CONCERNING THE EVOLUTION OF SOME REVERSE TYPES OF THE ANGLO-NORMAN COINAGE.

BY WILLIAM SHARP OGDEN.

THE object of this paper is to draw attention to the patterns or devices displayed on the reverse faces of a number of the early post-Conquest pennies, and, by remarking their distinctive features, to show how in some instances designs apparently quite distinct from each other are merely variants traceable to a remote but evident prototype. Again, others will be shown to have arisen from the adoption and multiplication of religious symbols or emblems, grouped around or attached to a special central figure. Some of these display considerable ingenuity and variety of fancy in the elaboration of designs constructed from purely symbolic detail.

These symbols, although limited in number, are in their own proper forms treated with great elasticity and boldness. Location of mint, lapse of time, and local method of expression are, however, all factors in producing really surprising varieties of an originally simple form; so that it is easy to see that when these multiple divergencies are used as decorative and intentionally symbolic detail, we may expect an artistic, if somewhat intricate, result; and certainly nowhere in the wide field of Numismatics can there be found such infinite license and variety of pattern, produced by simple forms enriching a dominant central figure, at once the most conservative and austere.

It is worthy of note that in the infancy of Numismatic art, when it first adventured on its most interesting career, the little ungainly dumps of metal were impressed on one side only with the seal or badge of the sovereign, as the sole charge; thus the newly invented coin
possessed an obverse but no reverse, unless the rude punch mark of the standard die may be considered as such.

The Lydian coins of Gyges, 700 B.C., bear the king's seal only, without other image or superscription, and it is very interesting to observe that from that remote period some similar feature, as a national emblem or heraldic figure, has constantly been presented, in many varying forms, on the coins of empires, states and cities, even to the present time, including our own land where the seal of the sovereign appears as the arms of the state. An important addition, however, was soon effected when the coin was enriched by a double charge, and by the introduction of a figure or head of some deity or of the sovereign. This, of course, took the place of honour, and the original charge became the reverse—the modern reverse being the survival of the actual obverse of the most ancient money.

As there is no rule without an exception, it may be remarked that of many pieces of the ninth, tenth and eleventh centuries, owing to the absence of a head or other leading figure, it is almost impossible to determine obverse from reverse; but as there is frequently a similarity in both, it is perhaps not a matter of much moment.

The principal, if not sole, coin for centuries before and after the period of the Norman Conquest of England was the penny or denier. This coin was common to all Christian countries. Although generally devoid of the graces of artistic design and frequently barbarous in fabric, the coinage of this era is especially interesting from its vast variety of pattern and frequent change of detail. Much variety is due to the great number of independent mints that sprang up after the death of Charlemagne, and we may regard this period as an epoch in the history of Christendom. The Frankish empire was at an end, and powerful states were arising and contending for mastery; the legend of the Millennium, with all that it meant, flourished and faded; and the growing power of the Church was more and more controlling all affairs of state and the functions of government. So that it is not surprising to find the especial sign or emblem of that Church appearing prominently on the coinage—the sole medium of universal circulation—as a mutual pledge of the unity of Church and State, of the
Types of the Anglo-Norman Coinage.

ENGLISH TYPES.

FIG. 1.—WILLIAM I.

FIG. 2.—HENRY II.

EVOLUTION.

FIG. 3.

FIG. 4.

FIG. 5.

FIG. 6.

FIG. 7.

FIG. 8.

FIG. 9.

FIG. 10.

FIG. 11.

FIG. 12.

FIG. 13.

FIG. 14.

FIG. 15.

FIG. 16.

FIG. 17.

FIG. 18.

FIG. 19.

FIG. 20.

EVOLUTION OF CERTAIN ANGLO-NORMAN TYPES.
indebtedness and reliance of one to the other; the Crown deriving sanctity from the Church and rendering back the strength and force of the Law; a state of things mutually advantageous to both parties.

It is reasonable to expect that the coins of separate countries should have characteristic peculiarities, and in fact this is so; but the frequent overlapping of boundaries, by conquest or heirship, helped greatly to blend the types of adjacent states, especially in those more or less closely connected by racial or family ties. For example, by comparing the coins of Normandy, Brittany and Aquitaine with each other, or the Frankish with those of Flanders, and all these again with the Danish and later Saxon types of England, we may at once perceive that certain primal types, varying in detail only, are common to each and all.

It is not our purpose to enquire or discuss why this or that type was adopted at the time, nor the reason for its issue. For these are more questions of historical research. Our object is to show the origin and progressive stages by which the ultimate forms of the early Anglo-Norman coinage were obtained, and give them "a local habitation and a name."

Although there is great variety of pattern, or type as it is termed, and these types are continually varying without obvious reason other than that of rendering each issue distinct from that it displaced, yet on comparison many of the designs resolve themselves into variants of the same idea—merely translated into other forms.

Many, as we have already said, are traceable and akin to the great feudal provinces of France, Normandy, Aquitaine, Brittany, etc., and some through these to Frankish and even Roman Imperial prototypes.

Amidst all the turmoil and conflict of the time, when dynasties were ending and states the mere creatures of a day, the dominant feature of the coinage of Christendom was the cross, with its attendant symbols. This prevailing feature was undoubtedly due to the unity and influence of the Church, and was displayed for a double purpose—primarily and generally as the Emblem of the Faith, but to serve also as a useful guide for dividing and quartering the coins.
It has been surmised that the "Regis Aurifex," or King's goldsmith, as cuneator or Master of the Mint, was generally responsible for the continual change of type, and that the patterns or devices were left to the fertility of his fancy; but this is an inexcusable supposition, offering a fatal facility for shelving the question; and when we consider how largely the Church controlled all matters of art and learning and all teaching in whatever form, we may reasonably conclude that the motive of the design was delivered by its authority, and from a standpoint above mere artistic caprice; especially as this was an age when symbolism was universal, permeating all society from the highest to the humblest, and that, in turn, ruled and governed by a rigid obedience to the Church.

It is, however, very probable that the variety exhibited by the succession of types was due, to a considerable extent, to a very reasonable desire to make each fresh issue of coin as distinct in appearance as possible from that it replaced, for the convenience and safety of a rude and ignorant public. It was also very natural in such an important matter as the coinage, the universal circulatory medium passing from hand to hand with all, valued as a possession and reluctantly parted with, that each piece should clearly and unmistakably exhibit the emblem most dear to all peoples of Christendom, and to which no exception could be taken. Thus we find that even upon the early and ruder coins, the cross in its simplest form is generally present and ever the central feature.

But other figures, letters and symbols were soon introduced, and afterwards used also as ornamental additions. These, also, were those most closely identified with the Christian religion, and of frequent and familiar use in its teachings and ceremonies. Foremost amongst these additions we may remark the Greek letters Α, Ω, Alpha and Omega, prefiguring Christ as the beginning and end of all things; and of these letters it may be noted that their form and position, even when used as letters, were altered and adapted without ceremony when circumstances so required.

The Temple, or Heavenly Jerusalem, was also a favourite figure. It first appears as a temple of the classic type, such as is displayed on
Concerning the Evolution of some Reverse
denarii of the Roman Empire; but the degeneracy of this
type on the early coins of Normandy is astounding. Other coins gave
the same idea as a diagram or plan, or bird’s-eye view, or an attempt
at both plan and view, the resulting effect of these variations being
something very remote from the original idea.

A careful examination of a very large number of contemporary
coins of all countries has led me to the conclusion that these three
figures, i.e., the cross, the Greek letters Λ, Ω, and the Temple, together
or separately, and disguised by conventional treatment and elaboration
into a surprising number of patterns or designs, are the source of, and
responsible for, most of the constantly varying types of the eleventh
and twelfth centuries.

To illustrate my meaning and render it as clear as possible, I
propose selecting a number of the English coins of the period from
William the Conqueror to Henry II., as leading or representative
types. Then by grouping those which I think are akin to each other,
although apparently distinct, and tracing the intermediate changes
through which they have passed—which changes have been affected
by the produce of other mints or by local influences—to show their
evolution from a presumed original prototype.

For the English coins the reference numbers to the types are
taken from The Silver Coinage of England, but for the Continental
examples the references are given from the works of Poey D'Avant,
Hoffman, Messrs. Engel and Serrure, Dannenburg and Thomsen, which
very fully illustrate the vast variety, not only of contemporary, but of
much earlier examples. In their pages the student may exercise his
ingenuity in tracing from the earlier coins how, by scores of changes,
a crowned head, in course of time, became a temple, or a temple was
transformed into a four-pointed star. The illustrations I have prepared
will, to some extent, show the process; but the subject is worthy of close
enquiry, and will richly repay a patient and unpredjudiced investigation.
I may add that as this paper is concerned with the device, or figure
only, and not with the inscription or lettering, no reference will be
made to moneyer or place of mintage.

Selecting the ΠΑΧΣ type (Fig. 1) as the last and best known coin
of William I., Hawkins, No. 241, we find that the reverse pattern is
that of a large cross pattee covering the inner field of the coin and
enriched with four large annulets, one in each quarter. This is a
persistent and evidently favourite type, as it was re-issued severally
by his successors William II., Henry I. and Stephen, and in general
appearance it resembles many earlier Continental coins.

Now, taking this as a typical example and comparing it with
an equally well known coin, that of the first issue of Henry II.,
Hawkins, No. 285, we perceive little or nothing in common beyond
a certain formality of pattern—the one having an annulet, whilst the
other has a cross pattee in each quarter, with the addition of a
small saltire, or four-pointed star, impaled upon the large divisional
cross. Yet here we have a curiously interesting illustration in which
two distinct types may be traced to an original unlike either, yet
possessing the germs of both.

I submit that the germ may be found in the Roman coins of
Constantine the Great and of some of the later Christian emperors, on
which the imperial standard is shown bearing the Labarum, which
carried the monogram of Christ, \( \text{Christ} = \alpha \omega \), the Greek \( \alpha, \omega \), embroidered
in gold on a purple ground, Fig. 101. This continued to be a favourite
emblem for many centuries, although often degenerated in form and
observed by various and sometimes curious additions.

Thus the Frankish deniers of Eudes in the ninth century display
variations of this figure, and the coins of Otho the First and Second,
Emperors of Germany in the tenth century, with many of the issues of
the feudal and semi-independent mints of this period, show the same
idea in different forms, which at length resulted in the main portion of
the design being freed from all adornment, and appearing as a large
central cross pattee with the letters OTTO introduced, one letter in each
quarter. Otho II. approximated the PAXS type still closer by spelling
his name ODDO and introducing it on the coin in the same manner,
Fig. 9. The change from this to the complete annulets so placed is
slight indeed; the convenience and symmetry of this pattern were soon
appreciated, and it became a great favourite with feudal mints, and is
Concerning the Evolution of some Reverse

much in evidence on coins of the tenth and eleventh centuries (see Figs. 5-10). Odo, or Eudes in its French form, as a Christian name was also popular and much in vogue, especially in Northern and Central France.

This annulet type practically came into England after the Norman Conquest, and the annulets were utilised to enclose the letters PAXS, or perhaps more correctly S. PAX, as commemorating the holy peace. It is true that we have something resembling this type on coins of Canute, Hawkins 213, but probably this was a passing Anglo-Danish variation of the early Frankish or German pattern, as it was not repeated, and varies considerably from the Cross and annulet form.

I suggest that we owe the introduction of the PAXS type into England to Odo, Bishop of Bayeux, half-brother of the Conqueror and for many years his Chancellor. The Eudes or Odo type was in general Continental use, and he, as an overbearing and ambitious man, with almost absolute power as Chancellor, may have regarded it as a safe method of indirectly introducing the symbol of his name on the coinage without arousing the jealousy of his equally self-willed but more powerful Sovereign.

Assuming that we have here a fairly reasonable explanation of the origin of the PAXS type, let us now turn to the one we have bracketed with it as practically a variation of the same type, viz., the first issue of Henry II. (Fig. 2). This has a large divisional cross pattée confined within the inner circle of the reverse, and a small cross pattée in each quarter; there is also the addition of a small saltire or star in the centre of the large cross on the majority of the coins.

The connecting link which enables us to trace the common origin of both types, and a curious factor in their creation, is to be found in the dual form of the same letter. Thus, previous to the eleventh century, the German o was round, whilst the Frankish o was a kind of mascle or lozenge pattée, the angles being boldly spread instead of terminating squarely. This gives the letter somewhat the appearance of a cross, with an open lozenge in the centre, and consequently on the coins of Aquitaine, Ponthieu, and other great feudatories of France, the Angevin version of the Otto type appears as shown in the
illustrations (Figs. 11, 13, 15, etc.). In course of time the inner lozenge altogether disappears and becomes a simple cross pattée. To these we have only to add the large divisional cross, and the type is identical with Henry II.'s first coinage, the form of the letter thus creating the only difference.

The second issue of Henry II. also is merely a variety of this type, the alteration being of comparatively slight importance, and this, with some very trifling modification, was continued by Richard I., John, and Henry III., in which last-mentioned reign it finally ceased.

A curious and very interesting instance of the survival and trans- portation of type is afforded by the coins of Alfonso III. of Portugal, who was of the Angevin family, and, as Count of Boulogne, succeeded in 1248 to the throne of Portugal. During his reign, which lasted for thirty-one years, he issued coins of the denier type that are complete facsimiles in everything but inscription of those of Henry II.'s first issue.

As Henry II. was master not only of Aquitaine, but of a great part of France as well as King of England—an Angevin by birth and married to Eleanor of Poitou—it would seem to be a good and sufficient reason why a type belonging to his native land was adopted and retained with little change for four successive reigns; perhaps, also, something was due to an attractiveness of design and to its conveniently allowing the halving or quartering for halfpence or farthings, with one or two complete crosses to each piece (see Figs. 1 to 20).

Further, sacerdotal influence was very great during the reigns of Henry II., Richard I., John and Henry III. The five crosses symbolised the five wounds of Christ, which being adopted during the Crusades for the arms of Jerusalem (Fig. 90), were, from this time forward, in general use, and engraved upon the stone slabs of all church altars. In the Guildhall Museum, London, there is a broken altar slab of early date, which was recovered from the foundations of one of the London churches during demolition, and bears a variant of this arrangement (Fig. 91).

Another series of reverses of William I. to Stephen shows varieties of a figure resembling a hollow square with concave or curved sides, the angles being foliated or finished with pellets.
Concerning the Evolution of some Reverse

Sometimes the sides of the square have two facets, and form a kind of four-pointed star; the large divisional cross is not always present.

Similar patterns are also to be found on the early Norman denier, and on Danish and Anglo-Saxon coins of the eleventh century. I submit that all these figures may be traced to one primal type, that though debased and conventionalized by double, triple and quadruple arrangements of the leading portion of the type, gradually built up a design traceable to, but quite unlike its prototype, the figure of a temple front.

The representation of the Temple is undoubtedly symbolic of the Heavenly Jerusalem and the Millennium; the cult of which, now religiously foremost in the minds of all classes, was shortly to fade before the more tangible and evident glories offered by the Crusades.

The reverse types derived from this primal or Temple type, I take to be those of William I., Hawkins, Nos. 234, 235, 236, 238; Henry I., Hawkins, Nos. 255, 260, 261, 265; and Stephen, Hawkins, Nos. 273, 284, with all others that show a similar figure. (See Figs. 21, 22, 23.)

The Temple type in its earliest Christian form on the deniers represents a building of classic design; pillars resting on a base carry a cross-surmounted pediment, and the figure of the god between the columns of the Roman original is here replaced by a large cross pattée; whilst the design and execution is very rude, the motive is clear enough. Later, in the ninth and tenth centuries, the original motive of the design is almost lost, the pediment grows more acute, whilst the pillars are reduced to mere short lines; then the pediment appears in duplicate and reversed, sometimes separated by lettering. Other variants show a triple arrangement, the pediments being placed in a triangular form, or in something that looks like an attempt to show plan and elevation together; then four pediments appear in pairs, the lower pair reversed. Ultimately, however, we obtain a better and quite symmetrical arrangement of four pediments enclosing a central square, enriched by a cross pattée with pellets in the quarters. This design allows of considerable variety without disturbing its general character, and seems about the close of the tenth century to have
Types of the Anglo-Norman Coinage.

ENGLISH TYPES.

FIG. 21.—WILLIAM I. FIG. 22.—WILLIAM I. FIG. 23.—WILLIAM I.

EVOLUTION.

FIG. 24. FIG. 25. FIG. 26. FIG. 27.

FIG. 28. FIG. 29. FIG. 30. FIG. 31.

FIG. 32. FIG. 33. FIG. 34. FIG. 35.

FIG. 36. FIG. 37. FIG. 38. FIG. 39.

FIG. 40. FIG. 41. FIG. 42.

FIG. 43. FIG. 44. FIG. 45.

EVOLUTION OF CERTAIN ANGLO-NORMAN TYPES.

W. S. O.
Concerning the Evolution of some Reverse

become an accepted and representative figure: it is the latest and best combination that gives us the motive for Hawkins, Nos. 234 and 238 of William I. The derivation is the more likely, as nearly all the rude and early versions are of Norman fabric of the tenth century. The accompanying illustrations (Figs. 21 to 39) will show the "fearsome" character of some of the intermediate varieties which lead up to Figs. 37 and 38, the general idea of which, by a little alteration in the size and shape of the central cross, is very like Hawkins No. 234, where we have the four pediments appearing as a four-pointed star, divided by the large central cross. Comparison of the English with the Norman coins (such as Figs. 34 to 38) shows that the idea is the same in both, the pediments being elongated and the cross altered a little in size and position. Figs. 35 and 36 also show a similar suggestive resemblance to the English coin.

Several Danish and Scandinavian coins of the eleventh century also show varieties of this four and eight-faced figure; some are without the cross, but generally it is present, either large or small, and always dividing the figure into four sections (Fig. 39).

Another curious series of varieties of this type shows a branching off into a figure that may also be described as a plan or diagram, perhaps, in a sense more graphically showing or symbolising the Holy City as such. French and Scandinavian coins of the eleventh century show this figure as a double square with circular towers at the angles; and a comparison of these coins, which are very numerous and varied, will disclose that they are undoubtedly intended to represent a large building or city, for the later pieces show the plan improved into an isometrical or bird's-eye view, with walls, turrets and gates (Figs. 40 to 45), on which the cuneator, waxing artistic, develops the idea in unmistakable form. The figure was evidently attractive, and in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries was adopted by many episcopal mints and elaborated into really beautiful and expressive designs representative of abbeys and cities that had no connection with the original idea.

An interesting example of the way that repetition of design will slowly effect an entire change of type is to be found in the remarkable series of Touraine coins issued during the eleventh, twelfth and
Types of the Anglo-Norman Coinage.

AN EVOLUTION.

FIG. 46. FIG. 47. FIG. 48. FIG. 49.

FIG. 50. FIG. 51. FIG. 52. FIG. 53.

FIG. 54. FIG. 55. FIG. 56.

CHARLEMAGNE.

TYPES OF CROWNS.

EVOLUTION OF CERTAIN ANGLO-NORMAN TYPES.
Concerning the Evolution of some Reverse

Concerning the Evolution of some Reverse thirteenth centuries, their unusual character being seen in Figs. 47 to 53. There are a very large number of intermediate varieties, but though closely resembling each other, the gradual change is evident; they were issued from the mints of Tours, Chartres, Vendome, etc., all of which are adjacent to Normandy and Anjou.

The earlier coins of this series show a rudely designed and executed but clearly human face in profile, coroneted and with a figure in front resembling the sceptre on the first issue of Henry II.'s English coins, but without inscription. This portrait or head, with many variations, slowly changes into a figure forming three sides of a square, in the centre of which is a large cross pattée; the tassels of the coronet are altered into a pyramidal form, and after attachment to the cross are reversed in position, and then they become the pediment or apex of the square and produce a figure clearly intended to represent or express a building. This is the well-known "Touraine type," that was adopted for the regal coins of France, of St. Louis and Philip III. and IV., etc., and also by the Crusaders as Dukes of Athens, and for Thebes and Antioch as a figure or type of the Temple.

The value of this series of examples of complete transformation of type is very great, especially as during the change it was confined to mints in the immediate neighbourhood of Tours, and the ultimate form adopted is not by any means of a decorative or even attractive character. Its motive is obscure, and certainly not due to ignorance or other debasement of type, as the later coins, and especially the regal issues, are of excellent work. Altogether we may regard this series as showing the remarkable power the sacred type of the Temple possessed over the popular mind at the period of the Crusades. The coincidence of general resemblance and points of detail between the earlier forms of this type and Fig. 53, which is of uncertain Eastern fabric and of early date, should also be remarked.

Another illustration of deviation is to be found in some coins of early but uncertain date and belonging to various German mints. They show a design derived from four large circles conjoined; the centre of this group of circles produces a figure of a concave square in shape, somewhat resembling the central figure on Anglo-Saxon
and Danish coins, and the reverse types of William I., Henry I., and Stephen. Casual observation might give them a similar origin, but, as we have shown, these late Saxon and Norman types are variants of the Temple plan figure, whilst the German coins are due to a totally different origin.

Some of these coins are struck from dies much larger than the flans, and consequently we get only the centre of the device, hence the superficial resemblance. As, however, they were of limited output and confined to a local area, it is impossible to regard them as really akin to the Temple plan type, although stray pieces of these figures may have suggested the extension of the curved centre into complete circles; they may indicate a curious variation branching off towards a new type.

The coins of Charlemagne and many varieties based on his types (Figs. 54, 55, 56), show the monogram KARLOS as a cruciform figure with a lozenge mascle as a central O; and Angevin and other French coins, as previously mentioned, also give the letter O in a square form with the angles pattée; but as both of these types slowly disappear instead of developing, we may reject them as not influencing the Temple type to any serious extent, if at all.

With this phase of the type we may note that strange and curiously uncomfortable variety of regal crown, the square or four-sided example (see Figs. 57 to 63).

We have it represented as actually worn by the King on the Conqueror's coins, Hawkins, No. 242, a variety of the PAXS type. Hawkins, No. 263, also shows Henry I. wearing this pattern of crown. Earlier than either of these sovereigns we notice Henry III. of Germany wearing a similar crown, and his coins show it both full and side-faced; it also appears on the coins of Louis VII. of France.

Further, we have in the Cotton MS., Tib. A, iii., a very rich and interesting illumination representing the Anglo-Saxon King Edgar, enthroned and crowned. He is shown, wearing a similarly square crown, but of course, as a drawing, the work is more elaborate and fuller of detail than was possible on a small coin such as the silver penny or denier (see Figs. 57 to 61). There is also a M.S. illustration
Concerning the Evolution of some Reverse of Harold II. wearing "a square crown, of which extremely inconvenient shape many examples are to be met with in Frankish and Anglo-Saxon MSS. of the tenth and eleventh centuries" (Planché).

I submit that whether this form of crown had a real existence or no, it was intended as a representative and especially sacred form, being symbolic of the Holy City, and it was certainly no trivial variety, for we find it adopted and represented as in use in England, France and Germany, and continuing in use during a period of several centuries.

It is interesting to compare these square crowns with the four-sided building of the coins; the resemblance is frequently very close, especially with those showing the cross-surmounted corners, and as many sovereigns are recorded as possessing several of these regal adornments, perhaps this kind may have been that specially worn at Easter or other sacred festivals. The Saxon Chronicle records William the Conqueror as wearing a regal helm thrice a year when in England, viz., for Easter at Winchester, for Whitsun at Westminster, and for Christmas at Gloucester. William of Malmesbury says that King John was first crowned Duke of Normandy at Rouen with a golden circle adorned with roses, which was clearly not the English crown.

Crowns were also frequent royal offerings at shrines of great repute, but these may have been merely pledged for redemption, or in some cases miniature or specially prepared circlets.

Some coins show a close affinity in motive on both obverse and reverse (Fig. 62): of Canute, Hawkins, No. 212; Henry I., Hawkins, No. 259; and Stephen (Fig. 63), Hawkins Nos. 270, 271, 272. All these show the king’s head bearing a crown evidently of a pattern repeated on the reverse, as a plan or diagram; the coincidence is interesting, and they may possibly have been intended as coronation types.

Many of the reverses from William I. to Stephen, and including those already referred to, exhibit a variety of curious figures or ornaments, generally attached as terminals to the cross. Considered by themselves, their meaning is difficult to understand, and some of them would seem to owe their presence more to caprice on the
Types of the Anglo-Norman Coinage.

ENGLISH TYPES.

FIG. 64. WILLIAM II.
FIG. 65. HENRY I.
FIG. 66. STEPHEN.
FIG. 67. EDWARD CONFESSOR.

EVOLUTION.

FIG. 68.
FIG. 69.
FIG. 70.
FIG. 71.

FIG. 72.
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FIG. 82.
FIG. 83.
FIG. 84.
FIG. 85.

FIG. 86.
FIG. 87.
FIG. 88.
FIG. 89.

EVOLUTION OF CERTAIN ANGLO-NORMAN TYPES.

W. S. O.

PL. IV.
Concerning the Evolution of some Reverse

cuneator's part than to anything else—such, for example, as the pair of little crescents, or others resembling a trefoil, that are so frequently found terminating the arms of the large divisional cross (Fig. 67).

Again, on the coins of William II., Hawkins, No. 245, 246, we have a reverse showing a small cross pattée in the centre of a quatrefoil panel (Fig. 64), and for this new and peculiar form we may ask a reason, especially as we have a somewhat similar feature on the coins of Henry I., Hawkins, No. 252 (Fig. 65). Another novelty of figure is also found on the latter king's coins, Hawkins, No. 259, and we have the same figure slightly varied on Stephen's coins, Hawkins, No. 270, etc. (Fig. 66).

These figures are quite distinct in character from any previous types; the design is very effective and tasteful, resembling what is architecturally termed a Catherine-wheel window; the four arms of the cross being connected by eight bows. Some of the above figures, such as the quatrefoil panel-types of William II. and Henry I. have close prototypes on our Anglo-Saxon coins as well as on those of Normandy and Brittany. Others, such as the little trefoil ornaments of the Cross, frequently appear on Anglo-Danish and Saxon coins, even as early as the time of Alfred.

The connection or derivation of all these distant and widely differing figures with one original seems remote and improbable, but an examination of Frankish, German, Scandinavian and Saxon types from the seventh to the twelfth centuries, places it beyond doubt that they are merely variants of the same primal and sacred figure, viz., the Greek letter Ω, omega, the emblem of Christ.

This, as a sign, first appears inscribed on the Christian ensigns and coins of certain Roman Emperors (Fig. 101), but with its many variations until the seventh century we need not concern ourselves, beyond remarking its constant use in one form or another during that period.

Now as to the letter Ω, omega, itself, the changes it underwent in course of time were very great, partly owing to ignorance of its real form, or to the local cuneator’s method of interpretation, and perhaps also to a desire to give an inner meaning to the sign.
Thus the small square feet of the original become pellets, then crescents; these increase in size, the bow disappears and the two much-rounded feet form a double letter; later in some mints the original bow is added upon these, and thus creates a triple form of the letter, or trefoil-like figure. In French hands we find that the double form of the letter soon attained a more graceful outline, growing longer in the stem and leaf-like in the curves until, in the eleventh century, it blossomed into a flower-like figure, and finally a little later became a fully developed fleur-de-lys. As such it was adopted as the national emblem and chief ornament of the regal crown of France. In addition to this permitted elasticity of actual form, we find that it was placed in all possible positions: reversed, sideways or diagonally and back to back, was displayed detached, or attached singly or in a dual form, but generally to the central cross, first alone and upon the head, then in a dual form head and foot, and afterwards to all the four arms; hence it becomes evident that such a figure ornamentally treated and so employed, was capable of almost endless combination. The excessive use of this letter omega as a symbol by a newly converted nation is shown on the Danish coins of Sweyn II. (Fig. 89), where it is actually reproduced no less than thirty-two times without reckoning the four dual figures attached to the large cross.

The coins of William II., Hawkins, Nos. 245, 246 (Fig. 64), show novel and neat reverses, and of Henry I., Hawkins, 252 (Fig. 65), is very similar. Those of William II. give a complete quatrefoil with a pellet at the intersection of the bows, and enclose a large cross patee. The reverse of Henry I.'s coin has a figure composed of a quatrefoil with angular intersections, enclosing an annulet and pellet. Let us now trace the evolution of this species of type.

The coins of Dagobert, King of France A.D. 622-38 (Figs. 71, 72), show a plain Latin cross, the top limb of which is encircled by the omega as a symbol; beneath the base line this sign again appears in its dual form surmounting the alpha, and from this period onward this symbol in many varying forms and positions was generally adopted.

At the close of the eighth century the coins of Offa, King of Mercia (Fig. 75), show the figure as a symbol, repeated four times, each
encircling one of the four arms of the central cross, but not united. The letter is represented as three-fourths of a circle, the ends terminating in single pellets. The Anglo-Saxon coins of Æthelweulf, ninth century, supply interesting varieties, such as the circular \( \omega \) to the horizontal arms of a cross only, or the double \( \omega \) attached to all four arms but not touching each other, thus giving the effect of a cross fourchée.

Later, in the tenth century, the coins of Canute, Hawkins, No. 212 (Fig. 76), show a further evolution in the form of a complete quatrefoil. To effect this the letters are expanded into semi-circles, which touch one another at the pellet terminals. This completed quatrefoil is used for both reverse and obverse, the latter enclosing the king's bust.

Here we have the evolution of the quatrefoil types of William II. and Henry I., Hawkins, Nos. 245, 246 and 252 (Fig. 64), fully illustrated, and in addition, from coins of the seventh to the eleventh centuries, we may find numerous examples showing the application of the symbol in many various ways: First as encircling the top member of the cross, then top and bottom, or either side, or slung from the arms, or encircling all the four arms and finally linked together and so producing the perfect quatrefoil, a figure doubly interesting as cruciform in itself.

As already stated, great latitude was allowed when the Greek letter \( \omega \) was treated as a symbol. In its original Greek form it is shown as three-quarters of a circle resting on short, straight feet, thus: \( \Omega \), but on the Anglo-Saxon and contemporary coins the straight feet are changed into pellets, and when, for symbolic use, four of this form of letter are united in a cruciform figure, we at once obtain the quatrefoil type of Canute and William II., but when the Greek form is preserved we get the correct and still more ornamental figure of Henry I.'s coin, Hawkins, No. 252 (Fig. 65).

From the same prototype, and by similar methods, we may also trace the evolution of the Catherine-wheel type of Henry I., Hawkins, No. 259, and Stephen, Hawkins, Nos. 270 to 272 (Fig. 66). This type gives a foliated cross of eight bows, known later,
Types of the Anglo-Norman Coinage.

Heraldically, as a cross moline with the cusps finished as fleurs-de-lys.

This type, probably owing to its ornamental character, was frequently re-issued during these reigns. The figure is produced by a fourfold repetition of the dual form of the letter omega, and its evolution may be traced in a similar manner to that of the quatrefoil, this being an octofoil with additional detail. _En passant_ we may remark that this pattern suggested and branched off into the figure of the tressure of eight foils as displayed on the groats, half-groats and pence of the coinage from Edward III. to Henry VII. The tressure encircling the royal bust is merely the omega portion of the coins of Henry I. and Stephen, the bust replacing the cross, and all the cusps are finished with fleurs-de-lys.

The coins of Dagobert of France and of many contemporary mints of the seventh, eighth, ninth and tenth centuries, supply abundant evidence of the use and application of both forms of this symbol, varieties of which are shown in Figs. 64 to 89. The Anglo-Saxon coins of Eanred, Coenwulf, Æthelwulf, etc., show its appreciation at English mints, but its identity as the Christian symbol may be questioned unless attached to the cross, as on many coins a similar letter is intended as the initial of Mercia or Moneta.

Early Anglo-Saxon and Frankish coins not infrequently display a crescent, either singly or in pairs, or as assisting crucial ornamentation (Fig. 88). It is a question whether this figure may not be a variation of the omega in both a single and dual form, especially as it first appears centuries before the Crusades.

Prior to the era of Charlemagne, King of the Franks, the currency was of a very miscellaneous character. The Frankish and German mints furnished a limited contribution, but the bulk of the coins in circulation consisted chiefly of the worn-out relics of Roman origin, including those of Colonial and Byzantine mints. Hence, when the Christian world became consolidated and to a great extent under one head, the Rex and Imperator being accepted and consecrated by the Church, there seems to have been a real attempt to give a distinct and uniform character to the imperial coinage.
Concerning the Evolution of some Reverse

The coins of Charlemagne and those of his immediate successors and of other contemporary mints (Figs. 54, 55, 56) appear for a very long period to have exercised great influence over many of the mints of Christendom. We may trace it on our Anglo-Saxon coins, and still more in the vast number of varieties issued from the feudal mints of the great provinces of France.

Figures based on the monogram KARLOS continually reappear on coins issued as late as the eleventh century, and probably the final form of many symbolic types was influenced by the striking and prominently Christian character of those of Charlemagne.

The sign or figure of the cross on the coinage of Christendom had always been in use from late Roman times, but we must regard Charlemagne as the first sovereign to issue a circulation of good fabric and high standard, distinctly Christian in character, and ingeniously displaying the letters of his name surrounding and partly composed of the emblem of salvation; thus identifying himself with and creating a Christian monogram.

As an epoch-making sovereign, the favourite son and the support of the Church, engaged in conquering, converting, and blending alien peoples into a universal empire, possessing enormous revenues, and the consecrated master of a great part of Europe, we find him, as we should expect to find so sagacious and powerful a ruler, regarding a well-filled exchequer as the essence of wealth and power, and a uniform and expressive coinage would be the natural result. Hence the denarius, or silver penny, prominently bearing a monogram uniting the figure of the cross with his own name, was issued in vast quantities; and this type and fabric, with many changes, were generally adopted, and, continuing for centuries, have left enduring traces on the coins of all Christendom.

The cross as the chief Christian emblem has been subjected to many remarkable alterations and additions, without destroying its innate simplicity of form, either upright or diagonal, namely, that of St. George or St. Andrew. The former, known as the Latin cross, is certainly the primal form, and came originally from Egypt and Chaldea. The Phœnician or Hebrew letter tau is from this figure: that of an upright
Types of the Anglo-Norman Coinage.

Arms of Jerusalem

Altar Slab

Fig. 90.

Fig. 91.

Fig. 92.

Fig. 93.

Fig. 94.

Fig. 95.

Fig. 96.

Fig. 97.

Fig. 98.

Fig. 99.

Fig. 100.

Fig. 101.

Evolution of certain Anglo-Norman Types.

pl. v.
Concerning the Evolution of some Reverse

post with cross-beam, from which is derived the Greek σταυρός, a stake. No doubt this was the form of cross or standard upon which was fixed the brazen serpent by Moses in the desert, the serpent being displayed in a circular form, with the tail entering the mouth as an emblem of eternity.

The British Druids are said to have used a somewhat kindred figure, which they produced by selecting a tall straight tree, lopping off all the branches, and then attaching two of them to the trunk as horizontal arms. Names of various divinities were inscribed on the bark, and before this emblem sacred rites were performed.

The Crusaders naturally chose the cross as the proper figure for their banners and ensigns; and a compound and typical figure of this kind was selected for the sign and arms of Jerusalem. It much resembles, and was probably derived from, the contemporary coins of Aquitaine. Many of the chief leaders of the movement sprang from that part of France, and when Henry Plantagenet of Anjou succeeded to the throne of England he introduced the Angevin type on our coins. The arms of Jerusalem represent the cross as a compound symbol; the central figure consists of a large cross potent with a small cross in each quarter; the central cross is composed of four tau-crosses, as the emblem of life, springing from a square centre, which was probably intended to represent the Holy City; altogether, the entire figure is symbolical of the five wounds of Christ, and is striking from its comprehensive simplicity (Fig. 90).

It is, however, to the Greek letter Ω as the especial symbol of Christ that we must look for explanation of almost if not all of the other and more ornamental forms the cross assumed: first as figured on the coinage, and later in heraldic display (Figs. 91 to 97), which show five leading varieties, viz., the cross-pommée, bottonee, fourchée, moline, and fleury, all based on and derived from the Greek letter.

The pommée form is obtained by simply attaching this letter to the end of each limb; the bottonee, a later variety, is derived from the more complicated form of the same letter, where it resembles a trefoil; the fourchée and moline forms are from the Angevin and other French varieties of this letter in a dual form; whilst the cross fleury is the
ultimate and most beautiful of all. Figs. 92 to 99 show the various renderings of this letter and its application to the cross as a symbolic ornament.

The coins of all Christendom from the seventh to the twelfth centuries, but principally those of the great feudatories of France, supply a really wonderful number of varieties, from which it would be possible to arrange and tabulate the successive changes by which the complete fleur-de-lys was evolved from the simple Greek letter.

We may also note a similar origin for the well-known form of the Saxon and Runic crosses familiar in our churchyards, and also the pectoral form of the same type. The primal type is Frankish, and is obtained by arranging four Greek omegas back to back in a crucial form, the straight feet touching (Figs. 98 and 99). Here we have the veritable Crux Christi, on which His Name composes the emblem of salvation.

The other types and their varieties and even small details are full of suggestive study, such as the star rosettes on either side of the bust, William I. and II., Hawkins, Nos. 238 and 250, which probably refer to the claim on Brittany, as the coins of that duchy exhibit a large cross pattée with a star in each of the two upper quarters.

The coins of Anjou and also of a Count of Flanders of that family, give the type formed of the Greek and saltire crosses, such as we see on the coins of Henry I. and Stephen, which are based on the Greek χρ. May not this Angevin type be the earlier form of the escarbuncle, which later became the badge of Navarre? It certainly suggested a Papal type issued at Avignon, which has the large cross pattée with the crossed keys, instead of crosslets in the corners. Again, when Henry III., in his long-cross type, dropped the small crosses and introduced the triple pellets in their place—the type which, with the cross as altered by Edward I. into a cross pattée, continued unaltered on our coins until the reign of Henry VIII.—he merely adopted the type of Richard I. of Normandy, A.D. 943, of which it was an absolute facsimile. This coin, we may also note, has the Temple figure for its obverse (Fig. 100). In short, the early coinage of Normandy, Brittany and Anjou seems to
Concerning the Evolution of some Reverse

be the source whence nearly all the post-Conquest types have arisen, and it is safe to assume that the appearance of certain patterns or details are intended as mute evidence and chronicles of contemporary events.

Racial affinity is also an undeniable cause of the introduction, perpetuation or revival of type; and Norman, Angevin, Danish, late Anglo-Saxon and Anglo-Norman coins show the successive stages of our history at the chief era of its making.

It is true that as a class the coins of the tenth, eleventh and twelfth centuries form a difficult subject of study, partly because they are not locally successive, but also because the workmanship in most cases leaves much to be desired, whilst careless striking and indifferent preservation also contribute their quota of uncertainty. But, on the other hand, the numerous mints, with their constantly varying patterns, offer an almost boundless field for enquiry to the skilled and, needless to say, to the patient investigator.

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The above authorities are thus referred to in the following list:—

E. Hawkins = Hawkins; Hoffman = H; Poey D'Avant = P.D'A.; Engel and Serrure = E. and S.; Dannenberg = D.; Thomsen = T.

PLATE I.

Fig. 1.—England, William I., Hawkins, No. 241.


" 3.—Normandy, Richard I., P.D'A., Plate IV, Fig. 9.

" 4.—France, Henry I., H., Plate III, Figs. 5, 13.

" 5.—Aquitaine, P.D'A., Plate LIX, Fig. 6.

" 6.—Burgundy, P.D'A., Plate CXXVIII, Fig. 5.
Types of the Anglo-Norman Coinage.

Fig. 7.—Varieties of Feodales, P.D'A.
8.—Ponthieu, E. and S., Fig. 880.
9.—Germany, E. and S., Fig. 1,154.
10.—D., Plate I, Figs. 11, 13; Plate XCIII, Fig. 1,166D, etc.
11.—Duchy de France, P.D'A., Plate II, Fig. 10.
12.—Aquitaine, P.D'A., Plate LVIII, Fig. 19.
13.—Limoges, P.D'A., Plate L, Fig. 13.
14.—Limoges, P.D'A., Plate L, Fig. 14.
15.—Angoulême, E. and S., Fig. 778.
16.—Cahors, E. and S., Fig. 826.
17.—Aquitaine and Picardy varieties, P.D'A., Plate LIX, Fig. 1; Plate CLI, Fig. 17.
18.—Normandy, P.D'A., Plate IV, Fig. 15, etc.
19.—Champagne, P.D'A., Plate CXXXVI, Figs. 7, 10.
20.—Burgundy, E. and S., Fig. 831.

PLATE II.

24.—Normandy, Richard I., P.D'A., Plate III, Fig. 19.
25.—Normandy, Richard I., P.D'A., Plate IV, Fig. 13.
26.—Normandy, Richard I., P.D'A., Plate III, Fig. 21.
27.—Lorraine, E. and S., Fig. 1,006.
28.—D., Plate LVIII, Fig. 1,314.
29.—Normandy, P.D'A., Plate V, Fig. 17.
30.—Normandy, P.D'A., Plate IV, Fig. 15.
31.—Normandy, P.D'A., Plate VI, Fig. 11.
32.—Normandy, P.D'A., Plate VI, Fig. 19.
33.—Normandy, P.D'A., Plate V, Fig. 13.
34.—Normandy, P.D'A., Plate V, Fig. 7.
35.—Normandy, P.D'A., Plate V, Fig. 8.
36.—Maine, P.D'A., Plate XXIX, Fig. 12.
37.—Normandy, Richard I., P.D'A., Plate IV, Fig. 18.
38.—Normandy, Richard I., P.D'A., Plate IV, Fig. 9.
39.—Denmark, Magnus, E. and S., Fig. 1,318.
40.—France, Henry I., H, Plate III, Fig. 9.
41.—Denmark, Canute, E. and S., Fig. 1,316.
42.—Germany, D., Plate XXXI, Fig. 713.
43.—Germany, D., Plate XXXV, Fig. 816.
44.—Wurzburg, D., Plate XXXVII, Fig. 838.
45.—Hersfeld, D., Plate LXXXII, Fig. 1,658.
Concerning the Evolution of some Reverse Plate III.

Fig. 46.—Touraine, P.D'A., Plate XXXII, Fig. 6.
47.—Vendôme, P.D'A., Plate XXXV, Fig. 7.
48.—Blois, P.D'A., Plate XXXIII, Fig. 3.
49.—Vendôme, P.D'A., Plate XXXVI, Fig. 12.
50.—Ordinary Touraine type.
51.—Ordinary Touraine type.
52.—Vendôme, P.D'A., Plate XXXVI, Fig. 7.
53.—Oriental, T, Plate II, Fig. 960.
54.—Charlemagne, E. and S., Fig. 392.
55.—Charlemagne, E. and S., Fig. 390.
56.—Languedoc, P.D'A., Plate LXXXVI, Fig. 6.
Figs. 57–61.—Illustrations of the square crown taken from MS. illuminations and contemporary coins, principally French and German.
52, 63.—Analogy of crown pattern as displayed on obverse and reverse of the same coins.

Plate IV.

Fig. 64.—England, William II, Hawkins, No. 245.
Figs. 68, 69.—Shows progressive pattern of the omega cross terminal, Fig. 67, etc.
Fig. 70.—Anglo-Saxon, Ethelred, Archbishop of Canterbury, Hawkins, No. 149.
71.—Dagobert, E. and S., Fig. 188.
72.—Dagobert, E. and S., Fig. 191.
73.—Cloves II, E. and S., Fig. 232.
74.—Anglo-Saxon, Coenwulf of Mercia, Hawkins, No. 73.
75.—Anglo-Saxon, Offa of Mercia, Hawkins, No. 565.
76.—Anglo-Saxon, Canute, Hawkins, No. 212.
77.—Poland, E. and S., Fig. 1,351.
78.—Anglo-Saxon, Edmund of East Anglia, Hawkins, No. 95.
80.—Comte de Flanders, E. and S., Fig. 901.
81.—Picardy, P.D'A., Plate CXLIX, Fig. 14.
82.—Picardy, P.D'A., Plate CXLIX, Fig. 21.
83.—Brittany, P.D'A., Plate IX, Fig. 17.
84.—Berri, P.D'A., Plate XLV, Fig. 5.
85.—Brittany, P.D'A., Plate IX, Fig. 18.
86.—Picardy, P.D'A., Plate CXLIX, Fig. 15.
Types of the Anglo-Norman Coinage.

Fig. 87.—Cambray, E. and S., Fig. 1,061.

" 88.—Brittany, Alan III., P.D'A., Plate IX, Fig. 14.

" 89.—Scandinavia, Sven II., E. and S., Fig. 1,321.

PLATE V.

Figs. 90, 91.—Arms of Jerusalem adopted at the Crusades, primarily derived from earlier coin type. See Plate I.

" 92-99.—Ornamental forms of the cross arising from application of varieties of the omega to that figure.

Fig. 100.—Normandy, Richard I., P.D'A., Plate III, Fig. 20, showing source of the cross with triple pellets in each quarter, Henry III. and Edward I., Hawkins, Nos. 287, 292, the familiar English type.

" 101.—Primal or Roman form of the χ ρ, also so displayed on coins of the Visigoths and early kings of France.

[We are also indebted to Mr. Ogden for the sketches which illustrate this paper, for his pencil seems to be as facile as his pen.—Ed.]
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THE TYPES OF WILLIAM I.
XI. CENTURY.
Pl. I.