fleury over the centre of the reverse. (Pl. XX, 2.)

Moneyers : Simun, Godwin (a blundered variety).

Midland Group.

(a) Derby. The Martlets type. WALCHELINVS DERBI. Very coarse work. 20 to 22 grs. (Pl. XX, 3.)

(b) Nottingham or Tutbury ? Similar in style, but with fleurs in angles of the voided cross on reverse. RAINALD ON STO (or STV ?). 15 grs. (Pl. XX, 4.)

- (c) Newark. Similar to the Exeter coin but of different style. O. ST RE ANG. R. CIC DE NWERCA. 17½ grs. (PL XX, 5.)

Eastern Group.

Lincoln and Thetford. A small cross imposed upon the centre of the reverse design. Lincoln coins weigh 21 to 22 grs. and have the names Ailric, Gladewm, Roger. Thetford coins weigh 17, 17J grs., and are by the moneyer Baldwin. The Lincoln coins have a pellet in each angle and at the end of each limb of the super-imposed cross. (PL XX, 6.)

Southampton. Similar to Stephen's first type but the cross on the reverse is voided. Base metal. 14 to 17½ grs. The mint reads ANTOL, ANT, or AN. Moneyers : Sanson, Willem ?. (PL XX, 7.)

Scottish Border.

(a) Carlisle coinage. Ordinary type of Stephen's first issue.

1. With name of Stephen. Moneyers : Erebald, Willem.
2. With name of David, king of Scotland. Moneyer : Erebald.
3. With name of Henry, son of David, HENRICVS. Erebald.

(b) Eden . . . (uncertain mint, Edinburgh?). Ordinary type with David's name. Moneyer : Erebald.

(c) Corbridge. Similar to the preceding coins but reading : O. HENRIC F RE. R. EREBALD ON COREB. 19 grs. (PL XX, 8.)

(c/) Outchester or Newcastle ?

0. Bust to r. with sceptre. R. Cross with cross in each angle.

1. With Stephen's name, STIFENE RE. 19¼, 20 grs. (PL XX, 90)
2. With name of Henry, son of David, HENCI CON. (PL XX, 10.)

The reverse reads WILLELM ON OTH CI (or ON CI TH), 20 to 23 grs.

O. as preceding with legend STIFENE RE. R. as first type of Stephen but with long voided cross over centre of reverse, VILF ON OCCAIT, and WILELN ON CAST. 20, 21J grs. (PL XX, xi.)

Durham. Some coins, reading FOBVND ON DVNI, have a star before the sceptre and annulets on the points of the fleurs on the reverse. They were presumably struck by the Bishop of Durham. 15½ grs.

York.

(a) Flag type. Triple flag in place of sceptre. Wt. 15 to 19 grs. The reverse legends are VIDNESI ON EV, PTIECSNV (abbreviated forms of Petri, Ecclesiae, and Domini ?, and similar uncertain legends, with ornaments between the letters. (PL XX, 12.)

(b) Similar, but with ordinary sceptre, an inner circle cuts through the portrait. The reverse legend is WISTHGNE(O?)TA with ornaments between. 20 gis. (PL XX, 13.)

(r) O. STIEN and ornaments ; sceptre surmounted by lozenge with pellet. R. Saltire fleury over cross pattee, ornaments in place of legend. (PL XX, 14.) Cf. Robert de Stuteville below. 17¼ grs,

100 COINS OF THE NORMAN KINGS

(d) Double-figure type.

O. King and Queen standing supporting a tall sceptre. STIENE R or STEFID. R. Cross fleury and saltire pomme'e ; ornaments in place of legend. 17¼ to 20½ grs. (Pl. XX, 15.)

III. Coins struck from erased obverse dies.

As first type of Stephen, but with cross stamped over obverse,

BRISTOL : Gurdan (obverse erasure by network of lines).

NORWICH (Long cross from edge to edge of obverse, sometimes with a small cross added in two angles) : Alfward, Edstan, Eustace, Ot . . . , Walter. (Pl. XX, 16.)

NOTTINGHAM (Small cross on obverse, sometimes with a pellet added) : Swein. (Pl. XX, 17.)

STAMFORD (Small cross on shoulder and bar through sceptre) : Lefsi.

THETFORD (Long cross from edge to edge of obverse) : Baldewi.

IV. Coins with legend *Pereric*. (Pl. XX, 18.)

As first type of Stephen but with obverse legend PERERIC, M is added on the die of the Lincoln coins of Siward.

BRISTOL : Turchil; CANTERBURY : Willem; LINCOLN : Rawulf, Siward; LONDON : Alvred, Godricus ; STAMFORD : Lefsi; WINCHESTER : Gefrei.

V. Coins bearing names of Barons.

Eustace Fitzjohn.

1. O. EVSTACIVS. Armed figure to r. R. Cross in quatrefoil. The legend is EBORACI EDOTS, or THOMAS FILIUS ULF, or ornaments in place of legend. (Pl. XXI, i, 2.)

2. O. Lion to r., ornaments in field; [EVSTA]CII FII IOANIS, or EISTAOHIVS. R. Cross fleury over saltire ; ornaments and occasional letters in place of legend. (Pl. XXI, 3.)

Robert de Stuteville.

1. O. RODBERTUS DE STV. Armed figure on horseback. R. Cross pattée over saltire fleury; ornaments in place of legend; cf. coin (c) of York above. (Pl. XXI, 4.)

2. O. RODBDS. . . . R. WISDGNOTIA (retrograde) ; cf. coin (b) of York above. Type as first issue of Stephen.

Henry of Blois, Bishop of Winchester.

O. HENRICVS EPC. Bust to r. with crozier and star. R. STEPHANVS REX. Cross pattée over saltire fleury. (Pl. XXI, 5.)

VI. The coinage of the Angevin party.

The Empress Matilda.

Similar to the first type of Stephen, but with obverse legend IMPERATR or MATILDI(S) IMP (or COI). Wt. 15 to 18½ grs. (Pl. XXI, 6.)

BRISTOL : Farden, Gurdan, Turchil; OXFORD : Swetig; WAREHAM : Raul; and uncertain readings.

Henry of Anjou. Title HENRICVS, HENRICVS REX, or REX AN (without name).

1. Similar to first type of Stephen.

HEREFORD : Willelm, Wicric; (PI. XXI, 7). MALMESBURY : W[alte]ri;
DEVIZES ? (ON D . . . ES).

Var; with cross on reverse voided. GLOUCESTER : Radewlf. (PI. XXI, *.)

2. O. Similar, sometimes with square or round cap instead of crown.
A'. Quadrilateral over cross fleury (as last type of Henry I). CIREN-
CESTER ? (CRST) : Willem ; other readings uncertain. (PI. XXI, 9.)
3. O. Facing bust crowned, between two stars. R. Similar to preceding,
but trefoils instead of fleurs at ends of cross limbs, cross sometimes
voided. BRISTOL : Arefin ; SHERBORNE (ON SI ... URNI) ;
ILCHESTER or WIVELSCOMBE : Adam. (PI. XXI, loa Sherborne, lob
Bristol.)

The weight is usually between 144 and 17½ grs.

VII. Uncertain Baronial coins.

Robert (of Gloucester ?).

Type of second issue of Stephen, obv. legend ROBETV. Mint is -ERE.

There is a cut halfpenny of this type.

William (of Gloucester ? or William de Mohun ?).

Similar to type no. 3 of Henry of Anjou, reading WILL CN DVO, or
WILLELMVS. Wt. 14 to 16 grs. (PI. XXI, n, 12.)

CIRENCESTER ? : Willem ; DORCHESTER : . . . and ; WAREHAM : Rogier;
WIVELSCOMBE ? : Un . . .

Brian Fitzcount or Baldwin de Redvers ?

Similar to type no. 3 of Henry of Anjou, reading : —

O. B.R.C.IT. . . R. BRUT . . . I . TO. (PI. XXI, 13.)

Patrick, Earl of Salisbury ?

O. . . . COM. Bust to r. holding sword. R. S . . . ON SA. Type
as no. 2 of Henry of Anjou. Wt. 15! grs. (PI. XXI, 14.)

Uncertain Bishop.

O. . . . N EPC. Bust to r. with sceptre. R. WILLEM ON ...
Cross and annulets. Wt. 16 grs. (PI. XXI, 15.)

Uncertain.

Type of reverse as preceding, facing bust on obverse. Legends : TSEFN
and ALFRD ON TOM. Wt. 15¼ grs.

CHAPTER VIII

THE TEALBY, SHORT-CROSS, AND LONG-CROSS COINAGES

1154-1279

TEALBY Coinage—In 1158 a monetary reform was introduced which was of sufficient importance for the contemporary chroniclers to insert a note that a new money was made which was the sole currency in the kingdom. The gap between the death of Stephen and the issue of the new coinage was filled by the continued use of Stephen's dies.¹ For the first time we meet with the expression "sole currency." The phrase means something more than the exclusion of foreign coin ; it denotes the use of a single type of English money, and terminates the period in which types were changed at frequent intervals and the currency was therefore not of uniform design. The reform necessitated some new method of collecting the king's profits, which were previously paid when the type was changed ; it probably modified to some extent the control under which the moneyer worked.

The new coinage was, as we know from the Awbridge find, the type which was found in large numbers at Tealby in 1807 and is commonly known as the Tealby type (Pl. XXI, 16). It is notorious for its ugly appearance, its bad craftsmanship, and its careless execution. It continued till 1180.

There are three groups of the coins, distinguished by the detail of the portrait, the lettering, and the form of the king's title (Pl. XXI, 16-18). Group A preponderated in the Awbridge hoard which contained coins of Stephen, Group C in a find at

¹ This overlap from one reign to another is a regular feature of the English coinage, just as at the present day dies of the late sovereign continue in use till new dies are made.

Rome in which " Short-Cross " pennies were the bulk of the hoard. The mint of the Abbot of St. Edmund, to whom only one moneyer was granted, had three moneyers working successively in this period, and their coins confirm the arrangement of the groups. The use of a round form of the letter E occurs for the first time on a few coins of Group C. But the strongest evidence for the order of the groups is to be found in the Pipe Rolls. The moneyers who figure as debtors in the rolls of the first five or six years of the reign signed coins of the first group only. In 1162 Gilbert of Norwich left Norfolk, his colleague Ricard fled to Scotland, and William of Wilton left the country; these three moneyers struck pennies of Group A only. A moneyer Accard, of London, whose latest coin is of Group B, had gone to Jerusalem in 1168-1169. The dates at which the three groups were introduced are 1158, not later than 1162, and not later than 1168.

Henry II encroached on the privilege of the Bishop of Durham, when he established a mint at Newcastle after its surrender by Malcolm in 1157. The *Boldon Book*, a survey of the Palatinate made in 1183, says that the operation of that mint reduced the revenue of the bishop's dies from ten to three marks; finally the king removed the dies from the bishop. They were restored to Bishop Philip, who was consecrated in 1197. The coins of the Northern mints, Newcastle, Durham, Carlisle and, usually, York, are of better workmanship than those of any other mints, including London; pennies with properly rounded flans and a full impression of the dies are rare in the first issue of Henry II and always bear the signature of a Northern mint.

Short-Cross Issue—A visitation of the mints in midland towns, of which we find notice in the Pipe Roll of 1179-1180, may be due, like the hoards of coins found in this part of the country, at Tealby, Ampthill, Royston, Leicester, to the recent fighting and movement of troops over this district. It was the prelude to the new coinage of 1180. The inefficiency of the moneyers led to the introduction of a foreign goldsmith, Philip Aimer of Tours, to design a new type. The new design does him little credit, an ill-modelled portrait is backed by a type which can only be recommended as being suitable for

division into halves and quarters for small change (Pl. XXII, i). He was soon dismissed under suspicion of fraud.

The Short-Cross coinage, as it is known in contrast to the issue that followed it, began in 1180 and ended in 1247. was used by four kings, and during the whole of its issue there was no change in the king's name on the coins ; all the English pennies of Richard and John bear the title *Henricus Rex*. The attribution of the coins to their proper reigns and the dating of the groups, of which eight can be distinguished and approximately dated, depend on a very close comparison of details in the style of the obverse design and of the lettering. It is important to note the gradual degradation in style, which begins in the late coins of Group I and continues progressively to Group IV (Pl. XXII, 1-5). Group V (Pl. XXII, 6) marks a sudden revival in style, while reverting for its model to the original design made by Philip Aimer, but we must place this group earlier than an enquiry set on foot by writs issued to moneyers in October, 1207, to attend at London in the January following. A *mutatio monetæ* is mentioned under the year 1205 in two contemporary chronicles. The date is confirmed by points of correspondence between later coins of Group V and the Irish pennies which were made in London in 1210. From this point there is again a steady decline in the workmanship of the coins down to the end of the issue in 1247. The details which are important for distinguishing the groups are described below.

The evidence available for dating the coins is considerable. We have already seen that in 1180¹ Philip Aimer was put in charge of the new coinage. His name appears as *Fil. Aimer*² on some early pennies of Group I, and as *Aimer* on other pennies of Groups I to IV. The coins which give him both names are likely to be the earlier, and the position of Group I is confirmed by the Rome find which contained 69 " Short-Cross " pennies, all of this group, with 16 " Tealby " pennies. The square forms of the letters C and E on some coins of Group I are further proof of its early issue.

In 1189 Richard I granted three moneyers to the Archbishop of Canterbury, whose mint had probably been closed

¹1181 in some chronicles. But the earlier date is fixed by the Pipe Roll for 1180/1 in which is entered a payment to him for setting up the exchange.

²Probably abbreviated for *Filip*, not the more usual *Filius*.

from the time of the murder of Archbishop Thomas (most issues of the "Tealby" type were coined at Canterbury), and one moneyer to the Bishop of Lichfield. The unique Lichfield penny is one of the early coins of Group II, and the earliest Short-Cross pennies of Canterbury are similar. The right of coinage was restored to the Bishop of Durham, after its removal by Henry II (see above, p. 103), in 1196; the series of Durham pennies begins in Group III and from that point it continues to Group VII. Group IV, the latest before the reform of 1205, is distinguished by the very bad workmanship of the coins and by the use on the latest specimens of an inverted S and a cross pommee as initial mark, which continue in Group V. Several names of moneyers appear for the last time on pennies of Group IV and new names take their place on coins of the next group.

The evidence for placing Group V immediately after the enquiry of 1205 has been considered. In addition, writs of that year established a mint at Chichester with two dies¹ for the king and one for the bishop; the series of Chichester pennies begins with the earliest coins of Group V. The Irish coinage, for which dies were supplied to the London mint in 1210, is comparable to the late coins of this group, which are differentiated by the form of the letter X with wedge-shaped limbs (Pl. XXII, 7). The death of Bishop Philip in 1208 left a vacancy at Durham till 1217; as Durham pennies of Group V(c) are known, these late coins of the group began before 1208. In 1218 six mints were put in the charge of William Marshall, and it appears that he was thus given control of the coinage throughout the country; these six mints, London, Canterbury, Winchester, Durham, York, and Bury St. Edmunds, are the only mints operating later than Group V. Group VI (Pl. XXII, 8) may therefore be dated to the year 1218. In the same year the site of the mint at Northampton was alienated by grant. Winchester and York end their Short-Cross coinage in this group, and the closure of their mints is dated by an entry in the Pipe Roll ordering coinage to continue at London and Canterbury only.²

¹ A die implies a complete set, which usually consisted of one lower and two upper dies. A grant of two dies implies two moneyers.

² Durham and Bury St. Edmunds were exempt from the order as their mints were held by special grant to the bishop and abbot.

Special forms of letters used in Group V and in Group VI are important features which lasted for a very short period in each case. On coins of V(a) the letters B, D, and R have their loops extended into long wedges; C and E, which are of course Lombardic, have the serifs curved round into balls, and the tail of R is similarly terminated; the letter S is, as on coins of the preceding group, inverted. On coins of Group VI are employed several letters of an excessively ornamental character but different to that of the letters of Group V.

Group VII, which is one of the commonest groups and is easily distinguished by the neckless portrait (PL XXII, 9) was introduced about the time of the closure of the Winchester and York mints in 1223. In 1230 William, the king's tailor, was given the Canterbury die of Simon Chic, who was dead; Simon's name appears on pennies of Groups IV to VI, William's in Group VII only. A Canterbury moneyer, Thomas de Valentine, whose coins are of Groups VI and VII, died in 1235; two London moneyers, Adam de Bedeleie and Ricard de Neketon, whose coins are of Group VII only, were sworn in as moneyers in 1230. Ricard died in 1237; hence Group VII is assumed to have continued till 1237 or later.

In 1242 a reduction was made in the number of moneyers, and an exceptional appointment was given to Nicholas de Sancto Albano as moneyer, sole moneyer it seems, at both London and Canterbury. The late, barbarous coins classed as Group VIII (PL XXII, 10) were struck by a few moneyers at the two mints before they were removed by the appointment of Nicholas, who continued as sole moneyer on the early coins of the "Long-Cross" coinage. The bishops of Durham may perhaps be assumed to have continued their issues though no Durham pennies of Group VIII are yet known. The Abbot of St. Edmund still had his moneyer, Johan being the officer in this group. The privilege of the Archbishops of York seems to have been in abeyance; this was one of the mints closed in 1223; the archbishop, presenting his claim for two dies in the reign of Edward I, quoted precedents of the reigns of William I, William II, and Henry I. The grants to the Bishop of Lichfield in 1189 and to the Bishop of Chichester in 1205 seem to have lapsed after a very brief enjoyment. Pennies of Rhuddlan, which are of very clumsy work with some

resemblance to Groups VII and VIII, probably belong to the year following the payment of homage by David, son of Llewellyn, in 1240, when Rhuddlan is believed to have come into the hands of the English king.

Long-Cross Issue—So prevalent had clipping become towards the close of the Short-Cross issue that in 1247 the treasurer was ordered to pay in the best money he had. The subject was considered by a Council at Oxford in 1247, but the Council's curious recommendation, that the standard, and not the form, of the coin should be changed, was set aside, and pennies of a new type were issued, which retained the weight of 22.5 grs. and silver n oz. 2 dwt. fine. Its type was determined by the desire to put an end to the abuse of clipping; the cross on the reverse was extended to the edges of the coin and pennies were declared illegal on which the four ends of the cross were not visible. For the first time the numeral was added to the king's title, *Henricus Rex Tercius*, later *Henricus Rex III*. The whole of the coinage at the royal mints for England, Ireland, and Wales was leased to the king's brother, the Earl of Cornwall, on the basis of an equal share in the profits.

The old coinage had closed with only two royal mints, London and Canterbury, in operation, and these two mints were in the hands of a single moneyer, Nicholas de S. Albano. On the earliest coins of the new issue his name does not appear and the king's title occupies both sides of the coin, *Henricus Rex I Anglie Terci* (Pl. XXII, u). Perhaps the tendency to confusion of Nicholas's work with that of the moneyer of St. Edmund led to the early insertion of the mint-name; half of the word *Anglie* was consequently carried on to the obverse (Pl. XXII, 12), and the reverse legend read *lie Terci Lon* or *Can*, or (for St. Edmund) *Aed*. The mint of Durham seems to have been inactive from the time of Group VII of the Short-Cross issue till late in the Long-Cross period; perhaps a grant of dies to Bishop Walter in 1253 marks the re-opening of the mint.

The Long-Cross coinage begins with the work of three mints only, London, Canterbury, and Bury St. Edmunds, but the new coinage required a larger output than could be supplied

by these three mints. Sixteen additional mints were therefore opened in the following year ; there is evidence that about the year 1250 they were shut down. In the Appendix to the *Chronicle of John of Oxenedes* is given an account of the preparations for their opening with a list of the officers at each mint; four moneyers, whose names on the coins correspond with those of the chronicler's list, were assigned to each. It was after the closing of the lesser mints that an alteration was made in the obverse design by the insertion of a sceptre in the king's hand.

The two series, without sceptre (1247-1250) and with sceptre (1250-1279),¹ can, like earlier coinages, be divided into groups to which approximate dates are assigned by documentary evidence of the appointments of moneyers. The earliest coins, which bear no name of mint or moneyer, have already been mentioned as the work of the moneyer Nicholas when in sole charge of the two mints ; very few coins were struck before indication of the mint was added. The Archbishop of Canterbury soon presented his moneyer, Gilbert, whose appointment in 1248 enabled him to participate with the moneyers of the new mints in the earliest issue on which, by the omission of the word *Anglie*, the king's title was confined to the obverse and space was obtained for the usual legend identifying the moneyer and his mint on the reverse. A change in the king's title from the word *Tercius* to the numeral *III*, with a modification of the portrait from an oval to a rounder shape and again to a bust with a pointed chin and pronounced neck, makes it possible to distinguish coins struck by Henri of London, who was appointed in 1248, before the appointments in 1250 of David and Ricard at London and John at Canterbury (PL XXII, 13-16). The fourth group (PL XXII, 17) is a link between the groups without and with the sceptre ; it has the sceptre but, unlike other sceptre coins, it still begins the obverse legend above the centre of the crown.

The ordinary sceptre coins of Group V have a broader face ; round eyes give place to eyes of almond shape, made by two crescent punches, just before the death of Nicole of London, whose executors were acting in March, 1253 (PL XXII, 18, 19). A small issue of curious style follows, distinguished by the

¹ For the long overlap into Edward's reign see below, p. 109.

more realistic form of the king's crown with a broad band and a shaped fleur (PL XXII, 20) ; in this class, *V(d)*, the unusual forms *Kan* (Canterbury) and *Beri* (Bury St. Edmunds) are found, and the name of the moneyer of St. Edmund is curtailed from Randulf to Rand; mules between *V(c)* and *V(d)* define its position. Two other rare varieties (PL XXII, 21, 22), distinguished by the band of the crown, appear with the signature of Randulf of St. Edmund before he was succeeded in 1258 by Reginald FitzHenry, whose coinage is limited to *V(g)*. This group (PL XXII, 23), which has a single broad band to the crown, is easily confused with the early sceptre coins, but it may be distinguished from them by the form of the letter X which has the curule-chair shape ; it includes coins by John de Bernadisse, who was appointed moneyer of the Abbot of St. Edmund in 1265, and of Ricard l'Espece, who was appointed by the Archbishop of Canterbury in 1268. Ricard's appointment, and Gilbert's in 1248, enable us to distinguish coins of the archbishop from the royal issues of Canterbury. Group VI, a coinage of very coarse work, introduces for the first time realistic curls instead of crescents and pellets at either side of the king's head ; it may well have been issued before Bishop Robert of Durham received his temporalities in 1274 ; coins of a moneyer, Roger, of Durham occur of *V(g)* and of another, Robert, of VI and VII.

Attention has already been drawn to the common, almost unvarying, practice of continuing the coinage without change of name after the king's death, of which the most remarkable instance is the retention of the name of Henry on the whole English coinage of both Richard and John. After the death of Henry III seven years passed before Edward I introduced his new coinage, and during that period the Long-Cross pennies, with Henry's name, were still issued. Into Edward's reign fall perhaps a few late coins of Class *V(g)* and the subsequent issues. It is curious to find that a definite step was taken to improve the workmanship with the coinage of Class VII (PL XXII, 24), which includes the pennies of two moneyers, Philip de Cambio and Joceus the goldsmith, appointed to London and Bury St. Edmunds respectively in 1278, and that the opportunity was not then taken to put Edward's name on the coins.

The Gold Penny—The issue of the gold florin, which was struck at Florence in 1252 and quickly obtained a wide circulation in Europe, was soon followed by an attempt to establish a gold currency in England. In 1257 the Gold Penny, struck in pure gold at a weight of 45 grs., was made current at the value of twenty pence. The coin was of English workmanship, struck at the mint of London by William the king's goldsmith, who had received in 1255 the die previously held by Nicholas de S. Albano. The dies were cut with great skill, portraying on the obverse the throned figure of the king and on the reverse an artistic rendering of the long voided cross with a rose between three pellets in each of its angles (Pl. XXII, 25). These coins are very rare and are no less desirable for their beauty than for their historical interest as the first gold money struck in this country after the Norman Conquest.

The valuation of the gold coin at twenty pence established a gold ratio to silver of ten to one. This was probably below the market value of gold, for the coin was unpopular and in 1265 we find it taken in currency at a value of twenty-four pence. In spite of its altered value the coin failed to obtain the confidence of the public. We hear nothing of its withdrawal, but it was probably not retained in currency for many years.

Henry II (1154-1189).

During the first four years of the reign the dies of Stephen were used.

First Issue, or "Tealby" type (1158-1180).

O. Bust facing with sceptre. R. Cross with a cross in each angle.

Group A. 1158-1162. (Pl. XXI, 16.)

HENRI REX ANGL, or ANG. Narrow face without hair; drapery formed of a band running from chin to edge of coin, with trefoil.

Group B. c. 1162-1168. (Pl. XXI, 17.)

HENRI R A, AN, or AG, or HENRI R. Rounder face with curls; drapery has a collar-band with a series of folds below.

Group C. c. 1168-1180. (Pl. XXI, 18.)

HENRI REX, or RE. Large bust, coarsely executed; drapery with collar-band continued over shoulder. Large lettering. On some coins the legend ends REX A or REX S.

Short-Cross Issue (1180-1189). Title HENRICVS REX.

O. Bust facing with sceptre. R. Short cross voided with quatrefoil in each angle.

Group I. c. 1180-1189. (Pl. XXII, i.)

Narrow face with two curls to l. and five to r.; band of crown has five pellets. Shallow relief, fairly neat work. Square C and E on some early coins. Degradation already visible on late coins of the group; relief disappears; curls vary in number, always more to r. than to l.

Richard I (1189-1199). Title remains as HENRICVS REX. Similar Short-Cross Pennies.

Group II. c. 1189-1196. (Pl. XXII, 2, 3.)

Rounder face with no relief; early coins have a mass of tiny curls at either side, later coins usually have three at either side.

Group III. c. 1196-1199? (Pl. XXII, 4.)

Narrower and longer face with strongly marked beard; band of crown has more pellets, usually seven; eyes formed of annulets instead of pellets; outstanding curls evenly balanced at the two sides.

John (1199-1216). Title remains as HENRICVS REX. Similar Short-Cross Pennies.

Group IV. c. 1199-1205. (Pl. XXII, 5.)

Very coarse work; grotesque face with large annulets for eyes; beaded of pellets placed at random; band of crown a rough line instead of pellets; late coins have only one curl at either side.

Group V. c. 1205-1218. (Pl. XXII, 6, 7.)

New coinage of neat work. The earliest are very similar to those of Group I, but have a cross pommee as initial mark on reverse and the letter S reversed. On later coins the curls, of which there are two at either side, are formed of an annulet enclosing a pellet. The latest coins of the group have a squarer face, and have a new form of S with wedge-shaped limbs. Ornamental letters occur in this group.

Henry III (1216-1272).

Short-Cross Issue continued, with title HENRICVS REX.

Group VI. c. 1218-1223. (Pl. XXII, 8.)

Similar to preceding group, but thin pointed face with little relief; eyes with marked squint, slightly oval; beard of long, straight strokes. Larger lettering, X with rounded ends. Ornamental letters, differing from those of Group V, occur on some coins.

Group VII. c. 1223-1242. (Pl. XXII, 9.)

Short face cut off at the chin by the inner circle; square beard of long strokes.

Group VIII. c. 1242-1247. (Pl. XXII, 10.)

Very degraded; portrait is a travesty of human features, with round, staring eyes and heavy beard of long lines.

Long-Cross Issue (1247-1278).

O. Bust facing, without or with sceptre. R. Long cross voided with three pellets in each angle.

Group I. 1247-1248. No sceptre.

O. HENRICVS REX. R. ANGLIE TERCI. (Pl. XXII, n.)

O. HENRICVSREXANG. R. LIETERCI LON(orCAN,orAED).
(Pl. XXII, 12.)

Group II. 1248. No sceptre.

O. HENRICVS REX TERC. R. Name of mint and moneyer.
(Pl. XXII, 13.)

Group III. 1248-1250. No sceptre. HENRICVS REX III (as on all later coins).

(a) Thin oval face, (b) round, broader face, (c) face with pointed chin and higher neck ; two pellets after Rex. (Pl. XXII, 14-16.)

Group IV. 1250-1251. With sceptre. Obverse legend still beginning above centre of crown. (Pl. XXII, 17.)

Group V. With sceptre. Obverse legend begins to left of crown.

(a, d) c. 1251-1253. Letter R in (a) has triangular tail with balled ends, in (b) wedge-shaped tail. (Pl. XXII, 18.)

fc </,'»/) ^.1253-1258/60.

(c) has almond-shaped eyes, (d) has new crown with broad band and true shaped fleur as central ornament, peculiar style, (e) is of similar style with beaded band to crown, (/) has crown with band of two thin lines and low thin central fleur. (Pl. XXII, 19-22.)

Of) c. 1258/60-1272. (Pl. XXII, 23.)

Ordinary crown with plain band ; X of curule-chair shape.

The two remaining groups were struck after the accession of Edward I., c. 1272-1278.

Group VI. Coarse work with new realistic curls.

Group VII. New finer style ; new portrait with side curls similar to those of the Edwardian pennies of the next issue. (Pl. XXII, 24.)

Gold Penny of Henry III. Wt. 45 grs. (Pl. XXII, 25.)

O. King enthroned. HENRICVS REX III.

R. Long cross voided, rose between three pellets in each angle. WILLEM ON LVNDE.

Mints and moneyers of the TEALBY COINAGE :—

BRISTOL : Elaf, Tancard.

BURY ST. EDMUNDS : Willem, Henri, Raulf.

CANTERBURY : Adam, Alfheg, Goldhavoc, Goldeer, Raul, Ricard, Ricard Me, Rogier, Wiulf.

CARLISLE : Willem.

CHESTER : Andreu, Willem.

COLCHESTER : Alwine, Nicole, Pieres.

DURHAM : Cristien, Iohan, Waltier.

EXETER : Edwad, Guncelin, Ricard, Rogier.

GLOUCESTER : Nicole, Radulf, Rodbert, Sawle.

HEREFORD : Driv, Osbern, Rodbert, Stefn, Willem.

ILCHESTER : Adam, Ricard, Roger.

IPSWICH : Nicole, Rodbert, Turstan.

LAUNCESTON : Willem.

LEICESTER : Ricard, Rodbert.

LEWES: Wulwine.

LINCOLN : Andreu, Godric, Lanfram, Raven, Raulf, Swein.

LONDON: Accard, Alwine, Edmund, Geffrei, Godefrei, Humfrei, Iohan, Lefwine, Martin, Pieres, Pieres Mer, Pieres M, Pieres Sal, Pieres S, Ricard, Rodbert, Swetman, Wit.

NEWCASTLE : Willem.

NORTHAMPTON : Engelram, Ihosep, Pieres, Reimund, Waltier, Warnir, Ste[fne].

NORWICH : Gilebert, Herbert, Hue, Nicole, Picot, Reinier, Ricard, Willelm.

OXFORD : Adam, Aschetil, Rogier.

SALISBURY: Daniel, Levric.

SHREWSBURY : Warin.

STAFFORD : Colebrand, Willem.

THETFORD : Siwate, Turstan, Willem, Willem Ma.

WALLINGFORD: Fulche.

WILTON : Aschetil, Lantier, Willem.

WINCHESTER : Herbert, Hosbert, Ricard, Willem.

WORCESTER: Alard.

YORK : Cudberht, Godwine, Griffin, Herbert, Iordan, Norman, Willem, Wulfsi.

Mints and Moneyers of the SHORT-CROSS Coinage (the groups coined by each moneyer are added in brackets) I—

LONDON : Abel (V to VII), Adam (V, VII, VIII), Aimer (I^(^) to IV), Alain (I(J), IV), Alain V (I), Alexander (V), Alward (I), Andreu (V), Arnaud (V), Beneit (V), Davi (I, II), Elis or Helis (VII), Fil. Aimer (I), Fulke (III to V), Gefrei (VII), Gilebert (I), Godard (I), Goldwine (III, IV), Henri (I, IV, V), Henri Pi (I), lefrei (I), Ilger (V to VII), Iohan (I, V, VIII), Ledulf (VII), Nichole (VII, VIII), Osber (I), Pieres (I, II), Pieres M (I), Pires (VI), Randul (I), Rauf or Raulf (V to VII) Raul (I, II), Reinald (I), Renner (V, VI), Ricard (I to V, VII), Ricard B (V), Ricard T (V), Stivene (I to IV), Terri (VII), Walter (V to VII), Willelm (I to V, VIII), Willelm B (V), Willelm L (V), Willelm T (V).

BURY ST EDMUNDS: Fulke (V), Rauf (VI, VII), Willelm (VII), Norman (VII), Simund (VII), Iohan (VIII).

CANTERBURY : Andreu (V), Arnaud (V), Arnold (VI), Goldwine (II to V), Henri (VI to VIII), Hernaud (IV, V), Hiun or Iun (IV, V, VII), Hue (IV, V), Iohan or Iohan (IV to VIII), Iohan Chic (VII), Iohan Fr (VII), Iohan B (V), Iohan M (V), Meinir (II to IV), Nichole (VII, VIII), Norman (VII), Osmund (VII), Rauf (V), Reinaud (II to IV), Roberd (II to VII), Robert Vi (VII), Roger (VI to VIII), Roger of R (VII), Salemun (VII), Samuel (IV to VIII), Simon (IV to VII), Tomas (VI, VII), Ulard (II to IV), Walter (V to VIII), Willem (VII, VIII), Willem Ta (VII).

CARLISLE : Alain (I to IV), Tomas (V).

CHICHESTER : Pieres (V), Rauf (V), Simon (V), Willelm (V).

DURHAM : Adam (III), Alain (III, IV), Pieres (IV to VII).

EXETER : Asketil (I), Gilibert (V), Iohan (V), Iordan (I), Osber (I), Raul (I), Ricard (I, III, V), Roger (I).

IPSWICH : Alisandre (V), lohan (V).

LICHFIELD: loan (II).

LINCOLN : Alain (V), Andreu (V), Edmund (I), Girard (I), Hue (V), Hugo (I), lohan (V), Lefwme (I to III), Randul (IV), Rauf (V), Ricard (V), Rodbert (I), Tomas (V), Walter (I), Will. D. F. (I), Willelm (I).

LYNN : lohan (V), Nicole (V), Willelm (V).

NORTHAMPTON : Adam (V), Filipe (I), Gefrei (I), Hugo (I), Raul (I), Randul (III, IV), Roberd (III, V), Roberd T (V), Simund (I), Walter (I, III).

NORWICH: Gefrei (V), lohan (IV, V), Reinald (I, IV, V), Willelm (I, III, IV).

OXFORD : Ailwine (V), Asketil (I), Helis (VII), Hemi (V), lefrei (I), Miles (V), Owein (I), Ricard (I, II), Rodbert (I), Sagar (I).

RHUDDLAN: Halli (VII, VIII), Henricus (VIII), Simon (VII, VIII), Tomas (VIII).

ROCHESTER : Alisandre (V), Andreu (V), Hunfrei (V).

SHREWSBURY : Ive (IV), Willem (III).

WILTON : Osber (I), Rodbert (I).

WINCHESTER : Adam (I, V), Andreu (V), Bartelme (V), Clement (I), Gocelm (I to III), Henri (I, V, VI), lohan (V, VI), Lukas (V), Miles (V), Osbern (I, III), Fires (III), Rauf (V), Reinier (I), Ricard (V), Rodbert (I), Willelm (II, III).

WORCESTER : Edric (I), Godwine (I), Osber (I), Oslac (I).

YORK : Alain (I), Davi (IV, V), Everard (I to IV), Gerard (I), Hugo (I to III), Hunfrei (I), lohan (V, VI), Isac (I), Nicole (IV, V), Peres (VI), Renaud (V), Tomas (V, VI), Turkil (I to IV), Willem (I, VI).

Mints and Moneyers of the LONG-CROSS Coinage (the groups coined by each moneyer of London, Canterbury, and Durham are added in brackets). Of the other mints the coins are of Classes II and III, but no coins are known of Group II of Bristol, Carlisle, Hereford, Ilchester, Newcastle, Shrewsbury, Wallingford, or Wilton.

LONDON : Nicole (II to Vc), Henri (*Ilia* to Vg), Uavi (*Illc* to Vf), Ricard (*Illc* to Vg), Willem (Vc to g), Ion or lohs (Vc to g), Walter (Vc to g), Thomas (Vg), Robert (Vg), Renaud (Vg to VII), Phelip (VII).

CANTERBURY : Nicole (II to Vg), Willem (II to Vg), Gilbert (II to Vg), Ion or lohs (*Illc* to Vg) Robeit (Vc to g), Walter (Vc to g), Alein (Vg), Ambroci (vg), Ricard (Vg).

BURY ST. EDMUNDS: Ion (II to Va), Randulf (W to/), Renaud (Vg), Stephane (Vg), Ion or lohs (Vg to VII), loce (VII).

DURHAM : Ricard (Va to c), Roger (Vg), Robert (VI, VII).

BRISTOL : Elis, Henri, Iacob, Roger, Walter.

CARLISLE : Adam, Ion, Robert, Willem.

EXETER : Ion, Philip, Robert, Walter.

GLOUCESTER : Lucas, Ion, Ricard, Roger.

HEREFORD : Henri, Ricard, Roger, Walter.

ILCHESTER : Huge, Randulf, Stephe, lerveis.

¹ This second Ion, or lohs, is John de Burnedissee, not to be confused with John of groups II to Va.

LINCOLN : Ion, Ricard, Walter, Willem.

NEWCASTLE : Adam, Henri, Ion, Roger.

NORTHAMPTON : Lucas, Philip, Tomas, Willem.

NORWICH : Huge, Iacob, Ion, Willem.

OXFORD : Adam, Gefrei, Henn, Willem.

SHREWSBURY : Lorens, Nicole, Peres, Ricard.

WALLINGFORD : Alisandre, Clement, Ricard, Robert.

WILTON : Huge, Ion, Willem (there were two moneyers of this name).

WINCHESTER : Huge, Iurdan, Nicole, Willem.

YORK : Alain, Ieremie, Ion, Renner, Tomas (Archbishop's moneyer).

CHAPTER IX

THE EDWARDIAN PENNY AND THE EARLY GOLD OF EDWARD III

1279-1351

THE long period of the carry-over of Henry's coinage into the reign of Edward, from 1272 to 1279, may perhaps be due to the prolonged efforts of the Council to find measures for improving the coinage and especially for its protection against clipping. In these years much is heard of clipping and of prosecutions of the Jews, who were made scapegoats for the public indignation at the bad condition of the coin.

In August, 1279, the deliberations of the Council matured and a new coinage was ordered, the old pennies being allowed to pass current for one year. The weight of the penny was reduced from $22\frac{1}{2}$ to $22\frac{1}{4}$ grs., probably to produce revenue to meet the cost of redeeming the old currency, and two new values were added, a groat of four pence (Pl. XXIII, i), and a round farthing (Pl. XXIV, 6) which was to contain sufficient alloy to increase its weight to 6-85 grs. At Christmas, 1280, this experiment of the disproportionately heavy farthing was abandoned and the coin was struck of sterling silver weighing 5-51 grs., the small reduction from true weight, 5-55, covering the extra cost of mintage of the small coin.

In the earliest issues of the new coinage we see the mint feeling its way towards the new type. A most interesting survivor (Pl. XXIII, 2) bears on the reverse the long voided cross of the previous issue, with a rose in each angle, and, like the earliest Long-Cross penny, it occupies the reverse legend with the king's title, in this case repeating the obverse legend. In two directions it miscarried ; it omitted the name of the mint, and it continued the voided cross which was no longer

desirable when small change was available in the round farthing. Another early penny, with undraped bust (PL XXIII, 3), abbreviated the king's name to *Ed*. An issue with the form *Edw Rex* had a considerable output but was soon superseded by the normal coin with legend *Edw R Angl Dns Hyb*, which remained in vogue till nearly the end of the reign.

The mints were now put under a new organisation, in which the master-worker, later entitled Master of the Mint, united in his person the responsibility formerly divided among the many moneyers. The moneyer's name therefore disappears from the coin, save on one issue, that of the Abbot of St. Edmund, who for a while struck pennies with his moneyer's name, Robert de Hadleie, occupying the reverse legend (PL XXIII, 24). *London[ia]Civitas* is the regular form, and the large coin, or groat, carries the king's title continuously from the obverse to an outer circle of the reverse.

The indenture of 1279, which first ordered the groat, named as the mints in the hands of the new master, William de Turnemire, London, with as many furnaces as possible, Canterbury with 8 (5 for the king, 3 for the archbishop), and Bristol and York with 12 each ; this identifies the second class of pennies and farthings. The third class introduces the half-penny, and the farthing of 5½ grs. as ordered at Christmas, 1280. A great increase in the coinage was initiated by the opening of new mints under John Porcher in March, 1300, when provision was made for 30 furnaces at London, 8 at Canterbury, 4 at Kingston-upon-Hull, 2 at Newcastle-upon-Tyne, 4 at Bristol, 2 at Exeter, and for a mint at Chester under a master appointed by Porcher. Thus the date is fixed of the large coinage of Class IX, which bears the names of the new mints of Exeter and Kingston-upon-Hull.

The most fruitful source for the dating of Edwardian pennies is to be found in the coinages of the privileged mints, especially in that of the bishops of Durham. Anthony Bek, who was consecrated to the palatinate See in 1283, was the first to place his personal mark on the coins ; his issues bear a cross moline (PL XXIII, 25), and its omission on a few pennies of Class IX and on most of Class X is explained by the confiscation of his temporalities for a year from July, 1302. In March, 1311, Bek died and his successor, Richard Kellawe

(June, 1311, to October, 1316), instead of differentiating the initial mark by a cross moline, placed a crozier-head at the end of the upper limb of the cross on the reverse (PL XXIII, 26). Bishop Louis Beaumont (May, 1317, to September, 1333) marked his pennies by using a lion between small fleurs-de-lis as the initial mark (PL XXIII, 27). The Durham pennies of Edward II show in sequence the cross moline of Bek (to 1311), no personal mark (*sede vacante*, 1311), the crozier of Kellawe (1311 to 1316), and the lion of Beaumont (from 1317), and it is possible with these indications to identify earlier and later coins of this reign by the style of the portrait, the jewelling of the crown (the earliest have always a broken jewel to left of the central fleur, later coins have taller or shorter fleurs) and by the lettering, especially by changes in the letters R and E (see PL XXIII, 18-22).

All claims for privilege dies seem to have been carefully examined. At Canterbury the mint was under seal till January, 1280, but from Class II onwards participated regularly in the coinage except in 1296-1299. York, after a dispute over the archbishop's claim, opened in August, 1281; the pennies minted at the archbishop's palace are from this time distinguished by a quatrefoil from those of the royal mint in the castle; they appear in Class III only until the reopening of the York mints for the great coinage of 1300. The closure of the York mints between 1281 and 1300 has not been explained. The claim of the Abbot of St. Edmund was settled at Michaelmas, 1280; his mint was the subject of a commission of enquiry appointed in 1283. The pennies bearing the name of his moneyer, Robert de Hadleie, without name of mint, are evidence of some irregularity in the work of his mint.

With the accession of Edward III there came a period of very small output. The drain of coin from the country in exchange for foreign imitations was probably the chief factor in the decrease of the coinage, and an attempt was made to stop the leakage by coining for a time halfpence and farthings of baser metal and no pence. Very few pennies were struck by Edward III before 1344. The mint of Canterbury was almost idle down to 1332 and then closed; London coined an almost negligible amount of pennies in 1329 and 1330 and afterwards coined halfpence and farthings only. A claim for dies,

proffered by the Archbishop of York in 1331, was disputed on the ground that when the archbishop previously had died the king also had an establishment in York ; but the claim was allowed. On some York pennies, which have the round form of N distinctive of the coinage of the reign of Edward III, the initial cross has pellets grouped about it as on the sign manual of Robert de Snoweshulle, who was appointed warden of the archbishop's mint in 1331.

In 1335 halfpence and farthings were ordered of silver, 10 oz. fine, and proclaimed legal tender, except for payment of the king's taxes, up to any amount; we may therefore suppose that the coinage of pennies, which could still only be made of standard silver, and would therefore be coined at a loss, ceased at the privileged mints as it had already done at London and Canterbury. In 1338 the Abbot of Reading received a grant which, unlike that of previous holders, included the striking of halfpence and farthings. Early in the following year he had received a penny die only, which in the circumstances was useless to him ; he demanded dies for smaller coins and was given immediate delivery. Reading halfpence and farthings are known of this period, but pence are only known of 1344-1351.

We know that an order was given for penny dies to be sent to the Bishop of Durham in 1336, and that a new die was granted to the Abbot of St. Edmund in 1340, but it is hardly possible that they can have coined pennies while small coins of 10 oz. silver were being issued. It is therefore probable that the Durham penny with a crown in the centre of the reverse (Pl. XXIII, 28), which has been assigned to Bishop de Bury, was struck before 1333 by Bishop Beaumont.

A series of Edwardian pennies bearing the signature of the town of Berwick belongs to a different category (Pl. XXIV, 13-16). From the year 1296, when Edward I established there an Exchequer and, probably, a mint, the town changed hands with the varying fortunes of war. The earliest pennies (Pl. XXIV, 13) are of good work allied to that of London pennies of Class IV, which were struck more than ten years earlier, and are followed by imitations of increasing barbarity (Pl. XXIV, 14). Again, in the reign of Edward II an issue was directly modelled on the London coinage, and

reproduced the characteristic feature of Class XI; another series of barbarous imitations followed (PL XXIV, 15, 16). It is an open question whether the barbarous coins should be assigned to periods of English occupation or to the intervals when the Scots were in control. Halfpence and farthings are known of good and bad work (PI. XXIV, 17-22). There are also Berwick coins on which a bear's head is placed in one or two quarters of the reverse (PI. XXIV, 16, 18, 19, 22) ; they have been regarded as a coinage of Edward III, but the town only came into his hands in 1333, when he had given up the striking of pence. The small amounts coined by him at Berwick were probably halfpence and farthings only. The bear's head coins are more likely to have been struck before Edward II lost the town in 1318.

The lean years 1335 to 1343, by limiting the output of coin to base halfpence and farthings, produced an economic crisis which was brought to a head in a petition to Parliament. After an unsuccessful attempt to make a currency convention with Flanders, it was decided to issue a gold coinage, and two Florentine goldsmiths, whose names are anglicised to Kirkyn and Nicholyn, were appointed joint masters with orders to strike gold coins of 23 ct. $3\frac{1}{2}$ grs. fine and pennies of n oz. 2 dwt. silver. In January, 1344, a proclamation was issued putting into currency the Florin of a value of six shillings (double the value of the Italian florin) weighing 108 grs., with its half and quarter which borrowed from their designs the names of Leopard and Helm. These three beautiful coins are illustrated on PI. XXV, 1-3. The reverse legends, which remained in use on the Noble issue, are scriptural; that of the florin (Luke iv. 30) has, from its association with a ship on the Noble, been wrongly supposed to have reference to the battle of Sluys ; it is the text which was commonly used on amulets and therefore served, by its appeal to superstition, as a protection to the coin against clipping. The difficulty of maintaining a bimetallic coinage was no less acute than in 1257, but it was now no longer possible to be without a gold currency. In August, 1344, the florin was supplanted by the noble of 6s. 8d. weighing 1367 grs., with the famous type of the king in a ship, which may have been suggested by the

naval supremacy won at Sluys in 1340. In 1346 the weight of the noble was reduced to 128'6 grs., and finally, in 1351, its weight was fixed at 120 grs. At the same dates the silver penny was reduced in weight from 22¼ (Jan., 1344) to 20-3 (Aug., 1344), 20 (1346), and 18 grs. (1351)> and the ratio of gold to silver thus went through the stages of 14-8 to i, ii'8 to i, and 12-4 to i, before it settled down to the 12 to i ratio. The gold coins of the first noble issue (Aug., 1344) are distinguished by the initial of the mint, London, being placed in the centre of the reverse (PL XXV, 4 ; XXIX, 3) ; no half-noble is known of this coinage. The 1346 issue, which has the king's initial in the centre of the reverse, differs from later issues in its bold round lettering ; all three denominations are known (PL XXV, 5 ; XXVIII, i ; XXIX, 4).

The silver coinage of 1344-1351 is recognised by a similarity of style to the gold coins. The broad fleurs of the crown, the bushy hair, and the broad curve of the neck and shoulders with an outline of the shirt visible below the fold of the collar are distinctive features (PL XXIV, 23-26). The mints in operation were London, Canterbury, York, Durham, and Reading. The pennies were struck in large numbers in 1344 and 1345 ; at the end of 1346 Canterbury closed down, and in or shortly after the year 1347 London ceased to strike anything but half-pence and farthings. Some pennies of Durham are without episcopal marks, and may therefore be placed to the period of the vacancy following the death of Bishop de Bury (April to June, 1345). The revival of the crozier seems to have come before de Bury's death, for a coin with the crozier weighs ²3i £^{rs}-1 before he died the standard weight had been reduced to 20-3 grains. Bishop Hatfield, de Bury's successor, continued the use of the crozier but also put a pellet in the centre of the reverse on coins struck both before and after 1351. The mints of the Archbishop of York and of the Abbot of Reading were probably operating only for a short time in 1345, as their pennies reproduce details of Durham pennies. The Abbot of St. Edmund did not, so far as we know, coin during this period.

The new style, King of France, was introduced into the king's titles by proclamation in 1337 ; it first appeared on coins of the 1344 issue.

Edward I. New coinage of 1279.

Groat (ordered in 1279, duration of issue probably short). Wt. 89 grs.

O. Bust facing; EDWARDVS DI GRA REX ANGL. R. DNS HIBNE DVX AQVT and LONDONIA CIVI in two concentric circles.

Long cross with three pellets in each angle. (Pl. XXIII, i.)

Penny, Halfpenny, and Farthing. Penny 22¼ grs.; Farthing 6-85 grs. reduced at end of 1280 to 5½ grs.

O. Bust facing. R. Long cross with three pellets in each angle.

1. (May to Dec., 1279.) Crown with plain band.

(a) EDW REX ANGL DNS HYB. Roman or Lombardic N. S simple.¹ (Pl. XXIII, 4.)

(b) EDW R ANGL DNS HYB (this continues to Group IX). Roman N normal or reversed. S simple.

Pennies of London only. (Pl. XXIII, 5.) No Halfpence. Farthings read EDWARDVS REX and LONDONIENSIS (heavy weight). (Pl. XXIV, 6.)

Rare Pennies with annulet on breast are said to have been struck for the Abbot of Reading, to whom the king granted the use of a die at London.

II. (Jan. to May, 1280.) Crown with a new band shaped to the ornaments. Small narrow face, high neck. N reversed, S simple. (Pl. XXIII, 6.) Pennies of London, Canterbury, Bristol, York (royal), Durham. No Halfpennies* Farthings of London (*Londoniensis*), Bristol (*Villa Bristollic*), York (*Civitas Eboraci*, Pl. XXIV, 7); weight as before.

III. (1280-1281.) Rather broader face and rounder chin; neck less high but prominent. Lettering less straight-sided: abbreviation marks crescent-shaped (previously wedges).

(a) Drapery foreshortened circle, partly hidden by neck. Pennies of London only. (Pl. XXIII, 7.)

(b) Drapery as small segment of circle. Pennies of London, Canterbury, Bristol, York (royal), Durham. Halfpennies of London (legends as penny). No Farthings. (Pl. XXIII, 8; XXIV, i.)

(c) Drapery of usual form of two triangles. S simple and, on late coins, with egg-shaped centre and thin top and tail. Pennies of London, Canterbury, Bristol, Chester, Lincoln, Newcastle, York (royal and episcopal), Durham, Bury St. Edmunds (*Robert de Hadeleie*). Halfpennies of London, Bristol, Lincoln, York, Newcastle (one pellet in each angle of reverse). Farthings (5½ grs.) reading on obverse E R ANGLIE of London, Bristol, Lincoln, York. (Pl. XXIII, 9; XXIV, 2, 3, 8).

IV. (1282-1283.) Broader face, shorter neck. Coarser lettering; abbreviation marks long and hook-shaped. S with egg-shaped centre. Some have a pellet beginning obverse and reverse legends; others have three pellets on breast and one in the reverse legend (London and Canterbury only). (Pl. XXIII, 10, 11, 24.)

¹ Formed of two crescents and two wedges.

Pennies of London, Canterbury, Durham (no mark; cross moline, rarely in one angle of reverse, later as initial mark), Bury St. Edmunds (*Robert de Hadeleie, Robertas de Hadl* and later *Villa S. Edmudi*). Halfpennies of London (three pellets on breast and one befoie *London*; they use the old, simple form of S). No Farthings.

- V. (1284-?.) Single pellet on breast, none on reverse. Larger flans and very large lettering. (PL XXIII, 12.)

Pennies of London, Canterbury, Durham (cross moline), Bury. No Halfpennies or Farthings.

- VI. (Some time between 1284 and 1294.) Crown with widespread fleurs. Large oval face. Smaller coins; small straight lettering. (PL XXIII, 13.)

Pennies of London, Durham (cross moline), Bury. No Halfpennies or Farthings.

- VII. (P-1294.) Similar, but almond-shaped eyes; Rose on breast. N with double bar. (PL XXIII, 14 ; XXIV, 4, 9.)

Pennies of London, Canterbury, Durham (cross moline, no rose, N with single bar), Bury (no rose, N with single bar). Halfpennies of London (no rose). Farthings of London (no rose).

- VIII. (1294-1300.) Similar, but round eyes and taller neck. N with single bar. S top-tilted and broad-waisted. Some have a star on breast. (PL XXIII, 15 ; obv. of PL XXIV, 10.)

Pennies of London, Durham (cross moline), Bury. Some Halfpennies may possibly be of this group. Farthings of London reading E R ANGL DN.

- IX. (1300-1302.) Smaller coins, smaller portrait; smaller lettering, N of pot-hook form. Some have a star on breast. (PL XXIII, 16; rev. of XXIV, 10.)

Pennies of London, Canterbury, Bristol, Chester, Exeter, Kingston-upon-Hull, Newcastle, York (royal and episcopal), Durham (with and without cross moline), Bury. Halfpennies and Farthings of London may be distinguished by the pot-hook N.

- X. (1302-1307.) Side-fleurs of crown bifoliate, i.e. correctly fore-shortened (previously with three foils visible). The abbreviation of the king's name is changed from *Edw* to *Edward*, *Edwar*, or *Edwa*. Larger face with sharper chin. The distinctive lettering with deep-curved sides differentiates this group from later coins with similar obverse legends. (PL XXIII, 17 ; XXIV, 5, xx.)

Pennies of London, Canterbury, Newcastle, Durham (without cross moline except a few late coins which have it on obverse only), Bury. Halfpennies of London reading EDWAR R ANGL DNS HYB (all later halfpence have the name in full, *Edwardus*). Possibly some Farthings reading *Edwardus Rex A* (or *Ang*) belong to this group.

- Edward II (1307-1327). (PL XXIII, 18-22; XXIV, 12.)

Similar coins. To this reign may be assigned all the Pennies reading EDWA (or EDWAR R ANGL DNS HYB), except those with narrow-waisted lettering (group X above) and those with the Lombardic form of the letter N (Edward III, see below). The earliest coins have

a faulty jewel at the left side of the crown (PL XXIII, 18). A very small R is followed by a larger one, and an E with angular back gives place to a large round-backed E on the latest coins, which are also marked by a small natural fleur in the centre of the crown.

Pennies of London, Canterbury, Durham (*Civitas Dunelm*; cross moline of Bek, no personal mark, crozier of Kellawe, lion of Beaumont, PL XXIII, 25-27), Bury St. Edmunds. Halfpennies and Farthings of London reading *Edwardus Rex A*, or *Ang*.

Edward III.

First Period (1327-1335). (PL XXIII, 23, 28.)

Pennies reading EDWA EDWAR R ANGL DNS HYB with Lombardic N, struck at London, Canterbury (sometimes with extra pellets in one quarter of reverse), York (some have extra pellets in one quarter of reverse, some have 4 pellets round the initial cross), Durham of Bishop Beaumont (crown in centre of reverse) (PL XXIII, 28), Bury St. Edmunds. No Halfpence or Farthings can with certainty be placed in this period.

Second Period (1335-1343).

No Pennies. Halfpence and Farthings (10 oz. fine) of London reading EDWARDVS REX A, or ANG, with star at end of obverse and sometimes in middle of reverse legend. Similar Halfpennies of Reading (*Villa Radingy*; escallop in one quarter of reverse).

Third Period (1344-1351).

Gold Coins of Jan.-Aug., 1344.

Florin. Wt. 108 grs., value 6s. (PL XXV, i.)

O. EDWR D GRA REX ANGL Z FRANC DNS HIB. King enthroned beneath canopy.

R. IHCTransiensPERMEDIVMILLORVMIBAT. Royal cross.

Leopard, or Half-Florin. Wt. 54 grs. (PL XXV, 2.)

O. EDWAR D GRA REX ANGL Z FRANC DNS HIB. Leopard sejant with banner.

R. DOMINE NE IN FVRORE TVO ARGVAS ME. Royal cross.

Helm, or Quarter-Florin. Wt. 27 grs. (PL XXV, 3.)

O. EDWR R ANGL Z FRANC D HIB. Helm on fleured field.

R. EXALTABITVR IN GLORIA. Royal cross.

Gold Coins of 1344-1346. (Wt. of Noble 1367 grs., value 6s. 8d.)

Noble. Legends as Florin but EDWAR and HYB on obverse.

O. King in Ship. R. Royal cross, L in centre. (PL XXV, 4.)

Half-Noble not known.

Quarter-Noble. Legends as Quarter-Florin but EDWAR, REX, and HYB.

O. Shield. R. Royal cross, L in centre. (PL XXIX, 3.)

Gold Coins of 1346-1351. (Wt. of Noble 128-6 grs., same value.)

Noble as preceding but with E in centre of reverse. (PL XXV, 5.)

Half-Noble similar, with reverse legend of the Half-Florin. (PL XXVIII, 1.)

Quarter-Noble as that of 1344 but with E in centre of reverse, and R for Rex. (Pl. XXIX, 4.)

Silver Coins of 1344-1351. Wt. of penny, 22 ¼ grs. (Jan., 1344), 20-3 (Aug., 1344), 20 (1346).

Large round lettering as on the gold coins ; portrait of new style with broad neck and shoulders and bushy hair, crown with neat, broad fleurs. (Pl. XXIV. 23-26.)

Pennies reading EDW (or EDWA) R ANGL DNS HYB (N Roman or Lombardic) of London (a few early coins read *Edivar Rex*], Canterbury, York of Archbishop de la Zouche, Durham of Bishop de Bury¹ (*Dunelm*; crozier), of vacancy of April to June, 1345 (no mark, *Dunelm* and *Dunoliri*)) and of Bishop Hatfield (*Dtmolm* or *Vila Dunolmie*; with or without crozier; pellet in centre of reverse), Abbot of Reading (*Villa Radingy* ; escallop in one quarter of reverse). (Pl. XXIV, 23, 24.)

Halfpennies of London reading EDWARDVS REX, sometimes with AN ; a pellet is sometimes placed each side of the crown, and a pellet or a saltire in one quarter of the reverse. Halfpenny of Reading with ebcallop in one quarter of reverse. (Pl. XXIV, 25, 26.)

Farthings reading EDWARDVS REX.

¹ The earliest coin of de Bury reads *Edwardus Rex Ain* and *Civitas Dunohne* and is of unusual style. Its obverse is muled with the *Dunelm* reverse.

CHAPTER X

THE REFORMED COINAGE OF THE SECOND HALF OF THE FOURTEENTH CENTURY

1351-1399

THE economic difficulties which led to the reform of the coinage in the middle of the fourteenth century were caused no less by the importation of foreign imitations, usually at this time termed *lusshebournes*,¹ than by the inadequate adjustment of the values of the two metals ; shortly before 1350 the penalty of hanging and quartering was re-imposed on the importers and enforced in many cases. In 1351 the weight of both gold and silver coins was reduced and the value of the two metals adjusted, without alteration of currency values, at a proportion of 12 : i. Henry de Brisele and John de Chichester were appointed joint masters of the mint under contract to strike a coinage on the basis of a noble of 120 grs. and a penny of 18 grs. of standard gold and silver. No halfpence or farthings were ordered. A groat of fourpence and a half-groat were added. The design of the new groat and half-groat was a modification of the abortive groat of Edward I, but with the scriptural legend, *Posui Deum Adiutorem Meum* (Psalm liv. 4), in the outer circle of the reverse. The other coins retain the old designs ; they differ not only in weight but also in their lettering and their general style from earlier coins.

In the indentures of this period a clause is always inserted providing for the Trial of the Pyx. The Master is instructed to place specimens of every journeyweight of coins in a pyx, which is to be sealed up at the end of three months and sent for trial ; a privy mark of the master's choosing is to be

¹ Luxemburg was a large exporter, perhaps the largest, of the imitation sterlings.

placed on the coins. This has a most important bearing upon the study of the coins, for, though the same mark may not have been used on coins of all denominations, it is certain that every coin¹ bore a privy mark which was changed every three months. We do not know the date at which the Trial of the Pyx was instituted ; a trial on similar lines, though not given this name, which is described in the appendix to the chronicle of John of Oxenedes, took place about the year 1250 ; at an even earlier date we can trace on the coins secret marks that must have served some such purpose as this ; for example, the trick of the inverted S which appears on late coins of Group IV of the Short-Cross issue and is retained for a short time, perhaps to complete the three months of the pyx, on pennies of Group V. Similar small marks are noticed on coins of later issues, but it is in the period of the reformed coinage of Edward III that the large number of coins still extant of various denominations makes it possible to form a fairly clear picture of the methods adopted for marking the coins. The groups in which the coins of 1351-1361 have been arranged below have been evolved largely from the use and, be it noted, the survival of privy marks. It is not possible to restore in their order the forty privy marks used in those years, though some of the simpler forms, such as the placing of an annulet or saltire within the group of pellets in a different quarter of the reverse for each quarter of the year, are hardly open to doubt. Broken letters, for which the letters C and E are commonly chosen, are frequently used, and several other small features of differentiation can be found on the coins ; there is every probability that at one time or another they marked the coins of a three-month period. But the subject is a complicated one. Economy of dies was a very material consideration to the Master ; seven shillings was the price fixed for a dozen dies (or sets of dies) in the order appointing William Latymer the Younger to the office of Graver in 1373. It was therefore unusual to adopt a method of privy marking which involved the scrapping of dies when the three months ended. For this reason the mark occurs sometimes on the obverse and sometimes on the reverse of the coin ; for this reason, too, a mark

¹ Possibly the farthing should be excepted ; its coinage was under separate contract for a time.

was not necessarily removed on the expiry of the three months ; provided it did not interfere with the new mark there was no need to remove it. For example, it will be seen below that a separate group of coins of 1351-1361, group *d*, is formed by the constant break of a corner of the initial mark; and the separation of the group is important, for it is here that York coins first appear and the date of the opening of that mint is known. This was assuredly a privy mark, but it remained on dies on which other marks, a change in the form of the letter E and the spelling *Lomdon* for *London*, were put.

The Treaty of Bretigni left its mark upon the coins in the omission of the title *Rex Francie*. The treaty was ratified at Calais in October, 1360, and was sanctioned by Parliament in the following January; but the omission of the French title was not included in the terms of the treaty ; it was arranged by subsequent correspondence between the two kings. The earliest coins which omit the French title are therefore not earlier than 1361, and may with probability be identified as the work of Master Robert de Porche, whose indenture, dated June 20, 1361, ordered that of every lb. of gold 4 oz. should be struck in nobles, 6 oz. in half-nobles, 2 oz. in quarter-nobles, and of every lb. of silver 3 oz. in groats, 4 oz. in half-groats, 4 oz. in pennies, and 1 oz. in halfpence. In 1369 the treaty was broken, and Edward resumed the title King of France, ordering the seals to be called in and new seals to be made bearing the title. The coinage of 1351-1377 is thus divided into three groups, on the issues of 1351-1361 the title is *Rex Anglie et Francie Dux Hibernie*, on those of 1361-1369 *Rex Anglie Dux Hibernie et Aquitanie*, on those of 1369-1377 *Rex Anglie et Francie Dux Hibernie et Aquitanie* *

After a very brief period in which a round form of lettering, similar to that of the 1346 coinage, was used (Group A), the coinage of 1351-1361 settled down to the hard dull style with small square lettering which, with slight variation, is characteristic of the period ; the groups (A to G) which are noted below are based on the form of lettering and initial marks. The distinguishing marks of the groups are there described. For the distinction between the initial crosses illustrations on the plates

¹ Ducal titles are sometimes omitted on groats, and on small denominations the French title also.

are more helpful than verbal description ; cross 1 is square in outline (Pl. XXX, i), cross 2 is a normal cross pattée, each limb being approximately an equilateral triangle (Pl. XXXII, 16), cross 3 is similar but each limb has a short stem at the base and curves out sharply from the stem to a serif (Pl. XXIX, 5) ; the lettering assists the distinction of coins with cross 2 and cross 3, especially the letter M, which on the earlier coins has tall pointed tops and on the later coins round broad tops. Between the periods of cross 2 and cross 3 the cross was for a short time displaced by a crown as initial mark ; this is the only occasion before the reign of Henry VI when any other object than a cross occupied this position on the royal coins. The crown was probably so used as a privy mark ; a superstitious people doubtless resented it.

The royal mint in the castle of York was opened in July, 1353, and closed in May, 1355. The royal coins of York, groat, half-groat, and penny, are known in Groups D and E. In Group E there are London coins of later variety than any of the York mint, and it includes the halfpenny which was ordered in the indenture of Master William Potter in May, 1355 ; this group therefore lasted probably till the end of the year. The only farthing of 1351-1361 is, as we know from the broken letters which appear on it, of the same date as the halfpenny, though that denomination was not included in the indenture. At a later date, in the Calais indenture of 1363, a separate clause provided for farthings to be coined to the value of £100 every year.

The archbishops' coinage at York, which is differentiated from the king's coinage by a quatrefoil in the centre of the reverse, is confined to pennies of Group D struck by Archbishop Thoresby between May and July, 1353, and of Group G struck after the royal mint closed in 1355. The See of Durham was occupied by Bishop Hatfield, who placed a crozier at the head of the cross on the reverse.

The coinage of 1361, under Master Robert de Porche, is the worst of the whole reign in workmanship. The frequent errors of spelling, *Transieus*, *Arguts* and *Argutus*, *Dnus Hu*, and others, may have been intentionally adopted for privy marking ; the outstanding feature, probably serving the same purpose, is the omission of the negative in the reverse legend

of the half-noble, from which the coin has won the derisive name of the "cursing half-noble"; sometimes the phrase *Dei Gratia* is omitted on quarter-nobles; *Rex* is omitted on the penny. The general style of the coins is very weak. Silver coins have a common feature in the crown, which has a tall central lis, set slightly crooked, with a small bar through its spike; an annulet is placed on the tressure at either side of the head on groats and half-groats of this issue, and at the top corners of the initial mark on the pennies.

The Calais mint opened in 1363; its opening coincided with a welcome improvement in the coinage under Masters Walter de Bardi at London and Henry de Brisele at Calais. Perhaps the unusual absence of mules connecting this and the preceding coinage marks Bardi's contempt for his predecessor's work.

The coinage of Calais began with both gold and silver, but silver was only struck till April, 1365, and in the last twelve months in very small quantity; a fairly large output of gold continued but was much reduced in the last few years of the reign. The earliest gold coins bear the initial of the mint, C, in place of the king's initial in the centre of the reverse, and a few have also a flag at the stern of the ship on the obverse; after 1369 the flag alone differentiates Calais nobles and half-nobles from those of London. The identification of Calais quarter-nobles is in doubt. A few coins of this denomination have an open quatrefoil, which is found on Calais but not on London nobles; this, together with other incidental marks, such as a cross or a cross in a circle, above the shield, may perhaps be the difference of the Calais mint (Pl. XXIX, 8).

After the rupture of the treaty a coinage of new, fine workmanship was introduced; the ship on gold coins is redrawn with battlemented turrets, and on some late groats and half-groats the bust is rendered in coat of mail. No quarter-nobles of this issue are known. The king's title, except when curtailed on the smaller coins, contains the four subjects, the kingdoms of England and France and the duchies of Ireland and Aquitaine. Difficulty in obtaining bullion is evident in the reduction of output, especially of silver, which falls from a yearly average of nearly £2000 to less than £500 save for large amounts in 1374-1376; gold similarly dwindles at both mints towards the close of the reign.

The coinage of Bishop Hatfield of Durham continues throughout the reign ; under Master de Porche's influence the name of the city is rendered as *Dorelme*. The existence of a Durham penny struck in the years 1363-1369 without the crozier has not been explained. There seems no reason to suppose that Hatfield, who held the See till 1381, was ever deprived of his temporalities. The ecclesiastical pennies of York also continue ; Archbishop Thoresby died in 1373, and his successor, Alexander Neville, received the temporalities of the See in 1374. The York pennies have not up to the present been classified sufficiently to distinguish the issues of the two archbishops.

The coinage of Richard II differs little from that of Edward. His earliest coins were struck with dies of the previous reign either with or without alteration of the king's name or initial. Silver coins, excepting pennies of York, many of which show evidence of having been struck from dies of local manufacture, and London halfpennies, are rare. On the gold coins which are more common, three distinct forms of lettering, one straight-sided, one curved and fish-tailed, and one small with a dumpy I,¹ which continued in the reign of Henry IV, can be distinguished, and it is thus possible to classify the varieties of the gold and to distinguish the corresponding early and late silver issues. The system of placing a symbol, a lion, escallop, etc., upon the rudder of the ship for mark of difference begins in this reign.

Edward III. Coinage of 1351-1377. For his earlier coins see above, p. 124. First Period (1351-1361). Title EDWARD DEI GRA REX ANGL Z

FRANC D HYB with various abbreviations. Quarter-nobles usually omit the Irish title; half-groats and smaller silver have EDWARDVS REX and omit the Irish title; the smaller coins, which sometimes add */ , omit also the French title.

A (1351). Round lettering, Lombardic forms of M and N. Annulet or saltire stops.

Noble; reverse only, combined with obverses of B and C. *Autem* omitted. Saltire stops.

Half-noble; reverse only combined with obverses of B and C. Saltire stops. (Pl. XXVIII, 2, *rev.*)

Penny of London ; annulet or saltire stops or none ; annulet in each group of pellets. (Pl. XXXI, 13.)

Durham Penny of Bishop Hatfield ; *Villa Durrem* ; crozier; pellet in centre of reverse; annulet in each group of pellets.

¹ See Pl. XXVIII, 7 (straight-sided), XXVI, 5 (curved and fish-tailed), and XXVI, 6 (small).

- B (1351 ?). i.m. cross i. Roman M and N, open Cand E (Lombardic); annulet stops. Pennies (down to group F) have an annulet in each group of pellets on the reverse.
 Noble; IHES, IHE, IHC; one omits *Autem* and adds AM at end of legend. (PL XXV, 6, *rev.*)
 Half-noble; obverse dies only combined with reverses of A.
 Quarter-noble; Pellet below shield; closed E in centre of reverse; A or AN sometimes added at end of reverse legend.
 Groat; D GRA or D G; pellet or annulet stops or none. (PL XXX, i.)
 One early specimen (Hunter) has a crown instead of three pellets in each angle of reverse.
 Half-groat; annulet or pellet stops. (PL XXXI, i, *piefort.*)
- C (1351 ?-1352). Similar with Lombardic M and closed C and E.
 Noble; IHESV, IHES, IHE, IHC; PER and P. (PL XXV, 6, *obv.*)
 Half-noble; obverse only with reverse of A or E; legend ends FRANC D. (PL XXVIII, 2, *obv.*)
 Quarter-noble; reverse only with obverse of B.
 Groat (DI G, DEI G, or D G), Half-groat, Penny of London. (PL XXXI, 14, *obv.*)
 Durham Penny of Bishop Hatfield; *Civitas Dunelmie*; crozier.
- D (1352-1353). Similar but initial cross has one corner broken off; some late coins have square E in *Edward*.
 Noble; IHC; P for *Per*; reverse only with obverse of C.
 Groat, Half-groat, Penny of London. (PL XXXI, 14, *rev.*)
 Groat, Half-groat, Penny of York (royal).
 York Penny of Archbishop Thoresby (quatrefoil on reverse). Dies issued in May, mint closed (royal mint opened), July, 1353.
 Durham Penny of Bishop Hatfield; *Civitas Dunelmie*; crozier.
- E (1354-1355). i.m. cross 2. C and E often broken in lower half of serif; V. often with snick in right limb. Square E in *Edward* on some early coins.
 Noble; saltire stops on some late coins.
 Half-noble; saltire stops; R for F in *Furore*. (One only known.)
 Quarter-noble; rev. only with obv. of B or G; Pellet in centre.
 Groat, Half-groat, Penny, Halfpenny (EDWARDVS REX AN), Farthing (EDWARDVS REX) of London. (PL XXXII, 16, halfpenny; XXXIII, 7, farthing.)
 Groat, Half-groat, Penny of York (royal).
 Durham Penny of Bishop Hatfield; *Civitas Dunelmie*; crozier.
- F (Jan.-July, 1356?). i.m. crown. C and E often broken in upper half of serif.
 Noble; saltire stops on obv., annulets on rev. (PL XXV, 7, *rev.*)
 Groat, Half-groat, Penny of London; Halfpenny (obv. only combined with rev. of G). (PL XXX, 2, groat; XXXI, 15, penny; XXXII, 17, *obv.* Jd.)
 Durham Penny of Bishop Hatfield; *Civitas Dureme*; crozier.
- G (1356-1361). i.m. cross 3. M with broad-arched top (previously angular); C and E often with piece cut off across top. Some of the

many varieties are: annulet beginning obverse legend (gold) or below bust (silver) with annulet stops; saltire beginning obverse legend (gold) and in one quarter of reverse (silver) with saltire stops; annulet or two annulets at end of a limb of reverse cross (gold; saltire stops) corresponding to one, or two, pellets within the letters TAS on reverse (silver; large annulet stops); late form of E with protruding central bar (saltire stops, gold and silver).

Noble, Half-noble (R for F in *Furore*], Quarter-noble. (Pl. XXV, 7, *obv.* of Noble; XXIX, 5, *qr.*)

Groat, Half-groat, Penny, Halfpenny (*rev.* only with *obv.* of F). (Pl. XXXI, 16, Penny; XXXII, 17, *rev.* of Jd.)

York Penny of Archbishop Thoresby; quatrefoil on *rev.* containing pellet or saltire.

Durham Penny of Bishop Hatfield; *Civitas Dureme*, later *Durelmie*; *crozier*.

Second Period (1361-1363). Omitting French title.

A (1361-1363). In this period occasional letters of abnormal size are used (as privy marks), I frequently, H in *Hid* and *I he*, P in *Per*, F in *Furore*, N in *In* (*qr.-nob.*) and in *London* (groat).

Noble. Obverse legends are EDWARD (EDWARDVS) DEI GRA REX ANGLIE Z AQVTA DNS (or D E), or ANGL DENS HYB, or ANGL DNS HIB Z ACQ. The reverse legends read IHC AVTEM PER MEDIVM ILLORVM IBAT (omitting *Transient*), or IHC AVTE (AUTEM) TRANSIENS (TRANCIENS, TRANSIEVS) PER (P) MEDIVM (MEDVM, MED) ILLORR IBAT. There are large pellets instead of trefoils at the corners of the panel.

Half-noble. Obverse legends are EDWARDVS (EDWARDI) DEI G REX ANGL D (Annulet over crown), ED DEI GRA REX ANGL DNS HIB Z ACQ, EDWARD (EDWARDV) DEI GRA (G) REX ANG, or ANGL D, or ANGL D HIB or HB. Reverse legends DOMINE NE IN FVRORE TVO ARGVAS ME or M, sometimes omit NE and sometimes read ARGVTS or ARGVTVS for *Arguas*. (Pl. XXVIII, 3.)

Quarter-noble. Obverse legends are EDWR R ANGLIE Z DNVS HV, EDWAR DEI GRA REX ANGL, EDWAR DEI GRAC REX ANGL D (some omit D). Reverses have in the centre E or pellet in a panel with annulets at its corners, or an annulet or pellet in each angle of the cross and another in its centre; the legends sometimes have GLRIA or GLORA for *Gloria*. (Pl. XXIX, 6.)

Groat and Half-groat. Annulet at cusp of tressure at either side of head. Crown has high central fleur, with bar across, sloped to r. Obverse legend of groat is EDWAR DEI G REX ANGL DNS HIB (HIBN) Z ACQ, of half-groat EDWARD REX ANGLIE DNS HIB (omitting *Dei Gra*), (Pl. XXX, 3; XXXI, 2.)

Penny of London. Same peculiar crown; two pellets above initial mark. Obverse legend omits *Rex*. (PL XXXI, 17.)

York Penny of Archbishop Thoresby. Quatrefoil on reverse enclosing pellet; otherwise as the London penny.

Durham Penny of Bishop Hatfield. *Civitas Dorelme*; crozier; similar to the London penny.

B (1363-1369).

Noble of London. EDWARD DEI GRA REX ANGL DNS HYB Z AQT. Saltire stops. Saltire or annulet before king's name. Some late coins have crescent on forecastle.

Noble of Calais. C in centre of reverse. Without or with flag at stern of ship. Similar to London nobles, but voided quatrefoil takes place of annulet before king's name on late coins. Not known with crescent on forecastle. (PL XXVI, i, 2.)

Half-noble of London. Similar to the noble. Not known with crescent. (PL XXVIII, 4, 5.)

Half-noble of Calais. Similar to Calais nobles. Also with crescent.

Quarter-noble of London. EDWARD DEI GRA REX ANGL. Fleur-de-lis in centre of reverse. Some have annulet, but not saltire, before king's name. (PL XXIX, 7.)

Quarter-noble of Calais(P). Annulet in centre of reverse, sometimes with cross in circle over shield; or voided quatrefoil in centre of reverse, with nothing, or cross, or crescent over shield. (PL XXIX, 8.)

Groat and Half-groat of London. Groat reads EDWARD DEI G REX ANGL DNS HYB Z AQT, Half-groat EDWARDVS REX ANGL DNS HYB.

Saltire or annulet stops. Rarely with annulet on breast. Some have annulet before king's name. (PL XXXI, 3, Half-groat.)

Groat and Half-groat of Calais. *Villa Calesie*. Similar to London coins, always with annulet stops and annulet on breast. (PL XXX, 4.)

Penny of London. EDWARD ANGL R DNS HYB. Annulet stops on obverse. Some have pellet before king's name. (PL XXXII, i.)

Penny of Calais. Similar. *Villa Calesie*.

York Penny of Archbishop Thoresby. Quatrefoil on reverse. Pellet or annulet stops. Some have voided quatrefoil on breast and before king's name, or pellet before king's name. Obverse legends vary.

Durham Penny of Bishop Hatfield. EDWARDVS REX ANGLI. *Civitas Dorelme* with crozier; *Civitas Dunelmis* without crozier; *Civitas Dureme* with crozier.

Halfpenny of London. EDWARDVS REX AN. Pellet or annulet stops. Some have pellet before king's name. (PL XXXII, 18.)

Farthing of London. EDWARDVS REX. Possibly of this period.

Third Period (1369-1377). French title resumed.

Noble. The earliest are of the same style as the previous issue but with Z FRA inserted, and some have crescent on forecastle. The remainder read EDWARD DI GRA REX ANGL F¹ FRANC DNS HIB F¹ AQ (AQT, AQV, AQVIT). Tall thin lettering; ship with battlemented turrets; saltire stops; in centre of reverse E with pellet or saltire.

Noble of Calais. Similar, with flag at stern of ship. Both varieties. (Pl. XXVI, 3.)

Half-noble of London. A reverse only is known combined with obverse of preceding issue; it is of the new style with E and pellet in centre.

Half-noble of Calais. Similar to Calais nobles of new style but with old form of *et*. (Pl. XXVIII, 6.)

No Quarter-nobles are known.

Groat and Half-groat of London. Either two, three, or four titles on obverse. New style of lettering. Saltire stops. N in London usually Roman. Some have chain mail over the king's breast. (Pl. XXX, 5; XXXI, 4.)

Penny of London. Similar in style, with English and French titles (pellet on breast) or English title only (cross, voided quatrefoil, annulet, or no mark on breast). (Pl. XXXII, 2.)

York Pennies of Archbishop Thoresby (died 1373) and Archbishop Alexander Neville (1374-1388). Various obverse legends; annulet or saltire stops; cross, annulet, fleur-de-lis, or no mark on breast. All have quatrefoil on reverse.

Durham Penny of Bishop Hatfield. *Civitas Dunolm*; crozier to left. Obverse legends with one or two titles; annulet or saltire stops; annulet, lis, or no mark on breast.

No halfpennies are known.

Farthing of London. EDWARD REX ANGL. Pellet stops on obverse. Large face without bust, similar in style to farthings of Richard II. (Pl. XXXIII, 8.)

Richard II (1377-1399). Wt. 120 grs. to noble (6s. 8d.), 18 grs. to penny.

Noble of London. RICARD DI (DEI) GRA (G) REX ANGL Z FRANC DNS HIB Z AQT. Saltire stops, (a) with obverse or reverse die of Edward III; (b) lettering i (straight form), annulet over sail; (c) lettering 2 (fish tail form), lis or lion on rudder, or trefoil by shield; (d) lettering 3 (small and irregular), escallop on rudder, or trefoil over sail (French title omitted (Pl. XXVI, 4)), or crescent on rudder.

Noble of Calais. Similar to London nobles but with flag. Var. *b* has voided quatrefoil instead of annulet over sail. Lion is the only mark on rudder (var. *c*). The coins omitting the French title in var. *c* have portraits of coarse work, in var. *d* are normal. (Pl. XXVI, 5.)

¹A new form of *et* (see Plate XXVI, 3).

- Half-noble of London. RICARD D G REX ANGL Z F D HIB Z AQ.
Similar to nobles; lion and crescent are the only marks found on rudder. One reverse has annulet stops. (PI. XXVIII, 8.)
- Half-noble of Calais. Similar to Calais nobles; one with lettering 3 has saltire behind rudder. (PI. XXVIII, 7.)
- Quarter-noble of London. RICARD DEI (DI, D) GRA (G) REX ANGL (sometimes with Z F, FR, or FRAN). In centre of reverse R, lis, or pellet. Quatrefoil, trefoil, escallop, or no mark over shield. (PI. XXIX, 9, 10.)
- No Quarter-nobles of Calais known.
- Groat of London. RICARD DI GRA REX ANGLIE (ANGL) Z FRANC (FR, FRANC D); on late coins the portrait has a small face with wide curls and high neck; the earlier portrait is similar to that on the latest coins of Edward III. (PI. XXX, 6.) A late groat has a crescent on the breast. (PI. XXX, 7.)
- Half-groat of London. RICARD DI GRA REX ANGLIE, later ANGL Z FR or FRANC, later again REX ANGLIE or ANGL. Portraits as on groat. (PI. XXXI, 5, 6.)
- Penny of London. RICARD REX ANGLIE, or ANGL Z FRANC. Early and late portraits and lettering. Some early coins have cross on breast. (PI. XXXII, 4.)
- Durham Penny. Perhaps struck during vacancy after death of Bishop Hatfield (1381-1383). *Civitas Dunolm*; cross on breast; early lettering and portrait. No episcopal mark.
- York Penny of Archbishop's mint. Dies made sometimes at London, sometimes locally. All have quatrefoil on reverse. Cross or lis on breast. There is usually an escallop in the reverse legend. Dies are known to have been ordered for Archbishop Neville. (PI. XXXII, 3.)
- Halfpenny of London. RICARD REX ANGL or ANGLIE. Both early and late style. (PI. XXXII, 19, 20.)
- Farthing of London. RICARD REX ANGL or ANGLIE. Some have a rose, instead of three pellets, in each angle of the reverse. (PI. XXXIII, 9, 10.)

CHAPTER XI

HENRY IV, V, AND VI

1399-1461

AFTER the death of Richard the economic state of the country went from bad to worse. Measures had been enacted for mitigating the apparent causes of the distress without touching the real cause. So long as the English currency remained undervalued in relation to foreign coins, the country was swiftly drained of its coin and the supply of bullion failed. Import and export duties and the prohibited export of coin and precious metals and gems only served to check trade. The result was that the output of the mint dwindled until, from the end of 1403, the amount coined in either metal was an almost imperceptible quantity. It was not till the end of 1411 that the necessary step was taken of issuing both gold and silver coins at a reduced weight while retaining the old currency values. At Easter, 1412, the new coinage, with a noble of 108 grs. of standard gold and a penny of 15 grs. of standard silver, was put into circulation. This had an immediate effect and there was a large output of coin of both metals for the next twenty years, after which bullion was again short except for spasmodic increases of silver; towards the close of the reign of Henry VI a plentiful supply of silver was available, though gold remained almost unobtainable until the coinage was again reformed by Edward IV.

The offences from which the coinage suffered in the reign of Henry IV, the use as small change of the Venetian base-metal coins which were known as "galley-halfpence" of Flemish and Dutch suskins and doitkins and of other foreign coins, and the clipping and counterfeiting of the coin, continued after the reform of 1412 ; in 1421 the levies of a tenth and a

fifteenth were accepted with a discount of a shilling on the English noble of the full value of 6s. 8d.

The light coinage of Henry IV is distinguished by three symbols, the trefoil, annulet, and pellet, which appear together or in pairs or singly on the coins. Nobles of the light issue have, in addition to a trefoil and an annulet on the ship's side, a trefoil in one quarter of the reverse, which, by the change in the quarter it occupied, was probably the privy mark of the four quarter-years down to the death of Henry IV; the half-nobles are similar. Quarter-nobles of the heavy issue have a pellet in the centre of the reverse, which in the light issue is changed to a lis, when a trefoil and an annulet are placed by the shield on the obverse. On silver coins the annulet and pellet are put beside the crown, and the trefoil on the breast or in the reverse legend. Both the portrait and the lettering on early heavy coins are the same as were used at the end of Richard's reign; a new lettering with thinner uprights and more pointed serifs was soon introduced, perhaps in 1402, when Walter Merwe was appointed Master. About the same time the arms of France were changed from the ancient to the modern form. No groats of the heavy coinage are known, and few, if any, can have been struck; dies of Richard, with the name altered, were still available for use in the light coinage. The mint of Calais was included in the order for the light coinage; from the coins it appears that during the heavy coinage Calais participated in the output of gold, but that the mint then closed until the beginning of the reign of Henry VI.

As the privy marks of the gold coins of Henry IV's light issue, if correctly interpreted, cover a period of twelve months, it may be assumed that it completes his coinage and that the coins which follow are the earliest issue of Henry V. This is the rare coinage which has become famous under the inappropriate name of the "emaciated bust" issue; it attempts a more realistic rendering of the features and has a peculiar form of lettering, round and stumpy. The attribution of this coinage to Henry V conflicts with the view generally held that the mullet differentiated his coins, but a study of the privy marks of his reign, which has been made possible by the discovery of many gold coins in fine condition, notably in a hoard found at Horsted Keynes in 1929, shows that the

mullet, after serving its term as privy mark, was removed from the groat and then restored, and that it made frequent disappearances and reappearances on the half-groat.

After the "emaciated bust" issue a normal lettering, tall and thin, was introduced, in which the letters C, E, and I were made abnormally large ; about this time the mullet was placed by the king's wrist on the noble and on the breast on the groat. It is at this stage that so many old dies of this and the previous reign, stamped with the mullet, were restored to active work. From the groat the mullet was removed when a small broad N (Lombardic) became the privy mark, but it remained on the noble. Normal forms of C, E, I, and N were restored, after which flaws were made in certain letters. H was pierced at the point of its foot, the tail of N was broken off, P had one corner of its foot broken off, and later both corners, leaving a short V-shaped foot. The flaws were then repaired, old dies had small strokes punched over the flaws of H and P, and new dies were made with new forms of these letters and of N. Instead of a true D an inverted C was used, so that a thin curve, the serif of the Lombardic C, takes the place of the thick upright of the D. During this period the mullet alternated its appearances and disappearances on the half-groat while it remained constant on the groat and the noble. Later nobles have a broken annulet on the ship's side and a mullet by the king's wrist as before, but add a pellet at the point of the sword and in one quarter of the reverse, and, later, a trefoil by the shield and on the ship's side and on the reverse, and these additional marks are found in various positions on other denominations. Finally, a coinage of new style was introduced on which all symbols were removed from the field of the coin, a new portrait was engraved, and annulets were used as stops with a mullet after the first word. This coinage resembles very closely the first issue of Henry VI; it was probably the work of Bartholomew Goldbeter, who was appointed Master in February, 1422, six months before the king's death.

This brief analysis of the privy marking is sufficient to illustrate two important points. The identification of a symbol, such as a mullet or an annulet, with political circumstances is *prima facie* unlikely ; it was usually introduced as a privy mark, though it often remained on the coin after it had served

its term. Secondly, it does not follow that all coins bearing the same symbol can be placed together. The beauty of the coins suffered much from the necessity for privy marking ; at some periods the field was crowded with marks, at others the lettering was made irregular by the insertion of disproportionately large or small letters or by the broken letters which from the time of Edward III had been a frequent form of privy mark.

We have seen that the coinage at Calais was suspended from 1411 till the reign of Henry VI; confirmation of this occurs in a petition of 1421/2 that the king should have his mint and coinage there as in former times. Accordingly, in February, 1422, Master Goldbeter was ordered to coin at both London and Calais, but it is not till February, 1424, that the Calais accounts reopen with a coinage in both metals, silver in large quantity. A petition of 1421/2 for the opening of the royal mint at York was also favourably received, but here, too, there was delay in the appointment of officers, and the accounts of that mint cover a period of twelve months only, beginning in August, 1423 ; the rarity of the York coins and their lack of variety support the view that the mint was active only for the short period to which the accounts relate. The issues of York and Calais afford evidence for distinguishing the coins of Henry VI from those of his predecessor. They are of the common annulet issue of Henry VI, but certain proofs of early workmanship, such as the continuance of a broken P from the late coinage of Henry V and the use of *Hib* for *Hyb*,¹ which appear on London coins, are not found on any coins of York or Calais ; the common annulet coinage was therefore in use before York opened in 1423, and its introduction may be dated approximately to the accession of Henry VI.

From the time of Edward III it seems to have been customary for the Archbishop of York to close his mint when the king opened his mint in York castle ; we know no reason for this, but from 1350 to 1464 the archbishop's coinage is missing whenever royal coins of York occur. It is not surprising, therefore, that no York pennies were struck by Arch-

¹ An important privy mark and a certain one ; an obverse die of Henry V used with a reverse of Henry VI has *Hyb* altered to *Hib* ; later, a die of Henry VI has *Hib* altered to *Hyb*.

bishop Bowet after the accession of Henry VI; his death occurred in 1423, and the See was still vacant when the royal mint closed. Archbishop Kemp was consecrated in July, 1425, and his coinage begins with the Rosette-Mascle issue, which we may therefore suppose began in the early part of that year.

The supply of gold fell short quite early in the reign. The gold coins were still exported in large quantities. Orders for bullion to be brought to Calais for the export of wool to Flanders were countered by the Duke of Burgundy's order prohibiting the passage of bullion through his territories. Alchemists were encouraged, and the king granted them licenses with a simple confidence in the result of their experiments. In 1428 the coinage of gold came to an end at Calais, and after 1433 very little gold was coined at London. The latest gold coins of Calais are of the Rosette-Mascle issue, which probably came to an end about this time.

In the next issue, the Pinecone-Mascle coinage, the occurrence of pennies of both Durham and York without episcopal marks is an unsolved problem. Perhaps we need not regard as a problem the absence of a mark at Durham, where the use of episcopal marks had always been spasmodic; but the absence of the quatrefoil on York pennies usually indicates either an issue of the royal mint or a vacancy in the See; these pennies must fall within the period of Archbishop Kemp (1425-1452), and, had they been struck at the Castle mint, one would have expected a York issue of groats and half-groats. But it is noteworthy that there are no later pennies known of Archbishop Kemp; the next pennies of York are of the Leaf-Pellet coinage and were therefore issued by his successor, William Booth; for the Leaf-Pellet variety was in issue as late as 1457, when Lawrence Booth followed Robert Nevill at Durham.

The position of all the groups of this reign is made sufficiently clear by mules of obverses and reverses of consecutive issues. The Leaf-Mascle coinage, which follows the Pinecone-Mascle, has a very distinct form of initial cross with a narrow voiding through its whole length, which serves to identify the London penny though the reverse omits the leaf. The rarity of the issue may perhaps be explained by the small output of the

years 1433-1437, scarcely 2000 lbs. of each metal being struck in the four y6ars. The leaf of this coinage is delicately veined, in contrast to the shapeless leaves of later issues. The next group, with leaves and trefoils, is the issue which begins the coinage of Bishop Nevill, who came to the See of Durham in 1438. The latest date of the Calais coinage is known to us from a note of seignorage paid for the year 1439-1440, and perhaps this is the approximate date of the Trefoil issue, in which the last Calais groats appear. From 1441 to 1449 not more than 1600 lbs. of gold and 2300 lbs. of silver (excluding a special entry of 1872 lbs. coined into halfpence) were struck in a period of 8½ years, but from that date there was a large silver coinage down to the end of the reign.

The system of varying the stops in the legends, which enables us to classify the coins, was probably introduced with the object of simplifying the changes of privy marks. There are frequent mis-spellings, *Auto*, *Trances*, *Civitos*, *Sivitas*, *Nondon*, *Ebdraci*, *Dundlmi*, *Calisil*, are a few of the many that occur; these and the placing of letters out of alignment, such as the V and I of *Civitas*, or the turning of the letter E half-over on its back, probably helped to make up the vast number of privy marks, exceeding 150, which were required for the long reign of Henry VI.

Henry IV (1399-1413). Title : HENRIC DI GRA REX ANGL Z FRANC
DNS HIB Z AQT, with various abbreviations. Nobles and half-nobles have the four titles, quarter-nobles, groats and half-groats the English only or English and French ; smaller coins usually have the English only, but heavy pennies have the French also.

Heavy Coinage (1399-1412). Wt. 120 grs. to the noble (6s. 8d.) and 18 grs. to the penny.

London Noble. Early style, crescent or annulet on rudder. Later style,¹
no mark on obverse (cross on rev.), or lis on rudder (annulet stops).

Calais Noble (flag at stern). Coronet behind, or, later, on rudder.
(Pl. XXVI, 6.)

London Half-noble. Early style, no marks.

Calais Half-noble (flag at stern). Coronet as i.m. on reverse, early style.
(Pl. XXVIII, 9.)

London Quarter-noble. Pellet in centre of reverse, crescent over shield.
(Pl. XXIX, xi.)

Calais (?) Quarter-noble. Pellet in centre of reverse, coronet as i.m., Qn.
reverse.

¹See above, p. 138.

No Groats known.

London Half-groat. Star on breast, unbarred Roman N in *London*. (PL XXXI, 7.)

London Penny. Star on breast, Lombardic N in *London*[^] late style.

York Penny of Archbishop Lescrope (1398-1405) or Archbishop Bowet (1407-1423). Quatrefoil on reverse, no stai on breast, early and late styles. (PL XXXII, 5.)

No Durham Penny known.

London Halfpenny. Early and late styles, Lombardic N in *London*. (PL XXXII, 21 ; XXXIII, i.)

London Farthing. Late style, large face without bust, Lombardic N in *London*. (PL XXXIII, ix.)

Light Coinage (1412-1413). Wt. 108 grs. to the noble (6s. 8d.), 15 grs. to the penny.

London Noble. Trefoil and annulet on ship's side, trefoil on reverse in one quarter. (PL XXVI, 7.)

London Half-noble. Similar to the noble. (PL XXVIII, 10.)

London Quarter-noble. Lis in centre of reverse, trefoils, or trefoils and annulets beside shield, lis above. The same obverse die is used, with additions of marks beside the shield, on all the specimens that I have seen. (PL XXIX, 12.)

No Calais coins known.

London Groat. Trefoil on breast, annulet and pellet beside crown; on reverse a trefoil after *Posui*, Roman N reversed in *London*. Some obverse dies of Richard are used, with the name altered and the above marks added (they omit the French title). Henry's dies have round face with short neck, or, later, pear-shaped face with tall neck. (PL XXX, 8.)

London Half-groat. Similar to the groat; no converted dies of Richard are known. Lombardic N in *London*. A reverse die of the heavy issue is also used with the N altered from Roman to Lombardic. (PL XXXI, 8.)

London Penny. Annulet and pellet beside crown; Roman N reversed in *London*; trefoil on breast and in reverse legend; with or without DI GRA. (PL XXXII, 6.)

York Penny of Archbishop Bowet (1407-1423). Quatrefoil on reverse; annulet on breast, annulet stops on reverse.

Durham Penny of Bishop Langley (1406-1437). *Civitas Dunolm* ; trefoil on breast; small face and tall neck (perhaps a heavy die altered). (PL XXXII, 7.)

London Halfpenny. Annulet each side of neck. Roman and Lombardic N in *London*. (PL XXXIII, 2.)

London Farthing. Small face without bust; Roman N in *London*. (PL XXXIII, 12.)

Henry V (1413-1422). Title: HENRIC DI GRA REX ANGL Z FRANC DNS HYB. The Irish title is omitted on quarter-nobles, groats, half-groats and pennies, the French also on smaller coins. The lettering is entirely Lombardic. There are no Calais coins.

Wt. 108 grs. to the noble, 15 to the penny.

Noble. A. Emaciated bust, short and broad lettering. (PJ. XXVII, i.)

B. Ordinary lettering, without mullet; C. Mullet by wrist, annulet at first on rudder, later (broken) on ship's side; D. Trefoil added by shield; E. Pellet added at sword-point and on reverse. (PL XXVII, 2.)
F. Mullet and, sometimes, annulet by wrist, trefoil by shield and on reverse, trefoil or annulet on ship's side; G. No symbols in field, annulet stops with mullet after first word. (PL XXVII, 3; O. G, R. F.)

Half-noble. Similar to the noble, of groups B, C (the mullet is placed over the shield), O. F, R. E (PL XXVIII, u); F, G (PL XXVIII, 12).

Quarter-noble. Lis always above shield and in centre of reverse. A. Short broad lettering; trefoil and annulet beside shield; stars instead of trefoils at corners of panel on reverse; C. trefoil to 1. and trefoil and mullet to r. of shield, or annulet to 1. and mullet to r.; (PL XXIX, 13); F. trefoil to 1. and mullet to r.; EXCVLTABITVR on some (PL XXIX, 14); G. No marks beside shield, annulet stops with mullet after first word, English title only. (PL XXIX, 15.)

Groat. HENRIC DI GRA REX ANGLIE (ANGL) Z FRANC. A. Emaciated bust (PL XXX, 9); B. Ordinary bust and lettering, no mullet; C. Mullet on breast or r. shoulder; F. Similar, reading FRANIE. (PL XXX, 10.)

Half-groat. HENRIC DI GRA REX ANGLIE (ANGL) Z F. O. A, R. B. Emaciated bust, annulet and pellet beside crown; B. Ordinary lettering, no mullet; C. Tall neck with oval swelling, broken annulet 1. of crown, sometimes a mullet on breast (PL XXXI, 9); F. Trefoil to r., annulet to 1, of crown, mullet on breast; G. New bust (PL XXXI, 10; obv. with rev. of Henry VI).

London Penny. A. Emaciated bust, annulet L, pellet r. (PL XXXII, 8); B and C. Mullet 1., broken annulet r.; D. Mullet L, annulet r. (PL XXXII, 9); F. Mullet L, trefoil r.; G. New bust, no marks (PL XXXII, 10). *Di Gra* is omitted except in Groups A and G.

York Penny of Archbishop Bowet (1407-1423). Quatrefoil on reverse. C. Mullet L, annulet (broken?) r.; E. Similar, with pellet added to 1.; F. Trefoil, instead of pellet, above mullet to 1.; G. Similar, with new bust, and, later, with mullet to 1. and lis to r. of crown and annulet in one quarter of reverse.

Durham Penny of Bishop Langley (1406-1437). C. Mullet L, broken annulet r.; D. Mullet L, unbroken annulet r.; G. New bust, mullet L, unbroken annulet r., annulet in one quarter of reverse.

London Halfpenny. HENRIC REX ANGL. A. Emaciated bust, annulet both sides of crown (PL XXXIII, 3); C. Similar but ordinary bust and lettering, annulets broken; F. Annulet to r. and trefoil to L or *vice versa*; G. New bust, no marks, widely separated pellets on reverse (PL XXXIII, 4; with rev. of Henry VI.)

London Farthing. No special marks, small face and neck. (PL XXXIII, 13)

Henry VI (1422-1461).

The coins are divided into the following groups¹:—

- I. Annulet issue (c. 1422-1425).
- II. Rosette-Mascle issue (c. 1425-1428).
- III. Pinecone-Mascle issue (c. 1428-1433).
- IV. Leaf-Mascle issue (c. 1433-1437).
- V. Leaf-Trefoil issue (c. 1438).
- VI. Trefoil issue (c. 1440).
- VII. Trefoil-Pellet issue.
- VIII. Leaf-Pellet issue (to r. 1457).
- IX. Unmarked issue.
- X. Cross-Pellet issue.
- XI. Lis-Pellet issue.

London Noble. HENRIC DI GRA REX ANGL Z FRANC DNS HYB.

I. Annulet by king's wrist and in one spandrel of tressure on reverse. Lis i.m. on reverse. Stops on obverse trefoils (lis after first word), on reverse annulets (mullet after first word). (Pl. XXVII, 4.) II. Lis at wrist and in one quarter of reverse. Rosette stops in both legends, but, with rare exceptions, a mascle as one stop on each side, usually after *Rex* and *Per*. The spelling *Transiens* replaces *Tranciens* on this and later issues. (Pl. XXVII, 5.) III. Pinecones as stops with a mascle in one period. No lis at wrist. (Pl. XXVII, 6.) IV. Leaf in waves below ship. Saltire stops, mascle after *Rex*. An obverse only is known with reverse of VI. (Pl. XXVII, 7.) V. Leaves as stops, but trefoils after *Rex*, *Per* and *Medium*. VI. (a) Trefoil below shield, saltire stops, trefoil after *Auto* (*sic*) and *Per*; (b) Annulet, lis, and leaf below shield, annulet stops on obverse with trefoil after *Henric*, saltires on reverse.

Calais Noble. Similar, with flag at stern, of Groups I (of which the earliest coins have C in centre of rev.) and II.

York Noble. Similar to London nobles of Group I, but with a lis over stein-castle.

London Half-noble. HENRIC DI GRA REX ANGL Z FRANC. Similar to the nobles of Groups I (Pl. XXIX, i), II (Pl. XXIX, 2), and III.

Calais Half-noble. Similar to the Calais nobles (earliest have C on rev.).

York Half-noble. Similar to the York noble, of Group I only.

London Quarter-noble. HENRIC DI GRA REX ANGL. Lis above shield and in centre of reverse, and as i.m. on both sides.

I. Trefoil stops on obverse, mullet and annulet on reverse (Pl. XXIX, 16). Varieties with two fleurs above or beside the shield have been attributed doubtfully to Calais and York respectively. II. Rosette stops, with or without mascle in one space; some have a rosette either side of shield. (Pl. XXIX, 17.) III. Pinecone stops, mascle in one space. IV. Leaf on tressure on reverse, saltire stops, mascle in one period.

¹ The grounds for the suggested dates are: Kemp appointed Archbishop of York, 1425; end of Calais gold coinage, 1428; decrease of Tower output, 1433; Neville appointed Bishop of Durham, 1438; end of Calais silver coinage, 1440 ? ; large silver output at Tower, 1438-1441; L. Booth appointed Bishop of Durham, 1457.

London Groat. HENRIC DI GRA REX ANGL Z FRANC.

I. Annulet in two quarters of reverse, and after *Posui*. II. Rosette stops, usually with mascle in one period, on obverse, on reverse rosette after *Posui*^ mascle before *Lon* and rosette after *don*. III. Pine-cones and mascles in similar positions. IV. Leaf on tressure below bust and on outer circle of reverse after *don*; mascle after *Rex* and before *Non* (*siC*) for *Lon*). The grooved initial cross on the obverse is peculiar. V. Leaves and trefoils in legends, with or without leaf on breast. VI. Trefoils beside neck and, usually, in legend; usually with leaf on breast. Reverses have trefoils and, sometimes, leaf in legend. VII. Similar, but with pellets added beside crown and in two quarters of reverse. VIII. Pellets as in VII, and leaf on breast or neck. (Pl. XXX, 12.) IX. No marks on obverse, extra pellets in two quarters of reverse. X. Cross on neck, pellets beside crown or beside hair and in two quarters of reverse; some have mullet after *Henric* and *Posui*. XI. A rare late issue with lis on neck, pellets as before; reverse i.m. is either plain cross or lis or none; mascle sometimes after *Henric*.

Calais Groat. *Villa Calisie*. Similar to London groats of Groups I to VI. In Group I an annulet is added on obverse at either side of neck (Pl. XXX, 11). A variety has trefoil to 1. of crown and after *Posui*. A transitional issue between I and II has no annulets on obverse but a small mascle in tressure at either side of head, the reverse has rosettes only or rosettes and mascle.

York Groat. Similar to London groats of Group I, but with lis at either side of neck.

London Half-groat. HENRIC DI GRA REX ANGL Z FR. Similar to the groats, of all groups except VI, VII and XI.

Calais Half-groat. Similar to Calais groats of Groups I, II, III, IV. (Pl. XXXI, 12, Group III.)

York Half-groat. Similar to York groat, of Group I. (Pl. XXXI, II.)

London Penny. HENRICVS REX ANGLIE. Groups I to X, but VI and IX are not known. The varieties are similar to those of the larger silver coins. I. Annulet in two quarters of reverse; II. Rosette and mascle as stops; III. Pinecone and mascle as stops; IV. Leaf on obverse only, mascles in legends; V. Leaf on breast, leaf and trefoil in legends (Pl. XXXII, 13); VII. Similar, with pellets added beside crown and on reverse; VIII. Similar, without trefoils (Pl. XXXII, 14); X. Cross on breast, pellets as before.

Calais Penny. Similar to London pennies of Groups I to IV; in Group I annulets are added beside bust: a variety has trefoil to 1. of crown. (Pl. XXXII, n, 12, Groups I and II.)

York Penny of Royal Mint. As London penny of Group I, but with lis at either side of neck.

York Penny of Archbishop Kemp (1425-1452). As London pennies of Groups II and III. There are crosses, mullets, etc., beside the crown on coins of both groups. In Group III there are some pennies which omit the quatrefoil on the reverse.

- York Penny of Archbishop William Booth (1452-1464). As London pennies of Groups VIII and X. Quatrefoil on reverse.
- Durham Penny of Bishop Langley (1406-1437). Groups II (with star to 1. of crown) and III (no episcopal mark). *Civitas Dunolmi*.
- Durham Penny of Bishop Robert Nevill (1438-1457). Rings in centre of reverse. Groups V (Leaf on breast and after Rex) and VIII. *Civitas Dunolm*.
- Durham Penny of Bishop Lawrence Booth (1457-1476 ; suspended 1462-1464). Cross and B beside neck. Rings in centre of reverse. Groups VIII or X ? (Leaf on breast, pellets beside crown). *Civitas Dunolm*. (Pl. XXXII, 15.)
- London Halfpenny. HENRIC REX ANGL (ANGLI from Group VI onwards), Groups I to VI, IX, X. (Pl. XXXIII, 6, Group VI.)
- Calais Halfpenny. Groups I (annulets by neck), II, III, V.
- York Halfpenny of Royal Mint. Group I, lis at either side of neck. (Pl. XXXIII, 5.)
- London Farthing. HENRIC REX ANGL. Groups I, III (Pl. XXXIII, 14), IX, X.
- Calais Farthing. Groups I (annulets by neck), II.

CHAPTER XII

EDWARD IV TO RICHARD III

1461-1485

AT the accession of Edward IV the output of gold, which had been very small for the previous twenty-five years, was reduced almost to nothing; between 1433 and 1460 less than 7000 lbs. of gold was coined, an average of 250 lbs. a year ; accounts for 1460-1462 are missing, and in the following two years the gold output amounted to only 300 lbs. Two specimens of the noble are now the only survivors of the gold coinage of the first four years of Edward's reign. The silver coinage was, from 1449 onwards, maintained at an average of about four or five thousand lbs. a year. Nevertheless the King's first concern seems to have been the increase of the supply of silver to the mint, and, with this in view, he ordered the weight of the penny to be reduced in 1464 from 15 to 12 grs., allowing silver to be purchased by the mint at 335. instead of 295. the lb. But the proportionate value of the two metals was retained at 100 to 9, the ratio at which it was fixed in the reform of 1411, by raising the currency value of the noble from 6s. 8d. to 8s. 4d. This would be likely to bring gold to the mint and sustain the English gold coin in circulation against imported gold.

An indenture was accordingly made with Lord Hastings, Master of the Mint, for coinage on this basis, and the new coin was proclaimed in September, 1464. The sudden raising of the value of the current gold coin, with notice of only fifteen days, would probably have had a disastrous effect, had not a further change been introduced almost immediately. In March, 1465, a new indenture was made with Hastings which completely reformed the gold coinage. A new coin, called

the Ryal, or Rose Noble, was ordered, which was to weigh 120 grs. and to have a value of ten shillings, with a half and a quarter in proportion ; in order to supply a coin in place of the gold noble, which had become the standard professional fee, a new gold coin of the value of 6s. 8d. was struck weighing 80 grs., called the Angel, with its half or Angelet. The silver coinage was continued at the weight of 12 grs. to the penny.

Thus came into being the famous coin called the Angel, which served Tudor and Stuart sovereigns as their presentation piece at the ceremony of touching for the king's evil. Political considerations may have suggested the destruction of the dragon by the archangel as an allegory of the overthrow of Lancaster by York. The reverse design of the angel and angelet was adapted from the obverse of the old noble, but the figure of the king was omitted and the shield was supported by a cross against the mast of the ship. The legends of the two coins are from the liturgy, with direct reference to the Cross as the centrepiece of the design.

The object of the 1464 reform was to draw bullion to the mint by offering a price at which the Tower could compete with foreign mints. In this it succeeded, for in two years 12,000 lbs. of gold and 55,000 lbs. of silver had been coined at London. In addition, new mints were opened. In July, 1465, the royal mints at Canterbury and York were put into commission ; and mints were also established at Bristol, Coventry, and Norwich, with authority to strike gold as well as silver. This wide activity was not of long duration; Coventry and Norwich closed in September, after working for only two months; York Castle continued over the " usurpation " till September, 1471, and Bristol closed in July, 1472. There is no evidence of coinage at the mint of Calais, in spite of an order for payment to be made in coin or bullion at the Calais staple for wool export, and for the bullion so received to be coined at Calais and then shipped to London.

Bullion was still plentiful when Henry VI regained the throne. The mastership was immediately transferred from Lord Hastings to Robert Tunstall and the coinage continued with a change only of the King's name. The angel had already supplanted the ryal, and, in spite of the retention of that denomination in all coinage indentures, no ryals were struck

after 1470, save exceptional issues by Henry VII, Mary, and Elizabeth.

In the coinage of Edward IV the initial mark of the legends began to take active part in the differencing of the issues. Once in the reign of Edward III, and again by Henry IV and Henry VI, the cross had been replaced in this position by a crown or a fleur-de-lis ; its place was now taken by an emblem, such as a rose, sun, annulet, or a particular form of cross, which served to mark issues, though probably not at regular intervals, and thus assisted towards the privy marking of the coins. In Elizabeth's reign the initial mark became itself the privy mark, but in the meantime the period of the pyx trials had been extended by Edward VI from three months to a year.

It is by means of these initial marks that the coins are primarily classified. The earliest silver coins of the reign correspond closely with the last issue of Henry VI, marked by the lis on the neck and pellets on both sides ; the two nobles that survive are marked by pellets inserted beside the crown on the obverse. The rose is then introduced as initial mark and there are various subsidiary markings : quatrefoils or annulets beside the bust, a crescent on the breast, and the so-called eye (an oval containing a pellet) in the reverse legend. Under the reform of 1464 the weight of the penny was reduced from 15 to 12 grs.; old dies made for the heavy coinage were still used for the light coins and new dies were for a time made similar to them, probably until the new gold coinage was struck in July, 1465. Apart from coins struck with dies of the heavy coinage, the light groats can be distinguished by a slight difference in the portrait; the flans are slightly smaller and the portrait, slightly reduced in size, has smaller shoulders, though it fills more completely the smaller field available for it. At, or very shortly after, the revival of gold coinage, the rose was changed to a sun as initial mark, and the sun was followed by the crown. At this point some confusion arises ; the natural sequence of one symbol following another as initial mark, which began with rose, sun, and crown, received a check ; the crown remained, but on most denominations it was in some way coupled with a sun or rose, either as an additional symbol in the legend or as the initial mark on the reverse of the coin, while the dies for the ryal had the sun stamped over the crown ;

it is important to notice the change to trefoil stops, and to trefoils, instead of fleurs, on the tressure of groats and half-groats ; and also the use of trefoils instead of quatrefoils beside the bust about the time that the initial mark was changed to a cross fitchée. By these details of difference the smaller denominations and other coins, such as York and Canterbury issues, which vary the initial marks, may be associated with the larger London coins. The protrusion of the cross fitchée beyond the inner circle was awkward and was soon corrected, so that a blunt cross was evolved, which appeared on coins immediately preceding the usurpation of Henry and on a few dies, perhaps survivors, used by Henry and by Edward after his restoration.

Though the succession of the initial marks and the removal of the trefoils from the field beside the bust give a reasonably accurate view of the coins struck by Edward before and after the usurpation period, there are border-line coins to which no hard and fast rule will apply. The initial marks of Henry VI (1470-1471) are two slightly different crosses, one is very similar to the short cross fitchée but the blunt wedge which formed its lower limb is broadened, not narrowed, to its extremity (Pl. XXXIV, 10), the other is an ordinary cross pattee (Pl. XXXIV, i); a fleur-de-lis is also used on some reverse dies. The short cross fitchée appears only occasionally on one side of the coin in Henry's issues and similarly, coupled with the annulet, on post-restoration coins of Edward IV. Its original use was before the usurpation, although the groats that bear it omit the trefoils beside the bust. The use of a letter R, hardly distinguishable from B, which is characteristic of Henry's usurpation coins, is found on earlier as well as later coins of Edward.

After the restoration of Edward IV Lord Hastings resumed the mastership of the mint. The initial marks, by their succession of changes, facilitate the classification of the coins; in these changes it will be noticed how important a part a pellet is made to play. After an issue with an annulet as initial mark, a pellet is enclosed within the annulet; the annulet is then removed, a cross with a pellet in each angle taking its place ; on many coins old dies were used on which the cross was stamped over the annulet, and the pellets of both marks

are therefore obscured. A cross, pierced in the centre, is the next mark, which, after a short time, is differentiated by the addition of a pellet in one of its angles. At this period there is a change of style, slight in the portrait but clearly visible in the new lettering, with thin straight sides, which is accompanied by larger saltires as stops. It is interesting to note how many varieties are made by the position in which the pellet is placed; sometimes it is borne not in an angle of the cross, but in the piercing in its centre, and on a few late coins instead of accompanying the initial mark it is transferred to the field of the coin, beside the bust and in one, or two, quarters of the reverse. The latest initial mark on the London groat is a heraldic cinquefoil, and that, too, is sometimes varied by the placing of a pellet beside it; on the half-groat a rose takes the place of the cinquefoil towards the close of the reign.

The coinage of ryals ceased before the usurpation; angels and angelets are the only gold coins of Edward's second reign. The mints of Bristol and York soon closed down, and the king's coinage at Canterbury ceased for a time and revived in the period of the cinquefoil mark, which on a half-groat is muled with the short cross fitchee; pennies and halfpennies were struck there towards the close of the reign.

The conditions of the coinage of the two archbishops were modified by Edward IV; changes were probably due to the necessity for a large immediate output in 1465. The king's mint in York Castle was then opened for a coinage of gold, and of groats, half-groats, and halfpence, but not of pence; Bristol alone of the royal mints that were newly opened is known to have struck pennies. But the archbishop's mint did not close, as in previous reigns,¹ when the royal mint opened; on this occasion the archbishop assumed the sole coinage of pennies at York. Canterbury pennies now for the first time bear a personal symbol of the archbishop. The difference between the mints of Canterbury and York goes back to the early history of their coinage. As early as the eighth century we can trace a single mint at Canterbury working for its archbishops and its kings of Kent, and upon this establishment was imposed the coinage of the kings of Mercia and, later, that of the kings of

¹ See above, p. 140

Wessex and of England. At York the coinage of the archbishop came to an end at the close of the ninth century under Viking occupation ; at what date it was revived we do not know, but a claim in the reign of Edward I, based on precedents of grants by William I, William II, and Henry I, was upheld and three dies granted to the archbishop. But at York the archbishop's mint was separate from the king's ; it was housed in the archbishop's palace, while the king had a separate mint in the castle. The coinage of the archbishop of Canterbury differed, therefore, in being inseparably bound up with the king's coinage ; after Plegmund's death in 914 the name of an archbishop no longer appeared on the coins, and we only know that in Aethelstan's reign two moneyers served the archbishop and four the king, while one was appropriated to the abbot of St. Augustine. Later, the occasional record of a moneyer's name, such as Richard l'Espece from 1268 to 1271, is our only means of identifying a few of the archbishop's coins. At the beginning of the Edwardian coinage Canterbury worked three furnaces for the archbishop and five for the king, and in 1308 the archbishop recovered the profits of three dies on a plea that he was being kept out of his rights. Here we see the privilege of coining commuted to a share in the profits of the mint. The reform of 1465 restored to the archbishop the privilege of coining pence and added to it the coinage of half-groats, and for the first time personal and metropolitan badges, the Bourchier knot and the pall, appear on the coins. At Canterbury the king does not seem, as at York, to have been content to leave the penny coinage entirely to the archbishop. In his second reign he resumed the whole Canterbury coinage and, presumably, again commuted the archbishop's privilege to a share in the profits.

The early pennies of both York and Durham are of coarse workmanship, which implies local manufacture of the dies. This was probably due to the danger of transport in the unsettled condition of the North between the battles of Wakefield in 1460 and Hexham and Hedgeley Moor in 1464. At both mints dies of normal workmanship came into use in the middle of 1465, when the new gold coins were struck. In 1473 the king made to Lawrence Booth, Bishop of Durham, a special grant which conferred on him the right of making his own dies and also of

striking halfpence. The halfpenny bearing his initial B exists, and the pennies from this date resume the coarse workmanship that denotes local die engraving. The appearance of the letter V on obverse and reverse of Durham pennies, in addition to the initials B (Booth) or D (Dudley) of the bishop, and D of the mint, has not been explained. Possibly it was the mark of William Omoryche, a York goldsmith, who was appointed graver by Booth in 1473 and continued to hold the office under his successor, Bishop Dudley.

The attribution of coins to the short reign of Edward V is based upon the use of the boar's head as initial mark and its close connection, on coins of Edward and of Richard, with the halved sun and rose. Not only was the boar's head the personal badge of Richard III but it is commonly used on the coins bearing his name ; its use, more rare, on coins with the name of Edward is usually coupled with the halved sun and rose on the other side of the coin, a combination also frequent on the coinage of Richard. There is little doubt that the use of the boar's head on the coin was originally ordered by Richard as regent, and probably the coins with halved sun and rose that bear the name of Edward must also be assignee! to the reign of the unfortunate boy-king.

EDWARD IV (1461-1483).

Heavy coinage of 1461-1464. Wt. 108 grs. to the noble (6s. 8d.), 15 grs. to the penny.

Noble. EDWARD DI GRA REX ANGL Z FRANC DNS HYB. No stops except a saltire after *Di* and either side of *E*, and, on reverse after *Illoru*. Pellets beside crown and beside *E*¹ in centre of reverse. (Pl. XXXIII, 15.)

On the silver coins there are the following differences :—

- I. Lis on neck ; pellets beside crown and in two quarters of reverse.
- II. Rose i.m. Crescent on breast, quatrefoils beside neck.
- III. Similar, no crescent. Eye in reverse legend, annulets beside neck.
- IV. Similar, quatrefoils beside neck, trefoil on breast.

Groat. EDWARD DI GRA REX ANGL Z FRANC. Saltire stops.

- I, i.m. cross fleury or patteée, sometimes *Dei* for *Di* (Pl. XXXIV, 6) ;
- II; III; IV.

Half-groat. I, II, and III. (Pl. XXXV, 3.)

London Penny. I, ED WAD, mascle after *Rex*; II, no crescent. (Pl. XXXV, 7.)

York Penny of Archbishop William Booth (1452-1464). Type II without crescent; with or without quatrefoil in centre of reverse. *Di Gra* in legend.

¹ Lombardic. All the lettering on the coins of this period is Lombardic.

Durham Penny (during suspension of Bishop Lawrence Booth). All of coarse work, dies probably made locally; EDWARD REX ANGLIE. (a) No special marks, *Civitas Dunolin*; (b) rose in centre of reverse, *Civitas Dunoli*; (c) similar, but with a pellet added in one quarter of reverse.

London Halfpenny. EDWARD REX ANG. I (lis and pellets); II-IV (rose i.m.; quatrefoils, annulets, saltires, or nothing beside neck). (PL XXXV, 14.)

London Farthing. EDWARD REX ANGLI. Type I only. (PL XXXV, 20.)

Light coinage of 1464-1470. Wt. 120 grs. to the ryal (los.), 12 grs. to the penny.

The coins are divided into the following six groups :—

I. Coins (with rose i.m.) struck from old dies of the heavy coinage.

II. Rose i.m. (new dies).

III. Sun i.m.

IV. Crown i.m.

V. Crown combined with sun or rose.

VI. Cross fitch'e (long pointed lower limb).

VII. Short cross fitch'e (similar with lower limb shortened and blunted), (see PL XXXIII, 20).

London Ryal. The Ryal has an obverse design similar to that of the noble but with a rose on the ship's side and a banner with royal cypher at stern ; the reverse has a rose upon a radiate sun over the centre of the royal cross. The legends are : EDWARD DI GRA REX ANGL Z FRANC DNS IB and IHC AVT TRANSIENS PER MEDIVM ILLORVM IBAT. The stops are trefoils, which are also frequently placed between the letters of the last word. The lettering is Lombardic throughout. Groups II; O. II, 7?. III; III (some have lis or trefoil, or both, at end of obv. legend ; i.m. on rev. or on both sides); O. III, R. IV ; IV (on later coins the fleurs in the tressure on the rev. are replaced by trefoils, some of them have a pellet below the shield); V (i.m. is sun over crown); VI.

York Ryal. E in waves. Groups III (sun i.m.) and IV (lis i.m.).

Bristol Ryal. B in waves. Groups III and IV. (PL XXXIII, 16.)

Coventry Ryal. C in waves. Group III only.

Norwich Ryal. N in waves. Group III only.

Half-ryal. Similar to the ryal. Legends : EDWARD DI GRA REX ANGL Z FRANC and DOMINE NE IN FVRORE TVO ARGVAS ME. London III; IV; V, either *obv.* rose, *rev.* crown, or *obv.* none, *rev.* sun and crown, both have lis in waves; VI. York III with sun i.m. ; IV with lis i.m. ; V with sun over crown. Bristol III, IV. Coventry III. Norwich II. (PL XXXIII, 17, York of Group III.)

Quarter-ryal. Except on the earliest variety (shield, with rose above, in tressure of eight arches) the obverse design is the royal shield with King's initial above, lis below, rose and sun at sides, in tressure of four arches ; reverse has rose on radiate sun over centre of the royal cross; the legends are : EDWARD DI GRA REX ANGL Z FR (or F, sometimes omitted) and EXALTABITVR IN GLORIA.

The stops are greatly varied, probably for privy marks; saltires, trefoils, quatrefoils, roses and lis are used. The lis also occurs as an initial mark

on some coins which have for this reason been doubtfully attributed to York. Otherwise they are all of the London Mint.

Groups *O.* III, *R.* II (obv. of early type); *O.* II, *X.* III (ordinary type); III; aIII,/? *IV*; *IV*; *V* (sun over crown); *VI.* Some of III and *O.* III, *tf.* *IV* omit the letter *L* in *Exaltabilur*^ some of *IV* have *Exaltabitutut*. Those with *lis* i.m. belong probably to Group *IV*, some have *Exaltabitutur*^ their attribution to York is very doubtful. (Pl. XXXIII, 18, Group III.)

Angel. Wt. 80 grs. Value 6s. 8d.

O. St. Michael slaying dragon. EDWARD DI GRA REX ANGL Z FRANC DNS IB.

R. Ship bearing shield with cross above and *E* and rose beside mast. PER CRVCEM TVAM SALVA NOS XPC REDEMPTOR.

London mint only. Group III (crown i.m.; rays of sun at mast-head, small sun and rose beside mast); *V* (small rose i.m.; rays of sun at masthead, large rose and sun beside mast); *VII* (shortened cross fitchee i.m.; *E* to 1., rose to *r.* of mast).

Angelet. Wt. 40 grs., value 3s. 4d. (Pl. XXXIII, 20.) Similar to the Angel of Group *VII* (shortened cross fitchee), but the legends are interchanged, namely:—

O. O CRVX AVE SPES VNICA

R. EDWARD DI GRAREX ANGL Z FRA.

London Groat. Wt. 48 grs. EDWARD DI GRA REX ANGL Z FRANC.

Group *I* (struck from old dies, coins differing from heavy groats only in weight); *II* (rose i.m., quatrefoils beside neck, extra pellet in one quarter of rev.; with or without rose on breast); *III* (sun i.m., otherwise as preceding but no extra pellet); *IV* (crown i.m., otherwise similar); *V* (crown i.m. on obv. with either sun or, rarely, rose i.m. on rev.; quatrefoil below bust as well as beside neck; trefoils replace flews on tressure; either saltire or trefoil stops); *VI* (cross fitchee rarely on both sides, or on obv. with sun or, rarely, rose i.m. on rev.; trefoils beside neck sometimes omitted; trefoil or saltire stops); *VII* (short cross fitchee i.m., sometimes with sun i.m. on rev.; no trefoils beside neck; trefoil or saltire stops or none). There are mules of all consecutive groups.

York Groat. *E* on breast. Similar to London groats of Group *III* (sun or *lis* i.m.), *IV* (*lis* i.m. on obv., crown on rev.), *V* (*lis* i.m. on obv., *lis* or sun on rev.; trefoils on tressure; trefoil stops; either quatrefoils or trefoils beside neck. A coin with sun i.m. both sides has trefoils on tressure and is perhaps of this group.)

Bristol Groat. *B* on breast. *Villa firisfow*, *Brestoll*, or *Bristol* *L.* *O.* II, *R.* III (sun i.m. on obv., rose on rev.; quatrefoils beside neck; saltire stops; fleured tressure); *III* (sun i.m., similar); *IV* (crown i.m., similar, or with trefoils on tressure); *V* (crown i.m. on obv., sun on rev., or sun i.m. on both sides, trefoils beside neck, trefoils on tressure, trefoil stops).

Coventry Groat. *C* on breast. *Civitas Covetre*. Group *II* (rose i.m.), *III* (sun i.m.). (Pl. XXXIV, 7.)

Norwich Groat. *N* on breast. *Civitas Norwic* or *Norvic*.

O. III. *R.* II (sun i.m. on obv., rose i.m. on rev.); *III* (sun i.m.).

Half-groat. Royal issues. Similar to the groats. Struck at London (Group II, i.e. rose i.m. on new dies, is not known, nor Group VII), York, Bristol (Pl. XXXV, 4), Coventry, Norwich, and, in addition (without corresponding groats), Canterbury (IV, crown i.m.; V, crown i.m. on obv., sun i.m. on rev.; VI ?, rose i.m. on both sides).

Canterbury Half-groat of Archbishop Bourchier (1454-1486). Similar to the royal coins, but with the Bourchier knot below the bust and the pall as initial mark. On the reverse there is always a spur projecting from the inner circle towards the pellets. Group II, with fleured tressure, has pall i.m. on both sides or combined with rose i.m. on reverse; III has pall on obverse, sun on reverse; IV, which has trefoils on the tressure, again has pall on both sides.

London Penny. EDWARD DI GRA REX ANGL.

Group I (rose i.m., heavy dies); III (sun i.m., quatrefoils beside neck); IV (crown i.m., similar, or with quatrefoil on breast); VI (cross fitch'e i.m., trefoils beside neck, trefoil stops); VII (short cross fitch'e i.m.) (Pl. XXXV, 8, Group IV.)

Bristol Penny. Group IV or V (crown i.m., trefoil at r. of neck).

Canterbury Penny (Royal issue). Group IV, crown i.m.

Canterbury Penny of Archbishop Bourchier (1454-1486). Group IV (pall i.m., knot below bust, with or without quatrefoils beside neck; spur projecting from inner circle. (Pl. XXXV, 9.)

York Penny of Archbishop George Neville (1465-1476; suspended 1472-1475). The earliest, of coarse local work, usually omit *Di Gra*; they have G and Key beside the bust, and a cross or a rose as i.m. Those of London work are of Group III (sun i.m., G and Key), IV (lis i.m., G and Key), V (similar but trefoils or no marks in place of G and key), VI (cross fitch'e i.m., G and Key), VII (short cross fitch'e i.m., G and Key). All have quatrefoil on reverse except a coin with uncertain i.m. (Pl. XXXV, 10, Group IV.)

Dunham Penny of Bishop Lawrence Booth (1464-1476).

I (light coins from dies of heavy coinage, q.v.); II (rose in centre of rev., and extra pellet in each quarter; coarse work; *Civitas Donoli*. Also of London work, rose i.m., B and D beside bust, *Civitas Derham*); III (sun i.m., quatrefoil and B beside bust, *Dunolin*); IV and V (crown i.m.; D and quatrefoil, two quatrefoils, two lis, or two trefoils beside bust; *Derani*); VII (short cross fitch'e i.m., no marks beside bust, *Deratri*).

London Halfpenny. EDWARD DI GRA REX; I (rose i.m., heavy dies); V (crown i.m., trefoils beside bust); VI (similar, but cross fitch'e). (Pl. XXXV, 15, Group V.)

Bristol Halfpenny. Crown i.m., quatrefoils or trefoils beside bust.

Canterbury Halfpenny (Royal issue). Similar to the Bristol halfpennies. (Pl. XXXV, 17.)

York Halfpenny (Royal mint). Lis i.m.; trefoils beside bust.

No farthings are known.

Henry VI restored (October, 1470-April, 1471). Wt. 80 grs. to the Angel (6s. 8d.), 12 grs. to the penny.

London Angel. HENRICVS DI GRA REX ANGL Z FRANC. Trefoil stops. i.m. Restoration cross,¹ none, lis or cross patte'e. (Pl. XXXIV, i.)

Bristol Angel. B in waves, i.m. Restoration cross or none.

London Angelet. HENRIC DI GRA REX ANGL Z FR. i.m. Restoration cross (saltire stops), lis, cross patte'e.

Groat. HENRICV (or HENRIC) DI GRA REX ANGL Z FRANC.

Trefoil or saltire stops. The initial marks are :—

O. Restoration cross. *JR*. Short cross fitch'e, Restoration cross, lis, or cross patte'e. (Pl. XXXIV, 10.)

O. Cross pattee. <#. Restoration cross, lis, or cross patte'e.

York Groat. E on breast, i.m. lis on obverse, sun or lis on reverse.

Bristol Groat. B on breast.

The initial marks are :—

O. Restoration cross. *JR*. Rose, Restoration cross, or trefoil.

O. Trefoil. *7R*. Short cross fitchee, rose, Restoration cross, or trefoil.

London Half-groat. Similar to groat, i.m. Restoration cross.

York Half-groat. E on breast, i.m. lis. (Pl. XXXV, 5.)

London Penny. HENRICV DI GRA REX ANGL. i.m. Restoration cross.

York Penny of Archbishop George Neville, i.m. lis; G and key beside bust; quatrefoil on reverse. (Pl. XXXV. xi.)

London Halfpenny. HENRICV DI GRA REX. i.m. short cross fitch'e. (Pl. XXXV, 18.)

Bristol Halfpenny. *Villa Bristov*. i.m. Cross (Restoration cross ?)

No farthings known.

Edward IV Second Reign (1471-1483). Wt. 80 grs. to the angel, 12 grs. to the penny.

The London initial marks are :—

1. Annulet.

2. Annulet enclosing pellet.

3. Cross and four pellets (one in each angle).²

4. Cross pierced without pellet.

5. Cross pierced and pellet (in one angle).

6. Cinquefoil.

A new style of lettering, with thin straight letters and large saltire stops, is introduced during the period of No. 5.

London Angel. EDWARD DEI (DI) GRA REX ANGL Z FRANC. All initial marks are known. (Pl. XXXIII, 19.)

Bristol Angel. B in waves. Annulet i.m. only.

London Angelet. EDWARD DI GRA REX ANGL. i.m. 1. Annulet; 3. Cross over annulet; 5. Cross pierced and pellet; 6. Cinquefoil.

¹ Similar to the shortened cross fitch'e, but the lower limb is broadened out; the cross patte'e at the end of the period has limbs sloping widely out.

² This is frequently punched over an annulet (presumably enclosing a pellet) which obliterates the pellets.

London Groat. EDWARD DI (DEI) GRA REX ANGL Z FRANC. All initial marks are known. The short cross fitchée also occurs on early dies, and the restoration cross and the trefoil on reverse dies. With the annulet-enclosing-pellet roses are placed beside the bust on some late coins. On the cross-and-four-pellets issue (no. 3) and all later groats the letter A is always chevron-barred in *Angl* and *Civitas*. On late coins of the cross pierced and pellet issue (with new lettering) roses and suns are interspersed in the reverse legend; this i.m. sometimes has the pellet in the central voiding of the pierced cross, sometimes the pellet is omitted from the i.m. and placed at either side of the bust and in one or two quarters of the reverse design. A pellet is also placed beside the cinquefoil i.m. on some coins; coins of this issue have a rose on the breast, and usually in the reverse legend. (Pl. XXXIV, 8, 9; annulet i.m., and cinquefoil i.m.)

York Groat. (Mint closed in September, 1471.) i.m. Lis. Distinguished from groat of 1464-1470 by having no quatrefoils or trefoils beside the bust, but as some London groats with the cross fitchée mark omit the trefoils, it is possible that these should be placed before the usurpation period.

Bristol Groat. (Mint closed, July, 1472.) Bon breast. No marks beside bust. *Villa Brestow*. i.m. Rose; O. rose, ft. annulet; 0. sun, R. annulet; annulet.

London Half-groat. EDWARD DI (DEI) GRA REX ANGL Z FRA. Similar to the groats with i.m. i (annulet, rarely with rose on rev.), 2 (annulet enclosing pellet), 3 (cross over annulet), 5 (cross pierced and pellet), 6 (cinquefoil).

Canterbury Half-groat (Royal issue), i.m.: O. cross fitchée, R. cinquefoil (probably struck in the cinquefoil period with a die of the pre-restoration period; it implies that in the meantime half-groats were not being struck at Canterbury); cinquefoil both sides; rose (with C on breast, sometimes also in centre of rev.).

London Penny. EDWARD DI (DEI) GRA REX ANGL. All initial marks are known from annulet to cinquefoil.

Canterbury Penny (Royal issue), i.m. rose, with or without C on breast.

No pennies issued by the archbishop are known of this period.

York Penny of Archbishop's Mint. The varieties may perhaps be classified as follows:—

Suspension of Archbishop George Neville (1472-1475).¹ i.m. Annulet; no special marks; no quatrefoil on reverse.

Archbishop George Neville restored (1475-1476). Quatrefoil in centre of reverse, i.m. cross over annulet (no marks on obv.), pierced cross (G and key beside bust), rose (G and key, or G and rose, beside bust).

Vacancy (June, 1476)?

i.m. Rose (E and rose beside bust, or, without marks beside bust but with or without rose on breast). These have quatrefoil on reverse.²

¹ Possibly a coin of the Royal Mint struck between April and September, 1471.

² The attribution of this group to the Vacancy is doubtful on this account, but it is possible that with the change of the obverse marks the King's warden was able to use old reverse dies of the late archbishop.

Archbishop Lawrence Booth (1476-1480). B and key beside bust; rose i.m.; quatrefoil on reverse.

Vacancy (May to September, 1480). Similar, without quatrefoil on reverse.

Archbishop Thomas Rotherham (September, 1480-1500). T and key beside bust; rose i.m.; quatrefoil on reverse; sometimes with star on breast or to r. of head.

Durham Penny.

Bishop Lawrence Booth (1464-1476).

A. Before August, 1473. Pennies of good London workmanship. Two lis, or B and trefoil, beside bust; D in centre of reverse.

B. After August, 1473 (grant for the Bishop to make his own dies and to coin halfpence).

EDWARD DEI GRA [GRAC] REX [RE] ANG. Rose i.m.

(1) *Civitas Deram*, with or without B in centre of reverse.

(2) *Civitas Dunolmie*. B to 1. of crown, V on breast, with or without crosses beside neck; on reverse D in centre, V in one quarter, and extra pellet in all quarters.

Vacancy of 1476 ? Similar, but omitting B and V on obverse, some have two crosses above crown.

Bishop William Dudley (1476-1483). D and V beside neck (D is sometimes omitted; D usually in centre of reverse. *Civitas Dunolmie*.

London Halfpenny. EDWARD DI(DEI) GRA REX.

A coin with i.m. short cross fitch'e (without trefoils beside bust) is perhaps of this period.

All the initial marks, from annulet to cinquefoil, are known. (Pl. XXXV, i(5), Pierced cross i.m.)

Durham Halfpenny of Bishop Lawrence Booth (between 1473 and 1476).

Rose i.m.; B and trefoil (?) beside bust; D in centre of reverse. *Civitas Deram*.

No farthing known.

Edward V (1483). Similar, but for initial marks, to coins of Edward IV.

Angel, i.m. Halved sun and rose; or, O. Boar's head, A*. Halved sun and rose. (Pl. XXXIV, 2.)

Angelet, i.m. Halved sun and rose. (Pl. XXXIV, 4.)

Groat, i.m. Halved sun and rose; or, O. Boar's head, R. Halved sun and rose. Usually with a pellet below the bust. (Pl. XXXV, i.)

Half-groat and Penny not known.

Halfpenny, i.m. Halved sun and rose.

Richard III (1483-1485). RICARD DI GRA REX ANGL (ANGL Z FRANC, etc.).

Angel. R and rose beside mast. i.m. Halved sun and rose, or Boar's head, or one on either side of the coin. (Pl. XXXIV, 3.)

¹A half-groat in B.M. has perhaps Boar's head i.m. on obverse, but this is doubtful.

Angelet. i.m. Boar's head. (PI. XXXIV, 5.)

London Groat, i.m. Halved sun and rose, or Boar's head, or one on either side. Usually with a pellet below the bust. (PI. XXXV, 2.)

York Groat, i.m. Halved sun and rose.

London Half-groat, i.m. Halved sun and rose, or Boar's head. (PI. XXXV, 6.)

London Penny, i.m. Boar's head.

York Penny of Archbishop Rotherham (1480-1500). Quatrefoil on reverse.

i.m. Halved sun and rose, without marks on obverse,¹ or with T and key beside bust; i.m. Boar's head, with T and key. (PI. XXXV, 13.)

Durham Penny of Bishop John Sherwood (1483-1494). i.m. Lis ; S on breast; D in centre of reverse. (PL XXXV, 12.)

London Halfpenny, i.m. Halved sun and rose, or Boar's head. (PI. XXXV, 19.)

¹ Perhaps during Rotherham's imprisonment.

CHAPTER XIII

HENRY VII

1485-1509

THE coinage of Henry VII represents the first step in the transition from medieval to modern currency. Since the reign of Edward III the coins had undergone little change in a period of nearly a hundred and fifty years. Edward IV had modified the type of the noble and raised the coin to the value of ten shillings without making any appreciable difference in the design and artistic treatment of the coin ; at the same time he had introduced the new gold coin of the angel with a type and style essentially medieval in character and without material improvement in the technique of die-cutting. The silver coinage had retained without alteration the conventional facing portrait and the stereotyped design of the cross and pellets.

The changes introduced by Henry VII began the work of eliminating conventional forms; new denominations in both gold and silver were introduced ; an artistic portrait was adopted for the silver coinage, and a new design, with the royal shield of arms, took the place of the type introduced by Edward I. The new art and the new forms were further developed in the following century; the establishment of the mill press in the seventeenth century completed the modernising of the coinage.

In 1489 a special commission was issued for the striking of a new gold coin weighing 240 grs., called the sovereign, with a currency value of twenty shillings. Its large flan offered ample scope for displaying the magnificence of Tudor design, and full advantage was taken of it; in its earlier issues the coin can boast an artistic achievement never so fully realised on an English coin before or since ; though the German artist,

who was appointed as graver in 1494, embellished the type with a richer display of flamboyant Tudor art, in doing so he impaired the artistic harmony of his predecessor's work (cf. **PL XXXVI**, i, 2). This graver, Alexander of Brugsal, achieved greater success in his portrait coinage; the profile of Henry VII on the silver coins that were struck during the last few years of the reign (**PL XXXVII**, i) is a work of art which has never on English coins been approached in dignity and beauty, save, perhaps, by Simon's portrait of Charles II.

The king's gold coinage and the silver groat were minted only at London; for smaller silver denominations Henry also made use of his mints at Canterbury and York during part of the reign. Coinage by the Archbishops of Canterbury and York and the Bishop of Durham continued, but suffered some restriction by the king at the close of the century. The London output was large; no less than 31,000 lbs. of gold and 164,000 lbs. of silver were struck into coin in the last fifteen years of the reign.

The use of the initial marks for the purpose of differentiating issues is strongly developed in this reign; in the large series of groats the changes of the initial marks provides an outline of the coinage by means of which it is possible to ascertain distinctive features of style and of lettering, and thereby to associate with the groats coins of other denominations and of other mints. The earliest group¹ differs little at first from the coinage of Richard III; the latest initial mark of the group, the cross fitchee, appears on the earliest sovereign, which was ordered by a commission issued in October, 1489. The second group, with no initial mark, or with cinquefoil, retains the old lettering; to this group therefore belong the last of the Durham pennies of Bishop Sherwood, who died in 1494; his successor, Richard Fox, appointed in 1495 a new master, William Richardson, to the bishop's mint, and the earliest pennies bearing the initial of Bishop Fox have the new, ornate lettering with rosette stops, which is characteristic of the third group of groats. In the period of Group III the coinages of Canterbury, York, and Durham were suspended, with the exception of the half-groat issue of the Archbishop

¹ For the classification, see below, p. 168.

of York ; a restraint imposed on these mints in 1500 seems to have taken effect at the time when the pansy marked the London groats. The remaining coins of Group III, bearing leopard's head, lis-issant-from-rose, anchor, and greyhound's head, continued perhaps to 1504, when an Act of Parliament forbidding the currency of clipped coins, defined the terms clipped and undipped in respect of old and new issues ; the new and neater style of the groats of Group IV may well represent the new coinage subsequent to the Act, which was to have the outer circle complete. The coinage of profile half-groats at York seems to begin after the death of Archbishop Savage in 1507.

The dating of the profile coinage is a complicated problem. Fabian in his chronicle definitely assigns to the Act of 1504 the order for new silver coins with profile portrait; there is nothing in the Act to support this. It is impossible to assign all the profile groats and testoons to the last year of the reign, but the York half-groats with facing portrait which omit the key appear to be the coinage of the vacancy following the death of Archbishop Savage in 1507 ; Pygott was then appointed warden for the king and was ordered to strike half-groats and halfpence of the shape and form used by the late archbishop. The recurrence of two mint marks, greyhound's head and crosslet, on groats of both full face and profile issues may denote an overlap in the striking of the two types. The absence of any documentary evidence for the coinage of the testoon, in spite of the existence of indentures appointing new masters to the Tower mint, suggests that the striking of these rare and beautiful pieces was carried on by Alexander the graver while the ordinary coinage continued with the old design. Details of lettering and of design support this view and involve* in this overlap certain of the profile groats. The design of a portrait was a matter of great importance, requiring a prolonged trial before acceptance, and at the same time an extremely large output of coin was necessary. It is probable that testoons were not authorised for circulation, and that many of the profile groats were similarly made tentatively as trial pieces.

Other coins struck at London afford comparison with the groats either by their initial marks or by the style of lettering

which distinguishes the group. The earliest sovereign, struck under the commission of 1489, bears the cross fitchfe, and to this issue belongs the only type of ryal, or half-sovereign, which is known. The sovereign with dragon mark is later ; its reverse, like those bearing crosslet and pheon, is also combined with a lis-marked obverse ; perhaps the greyhound on the pillar to left of the throne identified it with the coinage bearing the greyhound's head.

The design of the angel was slightly changed when the escallop mark was introduced (c. 1495) ; the archangel was then placed with both feet on the dragon, and the ship was altered in style. On some angels of this reign the reverse legend of the noble, *Jesus autem transiens per medium illorum ibat*, is used instead of the angel legend, *Per crucem tuam salva nos, Christe Redemptor* ; no explanation has yet been found for this strange practice. There is no new type of the angel to correspond with the profile issue of silver coins, but the peculiarity of a large crook-shaped mark of abbreviation, which is only found on groats of the profile type, serves to identify the angels and angelets which correspond with that issue (PI. XXXVI, 5).

Half-groats of London mostly have a lis as initial mark ; their lettering indicates their period. The coinage of half-groats stopped when the coinage of the other mints was restrained, apparently in 1500. It was resumed with the profile type, the initial marks of London being the lis, and pheon ; the mint of Canterbury coined similar half-groats marked with the martlet and the rose,¹ and at York the archbishop struck half-groats which only differ from those of Canterbury in the addition of keys below the shield.

The type of the penny was changed at the time that the sovereign was introduced (1489-1490) ; the design of the king enthroned (PI. XXXVII, 14) was adopted in place of the conventional bust, in spite of its unsuitable form for so small a coin, and the penny now anticipated the large silver in the

¹ This attribution to Canterbury rests on the evidence of dies of this coinage being used again in the reign of Henry VIII with the initials of Archbishop Wareham added. See *B.N.J.*, XVIII, p. 49. In the classification of the late half-groats the changing form of the terminals of the cross on the reverse is important.

use of the shield type of reverse. The pennies corresponding to profile groats are determined by their initial marks. On the halfpenny and farthing the conventional type of the facing bust and the cross and pellets was not changed ; the lettering or initial mark decides the grouping of the coins. The existence of farthings has been disputed ; the type used was the same as that of the halfpenny, and people confused them because they were struck " with one coin " (the same die ?) ; the weight of these small coins is not a sure criterion. Some very rare specimens, however, exist, which by their small size and design surely belong to the farthing denomination.

The coinage of the Archbishop of Canterbury included, in the reign of Edward IV, the half-groat as well as the penny ; and in his reign fundamental changes had been made in the conditions under which both the archbishops exercised their prerogative.¹ In the reign of Henry VII the Archbishop of York obtained the right of coining half-groats, and the half-penny also was added to the coinage of both archbishops.

The Canterbury coinage begins with an issue of half-groats, pennies and halfpennies, which bear the initial of Morton and his canting emblem, the tun, and in details correspond to London coinage of Group I, the penny retaining the old form with facing bust. Corresponding with London coins of Groups II and III are coins of the same denominations which omit Morton's initial and have lis and tun or tun alone as initial mark ; these continue to the period of the pansy mark,² when the Canterbury coinage of the full-face type came to an end.

At York there is a continuous coinage of pennies by Archbishop Rotherham, marked either by his initial, T, and a key, or by two keys, from the beginning of the reign to the period of the pansy mark, and a halfpenny is also known of the latter part of the period. There are also York half-groats, with lis as initial mark and without keys, of Groups II and III; these are clearly issues of the king's mint at York Castle and this series, like the half-groats of Canterbury, ceases at the period of the pansy mark. York, unlike Canterbury, continued a coinage for Archbishop Savage, but of half-groats and half-

¹ See above, p. 152.

² The evidence of this lies in the close correspondence of the lettering with that of London coins, especially in the use of broken letters.

pence without pennies; the coins bear the martlet, as initial mark, and keys.

Durham has a coinage of pennies bearing the initials of Bishops Sherwood and Fox, which comes to an end in the pansy period. The coins of the privileged mints give a reasonably clear picture of the circumstances of these mints. During the first five years of the reign the Archbishop of Canterbury was striking half-groats, pennies and halfpence, but about the year 1490 or shortly after (certainly before 1495) the king terminated the exceptional privilege which the archbishop had held since 1465, and resumed control of the Canterbury mint with the archbishop taking a share in the profits; therefore the later coinage of Canterbury, in all these denominations, though it retained the tun as a mark of difference, dropped the archbishop's initial and assumed the royal mark of the lis. At the same time the king opened his mint in the castle at York for a coinage of half-groats, which, like those of London, have a lozenge panel in the centre of the reverse, while the archbishop continued his coinage of pennies at the Palace mint. The whole of the coinage of Canterbury, of the two mints of York, and of Durham terminates at the same time. On a roll of Hilary term, 1501, is entered a petition of the London graver for more pay on account of the increase of work caused by a restraint upon the mints of Canterbury, York, and Durham. Rotherham, Archbishop of York, died in May, 1500; Morton, Archbishop of Canterbury, in September of the same year; vacancies at both Canterbury and York in the last quarter of 1500 probably gave the king the opportunity to suspend the coinage of the privileged mints.

The prerogative of the Archbishop of York was not suspended for long. Archbishop Savage, who was appointed in April, 1501, recovered the right of coinage, but now for the first time the coins conceded to the Archbishop of York were the half-groat and the halfpenny, and the penny was excluded. The half-groats with facing portrait, which have a martlet, bear the keys and omit the lozenge panel on the reverse; these and the similar halfpenny must be the coinage of Archbishop Savage; on his death the king's master was ordered to strike half-groats and halfpence of the shape and form used in the time of the archbishop; the half-groats struck

during the voidance of the See differ from those of Savage in the absence of the keys, the halfpence are not known. The Bishop of Durham did not resume coinage during the reign of Henry VII.

Henry VII (1485-1509).

The coins are classified in groups corresponding to the following classes of groats. (The dates are explained on pp. 163-4. There is diversity of opinion concerning the dating of Groups III, IV, and V):—

- I. (c. 1485-1489.) Unarched crown. Early lettering. Initial marks :—
Lis and rose and combinations of them ; cross fitchee.
- II. (c. 1490-1494.) Crown with double arch unjewelled. Early lettering. Initial marks :—None, cinquefoil.
- III. (c. 1495-1504.) Crown with two jewelled arches. Ornate lettering. Initial marks :—Cinquefoil, escallop, pansy, leopard's head, lis-issuant from rose, anchor, greyhound's head.
- IV. (c. 1504-1507.) Single, arched crown. Small square letteing followed by "profile" lettering. Initial marks :—Greyhound's head (sometimes with rose on reverse), crosslet.
- V. (c. 1500¹-1509.) Profile type. Initial marks :—None, lis, greyhound's head, crosslet, pheon.

Gold Coins.

Sovereign. (Ordered in October 1489.) Wt. 240 grs. Value 2os.

0. King enthroned, holding orb and sceptre. HENRICVS DEI GRATIA REX ANGLIE ET FRANCIE DNS IBAR (or HIB), with various abbreviations.

R. Shield in centre of a Tudor rose. IMS AVTEM TRANSIENS PER MEDIVM ILLORVM IBAT.

1. Cross fitchee i.m. (on rev.). Throne with low back ; background diapered with lis. Large rose bearing small shield. (Pl. XXXVI, i.)

II. Cinquefoil i.m. Somewhat similar, but background of obverse not diapered. Large shield crowned on large rose.

III. Dragon i.m. High-backed throne elaborately ornamented; reverse design more florid, small shield on decorative rose. (Pl. XXXVI, 2.)

IV. Lis i.m. on obverse; dragon, crosslet, or pheon i.m. on reverse. Throne with high canopy and broad seat, or, later, narrow throne with straight diapered back and with a portcullis below the King's feet. (Cf. the coin of Henry VIII on Pl. XXXVIII, i.)

Ryal. (c. 1489-1490.) Wt. 120 grs. Value los. (Pl. XXXVI, 3.) Cross fitchee i.m. On obverse the King stands in ship, holding sword and shield ; on reverse small shield of France in centre of Tudor rose.

HENRIC DI GRA REX ANGL Z FRANC DNS IBAR
IHC AVTEM TRANSIENS PER MEDIV ILLORV IBAT.

¹ Some of these groats were probably struck, like the testoons, as trial pieces, while the full-face coinage was still issuing.

Angel. Wt. 80 i.grs. Value 6s. 8d. Usual type, with legend :—

HENRIC DI GRA REX ANGL Z FRANC
PER CRVCE TVA SALVA NOS XPC REDEMPTOR

but occasionally the noble legend, *Ihs Autem Transient*, etc., is used. The groups and initial marks are :—

- I. Sun-and-rose (old dies altered), Lis over sun-and-rose, lis-rose, lose.
- II. No change in design; either reverse legend, *Per Crucem*, or *Ihs Transiens*, is used. No i.m. ; trefoil stops ; cinquefoil muled with either no i.m. or escallop (a reverse die of Group III). (Pl. XXXVI, 4.)
- III. New obverse design, angel standing with both feet on dragon, new lettering; escallop (rosette stops), pansy (rosettes or saltires), lis-issuant-from-rose (saltires), anchor (saltires), greyhound's head (saltires; larger, straighter lettering).
- IV. Greyhound's head (small square lettering); crosslet (tall thin lettering). Saltire or rosette stops.
- V. Similar, but allied to profile groats by the large crook-shaped abbreviation after *Henric*; crosslet, crosslet and pheon, pheon. Crosslet coins sometimes have rosette stops. (Pl. XXXVI, 5 *obv.*)

Angelet. Type as before, with legends :—

HENRIC DI GRA REX ANGL
O CRVX AVE SPES VNICA.

The groups and initial marks are :—

- I. Sun-and-rose (old dies altered); lis over sun-and-rose. Saltire stops. None are known of Group II.
- III. Angel with both feet on dragon. Pansy (rosette* or saltire stops), anchor muled with either pansy or greyhound's head.
- IV. Rose (small square lettering), *O*. rose, *R*. crosslet (tall, thin lettering on rev.). (Pl. XXXVI, 6.)
- V. Similar but allied to profile groats by the large crook-shaped abbreviation after *Henric*. Pheon.

Silver coins.

Testoon. Wt. 144 grs. Value 12d. (Trial issue only ?) Lis i.m.

O. Profile bust to r. HENRICVS (HENRIC, HENRIC SEPTIM, HENRIC VII) DI GRA REX ANGL (ANGLIE) Z FR (FRAN).

/?. Shield over long cross, POSVI DEV ADIVTOE MEV or POSVI DEVM ADIVTORE MEVM. (Pl. XXXVII, i.)

Groat. Wt. 48 grs. HENRIC DI (DEI) GRA REX ANGL Z FRANC, later, AGLIE Z FRA.

1. Open crown without arches. Lis over sun-and-rose (saltire stops), lis-rose dimidiate, lis (crosses beside bust), rose (trefoil stops), cross fitch-e. (Pl. XXXVII, 2.)

II. Crown with two arches, unjewelled. Trefoil stops.

A. The Portcullis Groat. (Pl. XXXVII, 3.)

O. No i.m. Usual type. *R*. Lis i.m. Portcullis over long cross.

B. Usual type. No i.m., cinquefoil.

- III. Crown with two jewelled arches. New portrait and lettering. Stops :—trefoils, rosettes, saltires, or none. Cinquefoil, escallop, pansy, leopard's head, lis-issant-from-rose, anchor, greyhound's head. (Pl. XXXVII, 4 ; note the straight lettering with round E on obverse, used on some early coins of this group.)
- IV. Single-arched crown. Greyhound's head, sometimes with rose i.m. on reverse, crosslet (occasionally the crown is double arched, but the thin tall lettering shows that the coins are of this group). (Pl. XXXVII, 5.)
- V. New type. O. Profile bust to r. R. Shield over long cross with legend POSVI DEVM ADIVTOREM MEVM. No i.m. (*Henric VI*), lis (*Henricus*, *Henric*, *Henric VII*, *Henric Septini*), greyhound's head (*Henric VII*), crosslet (*Henric VII*, sometimes with a pheon added), pheon (*Henric VI*). A rare variety, with crosslet i.m., has a tressure on obverse. (Pl. XXXVII, 6.)

London Half-groat. Wt. 24 grs. HENRIC DEI (DI) GRA REX ANGL Z FR, later AGLI Z FR.

- I. Open crown without arches ; tressure unbroken. Lis over sun-and-rose.
- II. No London half-groat known.
- III. (a) Double-arched crown, outer arch jewelled breaking the tressure. Escallop, lis (with or without lis on breast; lozenge panel in centre of rev.).
(b) Unarched crown but with tressure broken. Lis i.m. (lozenge panel in centre of rev.).
- IV. No London half-groats known.
- V. New type. O. Profile bust to r. R. Shield over long cross, no mint signature ; obverse legend is HENRIC VII DI GRA REX AGL Z. No i.m. (an early coin which omits the numeral after the king's name), lis (earlier and later coins may be distinguished by the barred or unbarred A), pheon. (Pl. XXXVII, n.)

Canterbury Half-groat.

Archbishop Morton (1486-1500).

- I. Open crown without arches. Tun i.m. M (Lombardic) in centre of reverse. Crosses beside bust. Some have a radiate eye after *Posui*. (Pl. XXXVII, 9.)

- II. Double arched crown. Otherwise similar, but with no initial maik. The eye is placed before or after *Posui* and occasionally after *Gra*.

King and Archbishop Morton jointly (?). See above p. 167, (c. 1490-1500).

The coins all have the double arched crown. They are without the letter M on the reverse and there are no crosses beside the bust.

- (a) With early lettering and trefoil stops. The initial marks are lis (both sides); or tun and lis on obverse, with lis on reverse. Obverses of this group are muled with earlier reverses (M in centre) and with later reverses (ornate lettering and rosette stops).

- (b) With ornate lettering and rosette stops. Tun and lis on obverse, with no i.m. on reverse; tun on obverse with lis on reverse; tun (both sides).

Broken letters (T, R, M, and E) associate this group with London groats bearing escallop and pansy marks.

- (c) With ornate lettering and saltire stops or no stops (parallel to London groats with pansy i.m.); tun (both sides), rarely with a pansy as well as tun on the obverse.

King and Archbishop Warham jointly (?) (1507-1509). Profile issue.

No mint signature. Initial marks: martlet; O. martlet, R. rose; rose. Attributed to Canterbury on the evidence of reverse dies used by Archbishop Warham after the accession of Henry VII (see above, p. 165).

York Half-groat of the Royal Mint.

Full-face issue with pellet in lozenge panel in centre of reverse; lis i.m.; lis on breast (rarely omitted); no keys; c. 1495-1500?

- (a) Double-arched crown. Some have early lettering and trefoil stops on obverse with ornate lettering and rosette stops on reverse, others have ornate lettering and rosette stops on both sides.
(6) Similar but unarched crown with tressure broken above it; ornate lettering and rosette stops.

York Half-groat of the Archbishop's mint.

Archbishop Savage (1501-1507) f Similar to the royal coins but with a key at either side of the bust; Martlet i.m., without lozenge panel in centre of reverse. Saltire stops.

- (a) Ornate lettering similar to that of groats with ciosslet i.m.; no tressure on obverse. (Pl. XXXVII, 10.)
(b) Small square lettering as on groats with gyehound and lose marks. Fleured tressure on obverse.
(c) Thin tall lettering as on piofile groats.

Vacancy on death of Archbishop Savage (1507-1508)? Similar to the latest groats of Archbishop Savage but without keys.

Archbishop Bainbridge (from Dec., 1508) f Profile issue.

No mint signature. Two keys below shield. Initial marks: martlet; O. rose, R. martlet; O. martlet, R. rose; rose. (Pl. XXXVII, 12.)

London Penny. Wt. 12 grs. HENRIC DI GRA REX ANGL (AG, AL, etc.)

Group I. Old type with facing bust and cross and pellets. Lis-rose dimidiate as initial mark. A coin with uncertain i.m. has crosses beside the bust.

Groups II, III, and IV. New "sovereign" type. O. King enthroned with orb and sceptre. R. Shield over long cross.

- (a) Early lettering, trefoil stops. No i.m. (throne without pillars, or pillar to 1. topped by trefoil) • cinquefoil (single pillar).
(b) Ornate lettering, rosette stops. Lis i.m. (single pillar).
(c) Similar but saltire stops. Throne with two pillars topped by saltires or fleurs-de-lis. No i.m. Ornate lettering or small square lettering.

Group V. Same type (note, the piofile type was not used on pennies).

Similar but lettering as on profile groats. Crosslet i.m.; pheon i.m. (Pl. XXXVII, 14.)

Canterbury Penny.

Archbishop Morton (1486-1500). Old type; facing bust with open crown. Tun i.m. (obv.); M (Lombardic) in centre of reverse (Group I).

King and Archbishop Morton jointly (c. 1490-1500) ? Similar but arched crown. Tun i.m. (both sides). Ornate lettering and rosette stops. Without M on reverse.

York Penny of Archbishop Rotherham (1480-1500).

Group I. Old type, with facing bust and cross and pellets; there is sometimes a cross on the breast. H (Lombardic) in centre of reverse ; i.m. lis over sun-and-rose. Beside bust:—T and key, T and cross, or T and trefoil (quatrefoil instead of H in centre of rev.; extra pellet in two quarters).

Groups II and III. New "sovereign" type. Keys below shield. No i.m.

(a) Early lettering, trefoil stops. Throne without pillars or with one pillar topped by a trefoil. Sceptre sometimes in the left hand.

(b) Ornate lettering, rosette stops. Throne with one pillar topped by rosette or lis, or with two pillars topped by trefoil and rosette or by two crosses (some have crosses beside and between the King's legs).

Durham Penny.

Bishop John Sherwood (received temporalities 1484[^] died 1494).

Group I. Old type ; open crown. S on breast. D in centre of reverse. Cross i.m. (Pl. XXXVII, 13.)

Group II. New "sovereign" type. D and S beside shield ; crozier at r. of King, its head forming initial mark; early lettering, no stops ; throne has one pillar topped by a trefoil. Also, omitting crozier, with D and S beside shield, and throne with two pillars topped by trefoils.

Bishop Richard Fox (Dec., 1494-1501 ; indenture with William Richardson as master dated 20 Jan., 1495). No crozier; Mitre at top of upper limb of cross on reverse ; ornate lettering and rosette stops. RD or DR beside shield. Throne with one pillar topped by rosette, trefoil, or lis, or with two pillars topped by fleurs-de-lis or saltires.

London Halfpenny. HENRIC DEI (DI) GRA REX.

Group I. Old type with open crown; i.m. lis over sun-and-rose or lis rose dimidiate, no i.m. (trefoils beside bust), rose (crosses beside bust), cross fitchee (crosses beside bust).

Group II. Similar with arched crown. No i.m. (crosses beside bust); cinquefoil (without crosses). (Pl. XXXVII, 7.)

Group III. Ornate lettering, rosette stops or none; crown with lower arch; no i.m.

Group V. Similar, but with much smaller portrait (note, neither the sovereign type nor the profile type was used on the halfpenny). Lettering as on profile groats. Pheon i.m.

Canterbury Halfpenny.

Archbishop Morton (1486-1500).

Group I. Open crown ; early lettering ; M in centre of reverse ; no i.m. (?)

King and Archbishop Morton jointly (1495-1500 ?).

Group III. Arched crown ; ornate lettering. Lis i.m. (rosette stops); no i.m. (saltire stops).

York Halfpenny of Archbishop Savage (1500-1507).

Group III or IV. Arched crown; ornate lettering. Key below bust. i.m. (doubtful) martlet or rose ? (Pl. XXXVII, 8.)

Farthings were probably made in most cases from halfpenny dies. But rare coins are known of smaller diameter which are certainly farthings ; they read HENRIC DI GRA REX (or REX A).

CHAPTER XIV

THE DEBASEMENT OF THE COINAGE HENRY VIII. AND EDWARD VI

1509-1553

THERE was nothing new in the circumstances which caused the first step to be taken towards the debasement of the coinage. Enormous wealth had been accumulated by Henry VII, and it took even Henry VIII many years to squander it,' it was only when his resources were becoming depleted, and he had already had experience of the profit available from a debased coinage, that he carried to extreme limits a step originally taken with the object of safeguarding English gold against competitive foreign currencies. Circulation of galley-halfpence, counterfeiting, clipping, and multiplying * the coin occupied the attention of Parliament as in previous reigns ; and, as before, the more dangerous importation of French and Flemish gold coins of disproportionate gold value remained for several years unchecked, and drained the country of its finer coin. Not till 1526 were steps taken to remedy this evil, and then the remedy proved fatal. The issue of new coins of 22 ct. gold and a reduction in the weight of the old coins paved the way for more substantial debasement. Henry VIII was unable to resist the temptation. Regardless of the inevitable financial catastrophe, he grasped at the easy revenue, and in his last few years he not only reduced gold to 20 ct., but silver he debased to one part silver, and two parts alloy.

In his first year Henry VIII entered into contract with Lord Mountjoy, as master, for coinage in the terms of his father's indenture. The ryal was included but does not appear to have

¹ Melting down for counterfeit coinage,

been struck;¹ the sovereign, which was not included, was presumably coined in virtue of a separate commission.² The coins scarcely differ from those of Henry VII; the sovereigns of the two reigns can be distinguished only by the initial marks they bear. The numeral in the king's title was changed from VII to VIII, but the portrait of the father, so ably designed by Alexander of Brugsal, adorned the son's coins for the first sixteen years of his reign. To us such abuse of portraiture seems inconceivable, but among a public to whom a real portrait on a coin was a novelty, and whom long tradition had accustomed to a conventional and featureless caricature, it would scarcely raise comment. A new type, the portcullis and rose, was introduced for the farthing in 1523, owing to the difficulty of distinguishing in currency the halfpenny and farthing when they bore the same design. Archbishop Warham of Canterbury struck half-groats, pence and halfpence bearing his initials. At York the privilege of the archbishop was still limited to the half-groat and halfpenny; no pennies are known of Bainbridge or Wolsey. The York half-groats without initials may have been struck by either archbishop, as both were cardinals; the attribution of the martlet coins to Bainbridge and the remainder to Wolsey is arbitrary, but it must serve for the present. The series of pennies of the bishops of Durham revives after a lapse of ten years.

In 1526 Cardinal Wolsey was directed to equate the standard of the coinage to that of foreign countries, and the mint authorities were ordered to act upon his instructions. The first step was the revaluation of gold coins at 22s. to the sovereign and the issue, in August, 1526, of a new coin called the Crown of the Rose (Pl. XXXIX, 4), with a currency value of 45. 6d. at the weight and standard of the French *ecu au soleil*. Two specimens are now known of this coin, the issue of which was suspended in the following November; its design is a free adaptation of that of the French *Écu*. It has a peculiar historical interest as the first gold coin issued below standard fineness, and also as the first coin of the crown denomination, which in the next reign passed to the silver coin; it thus became the parent of the historical crown series.

¹ A ryal in the British Museum, frequently published, is not genuine.

² See above, p. 162.

In the following months a committee of experts was in deliberation, and in November Wolsey proceeded with a matured scheme. Standard gold (23 ct. $3\frac{1}{2}$ grs.) was to be used for the sovereign of 240 grs., now valued at 22s. 6d. ; for the ryal or half-sovereign (not coined, and omitted in the indentures of 1530, which continued the coinage under the new Chancellor, Sir Thomas More); for the angel of 80 grs. (75. 6d) and its half; and for a new coin of 6s. 8d. weighing $71^{\wedge}$ grs., and its half. The new coin, called the George Noble (PL. XXXIX, 9), has on obverse the ship with a rose on its mast and on reverse St. George and the dragon, the first appearance of the patron saint on a coin of England ; the legend *Tali dicata signo mens fluctuari nequit* (a mind sealed with the sign of the Cross cannot waver) is taken from a fourth century hymn. The Half George Noble is extant in a unique specimen. Crown gold (22 ct.) was introduced for a crown of 5s. called the Crown of the Double Rose, and its half; on these coins the Rose motto, *Rutilans rosa sine spina* (the dazzling rose without a thorn) is affixed to the king's name, his titles being diverted to the reverse of the coin, or occupies the whole obverse legend. The motto, *Rosa sine spina*, appears also on the obverse of the small silver coins, distinguishing them from the coins of the first issue, at the same time as the groat and half-groat are distinguished by a new profile portrait of Henry VIII (PL XL, 6). Silver was retained at the old standard but reduced in weight to lof grs. to the penny. The pound Troy of 5760 grs. was now substituted for the pound Tower (equivalent to 5400 grs. troy).

The arrangement of the coins of this issue has as its only guide the initial mark ; it is evident from muled groats, and from the alteration on the sovereign from sunburst to lis, that the lis was used twice, the order being rose, lis, arrow, sunburst, lis, pheon, but it is not at present possible to distinguish the earlier and later issues of silver coins with the lis mark. The earliest coins with rose mark use Roman letters for the first time. The Wolsey coinage brings to an end the ecclesiastical issues; no documentary evidence seems to exist of the closing of the mints at Canterbvuy, York, and Durham, but we may safely assign it to the period of Thomas Cromwell's administration and the dissolution of the monasteries ; we know that Durham received dies in 1530 and York

in 1532, and that Cranmer appointed William Tillesworth his master in June, 1534. The York groat of Cardinal Wolsey, bearing his initials and cardinal's hat (Pl. XL, 6), is a famous historical coin. By issuing a coin of this denomination he usurped the king's prerogative, and the usurpation stands recorded in the articles of accusation which failed to mature owing to the Cardinal's timely death.

In 1542 the king had decided to avail himself further of the revenue accruing from debasement; orders were issued for coinage of 23 ct. gold and 10 oz. silver, and some coins of these standards were struck. But the coins went back to the melting-pot; their issue awaited proclamation which presumably Parliament refused to sanction. As the result of the withdrawal of the coinage the mint was again engaged on coinage of the Wolsey standards between Michaelmas, 1543, and March, 1544, and to this issue may be assigned the rare groat with Pheon mark on which the Irish title (proclaimed in 1542) is inserted. However, the collapse of the currency was not long deferred. In 1544 gold of 23 ct. and silver of 9 oz. were ordered and the necessary proclamation was issued in May, 1544.¹ The coins proclaimed were the sovereign, half-sovereign, angel, half-angel, and quarter-angel of 23 ct. gold, and the testoon, groat, half-groat, penny and halfpenny of 9 oz. silver, mention being made of the whole-face portrait. Two new coins, the quarter-angel and testoon, appeared; new values were placed on the gold coins, based on an angel of 8s., and the weight of silver coins was reduced from $10\frac{2}{3}$ to 10 grs. a penny. In March, 1545, gold was struck at 22 ct. with a sovereign (203.) of 192 grs., crown and half-crown, and in April, 1546, it was further debased to 20 ct. with the same weights and values. Silver was debased in 1545 to 6 oz., and in 1546 to 4 oz. fine; the testoon was included only in the 1544 issue.

Edward VI continued the coinage of 20 ct. gold (sovereign of 120 grs., crown, half-crown), and of 4 oz. silver (including the testoon of 120 grs.) till December, 1548. He then struck

¹ Formerly assigned to the year 1542. See *Num. Chron.*, 1923, p. 260; it is clear from entries in the State Papers that its issue was between 14 and 30 May, 1544. The muled groat with facing portrait and a reverse of the Wolsey issue is found on analysis to be 9 oz., not 10 oz. silver. The submission of the new coins with facing portrait for the king's approval was in 1544. The Irish coins are further proof of the date.

4 oz. silver for the groat to the penny, 8 oz. silver for a shilling, as the testoon was named for the first time, of 60 grs., and 6 oz. silver for a shilling of 80 grs., till the year 1551, and in 1550 and 1551 he also struck shillings of 3 oz. silver. In 1549 and 1550 there was a gold coinage, at 22 ct., of a sovereign of 20s. (169_T⁷) and the three fractional denominations with slight variety in weight. In December, 1550, a coinage of standard gold (23 ct., 3[^] grs.) and of crown gold (22 ct.) was ordered to be struck at the Southwark mint, but the order was probably not carried out; the Southwark mint closed in the same month.¹ In 1551 debased silver coins were reduced in value by 50 per cent., and in the same year standard gold was used for a sovereign of 303. (240 grs.), and an angel and angelet in proportion, and silver of n oz. i dwt. for the silver crown and half-crown, shilling and half-shilling; a threepence and penny, though not included in the order, were also struck, and at the same time crown gold was used for a sovereign of 20s. (174_T⁶ grs.), half-sovereign, crown and half-crown. Base silver was still used for small coins, but in 1553 it seems to have been limited to the penny and halfpenny of the rose type. Throughout Edward's reign there was a fixed purpose of restoring the coinage, but the needs of the Exchequer prevented the abandonment of the base coinage and indeed caused a silver coinage to be issued even more base than any in Henry's reign. The result was hopeless confusion. Coins of the same denomination were being issued of different quality and weight at various mints at the same time, and even at the same mint. One of the principal sources for the supply of bullion was the testoons coined by Henry; they were re-coined throughout the reign into coinage of baser metal in order to provide revenue to meet the cost of the better coinage.

The Mints—At the close of Henry's reign the work of the Tower mint was supplemented by additional Tower establishments and by mints at Southwark, Canterbury, York, and Bristol; and Edward VI opened an additional mint at Durham House in the Strand, which operated for less than twelve

¹ The fine coinage was formerly assigned to 1550. See *Brit. Num. Journ.*, XI, pp. 153-154. The ryal, ordered in 1550 but omitted in 1551, is not known. The ostrich head, which marks the fine coins, also appears on the "horseman shilling" (see below, p. 233), which is dated 1551.

months. The history of the coinage at these mints emphasises the confusion which resulted from the debasement of the coinage and the attempts to restore its standard.

The Tower mint was reorganised in May, 1544, under Sir Edward Peckham as treasurer, in place of the former warden ; two under-treasurers, substituted for the former masters or master-workers, were appointed, and they accounted separately to Peckham for their work; they were Sir Martin Bowes and Stephen Vaughan. A third establishment was added in the following year with Thomas Knight as under-treasurer. Both Bowes and Knight coined gold and silver, but no accounts survive of Stephen Vaughan; we only know that he was working, as mention is made of profits returned by him. Knight's establishment closed in 1548 ; Vaughan's remained open till the following January. In January, 1551, Bowes retired, and his place was taken by Sir John Yorke, whose mint at Southwark had been closed in the previous month.

Southwark (Suffolk Place), Canterbury, and York opened in June, 1545. At Southwark the under-treasurer was John Yorke (knighted in 1549),^{at} Canterbury William Tillesworth, formerly master of the archbishop's mint, and at York George Gale. The accounts of Southwark are lacking, but we know that silver only was coined at first, and a gold coinage was added in 1547^{or} possibly in the previous year; mention is made of a local graver in 1547. Canterbury and York struck no gold at any time ; both had a large output of silver, and in Edward's reign they were chiefly engaged on the conversion of testoons into groats and smaller coins of 4 oz. silver ; in 1449-1450 Canterbury struck Go-grain and 80-grain shillings.

At Bristol William Sharrington was appointed under-treasurer in April, 1546, with authority to strike in both metals, and a local graver was provided. To this mint was transferred from the Tower the coinage of silver for Ireland, until the mint at Dublin was opened in 1548. English gold and silver were struck by Sharrington in 1546 and 1547,^{an}(i the coins bear his monogram WS. He also occupied himself with counterfeit coinage to supply resources for Lord Seymour of Sudeley. In January, 1549,^a commission was appointed, with Thomas Chamberlain as its chairman, to sequester Sharrington's property ; Sharrington was sent to the Tower and there

confessed to having shorn money to the value of £4000, issued light coin, falsified his books, and burnt documents. He was set free, however, under a heavy fine. In the meantime Chamberlain was put in charge of the Bristol mint, which was now limited to coinage of English silver ; his coins may be distinguished by the monogram TC as the initial mark. Plate from the Cathedrals of Salisbury and Wells, and from Bristol parish church, was melted in the Bristol crucibles.

In December, 1548, the former palace of the Bishops of Durham at Durham House, Strand, was furnished with a mint under a commission to John Bowes for a coinage of gold of 22 ct., of 60-grain shillings of 8 oz. fine, and of smaller coins of 4 oz. silver. A considerable output is shown by a return of a profit of £9100 on the coinage of the months of May to October, 1549, ^{ut} ^{no} statement of the amount struck in gold and silver is available. The mint closed in October, 1549.

It has long been realised that Edward, during part of his reign, issued coins in the name of his father ; the series of half-sovereigns with the young face of Edward but bearing Henry's name could not have been struck before Edward's accession, and the initial marks borne by those sovereigns prove that there was also a large output in other denominations without a change of either the name or the portrait. This is confirmed by an order dated February, 1550, for groats, half-groats, and halfpence to be " printed with the whole face and inscription of our most dear late father/" But the coinage was further complicated by the issue, at the same time, of coins in Edward's name and likeness. At the beginning of the reign it was perhaps the intention to retain Henry's name on all coins of base standards. It is not improbable that later, when the conversion of testoons supplied a large part of the bullion for the mint, the late king's effigy was reserved for the coins struck from this source ; if so, the legend *Redde cuique quod suum est*, which is found on rare coins of base silver, is explained as having reference to the metal of the coin (PL XL, 7).

The classifying and dating of the coins from 1544 onwards is therefore very complicated. It is impossible to draw a definite line between the coinages struck in the name of Henry before and after Edward's accession, but the initial marks of

the half-sovereigns with Edward's features and the initial marks of the base coinage struck in Edward's own name give us some indication. It must be remembered that some marks, of which the annulet-enclosing-pellet is certainly one, are likely to have been in use both before and after 1547- The angel and half-angel of the 1544 issue, when the value of the angel was raised from 7s. 6d. to 8s., are differentiated by annulets in the design on both sides of the coin ; the quarter-angel, which had not previously been coined, is not so marked. These denominations were not struck after March, 1545, except in the fine coinage of 1551.

Yet another complication is caused by the rare use of mint signatures upon the coins. Some coins of London, but comparatively few, bear the legend *Civitas London*.¹ Most of the Canterbury coins read *Civitas Cantor* ; but a few profile shillings of Edward VI, struck in 1549, ^{ear} the marks T and t, which are read as the initial of the Canterbury under-treasurer, William Tillesworth. The York coins alone always bear the name of the mint on the reverse. The silver coinage of Bristol bears the city signature and the monogram of the under-treasurer, WS or TC, and the gold is marked with the monogram WS ; whether some sovereigns marked with the lis, but in other respects similar to those of Bristol, should be attributed to London or Bristol, is uncertain. One would like to assign them to the London coinage of 1549, when Bristol was closed and its staff transferred to London, but there is no evidence of the 12-grain sovereign being struck so late. Possibly they belong to Sharrington's counterfeit coinage.

The remaining marks, except K, which doubtless marks the London coinage of Knight's establishment, are difficult to interpret. There remain two London establishments, one under Sir Martin Bowes till 1550, and subsequently under Sir John Yorke, the other under Stephen Vaughan. Southwark was under Yorke, and Durham House under John Bowes. The bearings on the shield of Sir Martin Bowes were three bows, a swan, and two lion's faces, and his crest was a sheaf of arrows. It is not unlikely that the coins bearing the bow mint-mark

¹ These have been attributed to Southwark. See *Bnt. Num. Journ.*, XIII, p. 142. As the mint at Suffolk Place was outside the City of London, the theory is hardly a possible one.

belong to John Bowes of Durham House.¹ That mint had a large coinage and a peculiar one ; it seems to have been the only mint that struck 20-ct. gold with a sovereign of 169[^] grs., the weight used later at London for a 22-ct. sovereign ; the bow mark occurs on many odd coins, such as the half-sovereign, or Edward Royal as it is called in the Durham House commission, bearing the king's name on both sides, the *Lucerna pedibus* half-sovereign, the *Inimicos* shilling, and all the *Redde Cuique* coins. The letter Y appears on coins of 1549^{and} *550, and also in the 1550-1553 issue. This must be the initial of Yorke, striking in 1549 and 1550 at Southwark and subsequently at the Tower. But Yorke was under-treasurer of the Southwark mint from its opening in 1545, and the letter Y is not found before 1549. [^] ^{^as} been suggested that the martlet mark may be the badge of Fleetwood, who was controller at Southwark, in view of the coincidence that, in 1560, when Fleetwood was appointed under-treasurer at the Tower, the martlet was placed on the coins of Elizabeth.

The arrow was probably the mark of Sir Martin Bowes of the Tower mint, and to him may also be assigned the swan on the coins of 1549 and 1550. Neither the letters E and S in Lombardic or Roman characters, nor the grappling-iron has yet been explained. Either may be the mark used by Stephen Vaughan.

The currency in the reign of Edward VI must have been bewildering to the public. It is obvious that with so many coins of different metal value current at the same face value there was room for considerable profit by trafficking in the coins ; a statute was passed in 1552 forbidding the exchange of coin at more than its current value, but in the following year an attempt to make such action a felony was unsuccessful. But in the few years of his reign Edward had achieved much, he had restored a coinage of standard gold and of silver only a fraction below standard fineness. The restoration of standard silver was completed by Elizabeth. Both standard

¹ The grapple has also been assigned to him on the evidence of a *Redde Cuique* coin bearing bow on one side and grapple on the other. I can find no authority for this coin other than Snelling's plates and therefore I doubt its existence. Half-sovereigns with the grapple mark weigh 89 to 95 grs., and are therefore too heavy for Durham House.

and crown gold remained current together until Charles II discarded standard gold, and from that day the gold coinage has always been of 22 ct. fineness.

Henry VIII (1509-1547).

First Coinage (1509-1526). Gold of 23 ct. 3½ grs. Silver of n oz. 2 dwt. Sovereign. Wt. 240 grs. Value 20s.

Similar to the latest sovereigns of Henry VII. O. King enthroned holding orb and sceptre, portcullis below feet. R. Shield on Tudor Rose. Legends :—

HENRICVS DEI GRACIA REX ANGLIE ET FRANC DNS HIB
IHESVS AVTEM TRACIENS PER MEDIVM ILLORVM IBAT

Initial mark: Portcullis. The same obverse die is used again in the second coinage with the initial mark over stamped with the sunburst and again later with the fleur-de-lis. (PI. XXXVIII, i.)

Angel. Wt. 80 grs. Value 6s. 8d.

Type as before, angel with both feet on dragon, H (Lombardic) and rose beside mast. Legends :—

HENRIC VIII DI GRA REX AGL Z FRA (FR., F)
PER CRVCE TVA SALVA NOS XPE REDET.

Initial marks : Pheon, castle, castle with H superimposed, portcullis. (PI. XXXIX, i.)

Angelet. O. HENRIC DI GRA REX AGL Z. R. Q CRVX AVE SPES VNICA.

Initial marks : Castle, castle with H superimposed, portcullis (also used with a rev. die, i.m. rose, of Henry VII).

Groat. Wt. 48 grs. O. Profile portrait of Henry VII. A. Shield on long cross. Legends :—

HENRIC VIII DI GRA REX AGL Z FRA (FR, F.)
POSVI DEV ADIVTORE MEV.

Initial marks : Pheon, castle, portcullis. (PI. XL, 5.)

London Half-groat. Similar to the groat. HENRIC VIII DI GRA REX AGL Z. Initial mark : Portcullis.

Canterbury Half-groat of Archbishop Warham (1502-1532).

I. *Posui deum*, etc. W A over the shield. Martlet i.m.

II. *Civitas Cantor*. WA beside the shield. Initial marks: Pomegranate ; O. cross fitchde, R. lis ; Us (both sides).

York Half-groat.

Archbishop Bainbridge (1508-1514). With *Posui deum*, etc., as reverse legend. Martlet i.m.

I. X B beside shield. No hat or keys.

II. Cardinal's hat and two keys below shield. No initials. Possibly a coin of Wolsey.

Sede Vacante (1514) ? As preceding ; martlet i.m. ; keys ; but no hat or initials.

Archbishop Wolsey (1514-1530).

I. *Posui deum*, etc. Cardinal's hat and keys. Star i.m.

II. *Civitas Eboraci*. Cardinal's hat and keys. Initial marks: Star, pansy, escallop, cross voided. Some of the above may be coins of Archbishop Bainbridge (see above, p. 175).

III. *Civitas Eboraci*. TW beside shield; Cardinal's hat and keys below. Cross voided i.m.

London Penny. Wt. 12grs. "Sovereign" type. *Civitas London*. HENRIC DI GRA REX AGL. Initial marks: Castle, portcullis.

Canterbury Penny of Archbishop Warham (1502-1532). Similar to the London penny, but *Civitas Cantor*. W A beside shield. Pomegranate i.m. (Pl. XL, 9.)

No York pennies are known of this coinage.

Durham Penny of Bishop Thomas Ruthall (1509-1523). *Civitas Durrani* T D above or beside shield. Lis i.m.

London Halfpenny. O. Facing bust HENRIC DI GRA REX AGL (AG). R. Cross and pellets, CIVITAS LONDON. Initial marks: Castle, Portcullis.

Canterbury Halfpenny of Archbishop Warham (1502-1532). *Civitas Cantor*. WA beside bust. Pomegranate i.m.

London Farthing. O. HENRIC DI GRA REX. Portcullis. Initial mark; Portcullis. R. CIVITAS LONDON. Rose in centre of cross. (Pl. XL, 17.) This new design for the farthing was ordered in 1523.

Second or Wolsey Coinage (1526-1544). Gold of 23 ct. $3\frac{1}{2}$ grs. and crown gold of 22 ct. Silver of 11 oz. 2 dwt. at 103 grs. to the penny.

Sovereign. Wt. 240 grs. Value 22s. 6d. Type as before. Initial marks: Sunburst; lis; O. lis, R. arrow. One obverse die is used throughout with initial mark changed.

Angel. Wt. 80 grs. (73. 6d.). Type as before, HENRIC VIII D G R AGL Z FRA. Initial marks: Sunburst, lis.

Half-angel. Similar to the angel. Initial mark: Lis.

George Noble. Wt. $71\frac{1}{9}$ grs. (6s. 8d.). O. Ship bearing rose on mast, H K beside mast. HENRIC DI G R AGL Z FRANC DNS HIBERNI. R. St. George and dragon. TALI DICA SIGNO MES (MENS) FLUCTUARI NEQUIT. Rose i.m. (Pl. XXXIX, 9.)

Half-George-Noble. Similar. One specimen only is known.

Crown of the Rose (struck between August and November, 1526). Wt. and standard of French ecu au soleil.¹ The two specimens weigh 51 and 50*3 grs. Value 45. 6d.

O. Shield crowned. HENRIC 8 DEI GRA REX AGL Z FRAC R. Rose over cross. Royal cypher and lis in angles. HENRIC RVTILANS ROSA SINE SPINA. Initial mark: Rose. (Pl. XXXIX, 4.)

Crown of the Double Rose. Wt. $57\frac{3}{6}\frac{1}{7}$ grs. (22 ct.). Value 55.

O. Double-rose crowned, HENRIC VIII RVTILANS ROSA SINE SPINA. R. Shield crowned, DEI G R AGL Z FRANC DNS HI-

¹ The French 6cu at this time weighed $71\frac{1}{6}$ to the mark (i.e. approximately 53 grs. troy apiece). It was of 23 ct. gold.

BERNIE. Initial marks: Rose (HK on obv.), lis (HK), arrow (HK; O. HA, R. HK; O. HK, R. HA; HA; O. HK, R. HI; HI; O. HR, R. HI; HR), pheon (HR). (Pl. XXXIX, 5.)

Half-crown. O. Rose crowned, RVTILANS ROSA SINE SPINA. R. Shield crowned, HENRIC 8 DI G R AGL Z FRA. Rose (no initials, HK), lis (HK), arrow (HI), pheon (HR). (Pl. XXXIX, 8.)

Groat of London. Type as before but with profile portrait of Henry VIII, HENRIC D G R AGL Z FRANC. *Posui deum*, etc. Initial marks: Rose, lis, arrow, sunburst, pheon. A coin with pheon mark reading AGL FRA Z HIB REX was struck between September, i 543, and March, 1544. (See above, p. 177.)

York Groat of *Archbishop Wolsey* (1514-1530) *Civitas Eboraci*. TW beside shield, cardinal's hat below, i.m. cross, acorn. (Pl. XL, 6.)

Half-groat of London. Similar to the groat, i.m. rose, lis, arrow, sunburst, pheon.

Canterbury Half-groat of *Archbishop Warham* (1503-1532) *Civitas Cantor*. WA beside shield, i.m.: Cross patonce, T, or an uncertain mark (possibly a cross altered to T).

Archbishop Cranmer (1533-1556). TC beside shield, i.m.: Catherine-wheel.

York Half-groat of *Archbishop Wolsey* (1514-1530). Similar to his York groat, with TW and cardinal's hat. i.m.: Cross voided.

Sede Vacante (1530-1531), similar, no initials, i.m.: Key.

Archbishop Edward Lee (1531-1544). LE or EL beside shield, i.m.: Key.

London Penny. "Sovereign" type, H D G ROSA SIE SPIA. i.m.: Rose, lis, arrow, sunburst. (Pl. XL, 10.)

Canterbury Penny of *Archbishop Cranmer*. TC beside shield, i.m.: Catherine, wheel.

Durham Penny of *Bishop Wolsey* (1523-1529). *Civitas Durrani*. TW and Cardinal's hat. i.m.: Crescent, trefoil, star.

Sede Vacante (1529-1530). No initials, Star i.m.

Bishop Cuthbert Tunstall (1530-1559). CD beside shield, Star i.m.

Halfpenny of London. O. Facing bust, H D G ROSA SIE SPIA. R. Cross and pellets, *Civitas London*, i.m.: Lis, arrow, sunburst.

Canterbury Halfpenny of *Archbishop Warham* (WA beside bust), and *Archbishop Cranmer* (TC beside bust). (Pl. XL, 15.)

York Halfpenny of *Archbishop Wolsey* (TW beside bust); *Sede Vacante* (Key below bust, cross voided, i.m.); *Archbishop Lee* (EL beside bust; key i.m.).

Farthing. O. Portcullis, RVTILANS ROSA. R. Rose in centre of cross, legend uncertain. Arrow i.m.

Coinage of 1544-1547.

Sovereign.

1. (1544-1545) Wt. 200 grs. (23 ct.) King with large bearded face; large design on both sides, reverse has shield with supporters. At king's feet a rose. Lis i.m.

- II. (1545-1547) Wt. 192 grs. (22 or 20 ct.) Similar with smaller designs. i.m.: Lis; O. annulet-with-pellet, R. lis; S; O. S., R. E (Lombardic) with E (Lombardic) below shield. Some sovereigns with lis i.m. are similar to Bristol coins and have roses as stops.
- Bristol Sovereign. (Between April, 1546, and February, 1549. W. Sharington as under-treasurer.) WS monogram i.m., trefoil stops and Lombardic lettering, or rosette stops and Roman lettering. Otherwise as London coins of 1545-1547.
- Half-sovereign of 1545-1547. Wt. 96 grs. Similar to the sovereign; i.m.: Annulet-with-pellet (some have Roman lettering); S, with E (Lombardic) below shield; E (Lombardic), with E (Lombardic) below shield. (PI. XXXVIII, 3, *obv.*)
- Bristol Half-sovereign (1546-1549). WS monogram i.m.; trefoil stops and Lombardic lettering.
- Angel. Wt. 80 grs. (8s.). As angels of second coinage with lis i.m., but with annulet beside angel's head and on ship.
- Half-angel Lis. i.m.; on reverse annulet stops and one or three annulets on ship. (PI. XXXIX, 2.)
- Quarter-angel (first coined in 1544). O. HENRICVS VIII DI (DEI) GRA AGLIE. R. FRANCIE Z HIBERNIE REX. Lis i.m. (no annulets on ship). (PI. XXXIX, 3.)
- Crown. Wt. 48 grs. (22 or 20 ct.)
- I. O. HENRIC 8 RVTILANS ROSA SINE SPIA. R. DEI GRA AGL FRA Z HIB REX; i.m.: Annulet-with-pellet.
- II. Similar but omitting *Rutilans*; i.m.: Annulet-with-pellet (sometimes with annulet on inner circle); E (Lombardic); O, E (Roman). R. S. (PI. XXXIX, 6.)
- Half-crown.
- I. O. Rose, HENRIC 8 ROSA SINE SPIN. R. Shield, DEI GRA AGL FRA Z HIB REX; i.m.: E (Lombardic).
- II. O. Rose, RVTILANS ROSA SINE SPIN. R. Shield, HENRIC 8 D G AG FR Z HIB REX; i.m.: Annulet-with-pellet (sometimes with annulet on inner circle); S. There are half-crowns with annulet-with-pellet mark which have Roman lettering and mascle stops; these were probably struck after 1547.
- Bristol Crown and Half-crown (1546-1549). WS monogram i.m. Crown has on obverse HENRIC (HENRICVS) VIII (or 8) ROSA SINE SPINE (SPINA) and on reverse DEI GRA (or D G) ANGLIE FRA ET HIB REX. Half-crown: O. RVTILANS ROSA SINE SPINA. R. HENRIC 8 D G ANG FR ET HIB REX; roses are often placed in the legends.
- Testoon. Wt. 120 grs. (9 oz. fine).
- I. POSVI DEVM ADIVTORIVM MEVM; i.m.: Lis (VIII or 8), annulet with pellet. (PI. XL, i.)
- II. CIVITAS LONDON; i.m.: E (Lombardic); O. S, R. E (Lombardic); S.
- Bristol Testoon (1546-1549). CIVITAS BRISTOLLIE. WS monogram i.m.
- Groat and Half-groat. 40 and 20 grs. (6 oz. and 4 oz. fine). Lombardic or mixed lettering; saltires or trefoils or hooks as stops.

London. I. *Posui deum*[^] etc. Lis i.m. Some have annulet-with-pellet in the cross ends on reverse. The obverse is muled with reverse of preceding issue (crosses in cross ends).

II. *Civitas London.* No i.m. Lombardic E and S, or S only, in cross ends on reverse. Occasionally lis i.m. on obverse.

Canterbury and York. Similar, without i.m.

Bristol (1546-1549). WS monogram i.m. Many varieties; roses, quatrefoils, fleur-de-lis, etc., in legends. Lis, annulet, or trefoils in cross ends.

Pennies of London (lis i.m.), Canterbury and York. H D G ROSA SINE SPINA. Lombardic lettering. (PL XL. u.)

Bristol Penny (1546-1549). H (or HE) D G ROSA SINE SPINA, WS monogram i.m.

Halfpennies of London (one has annulet-with-pellet in centre of rev.), Canterbury, and York. Cross and pellet reverse. They have the legend *H D G Rosa*, etc. No initial marks.

Edward VI (1547-1553).

Coinage with name of Henry VIII (1547-1550).

Half-sovereign. Wt. 96 grs. (20 ct.). Similar to the latest issue of Henry VIII, but the figure of the King has the features of Edward VI. Roman lettering. Initial marks : E (Roman) on reverse (E below shield), arrow, K on reverse (K below shield), none (K below shield), grapple (grapple below shield), lis (pellet stops), martlet (Southwark mint?). (Pl. XXXVIII, 4 *obv.*)

Bristol Sovereign and Half-sovereign. See last issue of Henry VIII.

Crown. Wt. 48 grs. (20 ct.). Similar to the latest issue of Henry VIII.

I. With *Rutilans* in obverse legend; i.m. : Arrow, grapple, martlet (Southwaik?).

II. Omitting *Rutilans*; i.m. : Arrow.

III. O. RVTILANS ROSA, etc. R. DEI GRA AGL, etc.; i.m.: O. arrow, R. annulet with pellet; ER beside rose on obverse. (Pl. XXXIX, 7.)

Half-crown. O. Rose, RVTILANS ROSA SINE SPIN (one reads SPINIS). R. Shield, HENRIC 8 D G AG FR Z HIB REX; i.m. : Arrow (one has rev. legend H D G RVTILANS ROSA SINE SP), E (Roman), grapple, martlet (Southwark mint?). See also above, latest issue of Henry VIII.

Bristol Crown and Half-crown. See last issue of Henry VIII.

Testoon of London and Bristol. See last issue of Henry VIII. None of the London testoons seem to have been struck after the accession of Edward VI. The Bristol coins struck after his accession cannot be distinguished.

Groat and Half-groat. 40 and 20 grs. (4 oz. fine). The lettering is Roman. Mascles, pellets or pierced crosses are used as stops.

London.

I. *Posui deum*, etc. i.m.: Arrow, K, lis, grapple.

II. *Civitas London*, i.m.: E (Roman) on reverse.

Southwark. *Posui deum*, etc. Martlet i.m.

Canterbury. *Civitas Cantor.* No i.m.

York. *Civitas Eboraci.* No i.m.

Durham House, Strand.

I. *Redde cuique quod suum est.* Bow i.m. (Pl. XL, 7.)

II. *Posui deum*, etc. Bow i.m. (The existence of this is doubtful.)

Bristol Groat, Half-groat and Penny. See last issue of Henry VIII, the majority of the coins with WS monogram were probably struck after Edward's accession. There are also groats of Bristol with TC monogram, the mark of Thomas Chamberlain, who took Sherington's place in February, 1549.

Pennies of London (no i.m., arrow, grapple, K), Canterbury, York, Durham House (RED CVIQ Q SV EST). Roman lettering; mascles, pellets, etc., as stops.

Halfpennies of London, Canterbury, York. No i.m. Roman lettering.

Coinage bearing, name of Edward VI Title EDWARD VI DEI GRA AGL FRA Z HIB REX (etc.).

First Period (April, 1547-Jan., 1549). Gold of 20 ct. (205. = 192 grs.). Silver of 4 oz. (id. = 10 grs.).

Half-sovereign. O. King enthroned. K. Shield with supporters. *Iks Autem*, etc.; i.m. : E (Roman) sometimes with E (Roman or Lombardic) below shield, arrow. (Pl. XXXVIII, 5, *obv.*)

Crown and Half-crown. O. Rose, *Rutilans* legend. R. Shield, *Edward 6 D Gr*, etc.; i.m.: Arrow.

Shilling of Durham House, Strand. (60 grs. of 8 oz. fine.) O. Profile bust. X. Shield on cross, TIMOR DOMINI FONS VITE MDXLVIII. Bow i.m. (struck between Dec., 1548, when the mint opened, and March, 1549, when 1548 ended).

Groat of London. O. Profile bust. R. Shield on cross.

Civitas London, i.m. E (some have S in forks of cross on rev.).

Posui deum, etc. i.m. : Arrow. (Pl. XL, 8.)

Half-groats. Similar to groats.

Civitas London, i.m. : E, arrow.

Posui deum, etc. i.m. : Arrow.

Civitas Cantor. No i.m.

Penny. Similar to the groat. *Civitas London*; i.m. : E, arrow. (Pl. XL. 12.)

Bristol Penny (Profile and Shield) and Halfpenny (Profile and Cross-and-Pellets). No i.m. Perhaps struck later in 1549. (Pl. XL, 16, halfpenny.)

Second Period (Jan., 1549-April, 1550). Gold of 22 ct. (Sov. 1697 grs.). Silver of 4 oz. (groat to ½d.), 6 oz. (shilling of 80 grs.), 8 oz. (shilling of 60 grs.).

Sovereign. O. King enthroned. R. Shield with supporters. *Ihs Autem*, etc. i.m.: Arrow, Y (Southwark mint?).

Half-sovereign of 1549, with legend TIMOR DOMINI FONS VITE MDXLIX on obverse, bust uncrowned; i.m. : Arrow.

Half-sovereign of 1549 and 1550 with profile bust, crowned or uncrowned; reverse legend, SCVTVM FIDEI PROTEGET EVM.

I. Uncrowned bust; with obverse and reverse legends transposed (i 549); i.m.: Arrow, 6, Y (Southwark mint ?). (Pl. XXXVIII, 6.)

II. Crowned bust; *Scutum* legend on reverse (1550), i.m. : Arrow; O. swan, R. arrow ; swan ; grapple ; martlet (Southwark ?) ; Y (Southwark ?). (Pl. XXXVIII, 7.)

Quarter-sovereign. Similar, I. Arrow, 6, Y ; II. Arrow; O. arrow, R. swan; swan ; grapple ; Y.

Half-quarter-sovereign. Similar, I. Arrow, Y; II. Arrow ; O. arrow, R. swan ; Y. Also with crowned bust and legends transposed ; i.m. : Grapple.

Half-sovereign of Durham House, Strand.

I. O. Uncrowned bust, SCVTVM FIDEI, etc., MDXLVIII. R. Arms, EDWARD VI, etc.; i.m. : Bow.

II. O. Uncrowned bust, LVCERNA PEDIBVS MEIS VERBVM TVVM. R. Arms, EDWARD VI, etc.: i.m. : Bow.

III. O. Crowned bust. R. Arms; EDWARD VI, etc., on both sides ; i.m. : Bow.

Shilling of 80 grs. (6 oz. fine) or 60 grs. (8 oz. fine). Profile portrait. TIMOR DOMINI FONS VITE MDXLIX.

Timor legend on obverse; i.m.: Rose, arrow, Y (Southwark ?), bow (Durham House).

Timor legend on reverse, i.m. : Arrow; O. swan, A*, arrow; swan ; grapple; t or T (Canterbury); martlet (Southwark ?); Y (Southwark ?); TC monogram (Bristol); bow (Durham House).

Dated MDL ; i.m. : Swan, Y.

Shilling of Durham House, Strand, with legend INIMICOS EIVS INDVAM CONFVSIONE on obverse or reverse; i.m. : Bow.

Bristol Penny and Halfpenny. See above, First Period.

Third Period (1550-1553).

Sovereign of 303. Wt. 240 grs. (23 ct. 3½ grs.). Ordered in 1551. O. Elaborately designed throned figure. R. Shield on full-blown rose, *Jhs autem*, etc.; i.m.: Ostrich head. (Pl. XXXVIII, 2.)

Sovereign of 20s. Wt. 174⁹/₁₁ grs. (22 ct.). O. Half-length figure. R. Shield with supporters; *Jhs autem*, etc.; i.m. : Y (ornate), tun.

Half-sovereign, Crown, Half-crown. Similar. Tun i.m. only is known on the crown and half-crown. (Pl. XXXVIII, 8, Crown.)

Angel of ios. Wt. 80 grs. (23 ct. 3½ grs.) usual type; i.m.: Ostrich head, tun (over ostrich head).

Silver Crown and Half-crown. Wt. 480 and 240 grs. (u oz. i dwt. fine). O. King on horse. R. Shield on cross, *Posui Deum*, etc. i.m.: Y (1551), tun (1551, 1552, 1553). (Pl. XXXIX, 10.)

Fine Shilling, Sixpence, Threepence. Wt. 96, 48, 24 grs. (11 oz. i dwt. fine). O. Bust facing, mark of value beside. R. Shield on cross; i.m.: Y (ornate), tun ; tun only is known on the threepence. (Pl. XL, 2.)

Fine Sixpence and Threepence of York. Similar, *Civitas Eboraci*. i.m. : Mullet.

Base Shilling of 3 02. fine. Wt. 80 grs. *Timor* legend on reverse; lis (MDL, MDLI), lion (MDLI), rose (MDLI).

Countermarked with Portcullis and Greyhound, see below, p. 192. (Pl. XL, 3, 4.)

Shilling dated MDL with swan or Y i.m., see above, Second Period.

Fine Penny. Wt. 8 grs. (u oz. I dwt. fine). O. King enthroned, E D G ROSA SINE SPI. R. Shield on cross, CIVITAS LONDON (with Roman or Lombardic N). i.m.: Tun. (Pl. XL, 13.)

Base Penny, c. 12½ grs. O. Rose, E D G ROSA SINE SPINA. ' & Shield on cross.

Civitas London, i.m.: Escallop. (Pl. XL, 14.)

Civitas Eboraci. i.m.: Mullet.

Base Halfpenny. Similar, of London only.

Base Farthing. O. Portcullis, E D G ROSA, etc. R. Cross and pellets, CIVITAS LONDON. (Pl. XL, 18.)

CHAPTER XV

MARY, ELIZABETH, JAMES I

1553-1625

EDWARD VI had paved the way for the restoration of the coinage, and Mary, shortly after her accession, announced by proclamation her intention of issuing a coinage of perfect fineness in both gold and silver. It has commonly been laid to her charge that her boast was an empty one and that in fact she reduced silver from II oz. i dwt. to ii oz. This is hardly a fair view of her contribution to the coinage ; it is true that her silver was only 11 oz. fine, but there is some doubt whether Edward's fine silver was n oz. or i dwt. above ; contemporary documents are not consistent on this point. At least Maiy may take credit for having issued no gold coinage except of standard gold. She continued the issue of the base penny of 3 oz. silver, which presumably ran current with the fine penny like token money, supplementing the short supply of the fine coin ; it was made, at least in the years 1554 and 1555, from bullion obtained by the melting of base testoons and half-groats.

The coinage before her marriage consisted of gold coins at the weight of 80 grs. to the angel, a groat and half-groat, and the two pennies of fine and base silver. The gold coins are of fine, if florid, style, and the ryal, a very rare coin, is a particularly charming piece (PL XLI, 2) ; the silver coins, on the other hand, were struck from dies so weakly engraved as to show scarcely any relief on the coins. Special marks were not, on this issue, placed as initial marks of the legends, but after the second or third word ; usually the pomegranate is so used, but occasionally a mark occurs which is commonly called a rose but is probably a rose halved with the letter H, a reference, perhaps, to Mary's inheritance from her father, Henry VIII.

In December, 1554, a few months after the marriage with Philip of Spain, there were proclaimed for currency gold coins of the same values as before, and a shilling, half-shilling, and groat. The sovereign and ryal were not issued after the marriage. The half-groat and the penny of fine silver were ordered by a commission of 1557, and it was probably not till that year, in spite of the earlier authority, that the angel, angelet, and groat were struck in the names of Philip and Mary, the shilling, half-shilling, and base penny being the only coins struck in 1554-1556.

On the new shilling and half-shilling the two portraits were placed facing each other after the fashion introduced by Ferdinand and Isabella of Spain ; on the other portrait coins Mary's portrait appears alone. A few shillings and half-shillings bear the titles of Naples and Spain ; this was probably soon changed in deference to public feeling. A new legend, *A domino factum est istud et est mirabile in oculis nostris* (This is the Lord's doing and it is marvellous in our eyes) was used on the gold coins ; on the groat and half-groat struck before the marriage *Veritas temporis filia* (Truth is daughter of time) is said to embody Mary's hopes of full reconciliation with the Roman Church.

At the accession of Queen Elizabeth there was a large quantity of the base money of Edward VI still in circulation. For a time it was allowed to continue current at reduced values, and orders were issued for the two worst classes of testoons to be brought to a public place in various towns and there counter-marked for currency at values of 4d. and 2jd. ; the former were stamped with a portcullis before the king's face, the latter with a greyhound behind the head (PI. XL, 3, 4). The gradual derating of various classes proceeded, and base coin was gathered into the mint; in 1561 it was finally demonetised.

The first coinage of Elizabeth continued the use of standard gold and n oz. silver, but added pieces of 20s., ios., 5s., and 2s. 6d. of 22 ct. gold. At present no pound sovereigns of this early period are known, though records of pyx trials show that they were coined. In November, 1560, when Peckham was succeeded by Thomas Stanley as under-treasurer, silver was raised to n oz. 2 dwt., and in 1561 the issue of the shilling was suspended and new coins of the values of 6d., 3d., 1½d.,

$\frac{3}{4}$ d." to be immediately coined/" were proclaimed for currency. The new silver coins were differentiated from the groat, 2d., and penny by a rose behind the queen's head. This is the only occasion of the issue of three-halfpenny and three-farthing pieces for English currency. The thin little three-farthing piece is mockingly quoted by Shakespeare in *King John* (I, i, 143) :

my face so thin,
That in mine ear I durst not stick a rose,
Lest men should say, " Look, where three-farthings goes ! "

A new building, called the " upper-houses," was added at the mint for the work of converting base money into coin of standard silver, and Thomas Fleetwood was appointed under-treasurer of this separate establishment in December, 1560. The silver coins of 1558-1561, which bear the lis, crosslet, or martlet, are therefore partly II oz., partly II oz. 2 dwt. ; if the martlet is correctly assigned to Fleetwood, all the coins bearing that mark are of the finer silver.

In 1562 rumours had become prevalent that the current value of the coins was shortly to be reduced ; a proclamation was issued prohibiting the spreading of such reports, but their damaging effect could not be alleviated. Economic pressure, aggravated doubtless by lack of confidence in the currency, resulted in this issue, in March, 1562, of a proclamation which gave credit to the rumours ; the whole coinage was diminished by one-third of its value. No later proclamation restoring the original values has been found, and it is believed that the coins remained at the reduced values till 1572, when a new coinage was ordered at the old values.¹ Richard Martin was then appointed warden and John Lonison master-worker; the old establishment was thus restored and the posts of treasurer and under-treasurer, which Henry VIII had created, were abolished. No crown gold was coined ; standard gold was struck into angels, halves, and quarters, and standard silver into coins of 6d., 3d., 1½d., and fd. The pyx trials, made annual by Edward VI, were restored to the three-monthly periods. In 1574 a special order was given for pennies to be struck to the weight of 10 lbs. in every year and to be kept for the queen's own use (probably for Maundy distribution) or as

¹ Possibly the proclamation was never issued or was cancelled immediately.

disposed by the Council. In 1577 the sovereign and ryal were added to the gold coins ordered by the 1572 indenture, but they were not coined, after the issue of 1558-1561, until 1583-

Scarcity of small change led to the issue of shopkeepers' tokens in lead or tin. A copper coinage was contemplated, and in 1574 and subsequent years, patterns for halfpence and farthings were struck. The scheme did not mature, though an undated proclamation was drafted, but probably not published, prohibiting the tokens and legalising a limited tender of halfpenny and farthing "pledges" made of pure copper.

In 1601 the coins of both metals were slightly reduced in weight, the sovereign to $171\frac{63}{67}$ grs., the angel to $78\frac{66}{73}$ grs., the penny to $72\frac{23}{31}$ grs., and the other coins in proportion.

In the reign of Elizabeth an attempt was made to introduce the new French method of striking coins with a screw-press. The term "mill money" (milled money is a misnomer) is derived from the use of water-mills and horse-mills to supply power for the machinery, which included a rolling-press for rolling out the metal to the required thickness, a cutting-punch for cutting out the flans, and a screw-press for stamping them with the dies. In 1560(?) a Frenchman, Eloye Mestrell, a ne'er-do-well formerly employed at the Paris mint, was given accommodation in the upper-houses of the Tower mint; he struck coins of crown gold and of silver, and in 1574-1575 he also struck some very elegant patterns from dies engraved by Derick Anthony (see below, p. 233). The mill coins are immeasurably superior to the hammered money (cf. on PL XLII, nos. 7, 9, and 10 with 8 and 11), but the established workmen were anxious for their livelihood and raised every possible objection to the new machinery. Mestrell was an easy prey to spiteful hostility; he had been in disgrace and deprived of his emoluments in 1572, and the proposal to restore him produced an unfavourable and most unjust criticism of his machinery from the under-treasurer. Eventually he came to grief through his own folly; in 1578 he was hanged for counterfeiting. No more is heard of the screw-press in England till another, and a greater Frenchman, Nicholas Briot, found employment in the mint of Charles I.

At the accession of James I the union of England and Scot-

land was recorded on the coins by the addition of Scotland after England in the king's title, and by the insertion of the Scottish and Irish arms in the second and third quarters of the shield ; coin-legends proclaiming and blessing the union were adopted. In October, 1604, the English and Scottish kingdoms were combined in the phrase *Magnae Britanniae*.

The earliest coinage of James, ordered of Sir Richard Martyn in May, 1603, was the same as that of the last years of Elizabeth, with four coins of crown gold weighing $171\frac{63}{67}$ grs. to the sovereign and seven silver coins at $7\frac{2}{3}\frac{3}{1}$ grs. to the penny. The special features of the first issue are the form of the king's title, with *Ang Sco*, and the use of the legend *Exurgat deus dissipentur inimici* (Let God arise and let His enemies be scattered) on the larger gold and silver coins. The gold crown and half-crown bear the motto *Tueatur unita deus* (God protect the union) ; the small silver coins have no reverse legend, and on them the Rose motto is still attached to the king's name. The halfpenny, like that of Elizabeth, has the portcullis type, and differs only from hers in the mark which it bears over the portcullis.

A proclamation of November, 1604, states, as the reason for issuing new gold coins of reduced weight, that English money was frequently transported owing to lack of true proportion, as established abroad, between gold and silver. The new gold coins were a Unite of twenty shillings and its parts and a Thistle crown of 45., the crown of 55. being called the Britain crown. On these coins the legends are *Faciam eos in gentem unam* (I will make of them one nation), *Henricus rosas regna iacobus* (Henry united the roses, James the realms), and *Tueatur unita deus*. On the silver coins *Quae deus coniunxit nemo separet* (What God hath joined let no man put asunder) again has reference to the union. New types, a thistle and a rose, were used on the small coins ; the twopence is differentiated by having these emblems crowned. In July, 1605, the Rose Ryal of 305. and Spur Ryal and Angel were ordered to be struck of standard gold.

Transportation of coin was not diminished, and in 1609 a commission was appointed to ascertain its cause and to suggest remedial measures. Two years later the value of all gold coins was raised by 10 per cent., and, owing to the frequent;

practice of "culling" the coins and transporting those of good weight, gold coins were demonetised if short of true weight by more than two grains in every ten shillings. The remedy was ineffective and a new coinage was issued in 1619, in order to meet the same difficulties and also for the purpose of removing the inconvenience of the fractional reckonings occasioned by the 10 per cent, increase of the values. The three coins of standard gold were struck at the weight of $65\frac{5}{11}$ grs. to the angel; the types were changed and marks of value added. The weight of crown gold was reduced to $140\frac{20}{41}$ grs. to the unite; a laureate bust was introduced, whence the name Laurel came into common use. The thistle crown and the half-crown were no longer coined. The silver coins remained as before.

The Scottish shield of arms, Scotland in first and fourth quarters, was not placed on Scottish coins until 1610; the crowns, half-crowns, and shillings of the second period with thistle mark are attributed to Scotland.

In the last five years of the reign the rose, thistle, lis, and trefoil, marks which had already been used on the coinage of 1604-1619, were used for a second time. In some denominations difficulty is caused in assigning coins so marked to their proper period. The gold coins, the types of which were altered in 1619, present no difficulty; the crowns and half-crowns are readily distinguished by the smaller rose on the housings of the horse. Shillings require an examination of the portrait; the sixpences, which are dated, reveal the changes in portraiture; the face on the later coins is broader and has a shorter beard. Half-groats and pennies of 1619-1625 have double pellets, instead of comma and pellet, after each word on the obverse and no stops on the reverse. Halfpence of the last period appear to have been issued without the usual privy mark, which on the coins of the second period may be seen above the thistle. The introduction of a harp with bird's head instead of a plain harp in the arms, and the absence of abbreviation marks in the legend, are further indications of coinage of 1619-1625.

The Welsh silver mines were active towards the close of the reign. In 1621 they were leased to Sir Hugh Middleton; the silver was sent to the Tower, and the coins struck from this metal were marked with plumes over the shield,

The attempts of Elizabeth to stop the issue of lead tokens' was unsuccessful; in 1613 James decided to take the step of issuing token farthings in copper in order to put an end to a practice which was considered a breach of the royal prerogative. He authorised Lord Harington by letters patent to strike copper farthings in the king's name and bearing the designs of two sceptres crowned and a crowned harp; they were to have privy marks. Their acceptance might not be forced, but they were to be sold with a 10 per cent, surplus in twenty shillingsworth and similarly redeemed. Harington died in the year that he received the patent, and his widow is believed to have sold it in 1615 to the Duke of Lennox, on whose death in 1624 it passed to his widow, the Duchess of Richmond. The circulation of the farthings met with considerable resistance. In 1616 a permanent exchange was established for them in London.

Mary (before marriage), (1553-1554). MARIA D G ANG FRA Z HIB REGINA. Gold of 23 ct. 3j grs., silver of 11 oz. fine. The privy mark is usually a pomegranate after the first or second word.

Sovereign of 303. 240 grs. O. Queen enthroned. R. Shield on rose, A DNO FACTV EST ISTVD Z EST MIRA IN OCVL NRIS ; 1553, 1554, and undated. (PL XLI, i.)

Ryal of 155. 120 grs. O. Queen in ship. R. rose on sun in centre of royal cross, A Dno legend; 1553. (PL XLI, 2.)

Angel and Half-angel. 80 and 40 grs. (los. and 55.). Usual type, A Dno legend; undated. (PL XLI, 8.)

Groat and Half-groat. 32 and 16 grs. O. Profile portrait. R. Shield on cross, VERITAS TEMPORIS FILIA ; undated. (PL XLI, 5, 7.)

Penny. 8 grs. Same type, M D G ROSA SINE SPINA; on reverse VERITAS TEMP FILIA or CIVITAS LONDON. (PL XLI, 4.)

Base Penny. 12 grs. (3 oz. fine). Rose on obverse. CIVITAS LONDON. (PL XLI, 3.)

Philip and Mary (1554-1558). Same standards, weights and values.

Angel and Half-angel (1557-1558). As before, but reading PHILIP Z MARIA D G REX Z REGINA. Lis i.m.

Shilling and Half-shilling. Busts of Philip and Mary ; *Posnimns deum*, etc., on reverse.

(1) PHILIP Z MARIA D G R ANG FR NEAP PR HISP ; undated and 1554. (PL XLI, 6.)

(2) PHILIP Z MARIA D G REX ET REGINA ANGL ; 1554, 1555, 1557 (half-shilling only); lis i.m. Some shillings of 1554 and sixpences of 1557 have date below the busts.

Groat and Half-groat (1557-1558). Bust of Mary, PHILIP Z MARIA REX Z (or ET) REGINA; lis i.m. *Posuimus* legend.

Penny (1557-1558). Bust of Mary, P Z M D G ROSA SINE SPINE; lis i.m.

Base Penny. Similar to that of Mary but reading P Z M, etc.; i.m. is halved rose-and-H.

Elizabeth (i 558-1603). ELIZABETH D G ANG FR Z HIB REGINA, etc.

The initial marks, now used as privy marks, are: Lis (1558-1561), crosslet (1558-1561), martlet (1560-1561), pheon (1561-1565), rose (1565), portcullis (1566), lion (1566-1567), coronet (1566-1570), castle (1569-1571), ermine (1571-1573), acorn (1573-1574), eglantine (1573-1577), cross (1577-1581), sword (1582), bell (1582-1584), A (1582-1584), escallop (1584-1587), crescent (1587-1589), hand (1590-1592), tun (1592-1595), woolpack (1594-1596), key (1595-1598), anchor (1597-1600), O (1600), i (1601), 2 (1602).

On mill coins: Martlet (1560-1561), star (1561-1564, 1566), lis (1568, 1570), pierced mullet (1570), mullet (1574-1575, patterns only).

Gold of 23 ct. 3½grs.

Sovereign of 305. 240 grs. O. Queen enthroned. R. Shield on rose, A *Dno* legend. Struck in 1558-1561 and 1584-1595/6. (Pl. XLI, 9.)

Ryal of 155. 120 grs. O. Queen in ship. R. Shield on rose over royal cross, *Iks autem* legend. Struck in 1558-1561 (included in pyx records, but not known of this period), and between 1583 and 1592 (included in pyx trials of marks A and escallop, both of which are known. Hand is also known. (Pl. XLII, 2.)

Angel, Half-angel and Quarter-angel. Usual type, A *Dno* legend, but the quarter-angel has ET HIBERNIE REGINA FIDEL Struck in 1558-i 561 (no quarter known, perhaps not struck) and between i 566 and 1602 (the latest known coin is an angel with privy mark O). (Pl. XLII, i.)

Gold of 22 ct. Pound of 205. 174⁶/₁₁ grs. reduced in 1601 to 171⁶/₆₃/₇grs.

Pound of 20s., Half-pound, Crown, Half-crown. O. Profile portrait. R. Shield crowned, SCVTVM FIDEI PROTEGET EAM. Struck in 1558-1561 and 1565-1571 (no pounds known of these issues) and between 1593 and 1602. (Pl. XLII, 3, Half-pound; 4, 5, Half-crowns, mill and hammered.) Mill Half-pound, Crown and Half-crown with star and lis.

Silver of n oz. (1558-1560) and 11 oz. 2 dwt. (after 1560). Penny of 8 grs. reduced in 1601 to 7½ grs.

Crown and Half-crown. O. Profile portrait. R. Shield on cross, *Posui* legend; 1601, 1602. (Pl. XLII, 6.)

Shilling, 1558-1561, 1582-1602. Mill Shilling with star and with mullet.

Sixpence, 1561-1602. Mill Sixpence with star (1561-1564, 1566), lis (1568), pierced mullet (1570).

Groat, 1558-1561. Mill Groat with star.

Threepence, 1561-1582. (Pl. XLII, 7.) Mill Threepence with star, 1561, 1562, 1564.

Half-groat, 1558-1561, 1566-1571. With mark of value and legend EDG ROSA SINE SPINA, 1583-1602. Mill Half-groat with star. (Pl. XLII, 8.)

Three-halfpence, 1561-1570, 1572-1580, 1582. (PL XLII, 9.)

Penny, 1558-1561 (one of 1558 with lis i.m. dated), 1565-1602. (PL XLII, 10.)

Three-farthings, 1561-1562, 1572-1581. Mill Three-farthings with star, 1563. (PL XLII, II.)

Halfpenny. *O.* Portcullis. *R.* Cross and pellets, no legends. 1583-1602. (PL XLII, 12.)

James I (1603-1625).

The privy marks are :—

First Coinage (*Ang Sco*) : Thistle (1603-1604), lis (1604).

Second Coinage (*Mag Brit*): Thistle (1604), lis (1604-1605), rose (1605-1606), escallop (1606-1607), grapes (1607), coronet (1607-1609), key (1609-1610), bell (1610-1611), mullet (1611-1612), tower (1612-1613), trefoil (1613), cinquefoil (1613-1615), tun (1615-1616), book (1616-1617), crescent (1617-1618), plain cross (1618-1619), saltire cross (1619).

Third Coinage: Spur rowel (1619-1620), rose (1620-1621), thistle (1621-1623), lis (1623-1624), trefoil (1624).

First Coinage (1603-1604). IACOBVS D G ANG SCO FRAN ET HIB REX.

Angel and Angelet were coined but are not known.

Quarter-angel. 20 grs. (23 ct. 3j grs.). Usual type, *Tueatur* legend. (PL XLIV, 4.)

Sovereign of 20s. 171¹/₂ grs. (22 ct.). *O.* Crowned profile at half length. *R.* Crowned shield, EXVRGAT DEVS DISSIPENTVR INIMICI. i.m. : Thistle, lis.

Half-sovereign. Similar; i.m. : Thistle.

Gold Crown and Half-crown. Similar, but TVEATVR VNITA DEVS. Thistle.

Silver Crown and Half-crown. *O.* Equestrian portrait. *R.* Shield, *Exurgat* legend. Thistle, lis. (PL XLIV, &)

Shilling and Sixpence. *O.* Profile portrait. *R.* Shield. Thistle, lis.

Half-groat and Penny. Similar, but obverse legend I D G ROSA SINE SPINA. No reverse legend; mark of value behind head; i.m. (above shield): Thistle, lis. (PL XLIV, 7.)

Halfpenny. *O.* Portcullis. *R.* Cross and pellets, i.m. (above portcullis): Thistle, lis. (PL XLIV, 9.)

Second Coinage (1604-1619). IACOBVS D G MAG BRIT, etc.

Standard Gold (23 ct. 3½ grs.). Values at los. to the angel, raised by 10 per cent, in 1612.

Rose Ryal of 30s. 213¹/₃ grs. *O.* King enthroned. *R.* Shield on rose, A DNO FACTVM EST ISTVD ET EST MIRAB IN OCVLIS NRIS. (PL XLIII, 6.)

Rose to coronet, mullet, tower, trefoil, tun.

Spur Ryal of 15s. 1063 grs. *O.* King in ship. *R.* Rose on spur rowel in centre of royal cross, A Dno legend. (PL XLIII, 8.)

Rose, escallop, coronet, tower, trefoil, book.

Angel of Jos. 71¹/₉ grs. O. St. Michael and dragon. R. Ship bearing shield. (Pl. XLIV, i.)

Rose to crescent (grapes and key not known).

Half-angel. Similar. Tower, trefoil, cinquefoil, tun, plain cross. (Pl. XLIV, 3.)

Crown Gold (22 ct.) Values at 2os. to the unite, raised by 10 per cent, in 1612.

Unite. 154fi' grs. Similar to the sovereign of 1603-1604, but with legend FACIAM EOS IN GENTEM VNAM. Thistle to saltire cross.

Double Crown and Britain Crown. 77¹/₂ and 383? grs. Similar, but legend HENRICVS ROSAS REGNA IACOBVS. (Pl. XLIII, i.)

Lis to plain cross (Britain crown with grapes not known).

Half-crown of 2s. 6d. Similar, but with *Tueatur* legend. Thistle to plain cross. (Pl. XLIII, 2.)

Thistle Crown of 45. 30[^] grs. O. Rose crowned. R. Thistle crowned, TVEATVR VNITA DEVS. Lis to plain cross (grapes, book, crescent not known. (Pl. XLIII, 4.)

Silver of 11 oz. 2 dwt. Penny of 73\$ grs.

Crown and Half-crown. Type as before, QVAE DEVS CONIVNXIT NEMO SEPARET. Crowns are known with marks lis to grapes, Half-crowns with lis only. Pyx records include both coins from thistle to coronet.

Shilling and Sixpence. Lis to tun, and book (shilling only). Book and plain cross also occur in pyx records of both denominations. (Pl. XLIV, 6.)

Half-groat. O. Rose crowned, I D G ROSA, etc. R. Thistle crowned. Lis to plain cross, except crescent.

Penny. Similar but rose and thistle uncrowned. Lis to cinquefoil, plain cross, no i.m. Tun and book also occur in pyx records.

Halfpenny. Similar to penny but without legends. Lis to cinquefoil, except grapes, key, tower, tiefoil; these and also tun and plain cross are recorded in pyx trials. (Pl. XLIV, 10.)

Third Coinage (1619-1625).

Standard Gold (23 ct. 3j grs.).

Rose Ryal of 303. 196[^] grs. O. King enthroned. A\ Shield encircled by a band with fleurs-de-lis, lions and crowns, A Dno legend. Spur rowel to trefoil. (Pl. XLIII, 7.)

Spur Ryal of 155. 98[^] grs. O. Lion supporting shield. R. Rose on spur rowel in centre of royal cross.

Spur rowel, rose, trefoil; thistle and lis also are recorded in pyx trials. (Pl. XLIII, 9 *odv.*)

Angel of ios. 65[^] grs. O. St. Michael and dragon. R. Three-masted ship. Spur rowel to trefoil. (Pl. XLIV, 2.)

Crown Gold (22 ct.).

Unite (Laurel) of 2os. 140|£ grs. O. Laureate bust to 1. R. Crowned shield over cross, *Faciam* legend. Spur rowel to trefoil.

Half-laurel and Quarter-laurel. 70²/₈ ³/₁ and 35[^] grs. Similar but with *Henricus* legend. Spur rowel to trefoil. (Pl. XLIII, 5, 3.)

Silver of 11 oz. 2 dwt. Penny of 7|f grs». Types as before.

Crown and half-crown. Rose to trefoil.

With Welsh plumes : Thistle, lis, trefoil.

Shilling and sixpence. Rose to trefoil; spur rowel is also recorded in pyx trials.

Shilling with plumes : Thistle, lis, tiefoil.

Half-groat. Spur lowel to trefoil.

Penny. Spur rowel, lis, no mark; rose, thistle and trefoil are also recorded in pyx trials. (PL XLIV, 8.)

Halfpenny. No mark ; rose to trefoil are recorded in pyx trials.

Farthing tokens. Prescribed weight 6 grs. of pure copper. O. Crown and crossed sceptres, IACO D G MAG BRIT. R Harp crowned, FRA ET HIB REX. (PL XLIV, xx.)

They vary greatly in size and weight. The small specimens are believed by some to be half-farthings. Those of oval shape, which were struck at the end of this reign and at the beginning of the next, are believed to have been made for circulation in Ireland.

CHAPTER XVI

CHARLES I

1625-1649

CHARLES I, shortly after his accession in March, 1625, gave instructions to the wardens, Sir Edward Villiers and Sir William Parkhurst, to continue the work of the mint and to use the dies of his father until others could be prepared ; the pyx trial of the following July reviewed coins bearing the title and portrait of James I. In September of the same year a plague epidemic curtailed the work of the mint, and owing to the difficulty experienced in recoinage the French money of the queen's dowry, the quart d'ecu was made current for a short time.

Proposals for debasing the coinage in order to provide an additional source of revenue were put forward in 1626 and again in 1640, but Charles did not avail himself of this relief in his financial difficulties, though experiments in this direction seem to have been made at York in 1642. A reduction was made in the weight of the coins in August, 1626, amounting to approximately 10 grs. in the unite and the shilling, but this was rectified in the following month ; in spite of the short duration of this order, shillings have survived of the lighter weight ($81\frac{3}{4}\frac{3}{7}$ grs.) ; they bear as privy mark the long cross. In November Sir Robert Harley was appointed master with instructions to strike coins at the old weight, 140 J grs. to the unite and 7[^] grs. to the penny, of crown gold and standard silver, and to reduce slightly the weight of standard gold ; the angel was now to weigh 6414 grs.; the issue of rose ryals and spur ryals was discontinued.

From February, 1642, when Sir John Coniers was appointed Lieutenant of the Tower, the Tower mint was in the hands of Parliament, but down to the time of the death of

Charles the coinage continued to be struck there as before, with the king's portrait and titles and the royal arms. The king, during this period, established mints in provincial towns, and at the same time the exigencies of war produced issues of emergency coinage in towns that were from time to time besieged by the parliamentary forces. Contributions of private plate provided bullion for the coinage of both sides. A demand for gold and silver plate for the coinage of Parliament yielded a vast quantity, we are told, which was deposited at the Guildhall, in June, 1642 ; the king received between July and November at Nottingham, and, later, at Shrewsbury and Oxford, plate from the universities in addition to large contributions to his mints from private sources.

The types of the coins of the Tower mint do not differ materially from those of the previous reign, but new legends were adopted indicating the king's devotion to God and his subjects, and his desire for peace, *Christo auspice regno*, *Amor populi praesidium regis*, *Florent concordia regna*, *Cultores sui deus protegit*. In 1630 the half-groat and penny were brought into line with the other silver coins, and the rose type and *Rosa sine spina* motto were abandoned ; at the same time the dating of the sixpence was discontinued. The forms of the portraits and of the shields were modified from time to time (cf. on PL XLVII, 5, 6, 7) ; the change from the ruff to the lace collar was made in, or about, the year 1632. Copper farthing tokens were continued ; the patent, to which the Duchess of Richmond succeeded in 1624 on the death of her husband, the Duke of Lennox and Richmond, passed to Lord Maltravers in 1634 ; in 1636 a rose replaced the harp on the reverse of these tokens, and, in order to make forgery difficult, a brass centre was set in the copper.

In 1625 Nicholas Briot, a Frenchman formerly attached to the mint at Paris, came over and obtained employment at the Tower ; in 1628 he was commissioned to design portraits for coins and medals, and at that time he made some of his famous and beautiful patterns (see below, pp. 234-5). The mint accounts show that he was at work on his special coins at the Tower for two periods of twelve months, beginning in November, 1631, and July, 1638. To the earlier period may be attributed his coins marked with the flower, his form of the rose which was

the privy mark between June, 1631, and June, 1632 ; to the later period belong those with the anchor, the privy mark of May, 1638, to July, 1639. He introduced again into England the latest French machinery, with mill and screw-press, which Eloye Mestrell had used in the reign of Elizabeth. By means of the even pressure exerted by the screw, and by using a collar to prevent the spread of metal, he was able not only to produce a neat, round coin, but also to give the flan a fuller, more even impression of the dies. But Briot's fame does not rest on his machinery ; he was the finest die-cutter that had worked in England since Alexander of Brugsal engraved the famous portrait for the coinage of Henry VII. His coins, no less than his medals, have a high artistic value in addition to their historical interest. Like Mestrell, he had to face personal hostility at the mint; but Briot was a great artist, and the artistic taste of Charles supported him in the difficult task of modernising the methods and at the same time improving the artistic standard of the Tower mint. Not only did Briot strike special issues with his machinery, but his influence is seen in the profile portraits and equestrian figures on other Tower coins. In 1635 he received an appointment at the Scottish mint and worked there chiefly in 1637. In 1642 we hear of a cargo of mint material, shipped by him from London, being seized at Scarborough when the king summoned him to superintend the coinage at York. During the Civil War, while in regular employment at the Tower mint, he surreptitiously worked for the king at Oxford and York. His signature is to be seen on York half-crowns and shillings, and his equestrian portrait was used for the model of the Oxford coins of 1643-1646. He died at the end of 1646; after the Restoration his widow, in the claim which she presented to Charles II, stated that he went from time to time to York and Oxford at His Majesty's command so long as he lived.

The tradition of the opening of a mint at York in 1629, whtp Strafford was Governor of the North, is held in suspicion ; there is no confirmation of it in contemporary documents, whereas a contemporary writer states that about the latter end of 1642 'the king's mint began to coin in Jenkin's house in Minster Yard. We know that in 1642 the king, having gone North, summoned Nicholas Briot to bring his instruments

for coining to York, and that the cargo was seized at Scarborough. The question of debasing the coinage was then under discussion ; Briot reported very strongly against the proposal, but it is possible that experiments were made with the York coinage, some of which is of inferior metal. Half-crowns of York with the initial B within the letter O of EBOR bear close resemblance to Tower coins with star, triangle in circle, and P in two semi-circles as privy marks, i.e. struck between 1640 and 1644. Also shillings with Briot's initial, which reproduce the portrait of his anchor coins (1638-1639), form part of the York output. The mint at York probably remained at work until the battle of Marston Moor in July, 1644, placed the city in the hands of Parliament.

The transport of Welsh silver for coinage at London continued till 1637. In July of that year Thomas Bushell, the lessee of the Welsh mines, was authorised to establish a mint at Aberystwyth for the coinage of Welsh silver into pieces of 2s. 6d., is., 6d., 2d., id. ; authority to coin the groat, three-pence, and halfpenny was added in October. The coins were to be marked on both sides with plumes. A diary of accounts compiled by or for Bushell informs us that he was coining there from January, 1638, to September, 1642, and that he used the book as his privy mark. The closing of the account is on the day following the King's Declaration at Wellington, in Shropshire, and we may conclude that Bushell immediately prepared to transfer his mint to Shrewsbury. There are also entries for two short periods, January to March, 1646, and February, 1649. The dies for Aberystwyth were made at the Tower and there is on Bushell's coins an intimate resemblance to the equestrian and profile portraits which appear on Tower coins marked with the tun, anchor, and triangle ; they are differentiated by Bushell's privy mark, the book, and by the plumes, which are, however, omitted on the obverse of the smaller denominations. The reverse type is a round, garnished shield with large plumes above ; the half-groat and the penny have the plumes alone as the reverse design ; the halfpenny, which is without legend, has a rose on obverse and plumes on reverse. Owing to Biishell's removal to Shrewsbury and thence to Oxford, coins are not infrequently found with Aberystwyth obverses and Shrewsbury or Oxford reverses, and occasionally the converse mules.

There are also some coins of all values from 2s. 6d. to 2d. which are in every way similar to the Aberystwyth coins except in the use of a crown, instead of a book, as the privy mark, and in their later style which corresponds to that of Tower coins with the sun and sceptre (1645-1649) (PL XLIX, 9). They have on this account been associated with the isolated issue of January to March, 1646 ; but they have recently been attributed to Combe Martin in view of Bushell having gone there from Lundy and taken control of the lead mines of Combe Martin in October, 1647, to May, 1648. The entry in the mint diary seems to prove that there was a coinage in 1646 at Aberystwyth when he was not there ; there is no documentary evidence that there was a mint at Combe Martin, where the mines may well have been used only for obtaining lead for bullets, which we know were provided by Bushell from the Combe Martin mines in large quantity. Another coin that is very doubtfully attributed to Combe Martin is a half-crown of unusual form which has supporters to the shield on the reverse.

After the issue of the King's Declaration at Wellington in 1642, orders were given to Bushell to move his mint from Aberystwyth to Shrewsbury. He began work there in October, but transferred the mint to Oxford in December following, when the king made Oxford his headquarters. At Shrewsbury was introduced the famous Declaration type (PL XLVII, 3), which displays across the field of the coin an abbreviated form of the Declaration, *Religio Protestantium, Leges Angliae, Libertas Parliamenti*. During the short life of the Shrewsbury mint began the issue of the large silver pound and half-pound pieces, struck later at Oxford, to make good the shortage of gold (PL XLVI, i). Gold, however, was also struck ; a triple unite dated 1642 appears to have been struck before the removal of the mint to Oxford ; but the unite, which was given to officers as a medal for service at Edgehill, is not known of the Shrewsbury mint. The plumes were retained, as at Aberystwyth, in the field of the coins, and their form is generally accepted as the distinction between the coins of 1642 struck from Shrewsbury and from Oxford dies. The Shrewsbury plumes are without bands below the coronet which encircles them ; the Oxford plumes have bands below the coronet.

In December, 1642, the king summoned Bushell to bring his establishment to Oxford, and he began work at Oxford three months before the end of the year (which then ran to March) ; the mint remained in operation till the surrender of the city in June, 1646. Gold and silver was coined, college plate forming part of the bullion available for coin. Oxford remained, until the city fell, the chief mint of the royalist party. The existence of the establishment at Aberystwyth at the outbreak of war was a most fortunate circumstance for the king. It was possible, though precarious, to supply the troops in the North from the mint which the king had wisely opened at York, when he made York his capital before hostilities began. With Parliament in control of the sea the mint at York was mainly dependent for bullion on plate supplied by the king's supporters. The removal of the royal headquarters to the West put the Welsh mines within easy reach, and the mint at Aberystwyth was readily transferred to Shrewsbury and thence to Oxford. Briot, as we have seen, was able to help the Oxford mint by stealthy visits. The mint had also the services of a clever graver in Thomas Rawlins, whose Oxford crown of 1644, which bears a view of the city of Oxford below the horse, is one of the finest pattern coins (see below, p. 214, and PL LVIII, i) ; to Rawlins is attributed the large horse which appears on Oxford silver pounds of 1642 to 1644.

Bushell had not been long at Oxford when he received orders to proceed to Bristol and establish a mint there after the city's capture by the King in July, 1643. The coins of Bristol are usually identified by the letters BR in monogram. The unite and half-unite were struck, and silver coins ranging from the half-crown to the half-groat. The coinage is similar to that of Oxford ; it has profile portraits and equestrian figures which closely resemble their Oxford prototypes. A change is made on the Bristol coins by commencing the *Exurgat* legend at the top of the coin, and not to the left as at Oxford.

The attribution of certain coins of the Bristol type, which were struck after the fall of Bristol in September, 1645, is a subject of dispute, which turns on the activities of Bushell after the fall of Bristol. Most of the coins are marked with the letter A or B, which has given rise to the suggestion that

Bushell set up mints in the towns of Appledore and Barnstaple. On the other hand, Lundy Island, where Bushell was governor, is generally considered to be the site to which he removed his mint when Bristol surrendered to Parliament.

The West of England was not entirely dependent for coin on the mints of Thomas Bushell. In November, 1642, Sir Richard Vyvyan received a commission to coin money of gold or silver at such place as he thought fit. Private papers, which have been recently published, prove Truro to have been the place chosen. A trunk of plate supplied by Lord Robartes was conveyed from Liskeard to Truro for the mint; and the private accounts of Jonathan Rashleigh record the bringing of plate for the king's service to Truro. Exeter capitulated to Prince Maurice in September, 1643; Vyvyan's mint was then transferred from Truro to Exeter and operated there till the city was recaptured by Parliament in April, 1646. Vyvyan's commission to open his mint at Exeter is dated January, 1644, but this seems to have been a retrospective authority, for his accounts show that the transfer had already taken place in the previous September.

The removal of Vyvyan's mint from Truro to Exeter towards the end of 1643 enables us to identify some of the coins struck at the Truro mint. Exeter coins, with the exception of a few dated 1645, which bear a castle, have the rose as their privy mark; but among the coins so marked are some which belong to a period preceding the capture of Exeter. The most interesting of them is a half-crown which depicts the king galloping, with baton in hand, over ground strewn with arms; it bears the date 1642 at the foot of the shield (PI. XLVII, 4), and the obverse die is used again at Exeter with a reverse of 1644. This obverse die has one peculiarity in common with a pound, half-pound, and crown which have the long-bodied and short-legged horse of Exeter; the face of the king is turned frontward; these, with undated reverses, are probably output of the Truro mint, to which mint may also be assigned the curious thick-bodied horse which appears only on the crown figured on PI. XLVI, 4. From the rarity of Oxford half-pound pieces of 1643 we may perhaps conclude that the use of that denomination had ceased before the opening of the mint at Exeter. An undated shilling described below under

Truro is one of the border-line coins that is likely to have been struck before the transfer of the mint, as are also two gold unites, one of which bears the half-unite legend, of the Truro-Exeter style (PL XLV, 4). Exeter continued from September, 1643, to April, 1646, the coinage begun at Truro. It is curious to find that mint using, in addition to its own well-engraved and ill-proportioned horses, the horse of the Briot model; probably the model came indirectly from Oxford, whence must have come the Declaration type which is occasionally used on Exeter coins. The Exeter mint struck also the smaller denominations; for the half-groat and penny it took the rose for the reverse design and the motto of the London coins, *lustitia thronumfirmat*, but with the first two words transposed.

In Weymouth or its neighbourhood there was a large output of half-crowns and shillings; and sixpences, groats, threepences, and half-groats were also struck there. There is no documentary evidence known for the attribution of a mint to Weymouth; but the coins are themselves sufficient evidence. They are based on the Tower coinage of 1643-1646, but of extremely coarse workmanship, and they bear, in some cases, the letter W below the horse, and as privy marks two lions passant, a lion rampant, a castle, and, frequently, a helmet as the reverse mark, and thus adopt symbols which are known to have been heraldic bearings of the town of Weymouth. A shilling has no fewer than four symbols as privy marks on its reverse, the helmet, an ornamental cross, a lis, and the lion rampant (PI. XLIX, 3). Weymouth was occupied by the king's forces from September, 1643, till June, 1644.

A half-crown of the Weymouth type has the letters SA instead of W below the horse. It used to be attributed to Salisbury, which was not a garrison or fortified town and was therefore unlikely to have had a mint during the Civil War. It has more recently been attributed to Sandsfoot Castle, a royal castle on the cliff about a mile out of Weymouth, which was under one command with the troops in Weymouth. The obverse die was also used with the letters SA cut away. It is not impossible that the mint was originally situate in Sandsfoot Castle, as the Worcester mint was in Hartlebury Castle, and, after a brief period, removed to the greater security of Weymouth.

Half-crowns bearing as privy mark a pear, or three pears, are identified by this heraldic bearing with Worcester (Pl. XLVIII, 3); the horse is of a heavy style, with broad, long body and small head ; in the garniture at the foot of the shield are the letters HC (Hartlebury Castle). These coins belong to the period of the siege of Worcester in March to July, 1646, or rather to the more restricted period limited by the surrender of the castle in May.

An order dated 31 January, 1644 (i.e. 1645 in modern reckoning) directed that antique plate of the city of Chester to the value of £100 should be converted into coin for the defence of the city and the payment of debts. Rare half-crowns bearing three garbs, or wheatsheaves, as the privy mark, and a plume above and the letters CHST below the horse, owe their origin to this warrant (Pl. XLVIII, 4). The obverse die, with heavy large-chested horse, was also used, without the letters below or plume above the horse, in combination with a reverse bearing the Declaration type. Perhaps the die was sent to Chester after use elsewhere.

During the Civil War an emergency coinage was struck at the towns of Carlisle, Colchester, Newark, Pontefract, and Scarborough, while they were besieged by the forces of Parliament. These siege-pieces were either cut out of plate and stamped with a mark of value according to their weight, or shorn in circular or angular form to a certain weight for the required value (Pl. L). Carlisle, which was besieged from October, 1644, to June, 1645, struck pieces, octagonal or nearly round, of the value of 33. and is., with the king's cipher and the mark of value on one side and *Obs[essum] Carl[eolum]* and the date, 1645, on the other. Newark struck similar pieces of lozenge shape marked XXX, XII, IX, and VI pence, and dated 1645 and 1646. Of Colchester only a gold piece is known, a circular coin weighing 66 grs. and valued at ten shillings; it has a view of the gateway of the castle at Colchester, which was under siege for two months and surrendered in August, 1648. Silver pieces with the legend *Caroli fortuna resurgam*, which were formerly attributed to Colchester, have now been allocated to Scarborough by the publication of a narrative of the siege compiled by Sir Hugh Cholmley, who was governor of the besieged town ; he records

the cutting of plate into pieces of several weights, and specifies pieces bearing that inscription and the stamp of a broken castle. Scarborough, during its siege of 1644-1645, issued a great variety of siege-money ; some of it was at one time assigned to Beeston Castle, an attribution which cannot be maintained in face of the statement in the memoirs of James, Earl of Derby, that the soldiers of the Beeston garrison had plenty of money which was of no use to them but to play at span counter with. One Scarborough piece has a special interest in that it shows a thin plate of silver doubled over and refolded at the corners (PL L, 6 ; the inscription on the reverse is engraved, perhaps at a later date).

At Pontefract, where the siege lasted till after the death of the king, shillings were struck both in his name and in the name of his son, *post mortem patris pro filio* ; gold pieces were also struck with the same dies as the silver coins.

TOWER MINT.

The privy marks of the Tower coinage are :—

Lis (1625), long- cross (1625-1626), blackmoor's head (1626-1627), castle (1627-1628), anchor (1628-1629), heart (1629-1630), feathers (1630-1631), rose (1631-1632), harp (1632-1633), poitcullis (1633-1634), bell (1634-1635), crown (1635-1636), tun (1636-1638), anchor (1638-1639), triangle (1639-1640), star (1640-1641), triangle in circle (1641-1643), P in two semi-circles (1643-1644), R in two semi-circles (1644-1645), eye (1645), sun (1645-1646), sceptre (1646-1649).

Standard Gold (23 ct. $3\frac{1}{2}$ grs.).

Angel of los. 643 grs. O. St. Michael and dragon. R. Three-masted ship, AMOR POPVLI PRAESIDIVM REGIS. Lis to triangle-in-circle, except feathers, bell, triangle, star, which are not known but are recorded in pyx trials. (PL. XLV, 5.)

Note.—The mark of value was moved from right to left side of the angel in 1629 ; the position of the X thus distinguishes the angels of the later from those of the earlier issue with anchor i.m.

Crown Gold (22 ct.).

Unite of 2os. $140\frac{2}{4}$ grs. O. Profile portrait. R. Shield, FLORENT CONCORDIA REGNA. Known with all privy marks. (PI. XLV, 2.)

Double Crown and Britain Crown. Similar, but CVLTORES SVI DEVS PROTEGIT. Double crowns not known with (R), eye, or sun ; crowns are known with all privy marks.

Silver Coins, II oz. 2 dwt. fine at $7\frac{2}{3}\frac{3}{4}$ grs. to the penny. Reverse legends : Crown to sixpence CHRISTO AVSPICE REGNO, half-groat and penny IVS (type I), IVSTITIA (type II), THRONVM FIRMAT.

Crown. (PL XLVI, 2.) All privy marks except blackmoor's head, anchor (1628-1629), heart; but castle, feathers, and portcullis are only known with plumes.

With plumes : Lis, long cross, castle, feathers to portcullis, crown, tun.

Half-crown. (PI. XLVII, i.) AH privy marks (anchor of 1628-1629 and heart are only known with plumes).

With plumes : All marks from lis to tun.

Shilling. (PI. XLIX, i.) All privy marks (anchor and heart are only known with plumes).

With plumes : All marks from lis to tun.

Sixpence. (PI. XLVII, 5, 6, 7.) All privy marks. Dates down to 1630.

With plumes : Featheis, rose.

Half-groat. Type I (crowned rose): All privy marks from lis to feathers.

Type II (Portrait and Shield, PI. XLIX, 8): All marks from feathers to sceptre. A proof exists with heart i.m.

With plumes : Feathers, rose.

Penny. Type I (Crowned Rose): Lis, blackmoor's head, no mark.

Type II (Portrait and Shield): Feathers to bell, and triangle; also no mark.

Pennies are included in pyx trials of all privy marks.

Halfpenny (Rose uncrowned). No legends or privy marks.

Token Copper Farthings.

1625-1634 (Duchess of Richmond). Harp reverse; CARO D G, etc. (PI. XLIX, 14.)

1634-1635 (Lord Maltravers). Harp reverse ; CAROLVS D G, etc.

1635-1649 (Lord Maltravers). Rose reverse. (PI. XLIX, 15, 16.)

Nicholas Briot's Coinage. Privy mark B with flower (1631-1632) or anchor (1638-1639).

Gold Angel (PI. XLV, 6), Unite, Double Crown, Crown.

Silver Crown (PI. XLVI, 3), Half-crown, Shilling, Sixpence (PI. XLVII, 8), Half-groat, Penny.

For Patterns by Briot, see below, pp. 234-5.

PROVINCIAL MINTS

York. (Put under Briot's charge, 1642. Surrendered to Parliament, 1644.)

Half-crown (PI. XLVII, 2). Lion i.m. Equestrian portrait as on Tower coins from star to (P), c, 1640-1644), with EBOR below horse. Briot's initial sometimes within the *O* of *Ebor* or at beginning of legend.

Christo legend. Round shield, or smaller oval shield with C R, garnished and crowned, or a square shield with C R; a horse similar to that on Briot's anchor coins. The coins are often buckled, owing to a weakness in his horse-power mill.

Some are of baser metal; some of coarse work may be contemporary forgeries, but they have resemblance to Tower coins with tun mark and may be coins struck before Briot's arrival, which seems to have been delayed by illness; they have lion i.m., and round garnished shield, or square shield with C R, neither crowned; they omit *Ebor*.

Shilling. Lion i.m. Portrait as on Briot's anchor coins. Shield is either square, over cross, with EBOR above; or round and garnished, crowned or uncrowned, with EBOR (occasionally with B in the letter O) below. Some are of coarse work.

Sixpence. Oval shield crowned with C R. Lion i.m. *Rbor* omitted.

Threepence. Square shield over cross, EBOR above. Lion i.m. (PI. XLIX, 6.)

Aberystwyth (Jan., 1638 to Sept., 1642).

Half-crown, Shilling, Sixpence (PI. XLVIII, 5), Groat, Threepence.

O. Similar to the Tower coins marked tun to triangle, but with book as privy mark, and plume in the field.

R. Round garnished shield with large plume above.

Half-groat and Penny. O. Similar, but without plume. R. Plumes.

Halfpenny. O. Rose. R. Plumes. No legend or privy mark. (PI. XLIX, 12.)

Dies of Aberystwyth coins were also used in combination with Shrewsbury, Oxford, and Bristol dies. (PI. XLIX, 13, is a penny with the small plumes which were probably peculiar to Oxford.)

Aberystwyth (Jan. to March, 1646) or Combe Martin (Oct., 1647, to May, 1648).

Similar to the preceding coins, but with Crown as privy mark.

Half-crown, Shilling, Sixpence, Groat, Threepence, Half-groat (PI. XLIX, 9), Penny.

There is also a half-crown which has been very doubtfully attributed to Combe Martin. It has an equestrian portrait of Shrewsbury-Oxford style with grass below horse; small lis i.m.; shield with supporters and garter; 1645 and undated.

Shrewsbury (October to December, 1642). *Note*.—Plumes without bands.

All coins have the Declaration type and the legend EXVRGAT DEVS DISSIPENTVR INIMICI. Date 1642 only. On the gold coin the king holds a sword and an olive-branch.

Gold Triple Unite. The portrait is smaller than on the Oxford coins.

Silver Pound, Half-pound, Crown, Half-crown (PI. XLVII, 3), Shilling.

The equestrian portrait is very poor, the horse small and the king ill-drawn and bedraggled. The Tower horse (Tun to Triangle) also occurs here as at Aberystwyth. There are sometimes arms below the horse on pounds and half-pounds. The pound has either one or three plumes on the reverse. The half-crown has one plume, one plume and value, or three plumes.

Oxford (Jan., 1643, to June, 1646). *Note*.—Plumes with bands below the coronet.

All coins have the Declaration type and the *Exurgat* legend beginning at left of coin. On the gold coins the king holds sword and olive-branch. The mint-signature, OX, is on the reverse of a few half-crowns of 1643 and usually on later coins.

Gold Triple Unite (1642-1644) (PI. XLV, i), Unite (1642-1646), Double Crown (1642-1644).

Silver Pound (1642-1644), Half-pound (1642-1643) (Pl. XLVI, i), Crown (1642-1643), Half-crown (1642-1646).

The Oxford portrait and horse are similar to those of Shrewsbury, but there is also a horse modelled on that by Briot, and on some pound pieces a large horse by Rawlins. For the famous 1644 crown by Rawlins, see patterns (p. 234 and PL LVIII, i).

Shilling (1642-1646, Pl. XLIX, 2), Sixpence (1642-1644), Groat (1644-1646), Threepence (1644, 1646, Pl. XLIX, 7), Half-groat (1644), Penny (1644). R (Rawlins) is below the bust on a shilling, groat, and threepence of 1644.

The penny also occurs, undated, with a small plume as the reverse design. (Pl. XLIX, 13.)

There are also coins of 3d., 2d., and id., with Oxford obverse (no plume in field) and Aberystwyth reverse. But there seems little doubt that the reverse with the small plume was peculiar to Oxford.

Bristol (1643-1645). Similar to the Oxford coins, but with BR monogram as privy mark or in the field. The coins are of somewhat coarser workmanship. The *Exurgat* legend begins at the top of the coin.

Gold Unite (Pl. XLV, 3), and Double Crown of 1645.

Silver Half-crown (1643-1645) (Pl. XLVIII, i), Shilling (1643-1645), Sixpence (1643-1644) (Pl. XLVIII, 7), Groat (1644) (Pl. XLIX, 5), Threepence (O. Aberystwyth style but no i.m. R. Bristol style without BR monogram ; 1644, 1645, with one plume only), Half-groat (undated).

Lundy Island ? (1645-1646).

Half-crown, shilling, sixpence, groat (Pl. XLIX, 4) of 1645 and 1646 of Bristol type but with the letter A or B as privy mark or in the field, or of 1646 (after Bristol had surrendered) without A or B. To this class belongs also a half-groat of plumes type dated 1646.

Truro (Nov., 1642, to Sept., 1643).

Gold Unite. Rose i.m. No date. Profile portrait similar to that of Tower coins but of rougher work. Oval garnished shield with C R. FLORENT CONCORDIA REGNA.

Similar, but of less rough workmanship, CVLTORES SVI DEVS PROTEGIT (Pl. XLV, 4).

Silver Half-pound. Rose i.m. No date. *Chris to* legend ; round, garnished shield; equestrian portrait with long-bodied, short-legged horse and king's face turned frontward, sash tied in bow. Perhaps Exeter.

Silver Crown. One is similar to the half-pound, and another, perhaps earlier, with thicker-bodied horse, tail not waved, king's face in profile, ordinary loose sash. (Pl. XLVI, 4.)

Half-crown. Rose i.m. Dated 1642 in garniture below shield. Spirited little equestrian figure with king, holding baton, on small horse galloping over ground strewn with arms. (Pl. XLVII, 4.) Similar undated, but king holds sword, no arms below ; oblong shield.

Another, undated, very closely resembling the half-pound.

Shilling with rose i.m., undated ; oblong shield with or without C R.

Exeter (Sept., 1643, to April, 1646).

Silver Crown. Similar to the Truro half-pound and crown but dated 1644. Similar, dated 1645, and EX on reverse.

Similar, but with loose sash and castle i.m.; on reverse : 1645 EX, 1645 rose, 1645 castle.

Half-crown. Same obverse die as Truro half-crown with galloping figure but reverse dated 1644 and rose. Another with the Briot horse. Others with horse as on 1645 crowns with waved tail; one has a reverse with Declaration type and *Exurgat* legend (beginning at left), EX below the declaration. With date 1645 : horse as on crowns with loose sash; rose or castle i.m. on reverse ; one has reverse of Declaration type.

Shilling. Obverse similar to that of Bristol; on reverse round garnished shield and *Christo* legend ; 1644 rose, '645 rose. Also reverse with Declaration type (beginning at left), 164\$ below.

Sixpence (Pl. XLVIII, 6), threepence, groat. 1644 and rose i.m.

The threepence has a straight, ungarnished shield with date above.

Half-groat. 1644 and rose i.m. One has a rose as reverse type (Pl. XLIX, 10), another has garnished shield. Both have legend THRO IVSTI FIRMAT 1644.

Penny. 1644 and rose i.m. On reverse : Rose, THRO IVS FIRMAT 1644. (Pl. XLIX, 11.)

Weymouth (Sept., 1643, to June, 1644).

Half-crown. W below horse; i.m. on obverse : Lis, two lions, or castle (Pl. XLVIII, 2); on reverse : Helmet. The equestrian figure is a very crude copy of the Tower type with (P) to sun i.m.; the reverse has a square or oval shield garnished and crowned, with the *Christo* legend. Also with Declaration type and *Exurgat* legend, dated 1644. The obverse die of the SA coin (see below) is also used, with letters SA obliterated, in combination with the shield reverse. Other half-crowns, without W, are similar, no i.m., or lis, on reverse.

Shilling. Portrait of clumsy work with straight locks of hair ; on reverse round garnished shield or square shield, *Christo* legend, i.m. on obverse : Lis or none; on reverse : Helmet, lis, 4 lis, or lion rampant. One coin has on reverse: Helmet, cross, lis, and lion rampant. (Pl. XLIX, 3.) Another has bird on obverse and boar's head on reverse.

Sixpence. Square shield ; i.m.: Castle and boar's head.

Groat. Oval shield ; i.m.: Rose and helmet.

Threepence and Half-groat. Similar with lis i.m. both sides.

Sandsfoot Castle ? (see above, p. 209).

Half-crown of Weymouth type. SA below horse ; i.m.: Lis and helmet. The same obverse die is also used with the letters SA crazed.

Worcester (1646). i.m. : Pear ; H C (Hartlebury Castle) in garniture below shield.

Half-crown. Horse with broad and long body and small head, flowing tail; round garnished shield with *Christo* legend. (Pl. XLVIII, 3.)

Chester (1644). i.m. : Three garbs, or wheatsheaves ; CHST below horse.
Half-crown. Broad horse with large, heavy chest and waved tail; plume above ;
round garnished shield, *Christo* legend. (PI. XLVIII, 4.)

The same obverse die, without CHST or plume, is also used with a reverse
of Declaration type dated 1644.

SIEGE-PIECES

Carlisle (besieged Oct., 1644, to June, 1645 J coins struck in May, 1645).
Three shillings, and shilling in silver. Octagonal or nearly round.

O. C R, crown above, value below. R. OBS CARL 1645. (PI. L, i.)

Colchester (June to Aug., 1648).

Ten Shillings in gold. Nearly round ; one-sided (reverse incuse). Gateway of
Colchester Castle, C R beside ; below, OBS COL 1648 Xs. (PI. L, 2.)

Newark (besieged several times, surrendered 6 May, 1646).

Half-crown, shilling, and ninepence dated 1645 and 1646, sixpence dated 1646.
Silver pieces of lozenge shape.

O. Crown between C and R; value, in pence, below. R. OBS NEWARK
or NEWARKE and date. (PI. L, 3.)

Pontefract (June, 1648, to March, 1649).

Shilling, and, perhaps, two shillings (weighing approximately 150 grs.).

Lozenge-shaped, octagonal, and round.

I. Before the death of Charles I, on 30 Jan., 1649.

O. C R with crown above, DVM SPIRO SPERO. R. Castle with
P C above, OBS to l., hand grasping sword to r., 1648 below.
(PI. L, 4.) A variety has no flag above the castle and has XII
between P C to r.

II. After the death of Charles I on 30 Jan., 1649 (1648 in the old reckoning).

(1) O. as preceding. R. as preceding but muzzle of cannon to r. of
castle instead of the hand and sword, legend CAROLVS SECVNDVS
1648.

(2) O. HANC DEVS DEDIT 1648 across field, crown above,
CAROL II D G MAG B F ET H REX.

R. Similar to no. i, with legend POST MORTEM PATRIS PRO
FILIO. (PI. L, 5.)

Specimens are also known in gold, of type I weighing 138½ grs., of type II
(2) weighing 94 grs.

Scarborough (July, 1644, to July, 1645).

Silver coins of various shapes and denominations.

I. Pieces rudely stamped in incuse with castle and value. (PI. L, 6.)
Note.—The reverse is engraved, perhaps at a later date.)

II. Round or octagonal pieces stamped in incuse with a broken castle and
the legend Caroli Fortuna Resurgam. No mark of value. Formerly
attributed to Colchester, see above, p. 210. (PI. L, 7.)

III. Pieces rudely stamped with front of castle in relief, and value in
incuse. Formerly attributed to Beeston Castle, see above, p. 211.
The two-shillings has the castle stamped twice on it. (PI. L, 8, 9.)

The denominations are : 5s., 3s. 4d., 2s. iod., 2s. 6d., 2s. 4d., 2s., is. 9d.,
is. 6d., 1s. 4d., is. 3d., is. 2d., 1s. 1d., 1s., 11d., 10d., 7d., 6d., 4d.

CHAPTER XVII

COMMONWEALTH TO GEORGE V

1649-1931

THE necessity of obtaining general acceptance of the currency caused Parliament to retain the king's image and superscription on the coin until his death. In the autumn of 1649 an order was given for the coins to be struck in the name of the Commonwealth and with inscriptions, for the first time, in the English tongue. The Commonwealth coins were, excepting the halfpenny, uniform in type and lamentably ugly; on the obverse the ill-drawn device of the two shields lent itself readily to the scornful designation of the breeches, " a fit stamp " as Lord Lucas said, " for the coin of the rump,"

It has caused no little surprise that so poor a coinage should have followed the appointment of Thomas Simon, the greatest of English medallists, to the post of graver to the mint. It seems that the coinage was left in the hands of under-gravers, East and Burgh, whose names appear as the gravers in mint accounts and in a legal process of a few years later ; Simon was perhaps fully occupied with his work on seals and medals and only applied himself to the coinage after the confirmation of his appointment by Cromwell in 1656. He then produced, with the aid of Blondeau's mill machinery, a very fine portrait coinage of the Protector, which, although it had the approval of the Council, was not circulated. Charles II lost no time in demonetising the coins of the Commonwealth, but the proclamation made no mention of the Cromwell coins (see below, p. 236, and Pl. LIX, 4, 5).

The copper coinage and its substitutes play an important part in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries ; it is convenient to treat the subject as a whole before proceeding with

the general features of the coinage. The problem of small change had never been adequately solved since the thirteenth century, when round farthings were first made and the penny was no longer cut into halves and quarters. Throughout the Middle Ages the lack of small coin was a perpetual grievance. The striking of silver farthings was expensive and therefore it was but rarely sufficiently extensive to meet the demand ; and the coin was inconveniently small. In the sixteenth century the shopkeepers provided a solution by issuing leaden tokens, which now probably survive in the many lead pieces which bear initials, traders' marks or other simple devices. The practice was illegal but was not suppressed ; and Queen Elizabeth gave a licence to the city of Bristol to issue tokens. Before the close of her reign a copper coinage was contemplated, the tokens were forbidden, and pattern farthings were submitted ; but the coinage did not materialise. James I and Charles I attempted to solve the problem by leasing to private persons a monopoly for issuing farthing tokens ; forgeries very soon swallowed up the genuine pieces in spite of their protection by law. In the Commonwealth more patterns were made for a coinage of farthings, but again no copper coinage was issued.

During the third quarter of the seventeenth century the trading public again took the matter into their own hands, and between 1648 and 1672 an issue of tokens, " traders " as they were then called, was made on an enormous scale. In almost every town and in many villages tokens were issued by private persons or by local authorities. The common form of the seventeenth century token is a halfpenny or farthing, less frequently a penny, struck in brass or copper, bearing the issuer's name and address ; on one side is usually a trade device or the arms of a trade guild, and on the other side the initials of the issuer and his wife, that of the surname above and those of their Christian names jointly below (PL LXIV, i). The round form was not invariable, but square, octagonal, or heart-shaped tokens are not common (PL LXIV, 3). Tavern signs are frequent, such as the Turk's head of Ward's Coffee House in Bread Street, London (PL LXIV, 2). Many municipal tokens were issued bearing the name or initials of a mayor, portreeve, church wardens, or overseers, or the arms of the Corporation (PL LXIV, 4 is a farthing of the corporation of Bristol) ;

frequently these municipal tokens made reference to their purpose as relief to the poor, as on the Wimborne halfpenny which shows two women washing at a tub (Pl. LXIV, 5). The circulation of the tokens was not limited to the district of their issue ; tokens of the South of England are often found in the North, and those of Surrey evidently had a very wide circulation before they returned for redemption. The issue was not legal, but the Government, lacking an alternative, did not suppress it. In 1672, when a copper coinage was ready for circulation, proclamation was made forbidding their use. The order was almost universally obeyed, but two years later the cities of Chester and Norwich were offending and had to be threatened with legal proceedings.

Charles II issued a farthing and halfpenny of copper on the basis of 20d. to the lb. avoirdupois ; their tender was limited to payments under the value of sixpence. For the figure of Britannia, which was adapted from the Roman type of Britannia of the second century, the Duchess of Richmond sat as a model. In the last year of the reign, tin, which offered a 40 per cent, profit, was struck into farthings in the vain hope that the forger would be defeated by the introduction of a copper core into the centre, and by the stamping of the edge with the date and the words *Nummorum famulus* (a subsidiary coinage), indicating that they were to serve as coins but were not coins of true intrinsic value. They were counterfeited in great number, but James II and William III continued to strike them ; in two years, 1690-1691, the profit arising from their issue amounted to nearly £13,000. In 1693 copper was again used, at first under a patent granted to Andrew Corbet; but in 1694 the mint resumed the coinage of halfpence and farthings. In Anne's reign, in spite of representations by Dean Swift that copper coins should bear types illustrating historical events of the reign, Britannia remained on the farthing, which was only put into currency in the last year. The fictitious value that became attached to Queen Anne's farthings at the beginning of the nineteenth century is quite inexplicable. A story is told of a guardsman who refused £50 for a specimen at Chatham and obtained £400 for it in London. But the clearest evidence of the credence which the myth obtained is seen in a prosecution at Dublin in 1814 for borrowing

and detaining a Queen Anne's farthing. Counsel for the prosecution told the old story of three specimens only having been struck and the die having then broken, and added that a reward of £500 had been offered for a lost specimen ; the jury and judge swallowed the story, and the unfortunate fellow was sentenced to twelve months in Newgate and afterwards to find sureties, two in -£20 each and himself in £40.

In the reigns of the first two Georges copper coinage continued at slightly varying weights, but after the accession of George III both silver and copper fell almost entirely out of currency. This led to a revival of trade tokens, which began in 1784 with the Anglesey pennies and halfpennies bearing the sign of the Druid's head and the cipher of the Parys Mines Company (PL LXIV, 6). They lack the personal interest of their seventeenth-century predecessors; they were mostly issued by local authorities or large trading firms. Clearing houses were established in various towns, the chief centres being London, Liverpool, and Manchester, and the tokens usually bore on the edge the names of the towns at which they could be redeemed. Various devices were used, common among which are corporation arms and representations of personalities, historical or mythical, connected with the town of issue, John of Gaunt, for example, at Lancaster (PL LXIV, 7), King Alfred at Reading (PL LXIV, 9, a gold token, see below), and Lady Godiva at Coventry. The Mail Coach halfpenny, of which nothing seems to be known except the fact that it was issued in London, bears a dedication to John Palmer at whose instigation the mail coach was initiated (PL LXIV, 8). The issue was not limited to copper; silver tokens were issued in some towns, and even gold is not unknown (PL LXIV, 9, a gold forty-shilling piece of Reading, with an imaginary portrait of King Alfred). The circulation of tokens was suspended in 1797, when a contract for copper coinage was given to Boulton, of Soho, near Birmingham.

The great obstacle to a copper currency was its constant forgery ; it was this that led to the suspension of copper issues in 1754. Counterfeiting of copper coin was not high treason, like that of gold and silver, but merely a misdemeanour. It was made punishable in 1742 by two years' imprisonment, but this was quite ineffectual. A regular traffic existed in counter-

feit halfpennies, which was difficult to suppress because there were many parties concerned in various parts of the country, and among them the forgers and utterers were well hidden ; blank flans were made, frequently at Birmingham, and despatched to coiners who stamped them and sold them at about 50 per cent, of their face value to wholesale dealers, the dealers disposed of them retail to traders at approximately a guinea for thirty shillings worth ; they were then used at face value in the course of trade. It was also a common practice to issue pieces which were passable imitations of coins but, by certain deviations from the originals, were demonstrably counters and not false coins.

In 1797 a contract was made with Matthew Boulton for a coinage of copper to be made at his Soho mint, near Birmingham ; he issued the " cartwheel " twopence, containing 2 oz. of copper, and a similar penny, followed in 1799 by a halfpenny of proportionate weight, but they were too clumsy for ordinary use. No more copper was struck by George III except in 1806 and 1807, when halfpence and farthings were again coined. Farthings only were issued at the beginning of the next reign, but in 1825 pennies and halfpennies were struck from Wyon's dies. In 1860 bronze composed of 95 parts of copper with 4 of tin and 1 of zinc was used, and the coins were reduced in size. Half-farthings, originally made for use in Ceylon, were allowed currency by a proclamation of 1842, but they never came into general use in this country.

At the Restoration the Tower mint was still striking coins by hand, in spite of their experience of mill coinage from Mestrell, Briot, and Blondeau ; for two years after his accession Charles II let the old process continue, but thanks to the skilful graving of the dies by Simon, his hammered coinage is remarkably fine when it is found in good condition ; weakness of striking is apt to obscure the fine work of the artist.

In 1662 Peter Blondeau, who had been associated with Simon in the coinage of Cromwell, made successful application for regular employment at the mint. He made, in his petition, special mention of the capacity of his machinery for marking the edge of coins with letters or grainings, and he introduced on the mill coinage of Charles the collar with the date * and

¹ The regnal years of Charles II were reckoned from the death of Charles I.

the words *Decus et Tutamen* (an ornament and a safeguard, i.e. against clipping), which was used on five-guinea pieces and crowns till 1887, and the graining¹ for the edges of the other coins. But the mint was to lose the services of Thomas Simon; in 1661, an Antwerp graver, Jan Roettiers, whose father had given pecuniary assistance to Charles in his exile, was appointed as colleague to Simon; the two gravers were unable to work together, and a trial of skill was ordered for which Simon produced his famous Petition Crown (see below, p. 237 and Pl. LX, 4). The result was a foregone conclusion. Art was defeated by personal feeling. Simon remained as graver, and till 1665 he made dies for the small silver coins; but the more important coinage was placed in the hands of the efficient, but uninspired foreigner.

The common belief that the sixpence was the lowest denomination now struck for ordinary currency, and that the smaller coins were made for Maundy distribution, is incorrect.² The penny, which was the only coin distributed as Maundy, was struck under the ordinary indenture and circulated. It was not till 1729, or possibly 1731, that the pieces of 4d., 3d., and 2d. were used as Maundy, and only since that date have they and the silver penny ceased to circulate as currency.³ Maundy money is, of course, and always has been, legal tender. The term "Maundy money" is only applicable in and after the reign of George II.

The custom, previously adopted with Welsh silver, of marking the coin with the source of its metal became, with the growth of trading companies, more common. The elephant, changed in 1675 to the elephant and castle, marks gold and silver brought by the Africa Company from Guinea, which provided the name for the gold coin of twenty shillings; the rose was the mark of the West of England mines, and when the Welsh and English silver was mixed in the crucibles, roses and plumes were associated on the coins. In 1702 and 1703 bullion was available from the Spanish ships captured at Vigo

¹ "Milling" is a misnomer.

² I am indebted to Miss Helen Farquhar for kindly putting at my disposal her paper on this subject, which will be published in *B.N.J.*, vol. xx.

³ The groat was coined in the reigns of William IV and Victoria (named "Joeys" after Joseph Hume, their promoter); the threepence was revived in 1845, but till 1928 it did not differ from the Maundy threepence.

Bay in October, 1702, and the coins made from the Spanish gold and silver were marked with the name *Vigo* under the queen's bust; similarly "*Lima*" denotes coins struck from the treasure of £500,000 specie brought back by Anson on his return in 1744 from the voyage round the world. Other company marks are SSC, for the disastrous South Sea Company, on silver of 1723; WCC (Welsh Copper Company) on shillings of 1723-1726, and EIC on gold of the East India Company which was coined in 1729 and 1739.

In the reign of William and Mary silver, which was coined at 53. 2d. an oz., was worth 55. 3½d. for export; enormous quantities of coin were consequently shipped to France and Holland, and the silver currency that remained was almost entirely clipped, defaced, and light coin. The value of the gold coin rose in consequence till the guinea reached 30s. in 1694. In 1695 the Government decided upon the great recoinage, but they made the extraordinary mistake of fixing a period within which their collectors should receive the old money, though clipped, at face value. This amounted to an invitation to the public to clip their coins before paying them in, and it seems to have been generally so accepted. The new coinage required the work of five additional mints at Bristol, Chester, Exeter, Norwich, and York, which were open for two years. Gold was then gradually reduced by statute to 21s. 6d. in 1698.

The exportation of silver was by no means stopped, nor could it be so long as its face value was below the market value. In 1717 Sir Isaac Newton reported on the gold and silver coinage, and estimated the value of the guinea to be 20s. 8d., and it was now reduced from 21s. 6d. to 21s. It was shown that in that year nearly £3,000,000 of silver was exported by the East India Company alone. Scarcity of silver was near the point at which holders would only part with it at a premium. On the accession of George III there were scarcely any crown pieces in the country, half-crowns were much impaired, and shillings were estimated to have lost a sixth and sixpences a quarter of their original weight. Hardly any silver was coined; the shillings of 1763, known as Northumberland shillings, were a special issue for largesse on the occasion of the Duke's arrival at Dublin as Lord Lieutenant; in 1787

rather more than £50,000 was coined in shillings and sixpences ; and in 1798 silver supplied by the firm of Dorrien and Magens was struck into shillings but not issued, though a small quantity got into circulation. Gold only was coined with any regularity, and in 1797 a gold third of a guinea was introduced to provide smaller coin. The quarter guinea was only struck in 1718 and 1762.

Various expedients were tried. Spanish coins stamped with the goldsmiths' hall-mark were circulated in 1797, the dollar being current at 45. *gd.*, which drew the cynical gibe of "two kings' heads not worth a crown" (PL LIII, 3). The Bank of England, founded in 1694, issued paper notes which were made legal tender in 1811, and also struck in 1804 silver token dollars (PL LIII, 4) and other smaller pieces in 1811-1816.

In 1816, when silver stood at 55. 1½*d.* (below the mint price), the currency was put on the basis of a gold standard, and the silver and copper coins became representative, or subsidiary, money without equivalent intrinsic value, the oz. of silver being coined into 5*s.* 6*d.* The new sovereign and new silver coins of the old denominations were introduced and the famous type of St. George and the dragon was designed by Pistrucci for the sovereign and the silver crown. Later developments are of minor importance. A demand for a decimal coinage in 1849 brought the silver florin into circulation, arousing public indignation by the omission in its first issue of the words *Dei gratia* and *Fidei Defensor* from the queen's titles, from which it is commonly known as the Godless and Graceless Florin. The high price of silver caused an increase to 50 per cent, of the alloy in the silver coins in the year 1920,¹ an economy which has not yet ceased to be wrongly criticised as a depreciation of the coinage. Under a gold standard, with our present freedom of conversion, that term is no more applicable to the metallic content of the subsidiary silver coin than to the quality of the paper on which a note is printed.

The lack of artistic interest which the coinage has afforded since the introduction of the screw-press has commonly been attributed to the deadening influence of modern machinery;

¹ On ii Feb., 1920, silver stood at 89½*d.* an oz. on the London Market; the half-crown of the old coinage (-925 of silver) was therefore worth 33. 4*d.* in bullion value.

but lack of genius in the artists of the mill coinage must at least bear part of the blame ; Roettiers was a clever die-engraver, but can one doubt that, if Simon had had his deserts, Charles would have had a far superior coinage to that produced by Roettiers ? In more recent times the use of the reducing machine has removed the artist so far from the finished work that his task is indeed a difficult one ; but the perfection of mechanical devices is of service to the coinage not only in producing uniformity but also in setting the forger a more difficult task.

An attempt has recently been made to revive the art of the coins and to arouse public interest by the adoption of new designs for the silver. Both objects have been in large measure achieved. To find points of weakness in the new designs is not difficult; the quasi-canting¹ symbol of the crown is a poor substitute for Pistrucci's St. George ; the obsolete form of the tilting shield on the half-crown is inappropriate to the modern arms of Great Britain and Ireland ; the design of the sixpence and threepence is trivial and purposeless; the balance of the florin has been lost by crowning the sceptres instead of the shields and by placing the shields in the inferior position, in saltire. But such criticism is largely a matter of detail, which is easily corrected. Taking a larger view one cannot fail to find in the new coinage much that is to be admired. The coins are well struck and bear a bold impression, and the artist has done much in conveying a greater depth of modelling to the dies, in creating livelier animal and heraldic forms, and in designing a script that is clear, decorative, and dignified.

Commonwealth (1649-1660). Unite of 140!\$ grs. (22 ct), penny of $7\frac{2}{3}$ $\frac{3}{4}$ grs.

The privy marks are : Sun (1649-1657), anchor (1658-1660).

The type of the coins is : O. Shield of St. George, THE COMMON-WEALTH OF ENGLAND. R. Shields of St. George and of Ireland, mark of value above, GOD WITH VS and date.

Unite, 1649-1654, 1656-1658, 1660. (Pl. LI, I.)

Double Crown, 1649-1654, 1657, 1660.

Gold Crown, 1649-1654, 1657, 1658, 1660.

Silver Crown, 1649, 1651-1654, 1656.

Half-crown, 1649, 1651-1656, 1658, 1660.

¹ " Crown " was a translation of the French *couronne*, i.e. *ecu a la couronne*, and had in England no connexion with the monarch's head-covering.

Shilling, 1649, 1651-1658, 1660.

Sixpence, 1649, 1651-1660.

Half-groat and Penny. No legend or date. (Pl. LI, 2, penny.)

Halfpenny (O. Shield of St. George, R. Shield of Ireland). No legend or date. (Pl. LI, 3.)

Oliver Cromwell, *Protector*, see Patterns, p. 236 below, and Pl. LIX, 4, 5.

Charles II (1660-1685).

Hammered Coinage of 1660-1662

Gold Unite (Pl. LI, 4), Double Crown, Crown.

O. Bust to 1. laureate, with or without value behind head. /?. Shield, FLORENT CONCORDIA REGNA.

Silver Half-crown (Pl. LI, 8), Shilling, Sixpence.

O. Bust to 1. crowned. R. Shield on cross, CHRISTO AVSPICE REGNO.

(i) No mark of value or inner circle; (2) mark of value, no inner circle ;
(3) mark of value and inner circle.

Groat, Threepence.

Similar, with mark of value and inner circle.

Half-groat (Pl. LI, 5, 6), Penny.

Three varieties as on the large silver coins.

Mill Coins of 1662-1665

Groat, Threepence, Half-groat (Pl. LI, 7), Penny.

Similar to the preceding coins, but with smaller flans and with the bust extending to the edge of the coin.

Mill Coinage of 1662-1685

Guinea of 205. (22 ct.) 131 ²⁰/₄₁ grs., reduced to 129[^] grs. in 1670, penny of ⁷²/₃₃ grs

O. Bust to r. laureate. R. Shields crosswise; in angles : sceptres (on gold), C C monogram (on silver). King's titles run from obverse to reverse. On edge of Five Guineas and Crowns DECVS ET TVTAMEN (an ornament and safeguard [from clipping]) and date.

Five Guineas. Plain, 1668-1684. Elephant, 1668, 1669, 1675. Elephant and Castle, 1675-1678, 1680-1684.

Two Guineas. Plain, 1664, 1671, 1675-1684. Elephant, 1664. Elephant and Castle, 1676, 1678, 1682, 1684.

Guinea. Plain, 1663-1684. Elephant, 1663-1665, 1668. Elephant and Castle, 1675-1684, except 1681.

Half-guinea. Plain, 1669-1684, except 1673 and 1682. Elephant and Castle, 1676-1678, 1682.

Crown. Plain, 1662-1684. Rose, 1662 (Pl. LI, 13). Elephant, 1666. Elephant and Castle, 1681. Some crowns of 1662 have no date on edge; the date on the edge is in words from 1667 onwards.

Half-crown. Plain, 1663-1684, except 1665. Elephant, 1666, Elephant and Castle, 1681. Plumes, 1673.

- Shilling. Plain, 1663, 1666, 1668-1684. Elephant, 1666. Elephant and Castle, 1681. Plumes, 1671, 1673-1680 (1678 doubtful). (Pl. LI, 9.)
 Sixpence, 1674-1684.
 4d., 3d., 2d., id. Reverse type is value marked in C's. 1668 (2d. only) and . 1670-1684. (Pl. LI, 10, n.)
 Copper Halfpenny (175 grs.). 0. Bust 1. in armour, CAROLVS A CAROLO. R. BRITANNIA. 1672, 1673, 1675.
 Copper Farthing. Similar 1672-1676, 1679. (Pl. LI, 12.)
 Tin Farthing. Similar, on edge NVMMORVM FAMVLVS and date. 1684, 1685.
- James II (1685-1688). Guinea (205.) of $129\frac{3}{8}\frac{0}{9}$ grs., penny of $7\frac{1}{8}$ grs.
 Five Guineas. Plain, 1686-1688. (Pl. LII, i.) Elephant and Castle, 1687, 1688.
 Two Guineas. Plain, 1687, 1688.
 Guinea. Plain, 1685-1688. Elephant and Castle, 1685-1688.
 Half-guinea. Plain, 1686-1688. Elephant and Castle, 1686.
 Crown, Half-crown, Shilling, Sixpence. 1685-1688, excepting crown and sixpence of 1685.
 4d., 3d., 2d., id. (R. Roman numerals). 1685 (3d. and id. only) and 1686-1688. (Pl. LII, 2).
 Tin Halfpenny, 1685-1687. Tin Farthing, 1684-1687 (James came to the throne on 6 Feb., 1684/5).
- William and Mary (1688-1694). Guinea ($129^{\wedge}$ grs.) of 20s. rising in value to 30s., penny of $7\frac{2}{3}\frac{3}{1}$ grs. Copper struck at 20d. (formerly 20d. to the lb. avoidupois). Type of gold coins changed to a crowned shield; silver coins have shields crosswise with WM monogram in angles, except half-crown of 1689-1690, which has a crowned shield.
 Five Guineas. Plain, 1691-1694. Elephant and Castle, 1691-1694. (Pl. LII, 3.)
 Two Guineas. Plain, 1693, 1694. Elephant and Castle, 1691, 1694.
 Guinea. Plain, 1689-1694. Elephant and Castle, 1689, 1691-1694.
 Half-guinea. Plain, 1689-1692, 1694. Elephant and Castle, 1691, 1692.
 Crown, 1691, 1692.
 Half-crown. Shield crowned, 1689, 1690. Shields crosswise with WM, 1691-1693.
 Shilling, 1692, 1693. Sixpence, 1693, 1694.
 4d., 3d., 2d., id., 1689-1694, twopence omitted in 1690.
 Tin Halfpenny, 1690-1692. Farthing, 1689-1692.
 Copper Halfpenny and Farthing, 1694.
- William III (1694-1702). Weights as before. Guinea gradually reduced in value from 30s. to 21s. 6d. Type of gold coins is shields crosswise with sceptres, silver coins also have shields crosswise, plain between unless with plumes, which are on obverse or reverse. Coins of Bristol, Chester, Exeter, Norwich, and York are marked with their initial letters below the bust.
 Five Guineas. Plain, 1699-1701. Elephant and Castle, 1699.
 Two Guineas. Plain, 1701.

- Guinea. Plain, 1695-1701. Elephant and Castle, 1695, 1699, 1700.
 Half-guinea. Plain, 1695, 1697, 1698, 1700, 1701. Elephant and Castle, 1696, 1698.
 Crown, 1695-1697, 1700.
 Half-crown, Shilling, Sixpence.
 Plain, 1695-1701 (except half-crown of 1695).
 Bristol, Chester, Exeter, Norwich, York. 1696, 1697. (Pl. LII, 4.)
 Plumes, 1698-1700 (is., 6d.), 1701 (2s. 6d., Is.).
 Roses, 1699 (is., 6d.). Elephant and Castle, 1701 (2s. 6d., is.).
 4d., 3d., 2d., id., 1698-1701, and 4d. of 1702.
 Copper Halfpenny, 1695-1701. Farthing, 1695-1700.
- Anne (1702-1714). Types and weights as before. Guinea of 2is. 6d.
 Five Guineas. Plain, 1705, 1706, 1709, 1711, 1713, 1714. Vigo, 1703. (Pl. LII. s.)
 Two Guineas, 1709, 1711, 1713, 1714.
 Guinea. Plain, 1702, 1705-1714. Vigo, 1703. Elephant and Castle, 1707-1709.
 Half-guinea. Plain, 1702, 1705, 1707-1714. Vigo, 1703.
 Crown. Plain, 1707, 1708. Vigo, 1703. Plumes, 1705, 1708. Roses and Plumes, 1706, 1707, 1713.
 Half-crown. Plain, 1703, 1707-1709, 1713. Vigo, 1703. Plumes, 1704, 1705, 1708. Roses and Plumes, 1706, 1707, 1710, 1712-1714.
 Shilling. Plain, 1702, 1704, 1705, 1707-1709, 1711. Vigo, 1702, 1703. Plumes, 1702, 1704, 1705, 1707, 1708. Roses and Plumes, 1705, 1707, 1708, 1710, 1712-1714.
 Sixpence. Plain, 1705, 1707, 1708, 1711. Vigo, 1703. Plumes, 1705, 1707, 1708. Roses and Plumes, 1705, 1707, 1710.
 4d., 3d., 2d., id., 1703-1710 and 1713 (except id. of 1704, and 4d. and id. of 1707).
 Copper Farthing, 1714. (Pl. LII. 6.)
- George I (1714-1727). Types and weights as before. Guinea reduced to 2is.
 The abbreviated titles of the king are in full: *Georgius Dei Gratia Magnae Britanniae Franciae et Hiberniae Rex, Fidei Defensor, Brunsvicensis et Lunenburgensis Dux, Sacri Romani Imperii Archi-Thesaurarius et Elector.*
 Five Guineas, 1716, 1717, 1720, 1726. (Pl. LII, 7.)
 Two Guineas, 1717, 1720, 1726.
 Guinea. Plain, 1714-1727. Elephant and Castle, 1721, 1726.
 Half-guinea, 1717-1719, 1722, 1725-1727.
 Quarter-guinea, 1718.
 Crown. Roses and Plumes, 1716, 1718, 1720, 1726. SSC, 1723.
 Half-crown. Roses and Plumes, 1715, 1717, 1720, 1726. SSC 1723.
 Shilling. Plain, 1720, 1721. Roses and Plumes, 1715-1727. SSC, 1723. WCC, 1723-1726.
 Sixpence. Roses and Plumes, 1717, 1720, 1726. SSG, 1723. (Pl. LII, 8.)
 4d., 3d., 2d., id. All values, 1723, 1727. 4d., 3d., 2d., 1717, 1721. 2d. and id., 1726. id. only, 1716, 1718, 1720, 1725.

Copper Halfpenny and Farthing, 1717-1724, except farthing of 1718. The earlier type (Jd., 1717, 1718 ; ¼d., 1717) is known as "dump" halfpence and farthings.

George II (1727-1760). Gold coins have the crowned shield, silver coins shields crosswise. The portrait changes to older features on gold in 1739, on silver in 1743, on copper in 1740.

Five Guineas. Plain, 1729, 1731, 1735, 1738, 1741, 1748, 1753. EIC, 1729. Lima, 1746.

Two Guineas. Plain, 1735, 1738-1740, 1748, 1753-

Guinea. Plain, 1727, 1731-1740, 1745-1750, 1752, 1753, 1755, 1756, 1758-1760. EIC, 1729, 1731, 1732, 1739. Lima, 1745.

Half-guinea. Plain, 1728-1732, 1734, 1736-1740, 1745, 1746, 1752, 1753, 1755, 1756, 1758-1760. EIC, 1729. Lima, 1745.

Crown. Roses and plumes, 1732, 1734, 1735, 1736- (PI- LIII, I) Roses, 1739, 1741-1743- Lima, 1746. Plain, 1750, 1751.

Half-crown. Roses and Plumes, 1731, 1732, 1734, 1735, '73^ - Roses, 1739, 1741, 1743, 1745. Lima, 1745, 1746. Plain, 1750, 1751.

Shilling. Plumes, 1727, 1731. Roses and Plumes, 1727-1729, 1731, 1732, 1734-1737. Roses, 1739, 1741, 1743, 1745, '747- Lima, 1745, 1746. Plain, 1728, 1750, 1751, 1758.

Sixpence. Plumes, 1728. Roses and Plumes, 1728, 1731, 1732, 1734-1736. Roses, 1739, 1741, 1743, 1745. Lima, 1745, 1746. Plain, 1728, 1750, 1751, 1757, 1758.

Maundy money. All values, 1729, 1731, 1732, 1735, 1737, 1739, 1740, 1743, 1746, 1760. Twopence and penny, 1756, 1759. Penny only, 1750, 1752-1755, 1757, 1758. (PL LIII, 2.)

Copper Halfpenny, 1729-1740, 1742-1754. Farthing, 1730-1737, 1739, 1741 1744, 1746, 1749, 1750, 1754.

George III (1760-1820). Guinea (2is.) of 129[^] grs., sovereign (2Ob.) of 123-274 grs. Shilling reduced in 1816 from approximately 93 grs. to 8⁷/_J grs.

Guinea. Early shield, 1761-1786 except 1762 and 1780. (PL LIV, i.) "Spade" shield 1787-1799 (PL LIV, 2). Gartered shield, 1813 (PL LIV, 3).

Half-guinea, 1762-1766, 1768, 1769, 1772-1779, 1781, 1784-1791, 1793-1798, 1800-1804, 1806, 1808-1811, 1813.

Third-guinea (A) Crown), 1797-1804, 1806, 1808-1811, 1813. (PL LIII, 6.)

Quarter-guinea, 1762. (PL LIII, 7.)

Sovereign (St. George) and Half-sovereign (Shield), 1817, 1818, 1820. (PL LIV, 4, LIII, 8.) A sovereign dated 1819 is recorded.

Countermarked Spanish Dollar (current at 45. 9d.), half, quarter, and eighth. With oval countermark, 1797, octagonal, 1804. (PL LIII, 3.)

Bank Dollar of 55., 1804 (PL LIII, 4.) three shillings and eighteen pence, 1811-1816.

Crown (St. George and dragon), 1818-1820. (PL LIII, 5.)

Half-crown (shield), 1816-1820.

Shilling, 1763 (Northumberland shilling, PL LIV, 5), 1787, 1798 (Dorrien and Magens), i8i6,i820.

Sixpence, 1787 (PL LIV, 6), 1816-1820 (PL LIV, 7).

Maundy money. All values, 1763, 1766, 1772, 1780, 1784, 1786, 1792 (Wire money, PL LIV, 8-11), 1795, 1800, 1817, 1818, 1820, Fourpence, threepence, and twopence, 1765. Fourpence, threepence, and penny, 1770. Fourpence, twopence, and penny, 1776. Threepence only, 1762. Penny only, 1779, 1781.

Copper Twopence (Cartwheel), 1797, Copper Penny, 1797 (Cartwheel, PL LIV, 12), 1806, 1807.

Copper Halfpenny, 1770-1775 (PL LV, i), 1799, 1806, 1807.

Copper Farthing, 1771-1775, 1799, 1806, 1807. (PL LV, 2.)

George IV (1820-1830). St. George and the dragon on gold coins of 1820-1825 ; shield crowned, 1825-1830.

Double Sovereign, 1823. Sovereign, 1821-1825 (St. George), 1825-1827. 1829, 1830 (Shield).

Half-sovereign, 1821 (shield and emblems), 1823-1825 (ungarnished shield, emblems below), 1826-1828 (garnished shield).

Crown (St. George and dragon), 1821, 1822.

Half-crown, 1820, 1821, 1823 (shield and emblems, PL LVI, i), 1823, 1824 (gartered shield), 1824-1829, except 1827 (helmed shield).

Shilling, 1820-1821 (shield and emblems), 1823-1825 (gartered shield), 1825-1829, except 1828 (lion, PL LV, 3).

Sixpence, 1820, 1821 (shield and emblems), 1824-1826 (gartered shield), 1826-1829 (lion).

Maundy money. All values, 1822-1830.

Copper Penny and Halfpenny, 1825-1827. Farthing, 1821-1826, except 1824 (ist type), 1826-1830 (2nd type).

A Half-farthing was struck in 1828 and 1830 for Ceylon, and a Third-farthing for Malta.

William IV (1830-1837).

Sovereign. Shield type, 1831-1837, except 1834.

Half-sovereign, 1834-1837.

Half-crown. Shield type, 1834-1837. (PL LVI, 2.)

Shilling. Value as type, 1834-1837.

Sixpence. Value as type, 1831, 1834-1837.

Groat. Britannia, 1836, 1837.

Maundy money, 1831-1837.

Copper Penny and Halfpenny, 1831, 183 , 1837.

Copper Farthing, 1831, 1834-1837.

Half-farthing 1837 for Ceylon ; Third-farthing 1835 for Malta.

Victoria, 1837-1901. Changes of portrait in 1887 and 1893.

Five Pounds and Two Pounds, 1887, 1893.

Sovereign.¹ Shield type, 1838-1874, except 1840 and 1867. St. George, 1871-1901, except 1875, 1877, 1881, 1882, 1897.

¹ See footnote on next page.

Half-sovereign.¹ Shield type, 1838-1893, except 1840, 1862, 1868, 1881, 1882.
St. George, 1893-1901.

Crown, 1844, 1845, 1847, 1887-1900.

Double Florin, 1887-1890.

Half-crown, 1840-1846, 1848-1851, 1874-1901. (PL LVI, 3, 4, 5.)

Florin, 1849 ("Godless "), 1851-1860, 1862-1881, 1883-1901.

Shilling and Sixpence, 1838-1846, 1848-1901. (PL LV, 4, 5.)

Groat, 1838-1855, except 1850. (PL LV, 8.)

Threepence, same as Maundy threepence, put into general circulation in 1845.
Maundy money, 1838-1901.

Copper Penny, 1841, 1843-1849, 1851, 1853-1860. (PL LV, 6.)

Copper Halfpenny, 1838, 1841, 1843-1848, 1851-1860. Farthing 1838-1860.

Bronze Penny, Halfpenny, and Farthing, 1860-1894, except farthings of 1870,
1871, and 1889 (PL LV, 7); without ship and lighthouse, 1895-1901.

Heaton (H) pennies, halfpennies and farthings, 1874-1876, 1881, 1882.

Half-farthings, 1839, 1842-1844, 1847, 1851-1854, 1856, were made current
by a proclamation of 1842, though struck primarily for colonial use. The
third of a farthing was struck for Malta, the quarter farthing for Ceylon.

Edward VII (1901-1910).

Five Pounds and Two Pounds, 1902.

Sovereign¹ and Half-sovereign, 1902-1910.

Crown, 1902.

Half-crown (PL LVI, 6), Florin (Britannia type), Shilling, Sixpence, Threepence,
1902-1910.

Maundy money, 1902-1910.

Penny, Halfpenny, Farthing, 1902-1910.

George V. New types of silver coins from 1928.

Five Pounds and Two Pounds, 1911.

Sovereign,¹ 1911-1917, 1925.. Half-sovereign, 1911-1915.

Crown, 1928-1931. (PL LV, 10.)

Half-crown and Florin, 1911-1931 except florin of 1927. (PL LVI, 7.)

Shilling, Sixpence (PL LV, 9), Threepence, 1911-1931.

Maundy money, 1911-1931.

Penny, 1911-1922, 1926-1931. H (Heaton), 1912, 1918, 1919. KN (King's
Norton), 1918, 1919.

Halfpenny and Farthing, 1911-1931.

¹ Sovereigns and half-sovereigns struck in the Dominions have M (Melbourne), P (Perth), S (Sydney), SA (South Africa), C (Canada), or I (India) on the ground-line below St. George, or, earlier, below the shield or below the bust of Queen Victoria.

CHAPTER XVIII

PATTERN COINS

PATTERNS are trial pieces which were not accepted for the coinage. Proofs bear the designs which were put into circulation. The difference is most clearly illustrated by the farthing of Queen Anne ; it is believed, but it is not certain, that the farthing of 1714 was put into circulation ; if so, the farthing dated 1713 is a proof, that of 1714 an ordinary coin ; if not, the farthings of both years are patterns.

This technical use of the two words is a matter of convenience. The proof may differ in points of detail from the ordinary coin ; it may be struck in a different metal ; it may bear a date which was not put into circulation. The half-crown and shilling of 1831, for example, are proofs only, though the sixpence of the same date was issued, and the 1927 silver coins bearing the new designs are proofs, but shillings were struck in that year for circulation. A proof may have a plain edge instead of a grained or lettered one. The pattern, on the other hand, has always a special interest, because it presents a design otherwise unknown, and these designs are often of a high artistic quality.

Another class of objects, intimately connected with the coinage, is known by the name of *Piedforts*. They are striking on thick flans from the ordinary coin dies ; the earliest of them date back to the reign of Edward I. Their purpose is uncertain ; the most probable explanation of them is that they were made by the graver as models for his workers ; but this explanation does not cover the whole ground, for in the early sixteenth century it is likely that the French practice had been adopted of striking such pieces for the king to use as presentation pieces. There are sovereigns of double and treble weight of Henry VII and of Edward VI, which were probably so used.

The following brief summary of the patterns includes some pieces which are deservedly treasured for their artistic beauty and their historical interest. Foremost among them is the Juxon medal, a pattern five-unite piece of fine workmanship which King Charles is believed to have presented to Bishop Juxon on the scaffold. Simon's petition crown and Rawlins's Oxford crown have equal attraction whether viewed as artistic or as historical objects. The same may be said of the Cromwell coins by Thomas Simon, which are justly prized by collectors. The value that is set on Tanner's imitations of Simon's coins is beyond comprehension ; they are imitations made in 1738 for the master of the mint, Richard Arundell, by a graver to the mint, both of whom should have had better taste than to indulge in the forgery of works of art.

Edward VI.

Angel Pattern Piedfort (472! grs.).

The angel holds shield as well as spear. The ship is three-masted and has a shield on its side. Rose i.m. Ordinary legends.

Half-sovereign, Crown, and Half-crown. (Pl. LVII, i, Crown.)

O. Uncrowned bust to r. R. Rose spray crowned and ER. *Scutum Fidei* legend on reverse. Legends interchanged on the half-sovereign.

Initial marks are Rose, cross (half-crown).

Shilling Piedfort (482 grs.).

Crowned bust and garnished shield, *Timor* legend and date MDXLVII.

The above coins probably all belong to the coinage of 1547.

Horseman Shilling. (Pl. LVII. 2.)

O. King in armour on galloping horse. R. Shield crowned and *Timor* legend with date MDLI. Ostrich head i.m. A rejected design for the fine coinage, which confirms the opinion that the gold coins of this issue, which bear the ostrich head, were struck in 1551.

Philip and Mary. Pattern Half-crown ?

Busts of Philip and Mary on either side of the coin, both with a crown above, and date 1554.

Elizabeth.

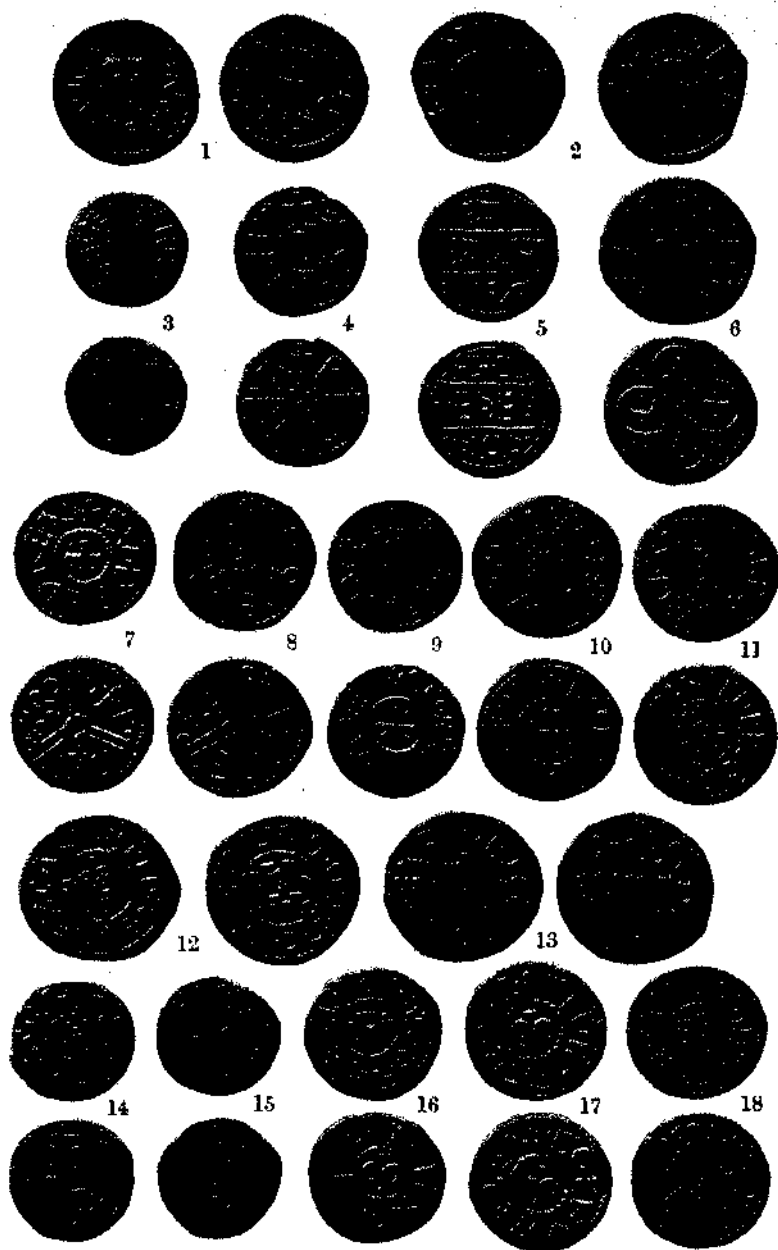
Half-crown, or shilling piedfort, in high relief. Lis i.m.

Shilling of very fine work with garnished shield. Key i.m. (Pl. LVII, 5.)

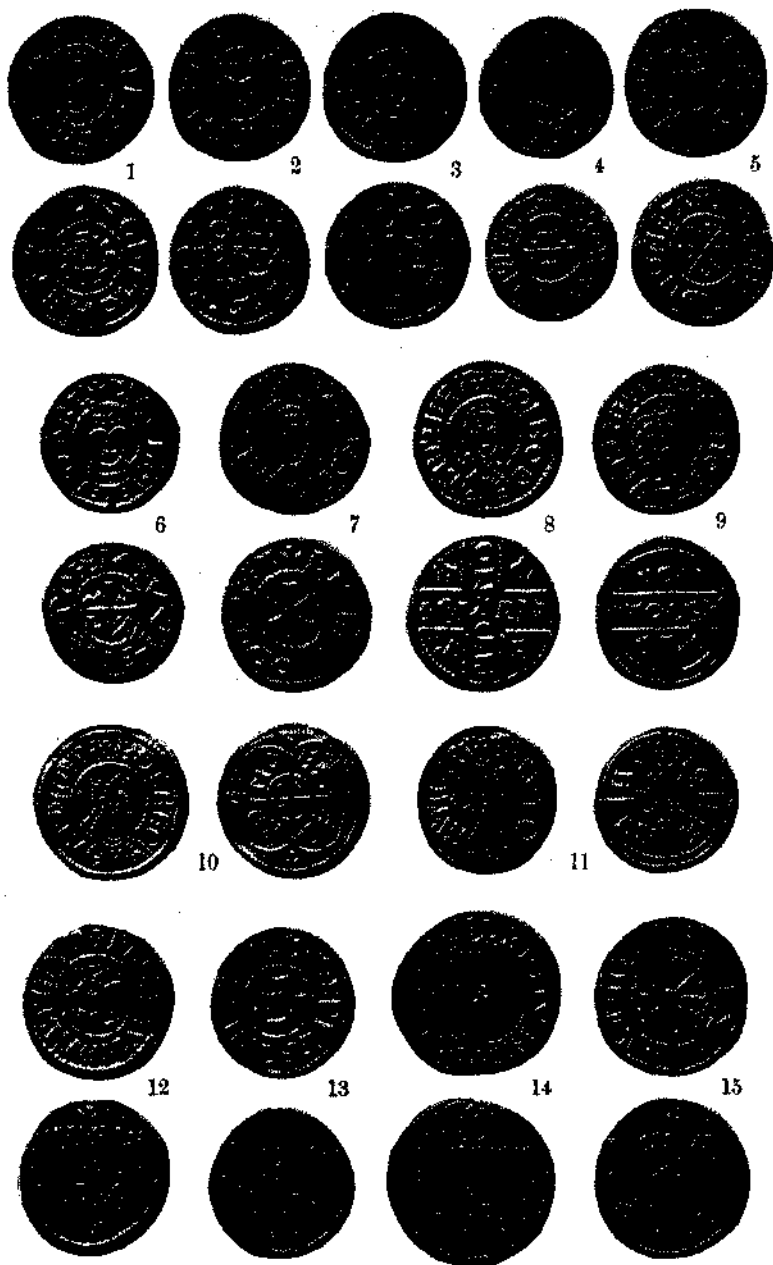
Sixpence and Threepence dated 1575. By Derick Anthony. (Pl. LVII, 3.)

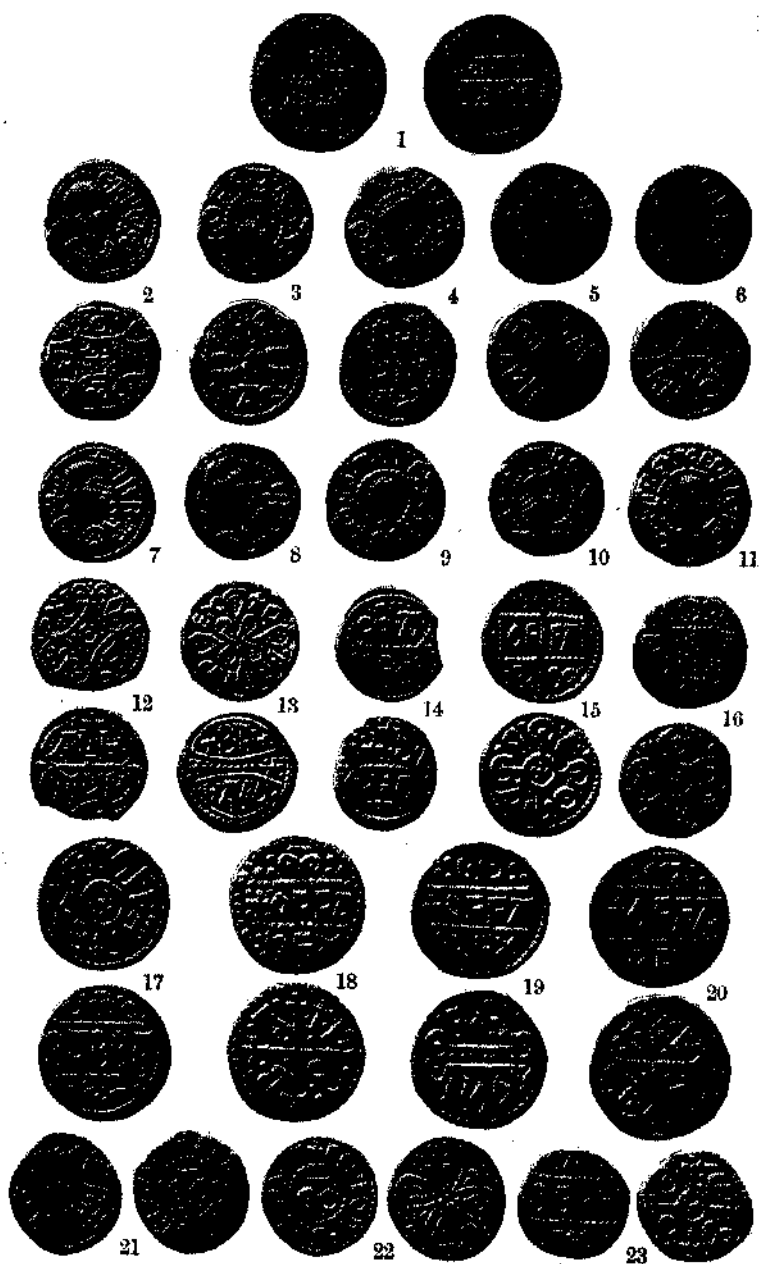
Small face and large bust with finely ornamented dress. The shield is on a broad, flat cross.

Half-groat with lis behind head. Bell i.m.

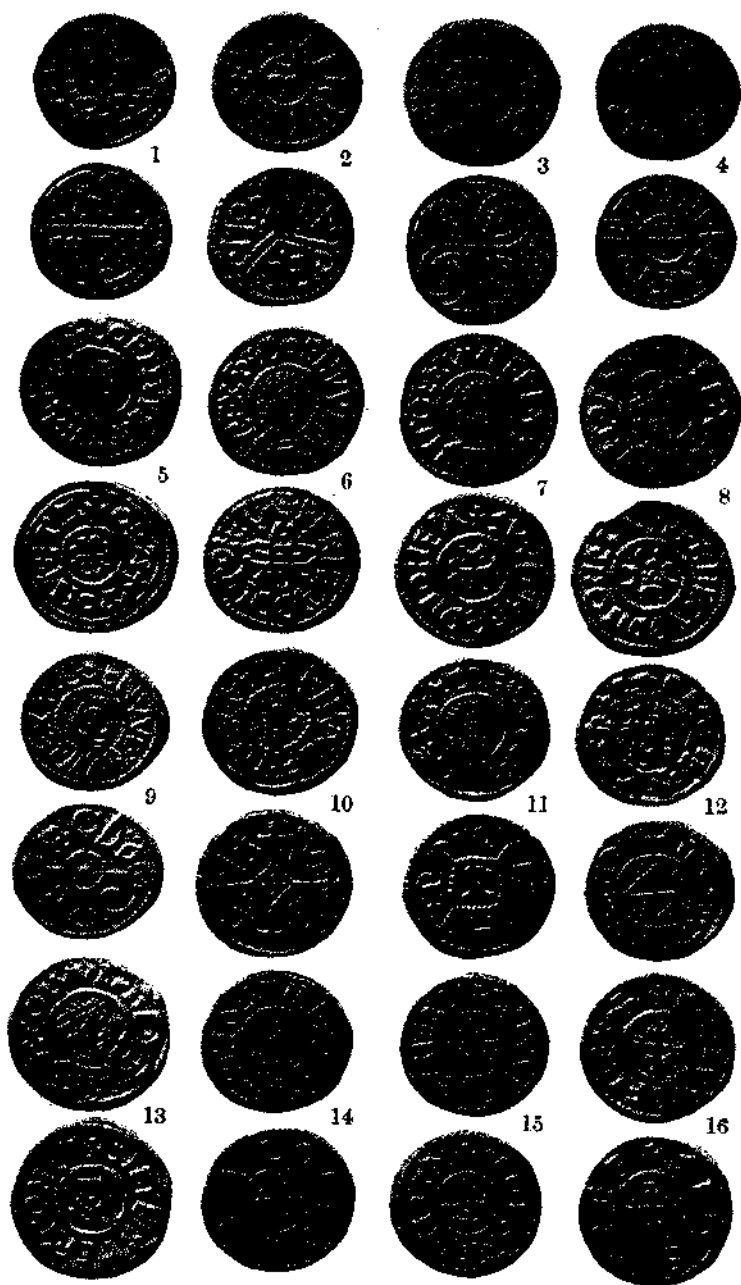


WIGMUND, SOLIDUS; EANRED, PENNY; KINGS OF KENT;
ARCHBISHOPS JAENBERHT AND AETHELHEARD

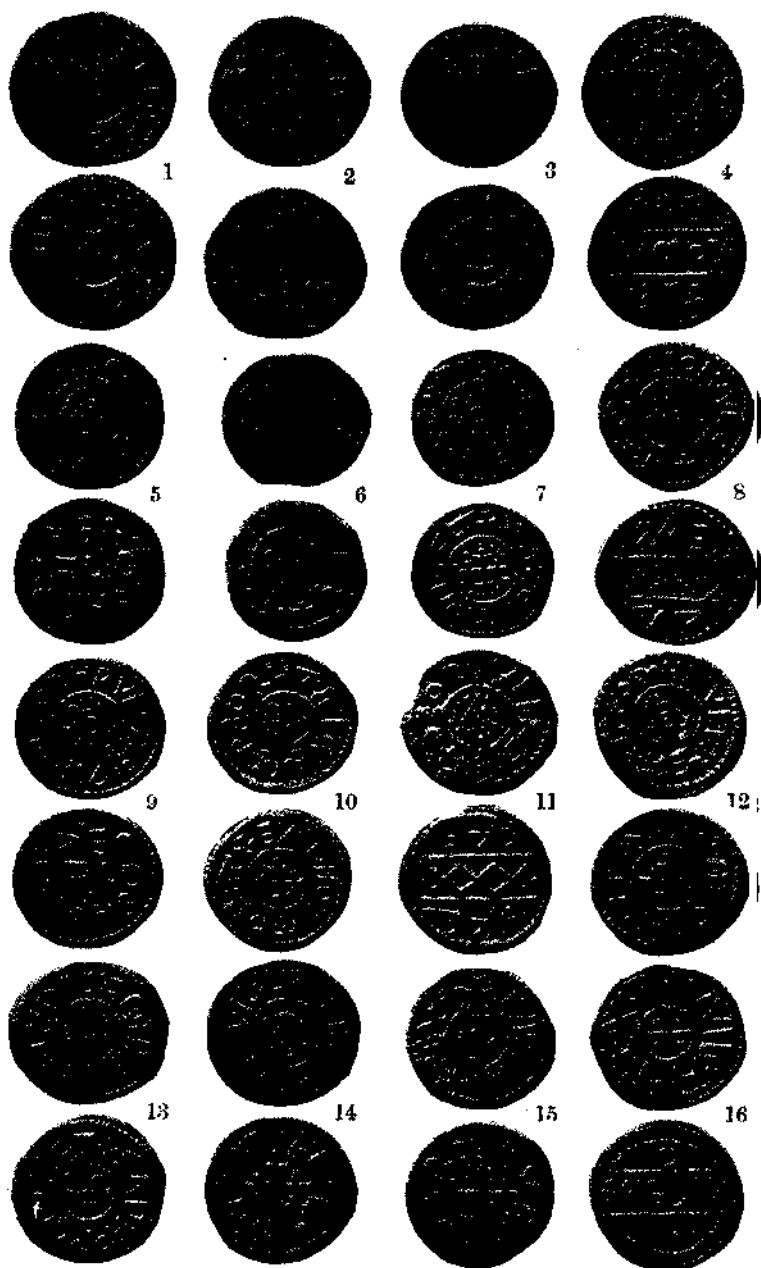




OFFA, GOLD DINAR AND SILVER PENNIES; CYNETHRITH;
BISHOP EADBERHT



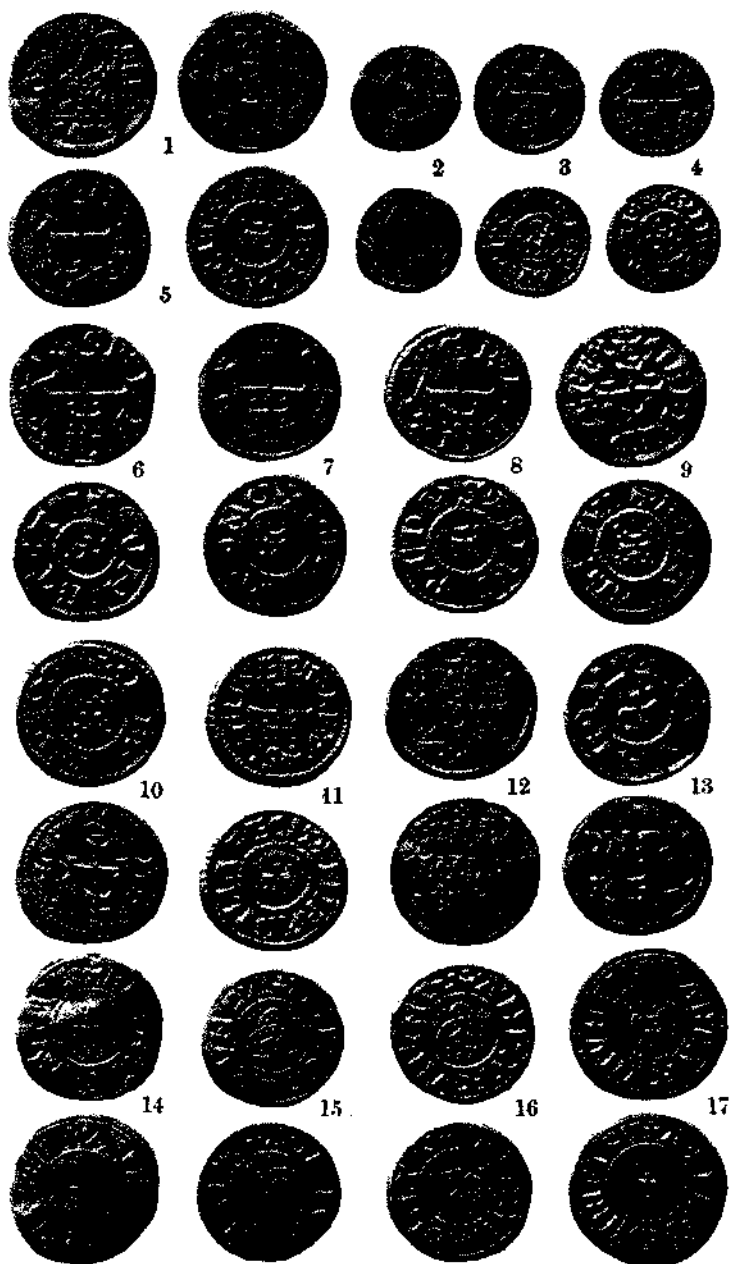
MERCIA, COENWULF AND CEOLWULF I



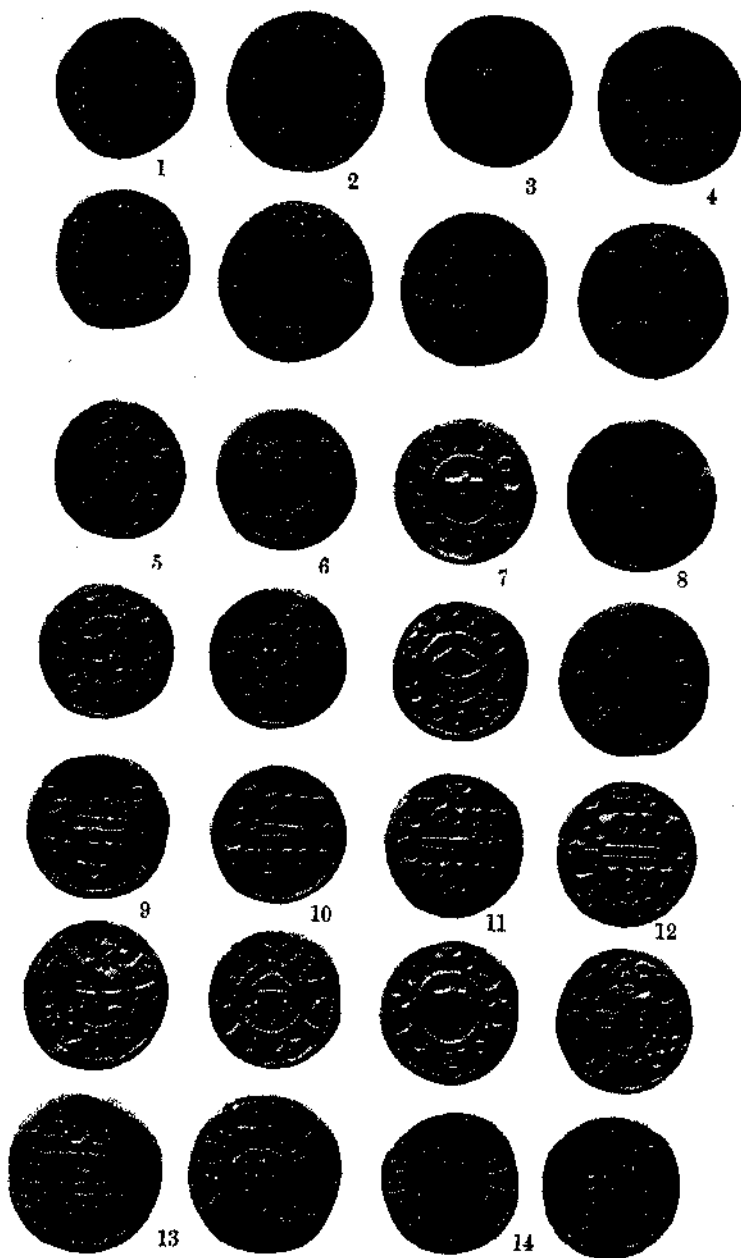
MERCIA, CEOLWULF I TO WIGLAF



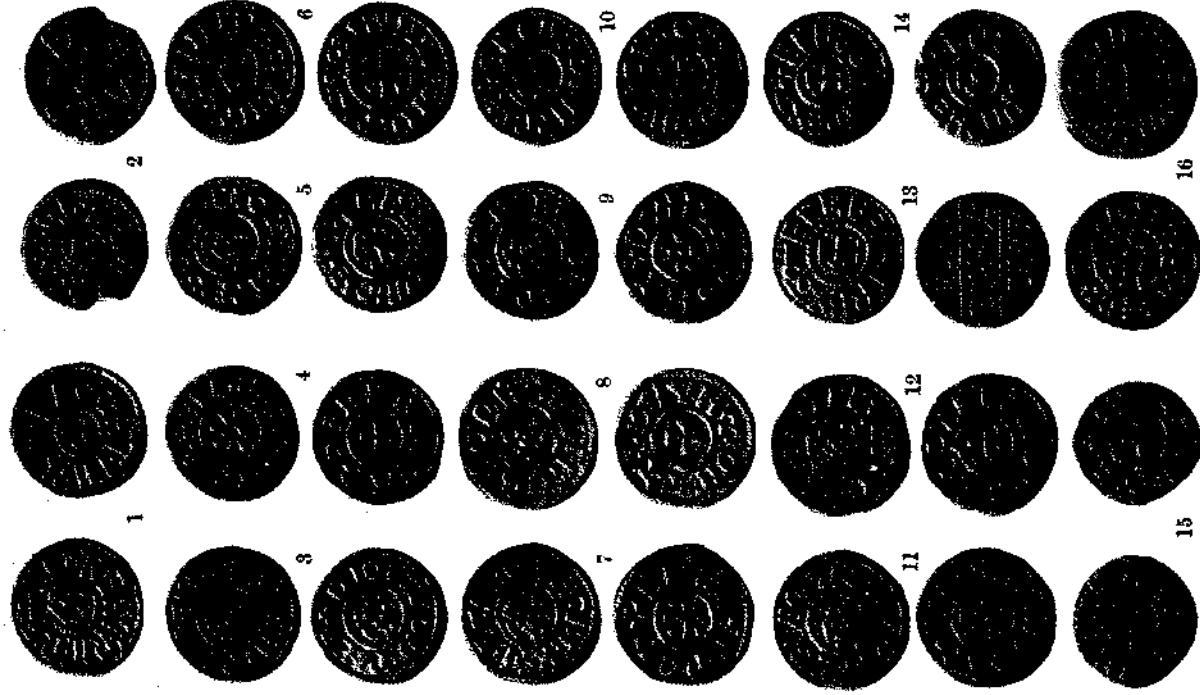
MERCIA, BERHTWULF TO CEOLWULF II; EAST ANGLIA

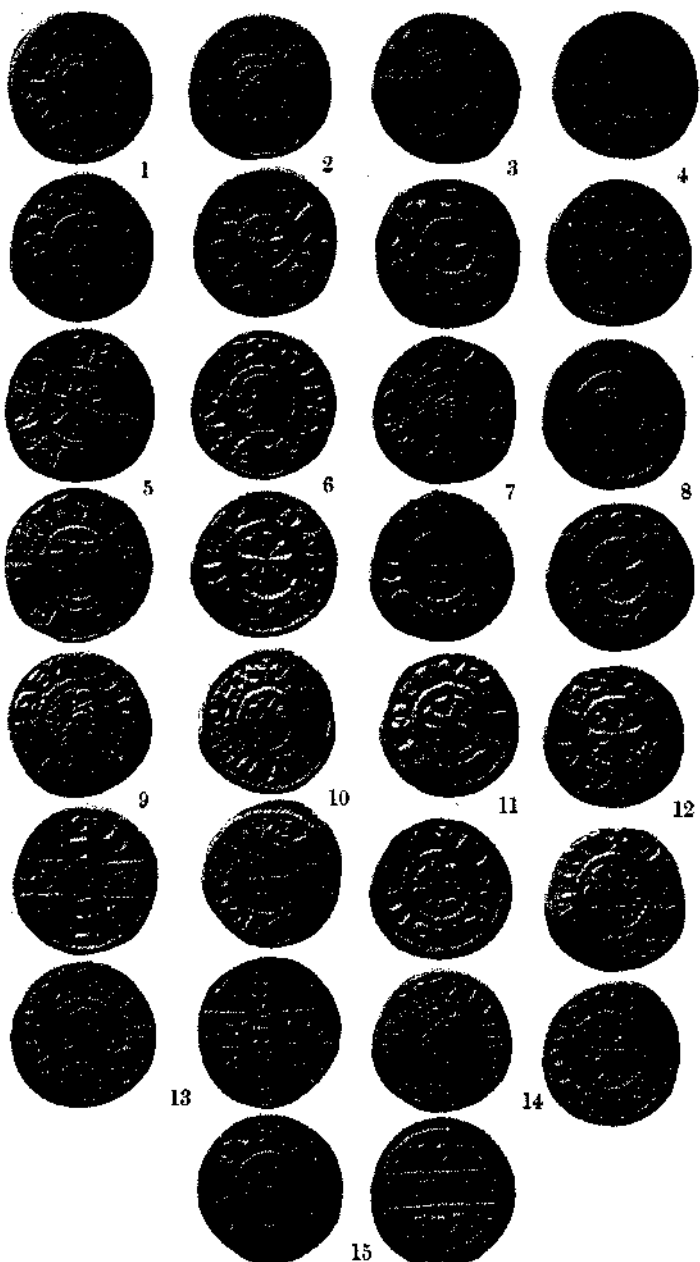


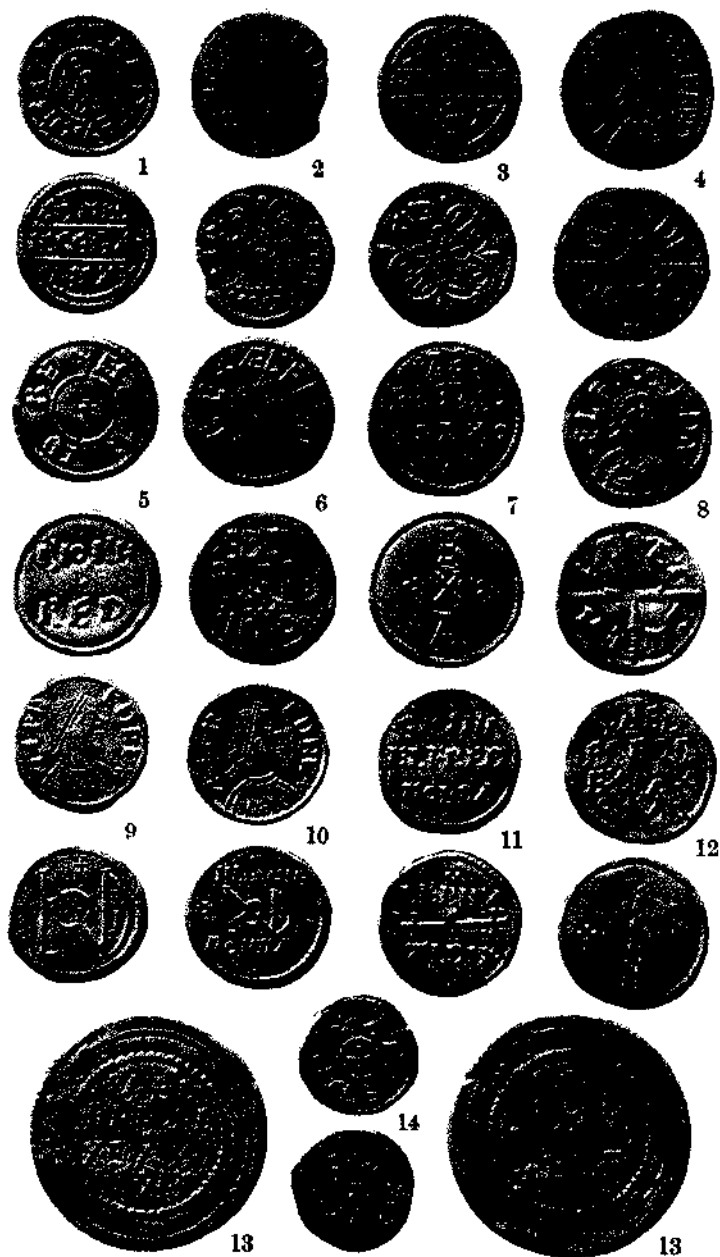
VIKING COINAGES



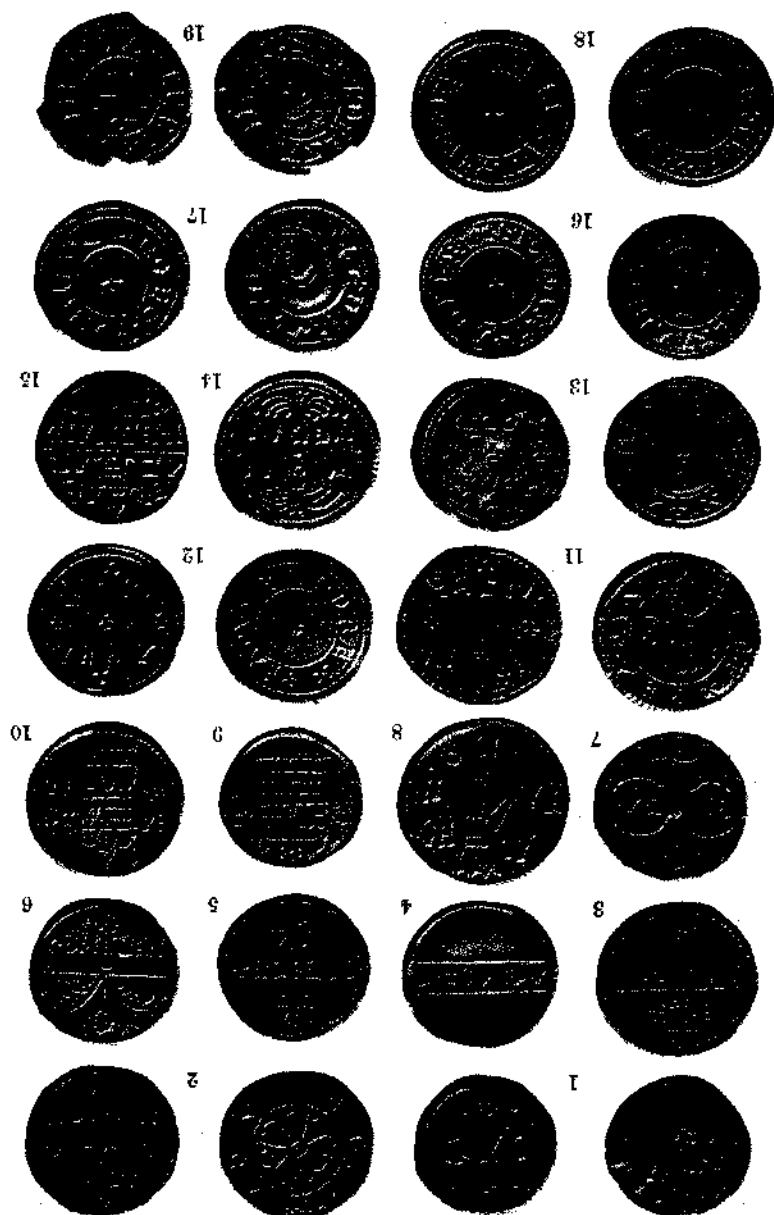
VIKING COINAGES

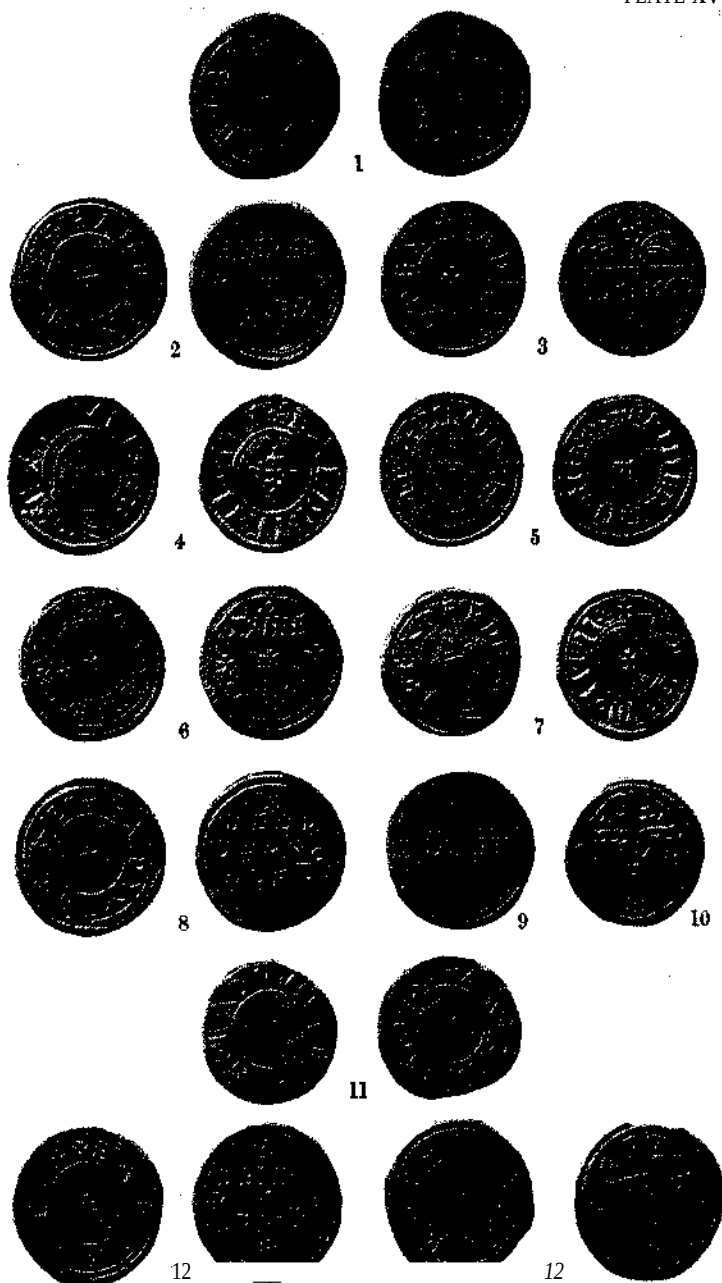


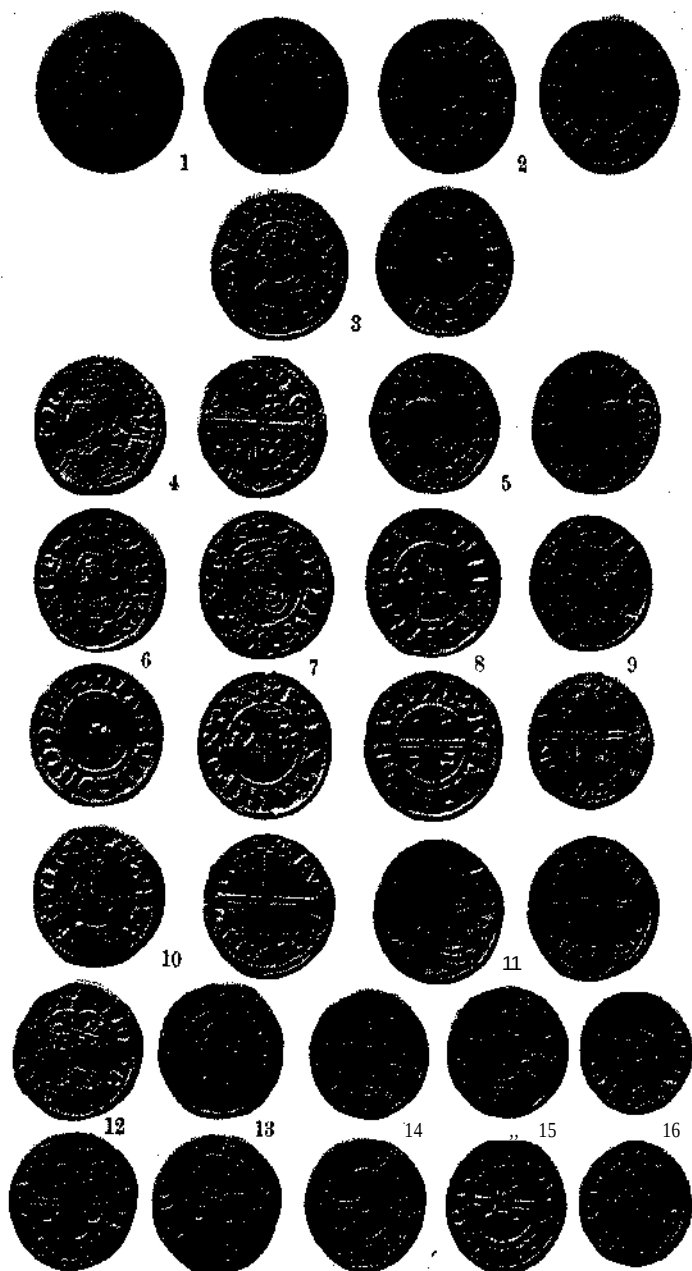


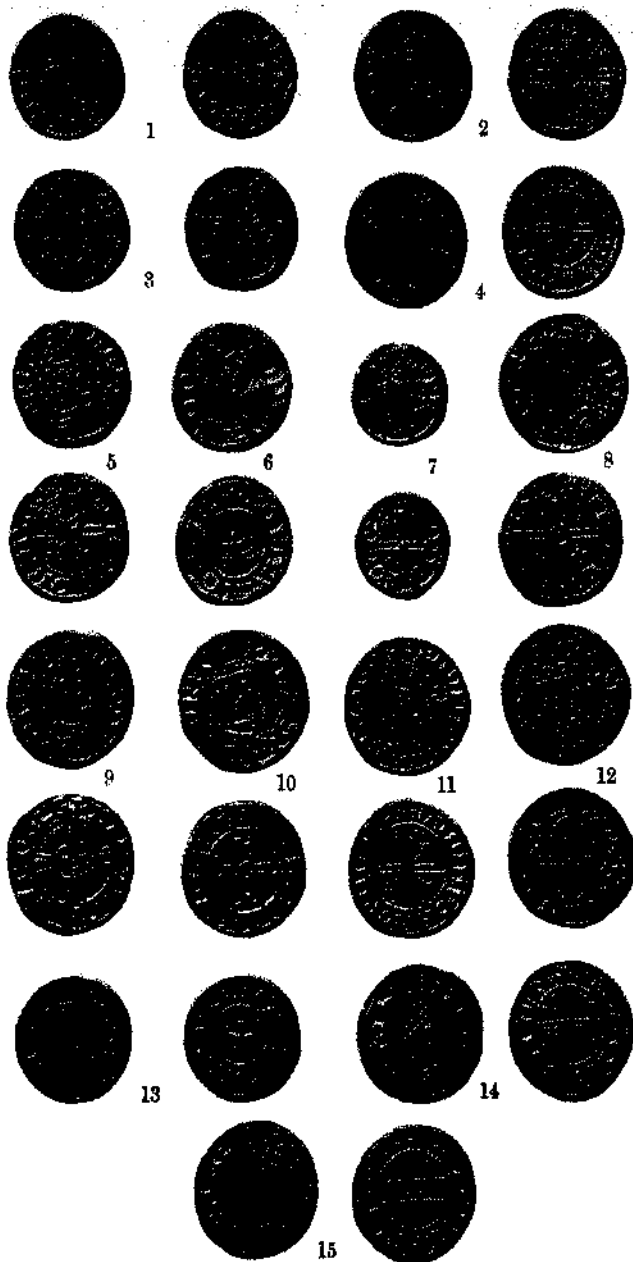


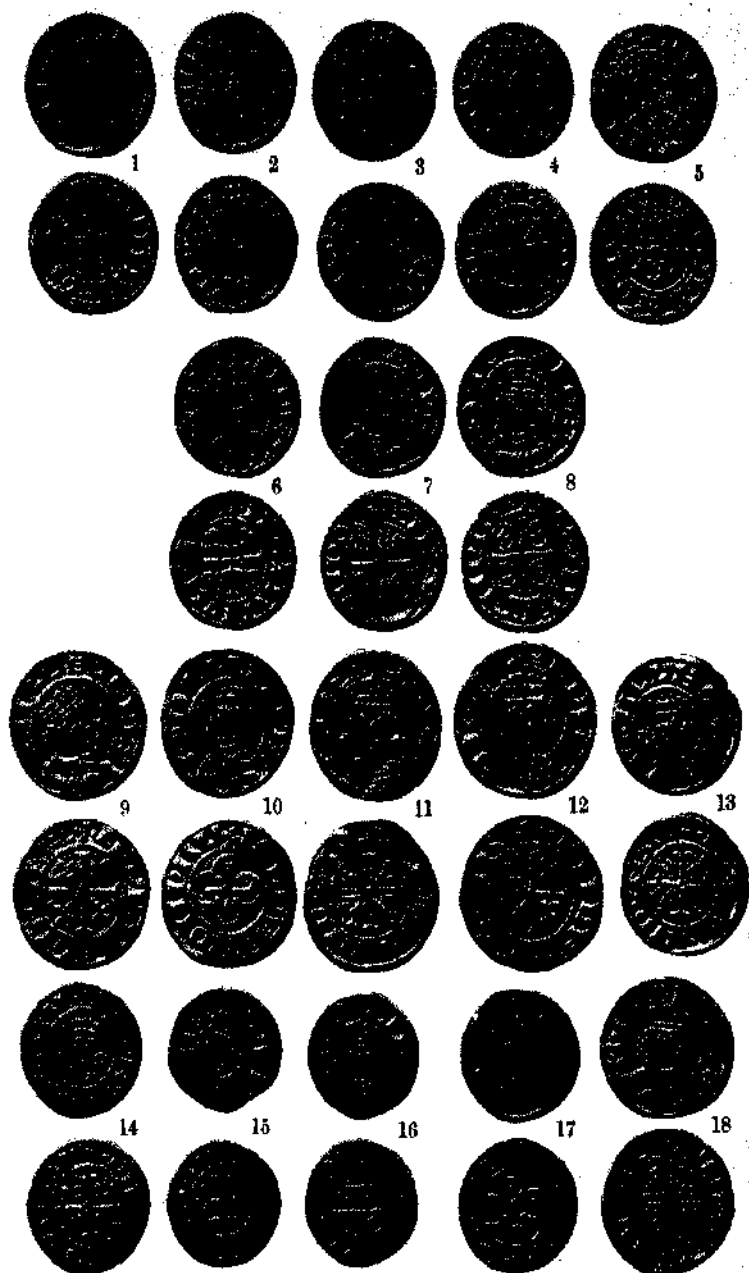
EDWARD THE ELDER; AETHHELSTAN

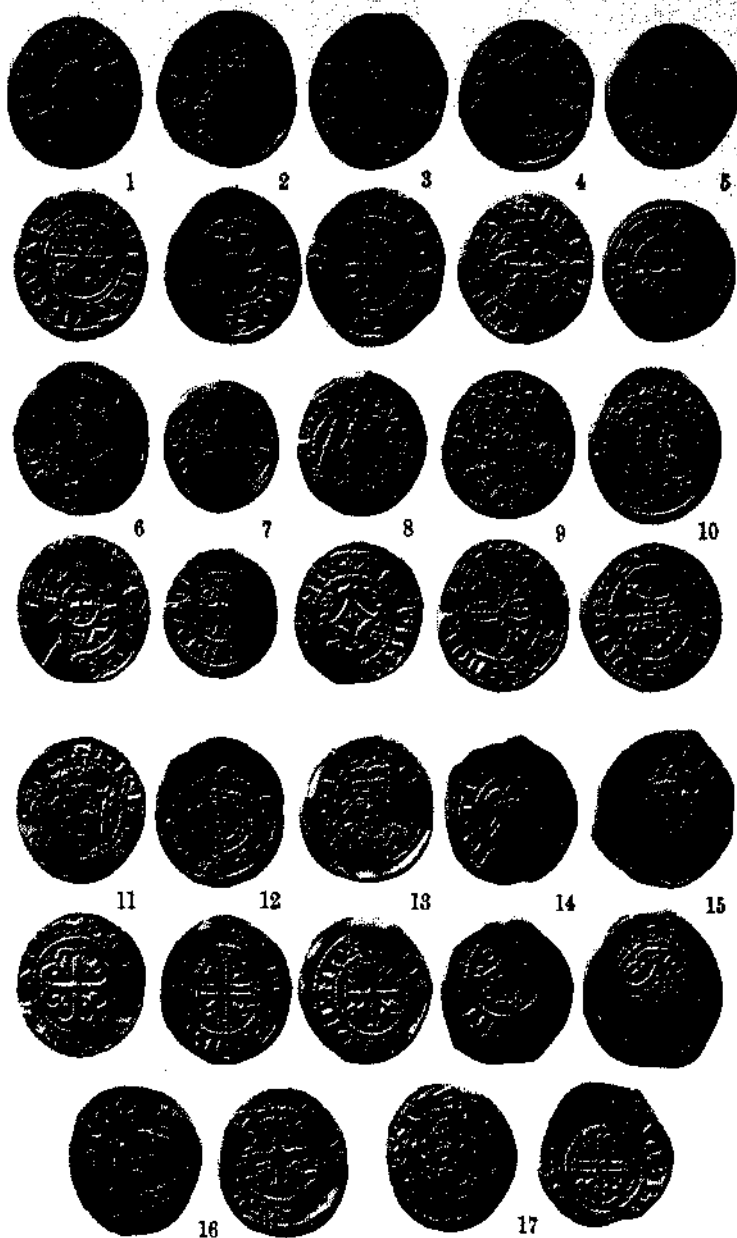




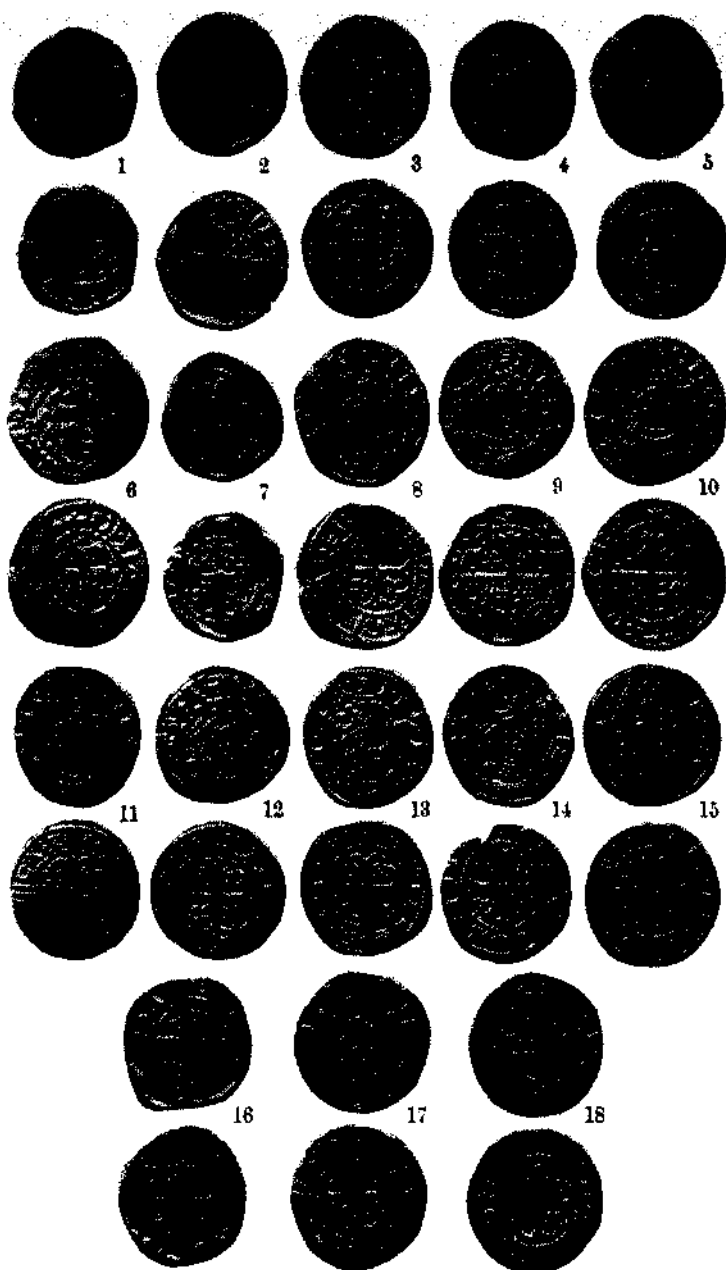


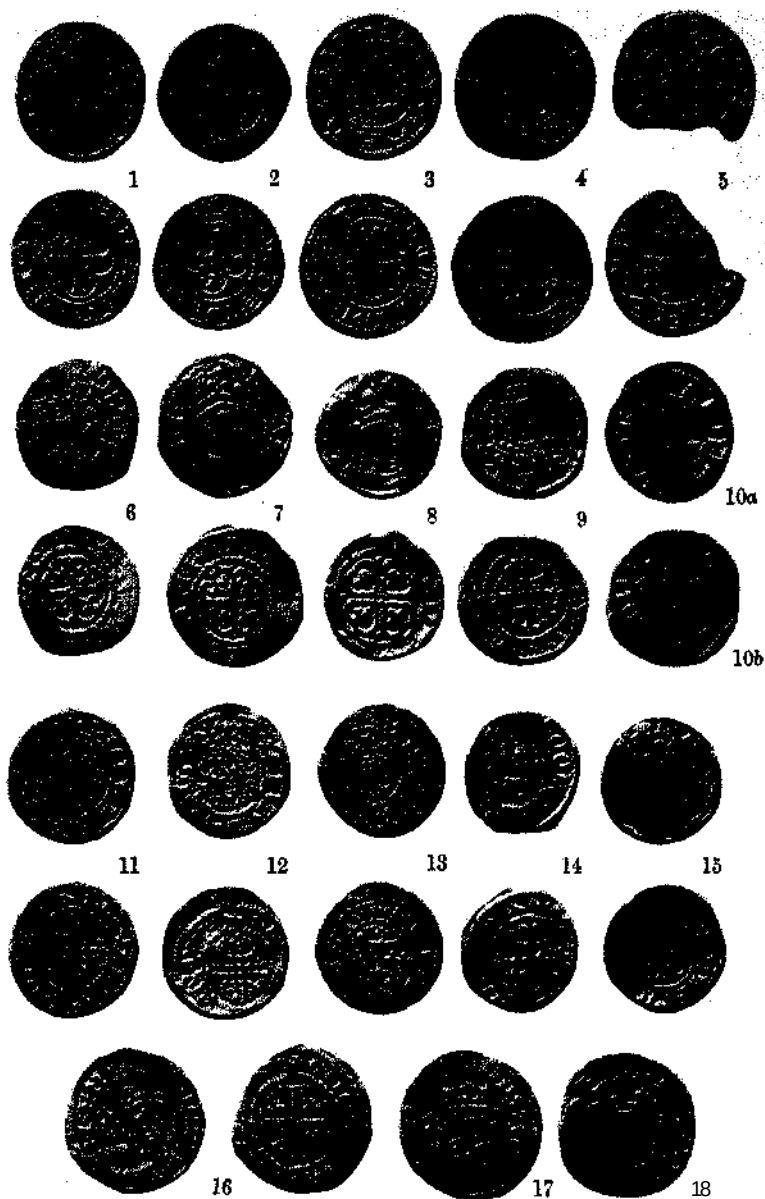




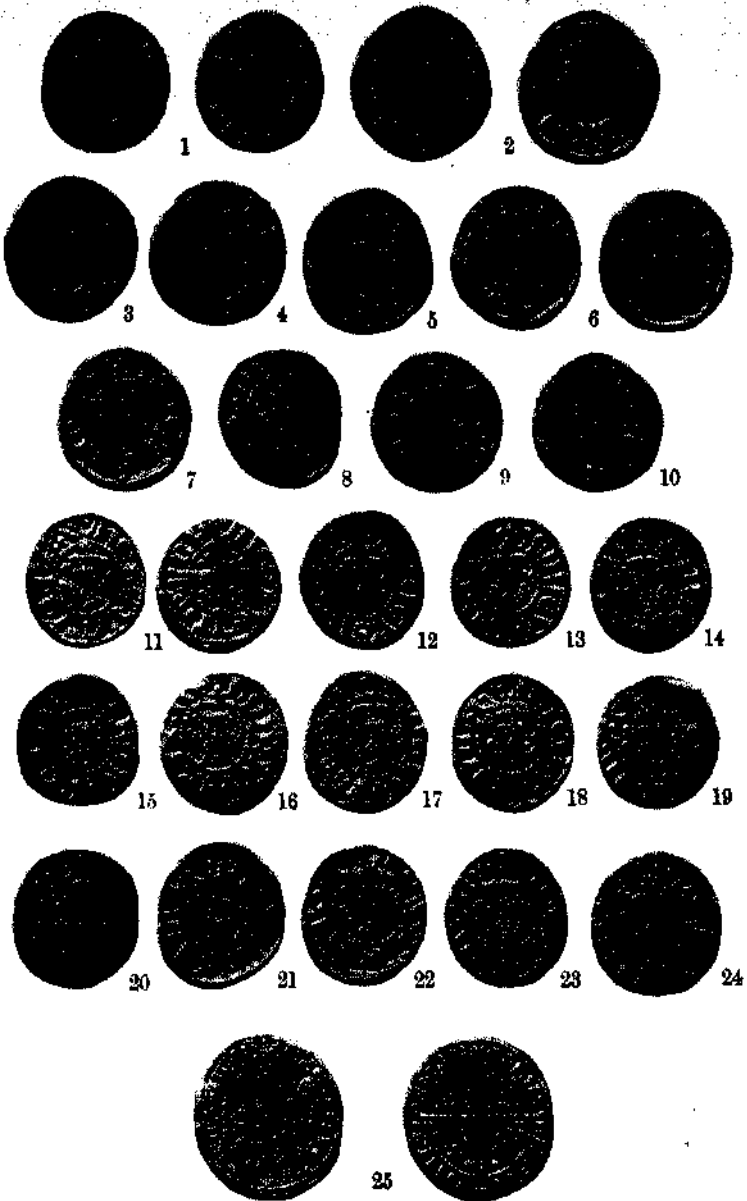


HENRY I; STEPHEN

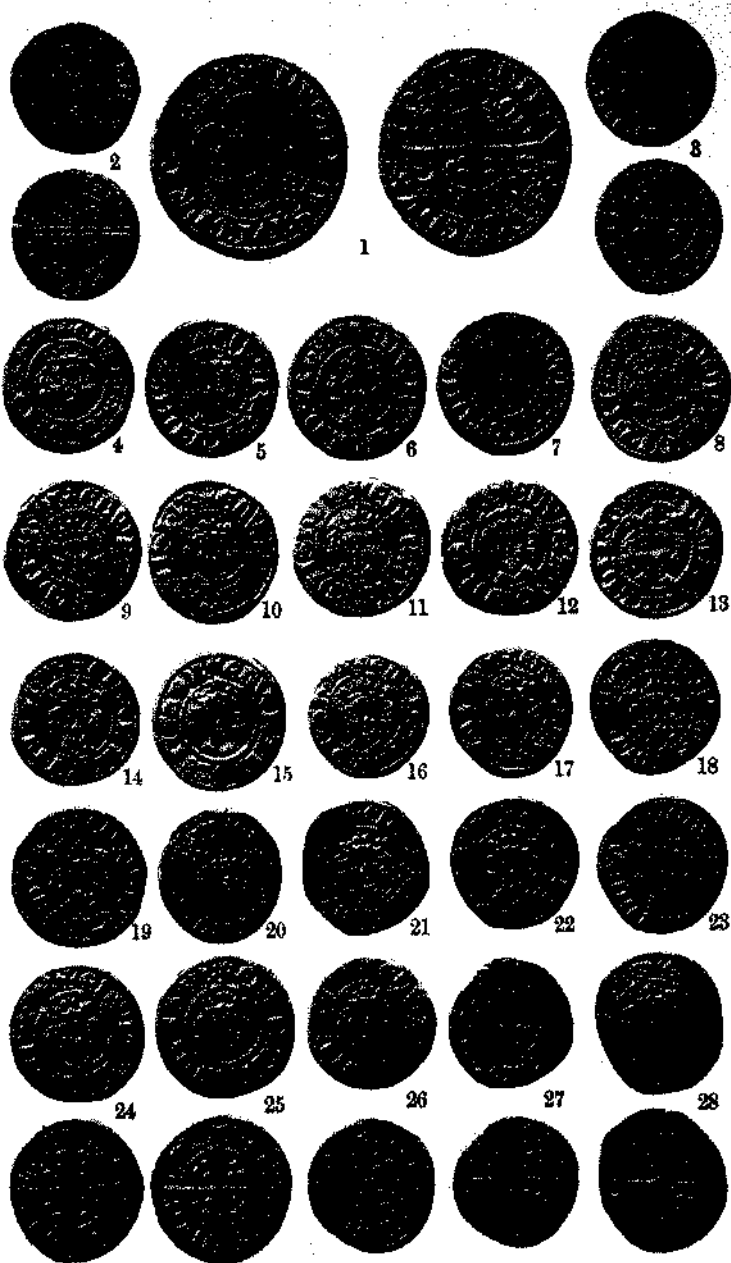




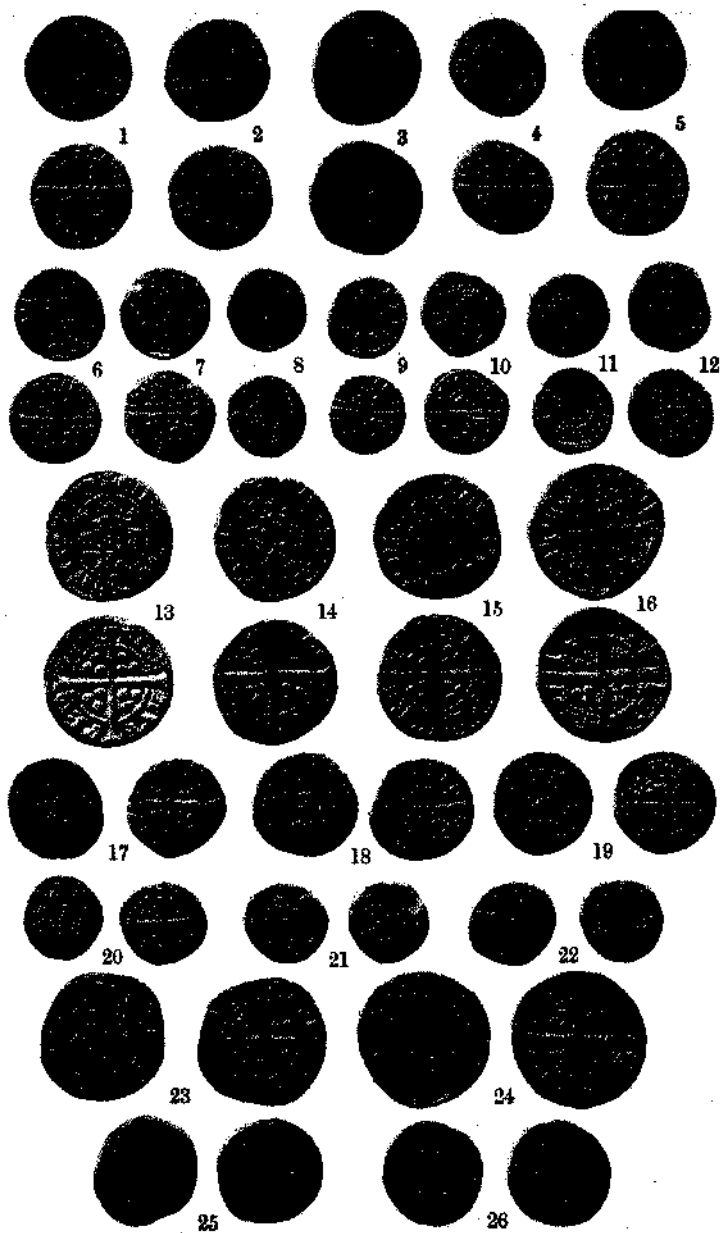
BARONIAL ISSUES OF THE REIGN OF STEPHEN;
HENRY II, FIRST ISSUE



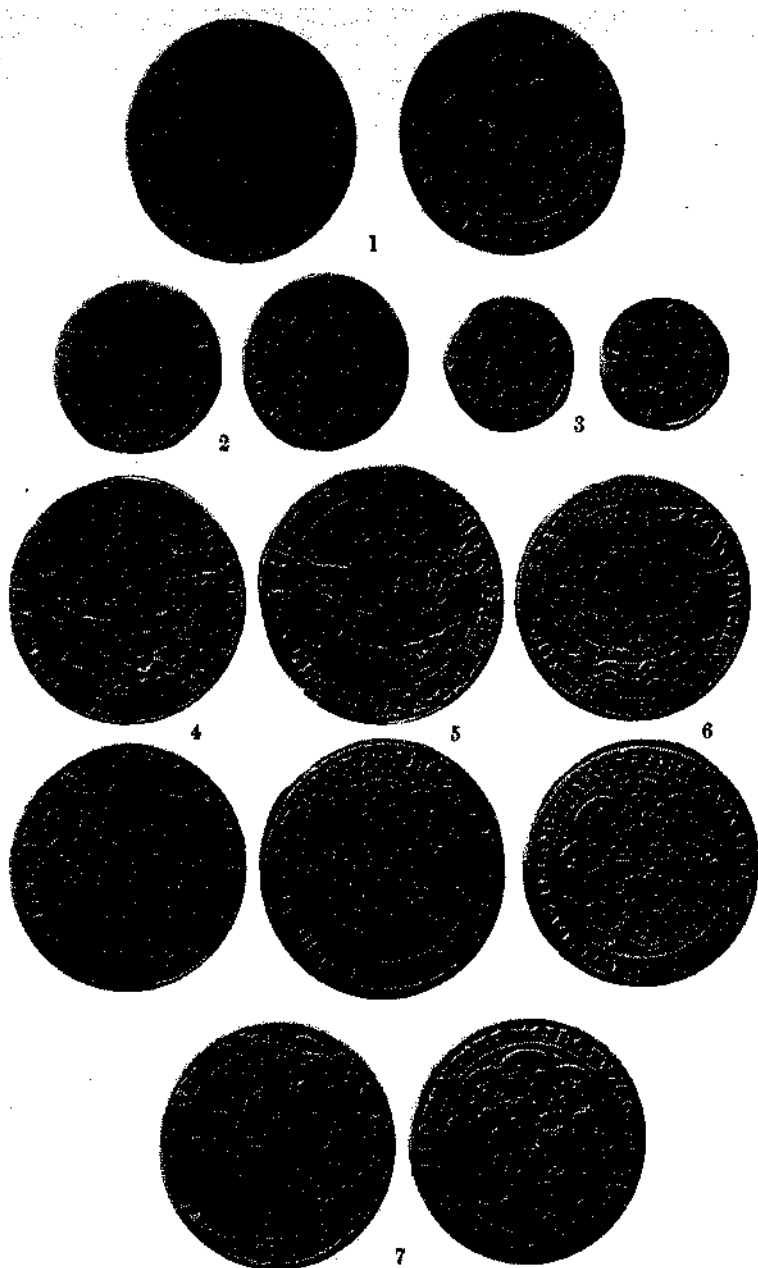
SHORT-CROSS AND LONG-CROSS PENNIES;
GOLD PENNY OF HENRY III



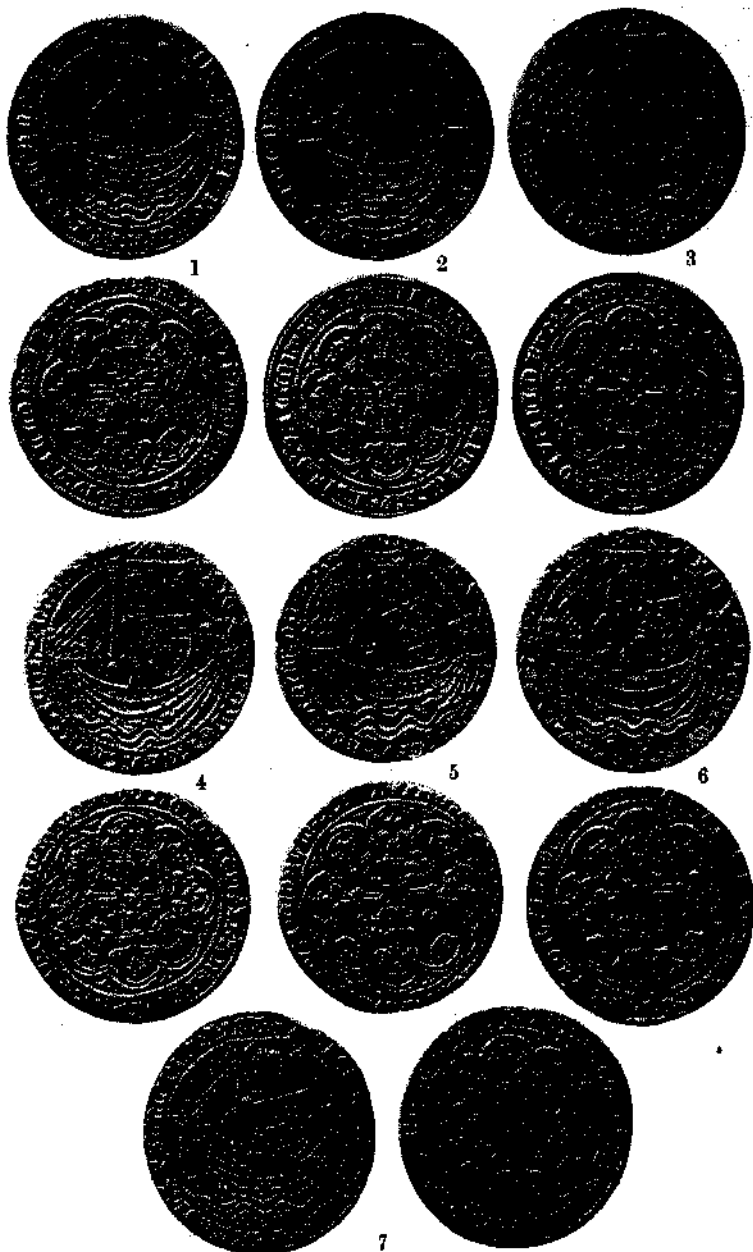
EDWARD i, GROAT; EDWARD I, II, III, PENNIES



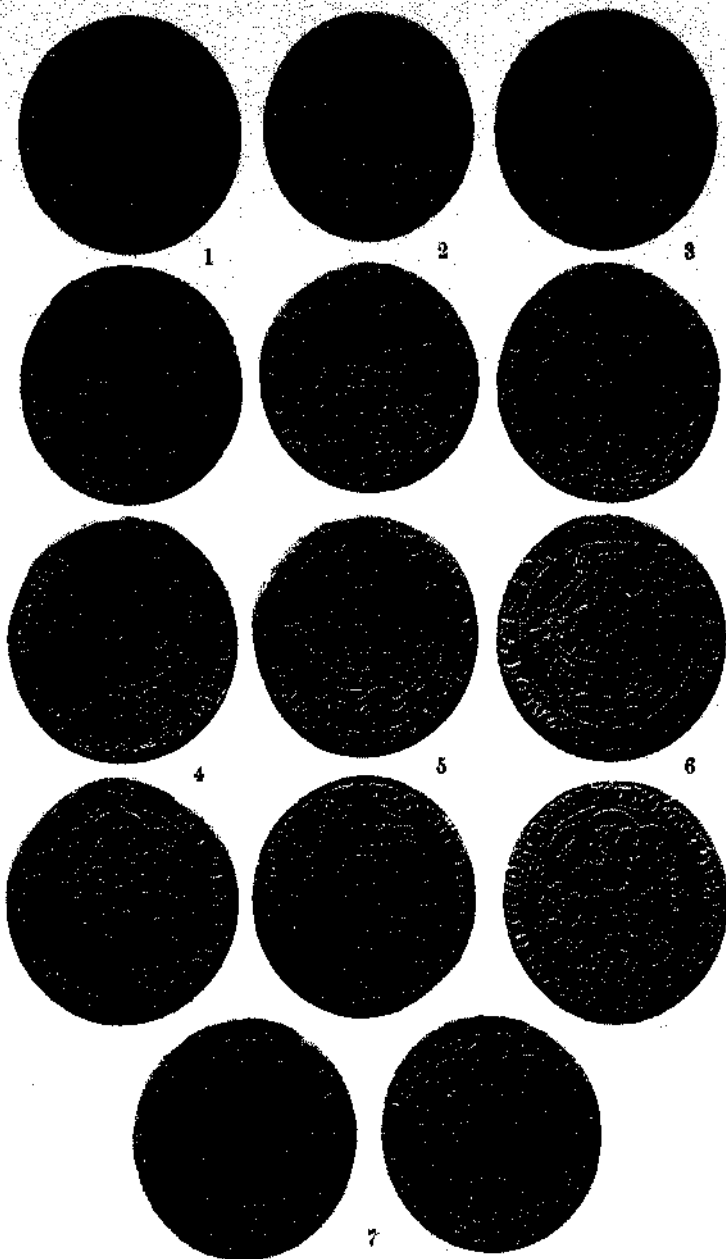
EDWARD I, II, HALFPENNIES AND FARTHING; BERWICK COINS;
EDWARD III, SILVER OF 1344-1351



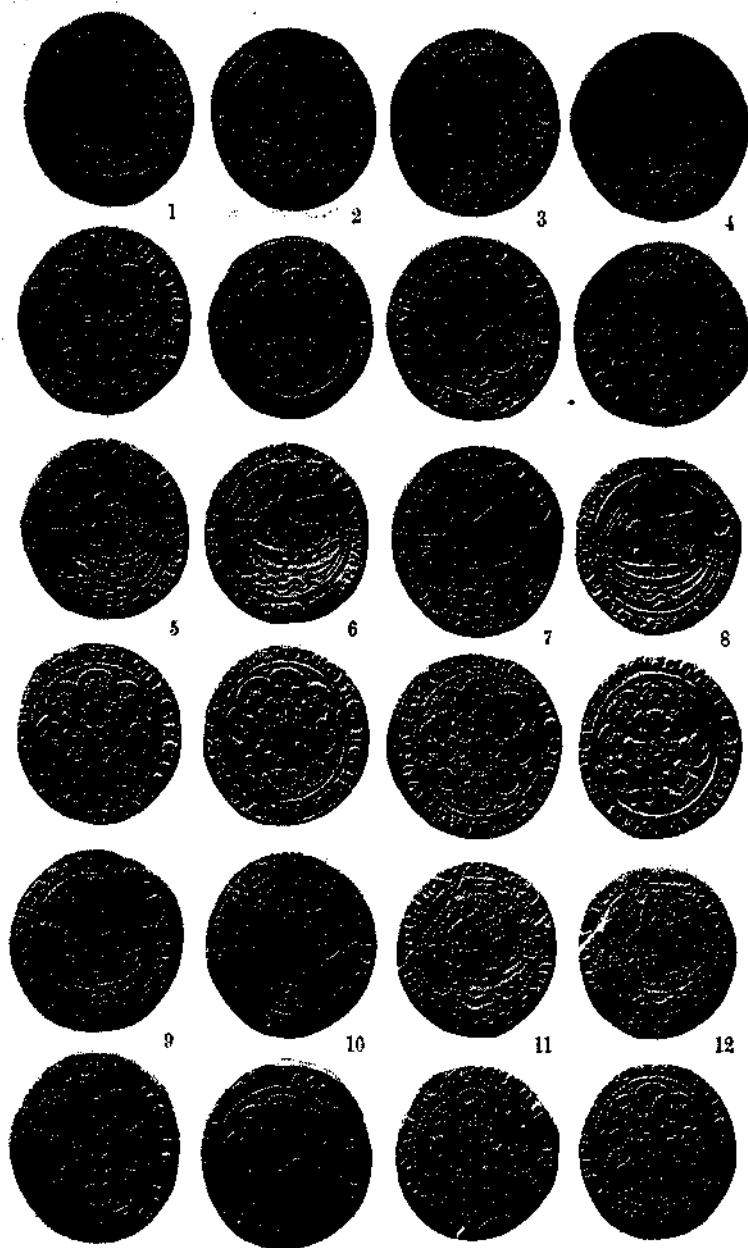
EDWARD III, FLORIN SERIES AND NOBLES



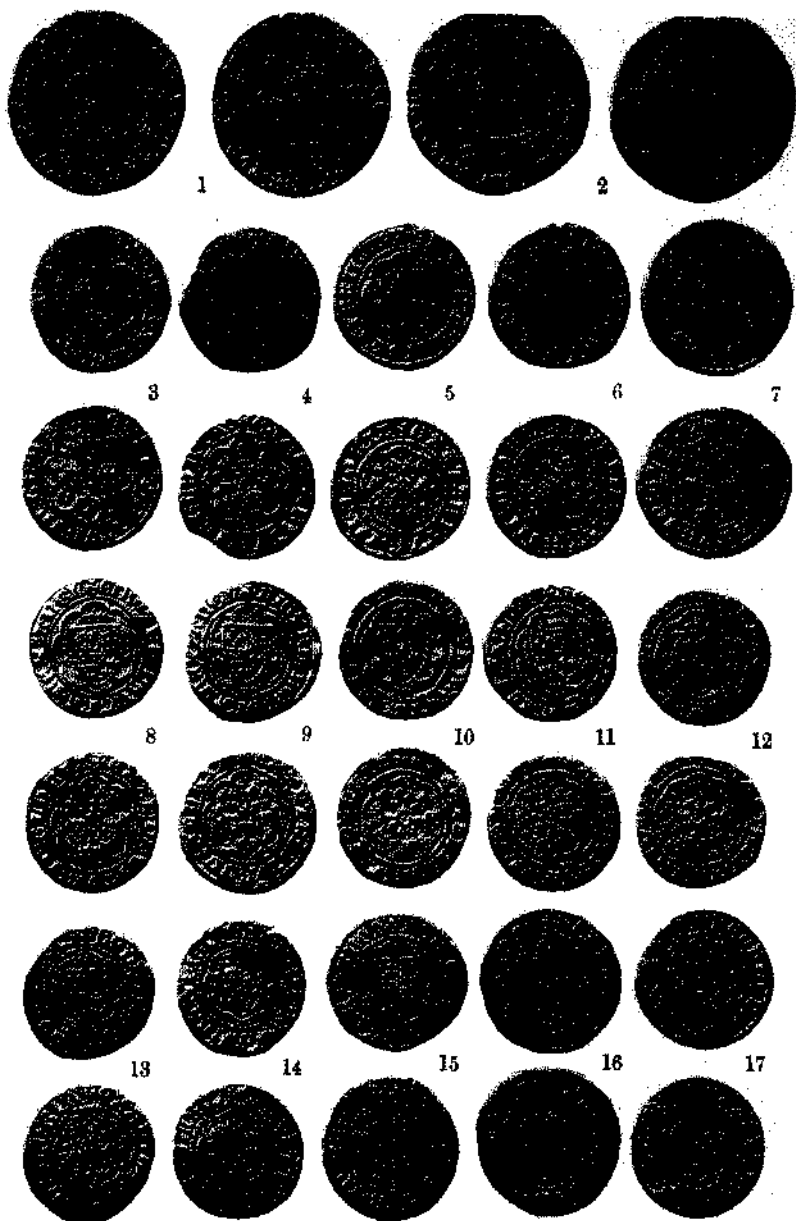
EDWARD III TO HENRY IV, NOBLES



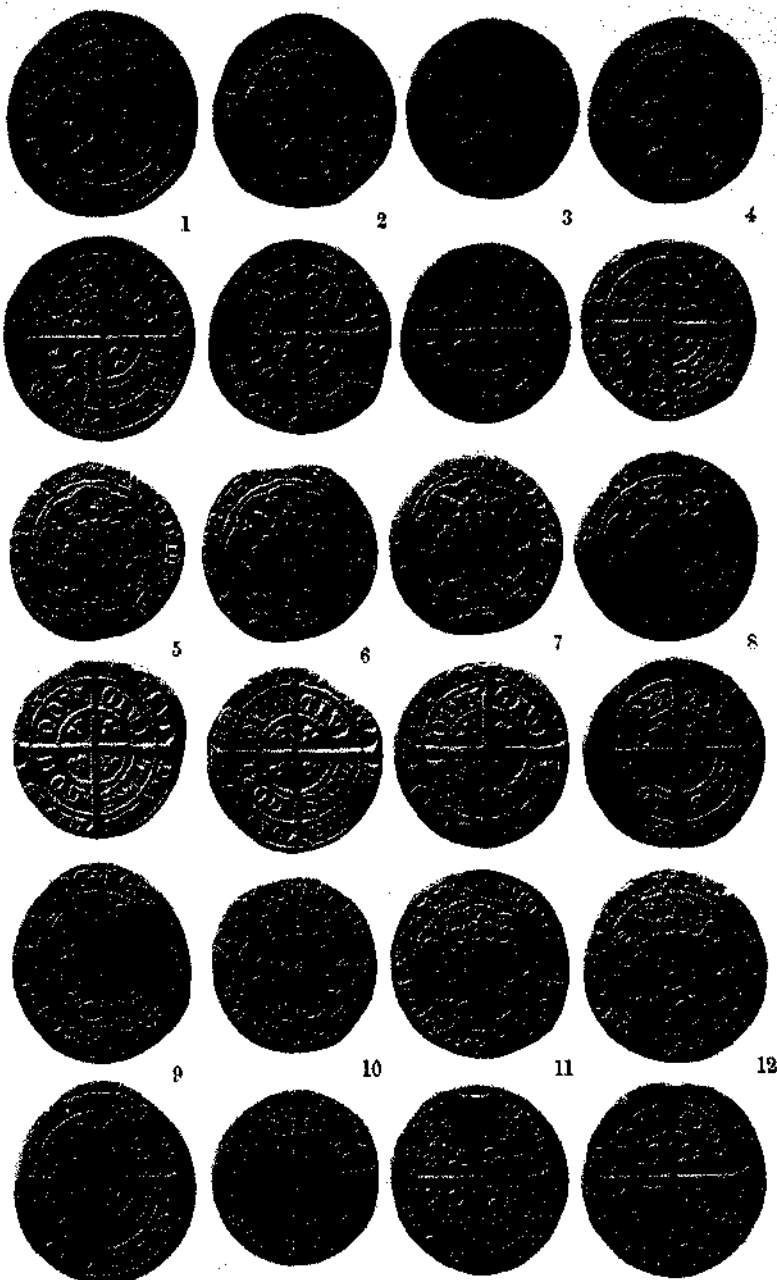
HENRY V AND HENRY VI, NOBLES



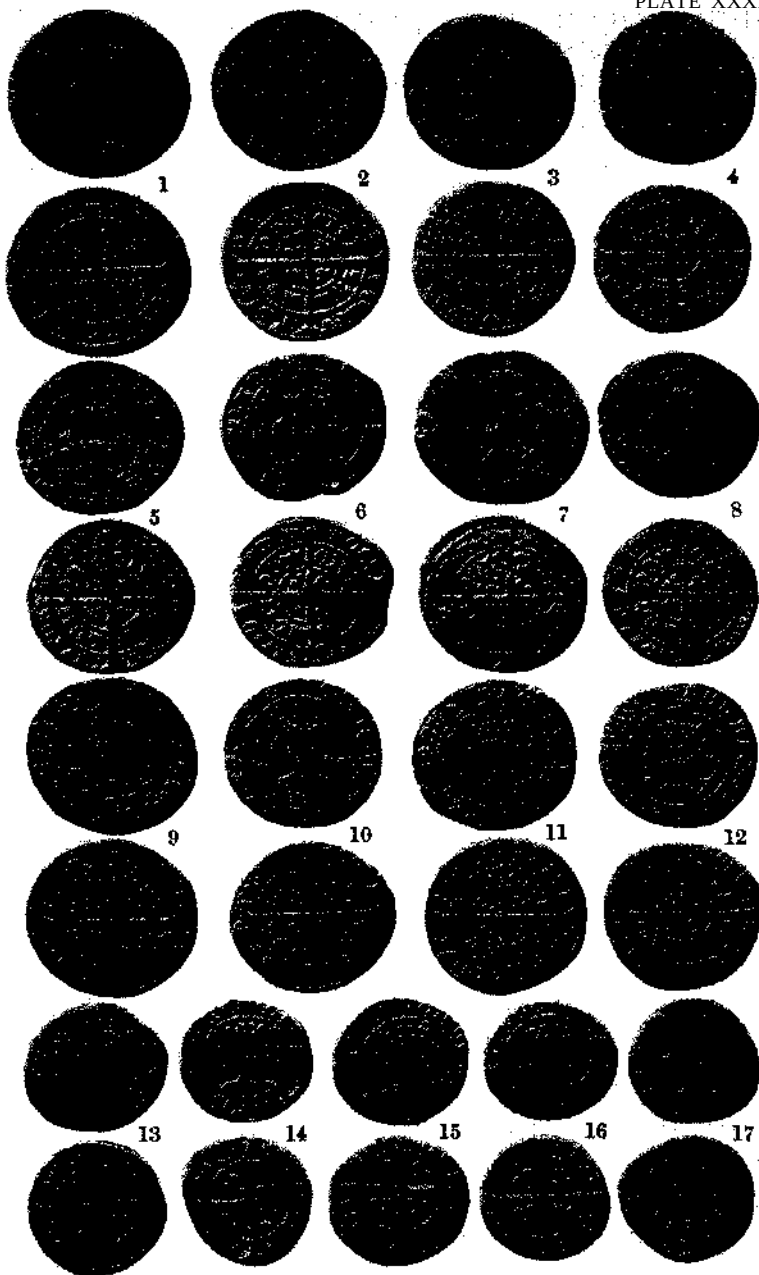
EDWARD III TO HENRY V, HALF-NOBLES.



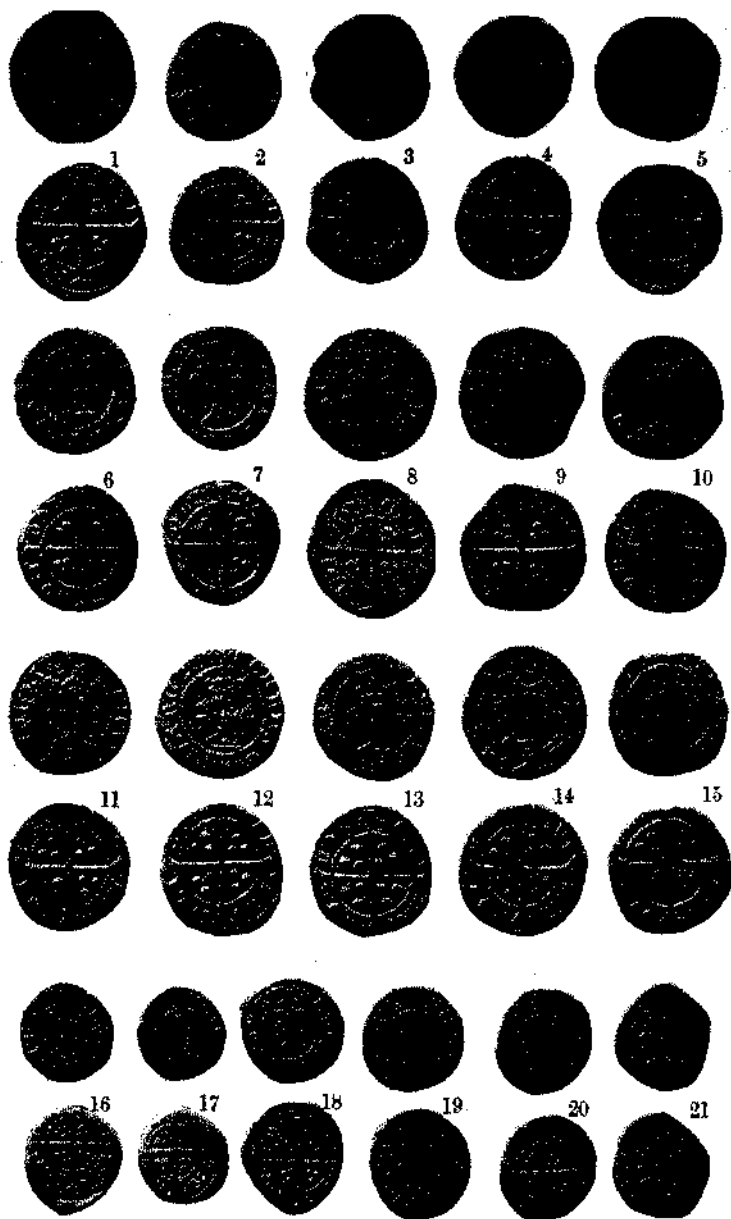
HENRY vi, HALF-NOBLES;
EDWARD III TO HENRY VI, QUARTER-NOBLES



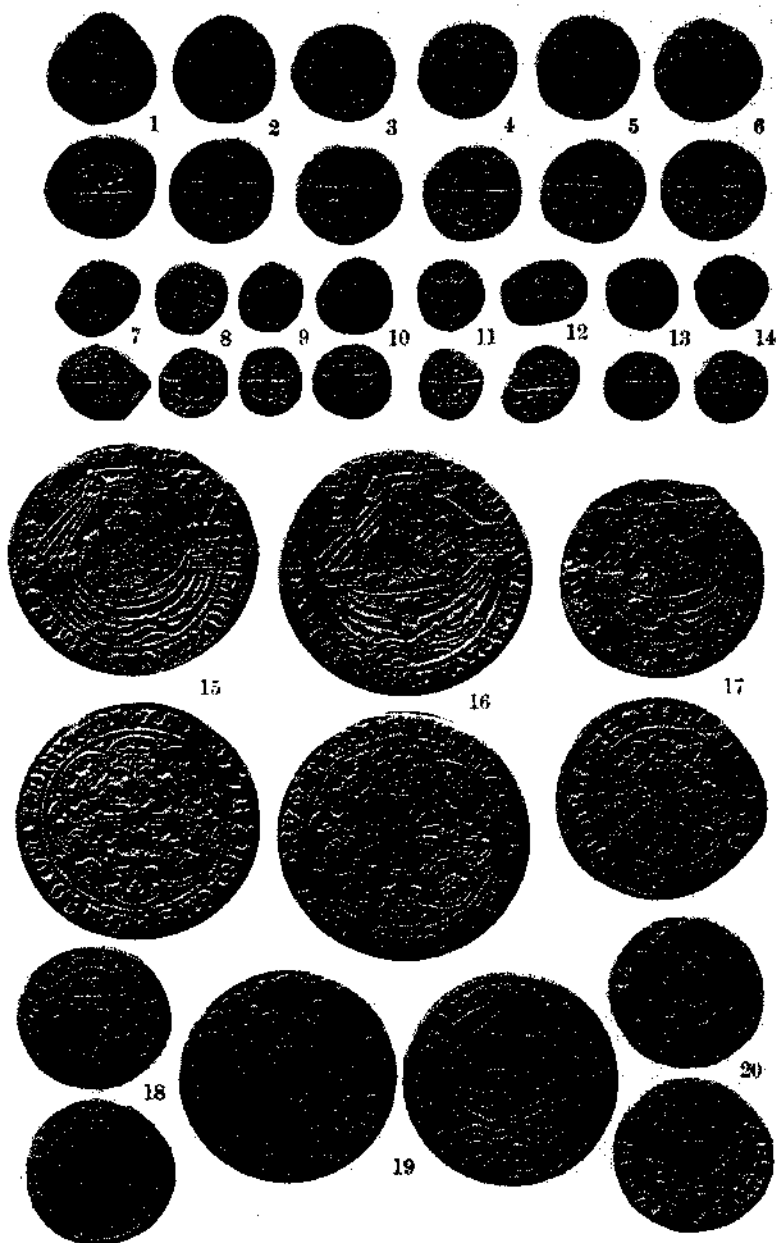
EDWARD III TO HENRY VI, GROATS



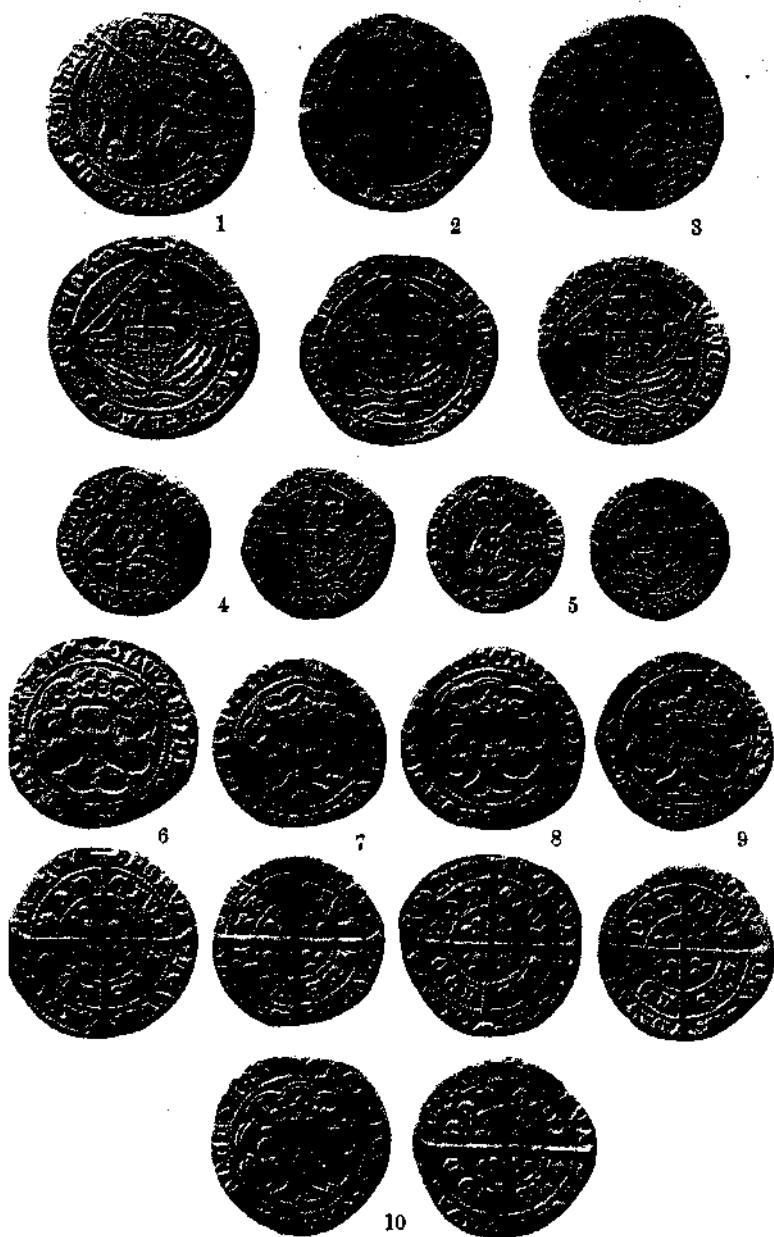
EDWARD III TO HENRY VI, HALF-GROATS;
EDWARD III, PENNIES



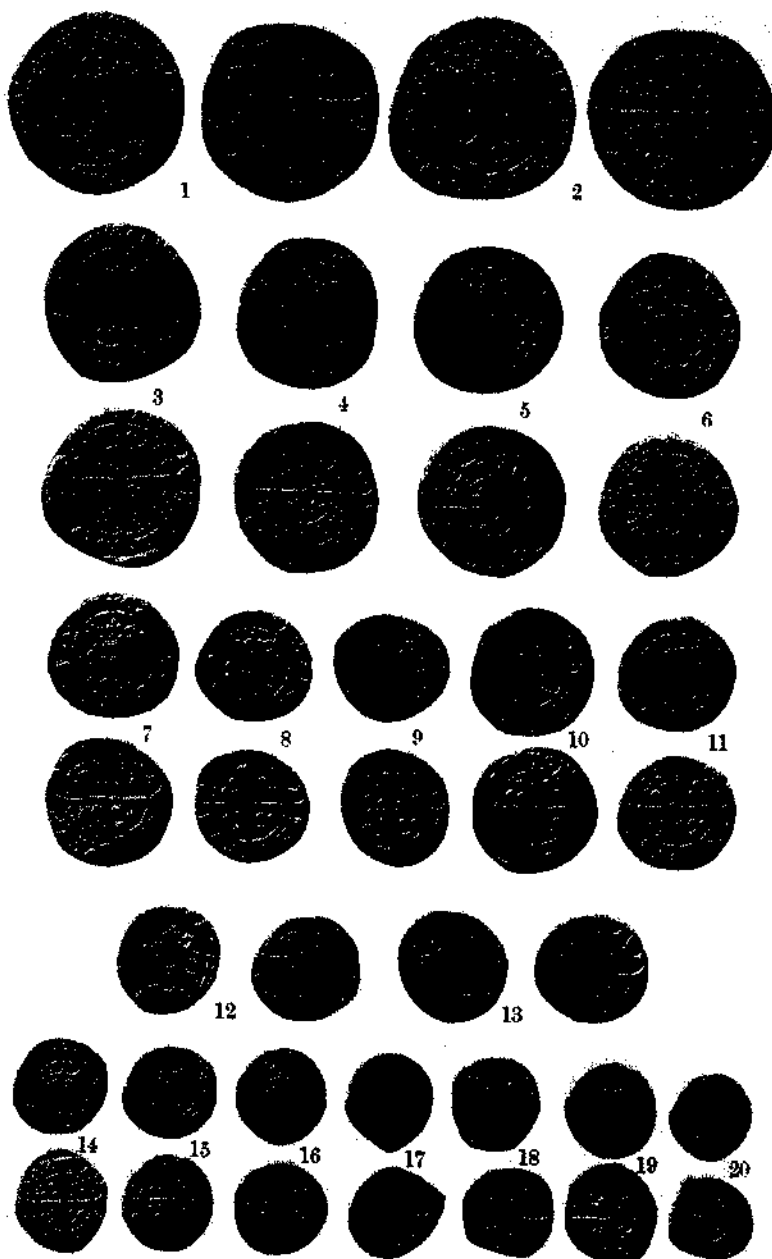
EDWARD III TO HENRY VI, PENNIES;
EDWARD III TO HENRY IV, HALFPENNIES



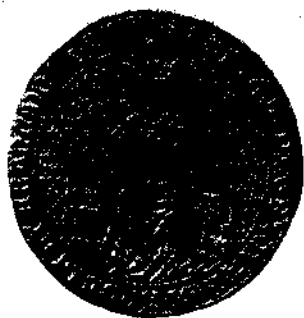
HENRY iv, v, vi, HALFPENNIES; FARTHING OF 1351-1461;
EDWARD IV, GOLD COINS



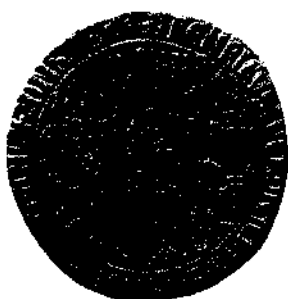
HENRY VI TO RICHARD III, ANGELS AND ANGELETS;
EDWARD IV AND HENRY VI, GROATS



EDWARD IV TO RICHARD III, SILVER COINS



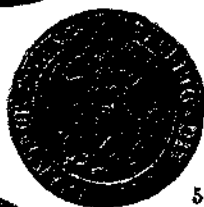
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3



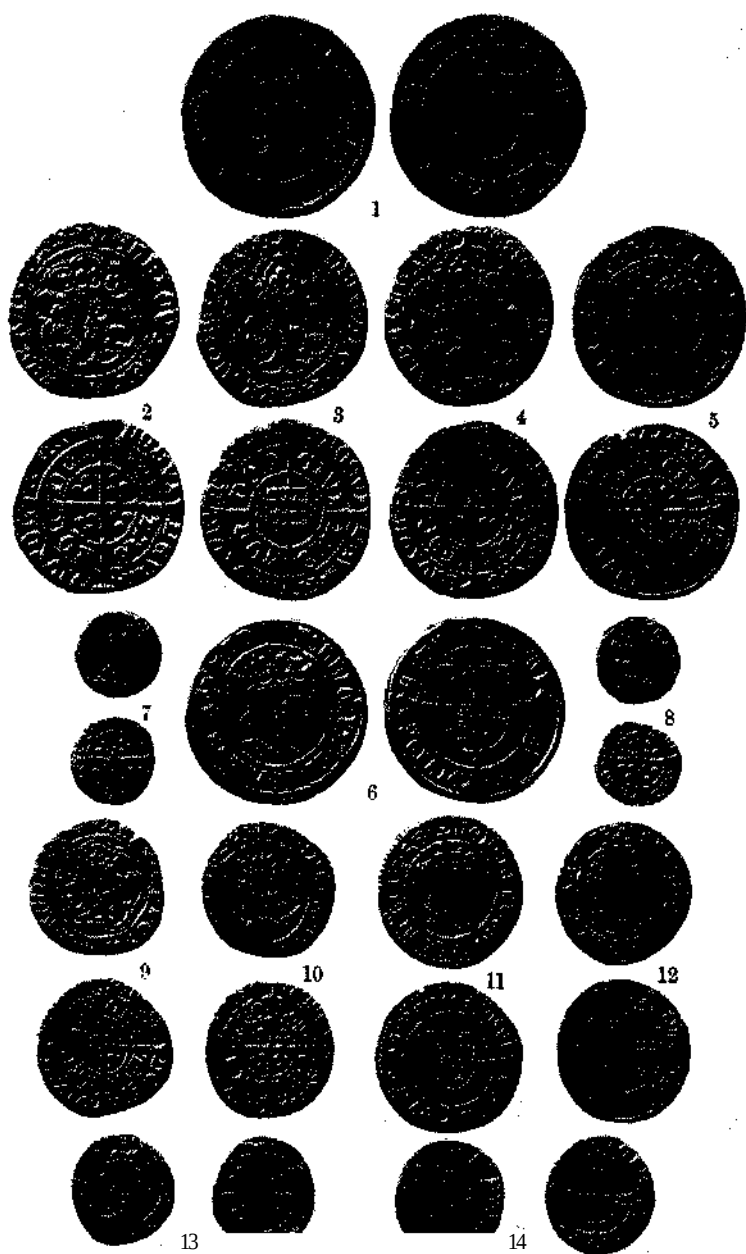
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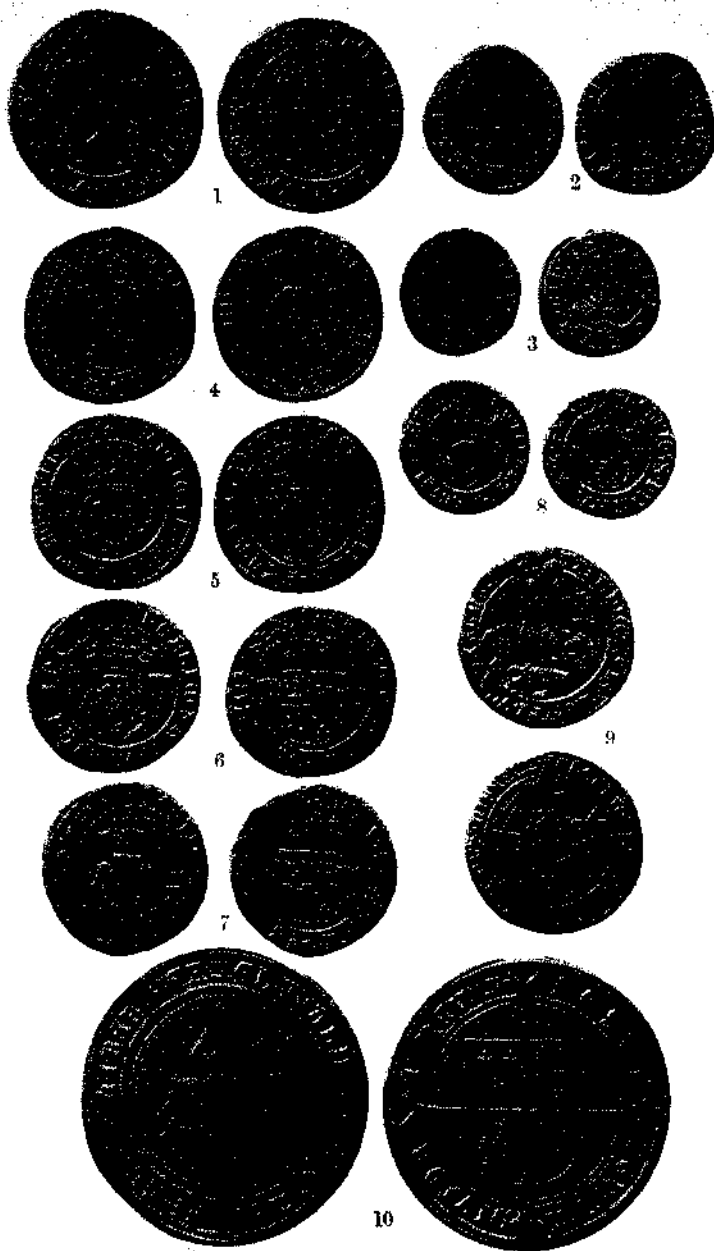
HENRY VII, GOLD COINS



HENRY VII, SILVER COINS



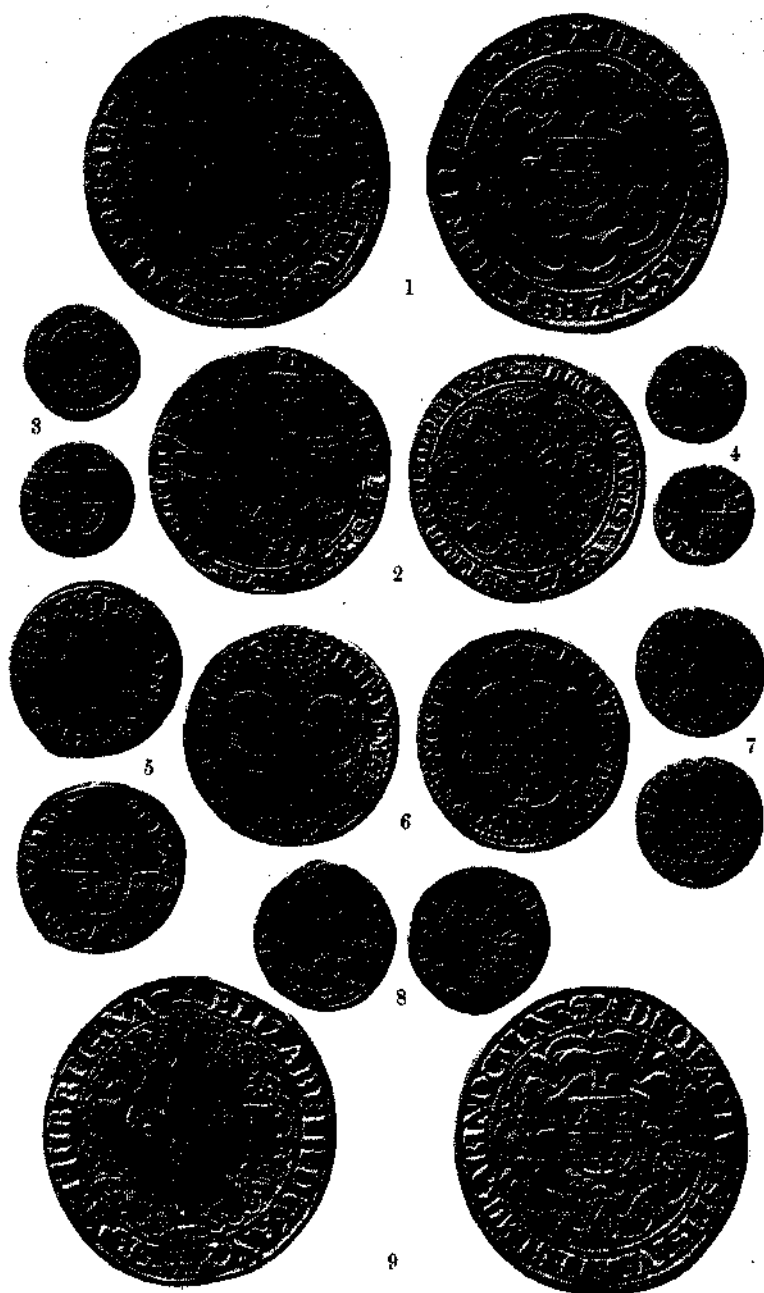
HENRY VIII AND EDWARD VI, GOLD COINS



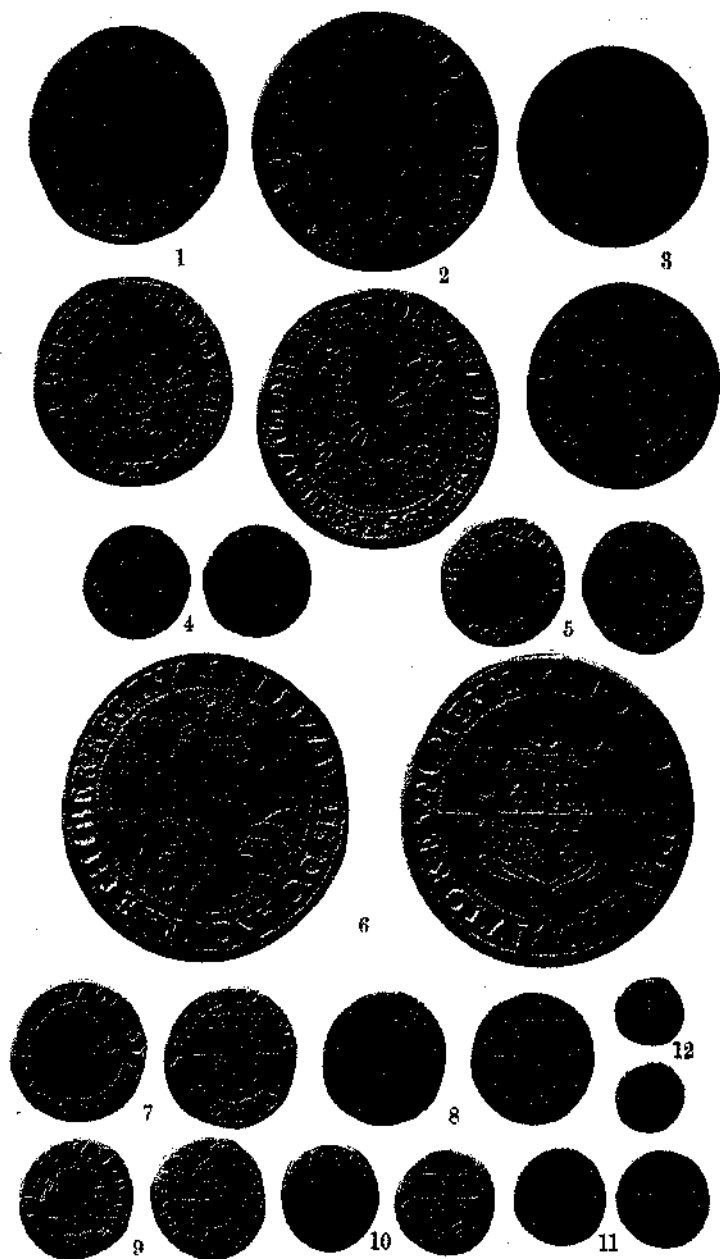
HENRY VIII AND EDWARD VI, GOLD COINS;
EDWARD VI, SILVER CROWN

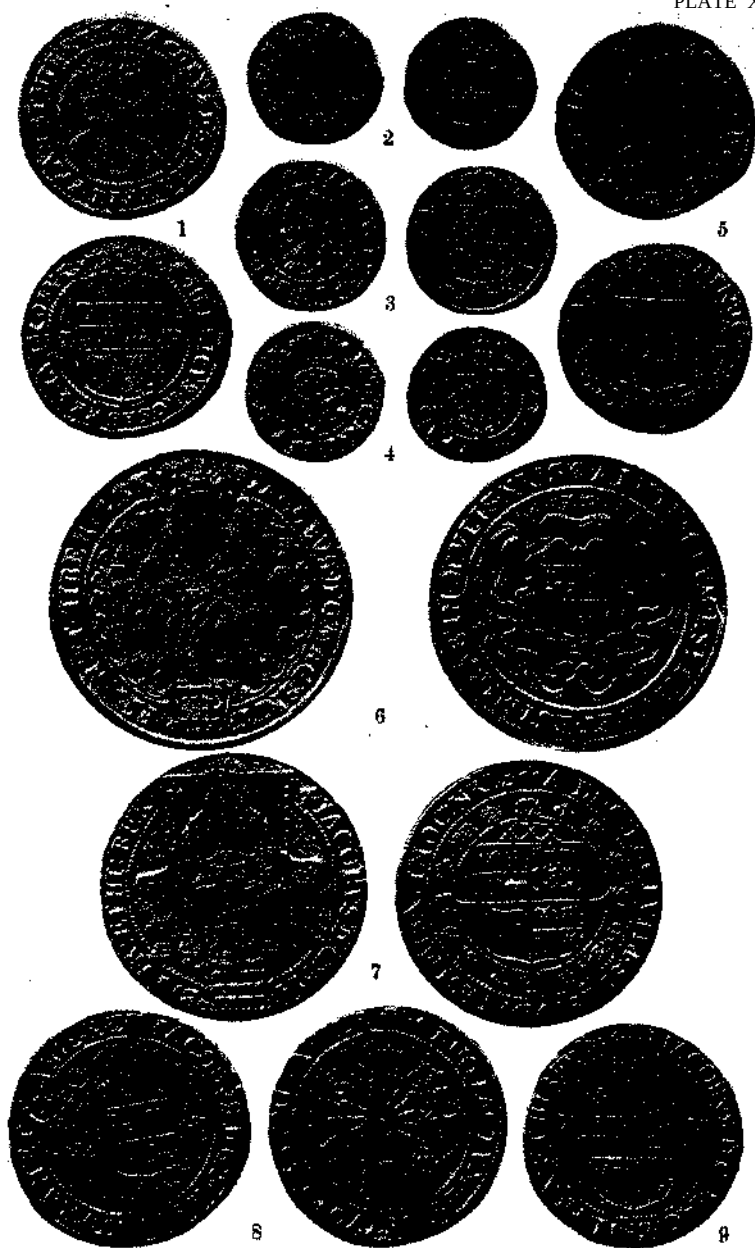


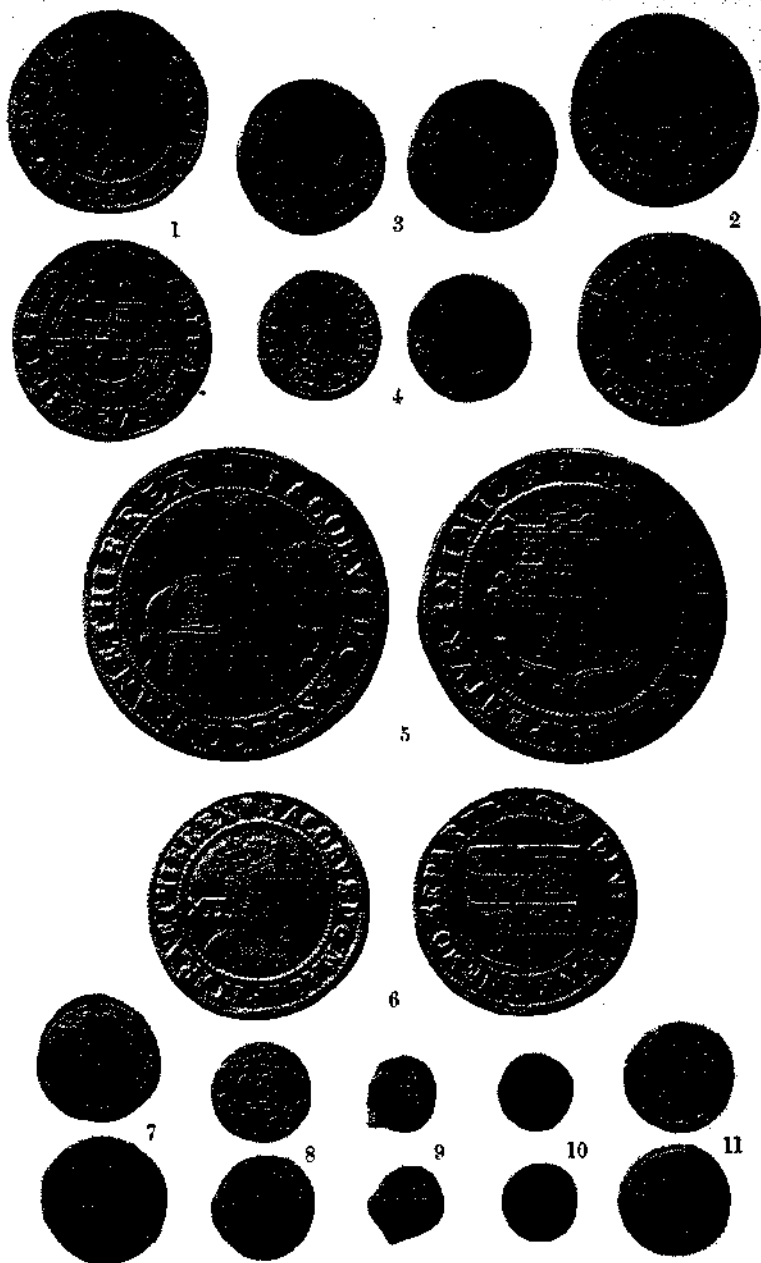
HENRY VIII AND EDWARD VI, SILVER COINS



MARY; ELIZABETH









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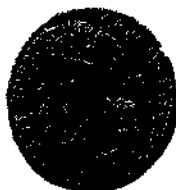
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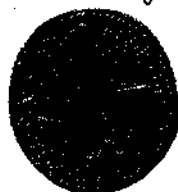
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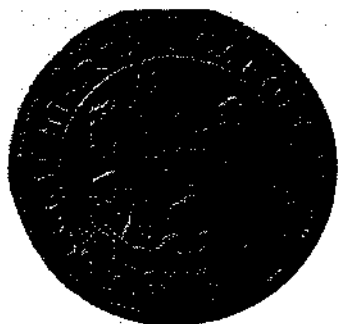


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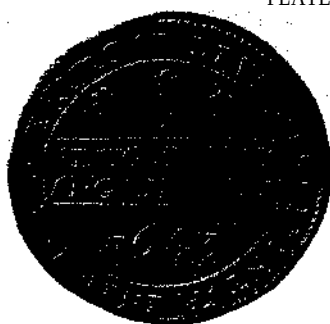


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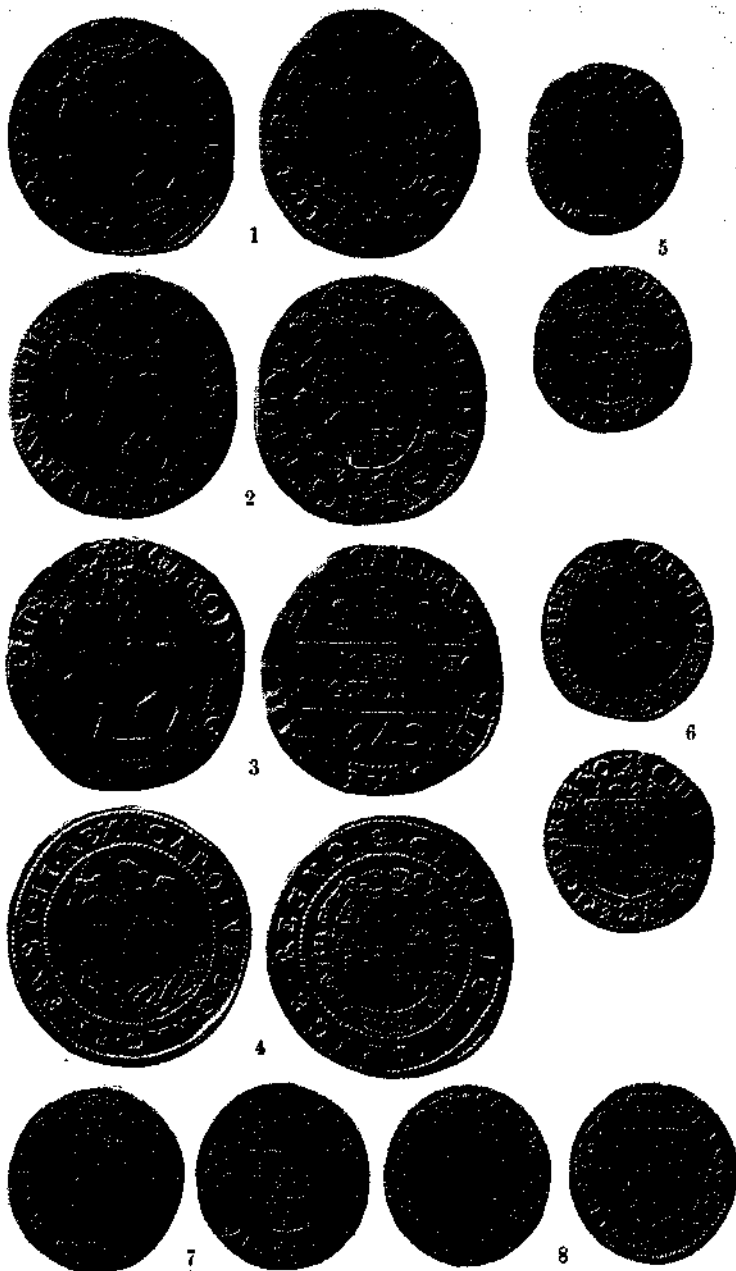


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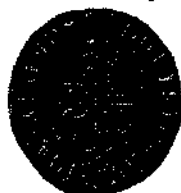
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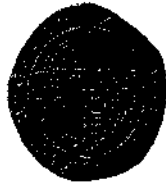
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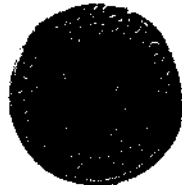
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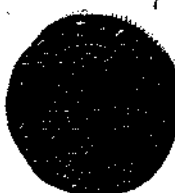
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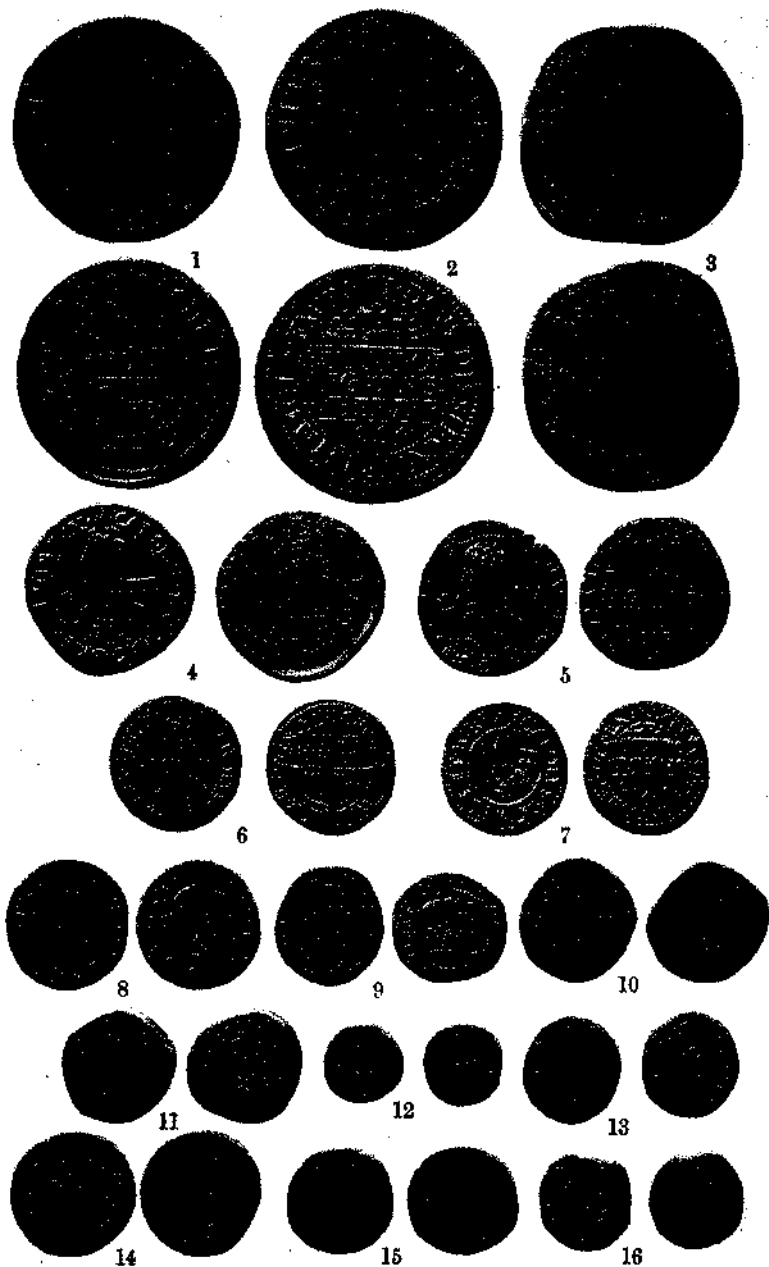


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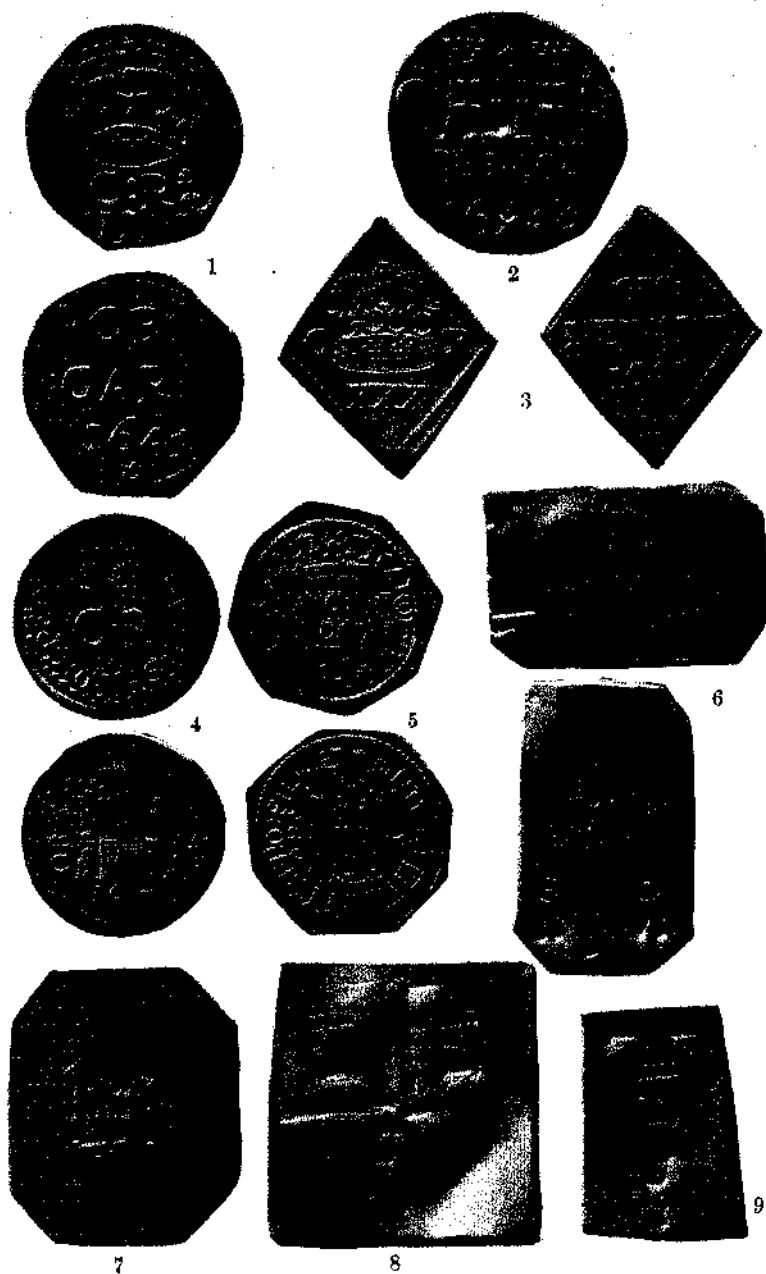


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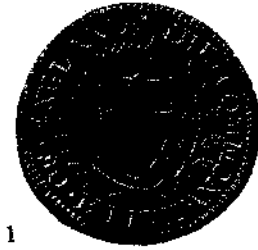




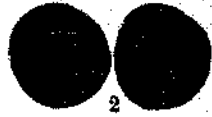
CHARLES I



SIEGE-PIECES OF THE CIVIL WAR



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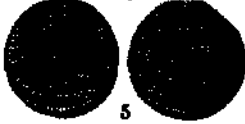
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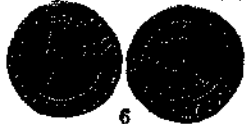
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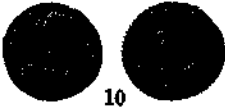
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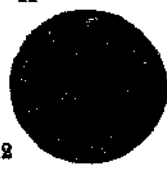
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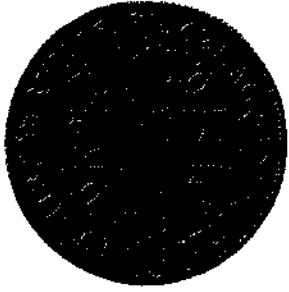
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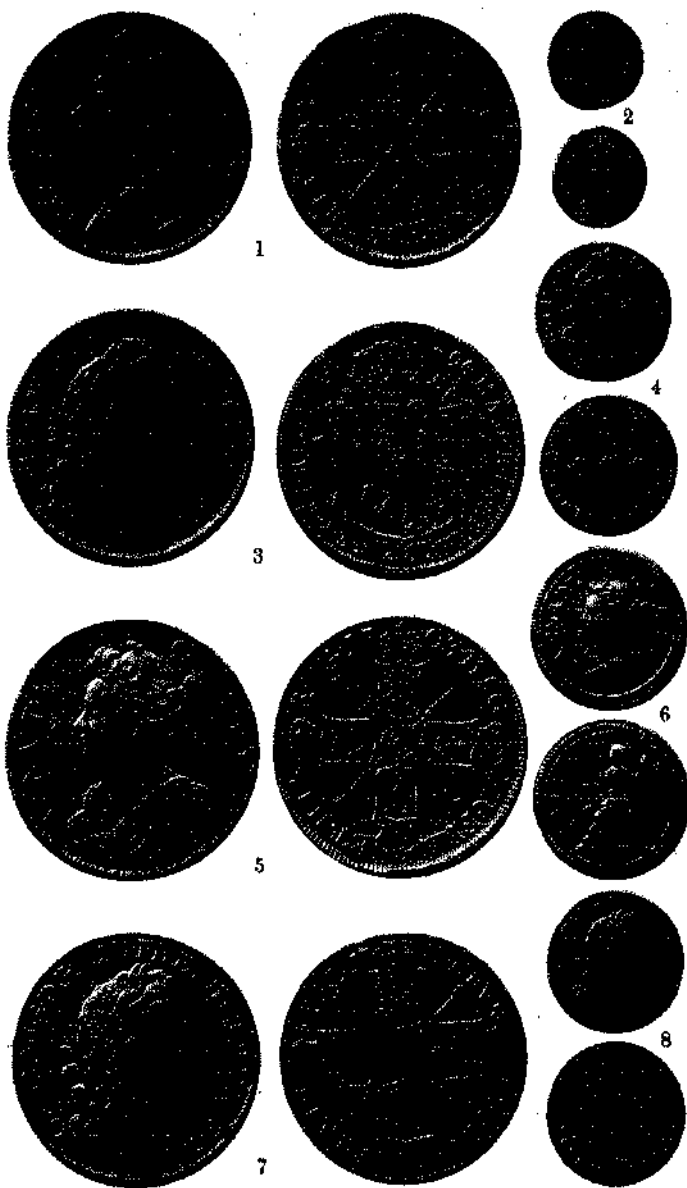


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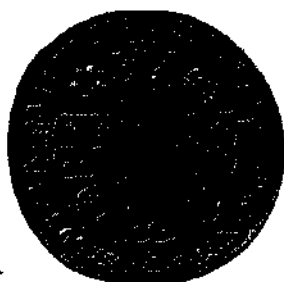




JAMES JAMESIITOGEOGEI



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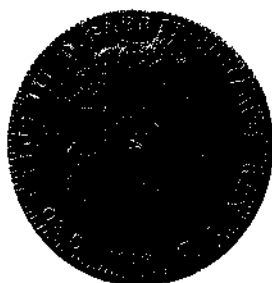
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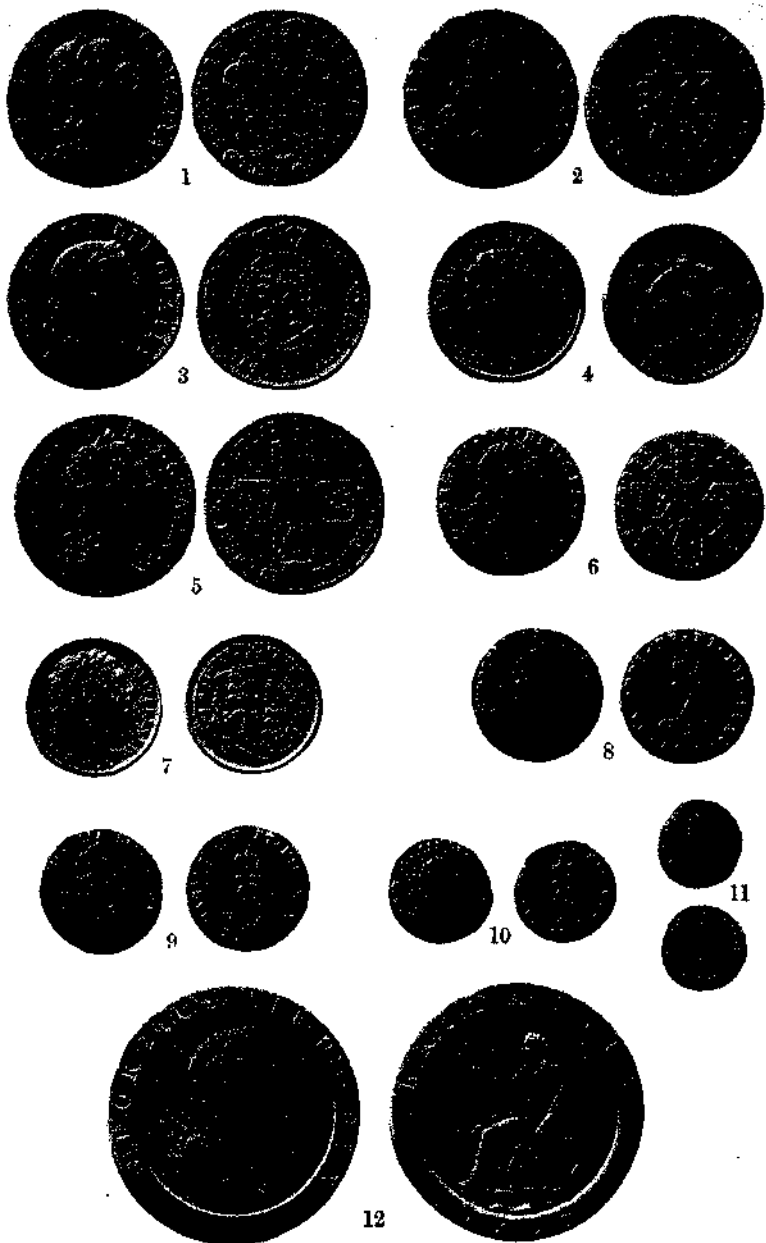


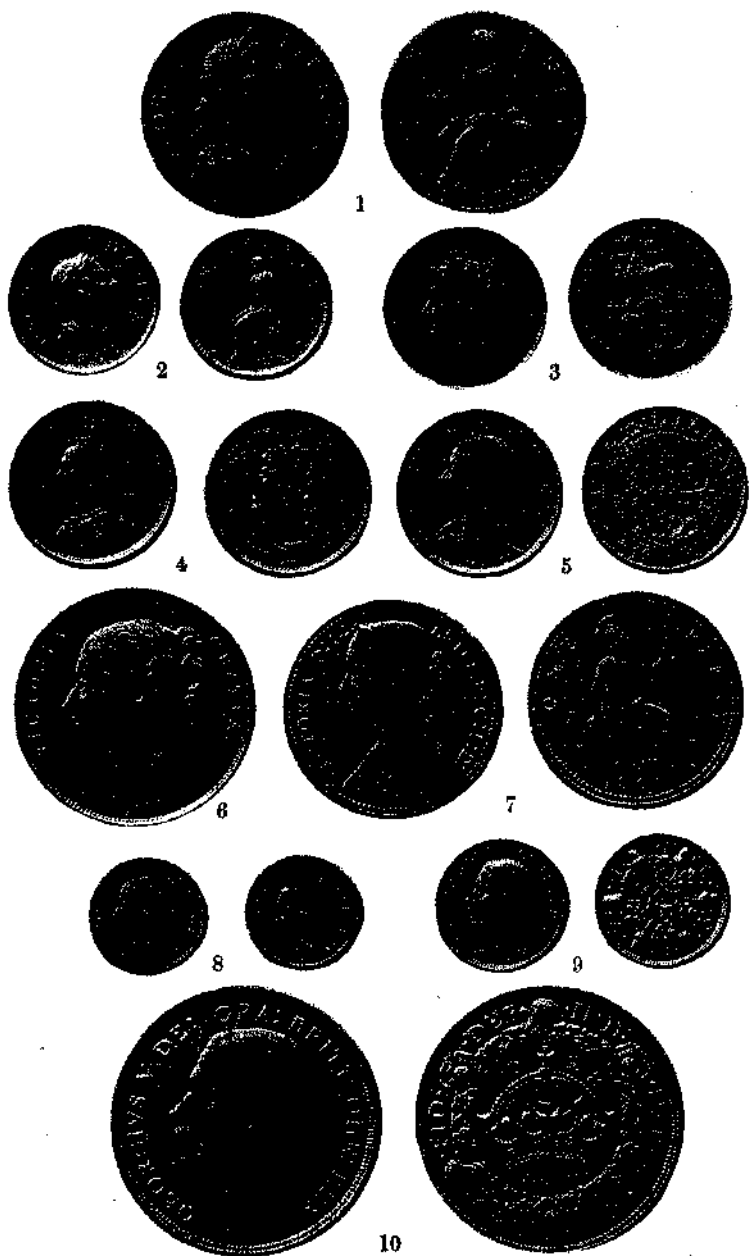
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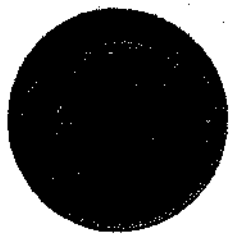




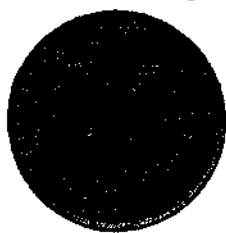
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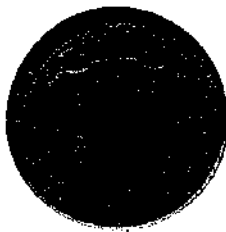
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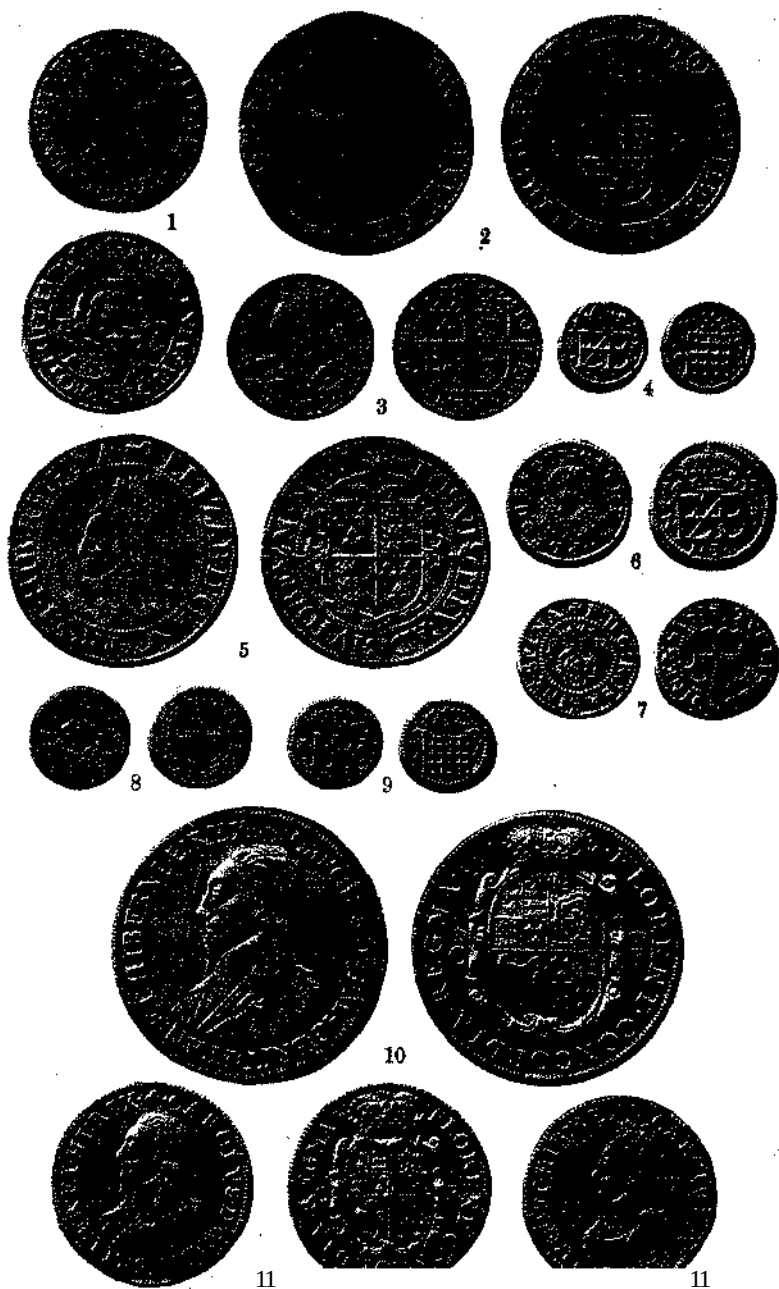


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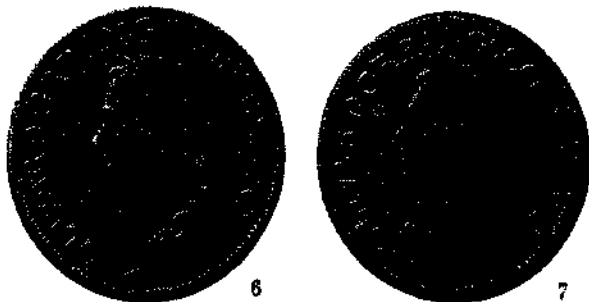
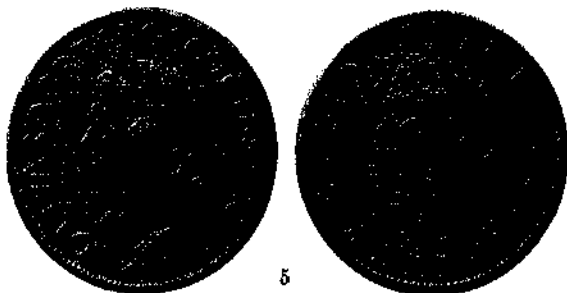
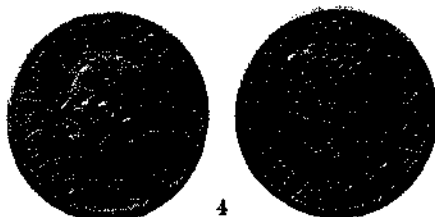
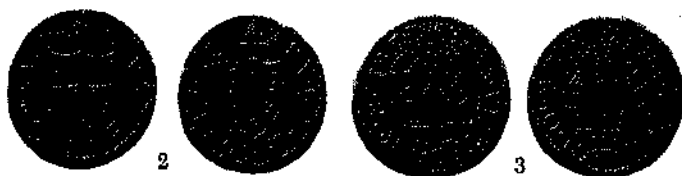
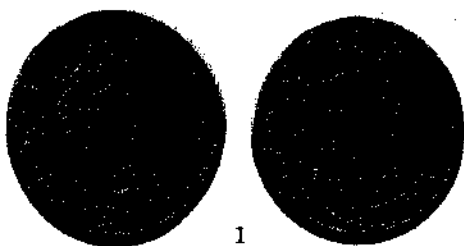
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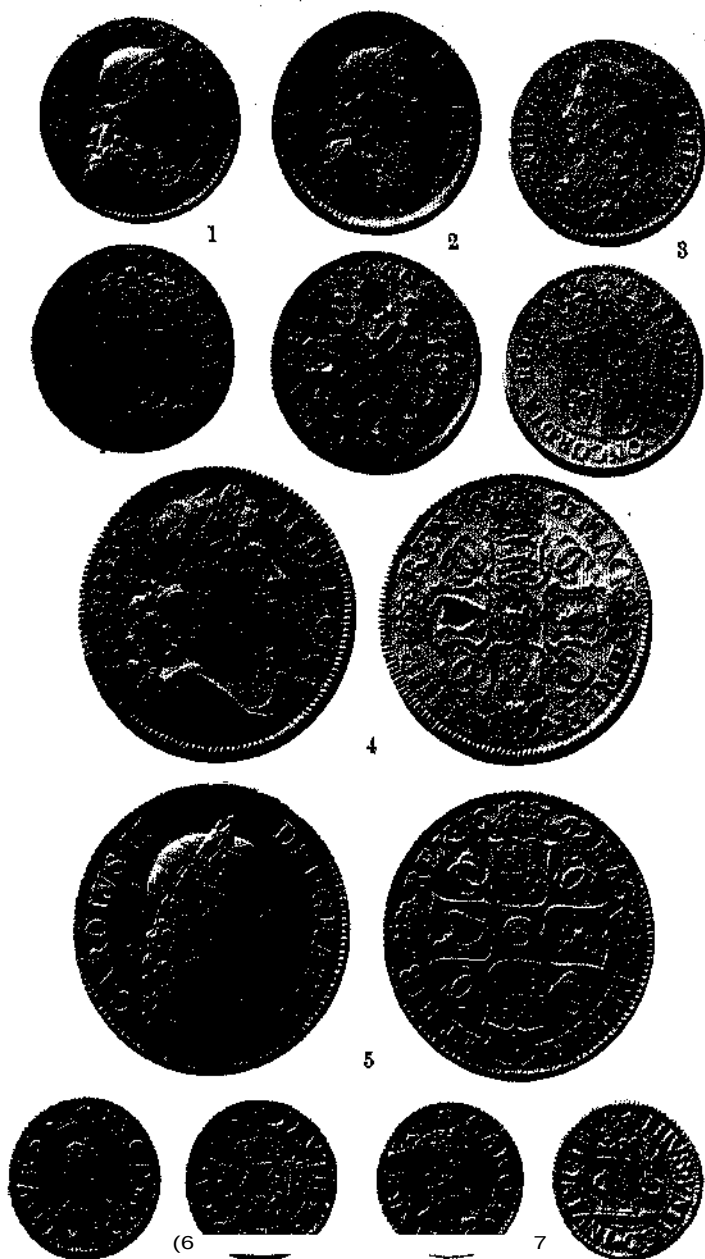


PATTERNS: EDWARD VI TO CHARLES I

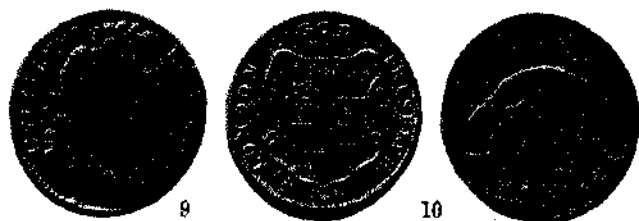
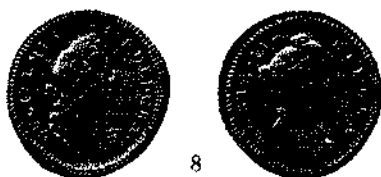
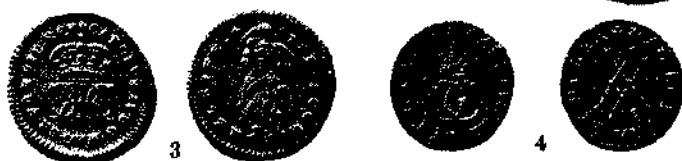
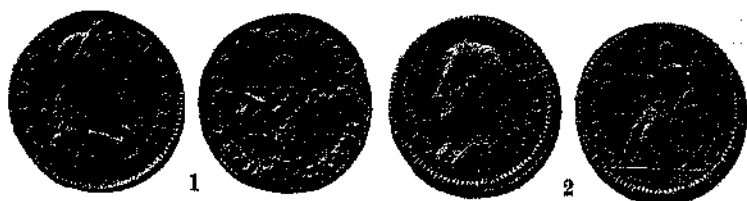




PATTERNS: COMMONWEALTH AND CROMWELL



PATTERNS: CHARLES II





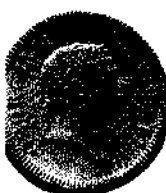
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8



PATTERNS: ANNE TO GEORGE III



1



2



3



4



5



6

PATTERNS: GEORGE IV AND VICTORIA



