INTRODUCTION.

In the ensuing work it is the object of the writer to present to his readers as complete a view as opportunity affords of the coinages of our first two Norman sovereigns.

He has read the various articles bearing upon the subject in the pages of the Numismatic Chronicle, the standard numismatic works and elsewhere, and gives an equally grateful acknowledgment to those writers whose views have warned him against the repetition of similar errors as to those whose opinions, in the light of present knowledge, are capable of acceptance.

The writer also desires to thank all those, whether private individuals or persons having the care of coins in public institutions, for the ready access afforded him to specimens in their possession or custody for the purpose of taking readings of the names of mints and moneyers.

In particular, a hope is expressed that the publication of this work in sections may be the means of inducing owners of coins of William I. and II. differing from those described herein, to communicate accurate descriptions of them to the writer for incorporation in the Histories of the Mints, intended to form Part II. of this treatise, or at least in a supplement thereto.

Where all have been so kind, it is hoped that it will not be deemed invidious to tender especial thanks to Mr. W. J. Andrew, F.S.A., for his willing assent to the adoption of the general plan and arrangement of his Numismatic History of the reign of Henry I. as a
A Numismatic History of William I. and II.

model for the present work, and equally to Mr. L. A. Lawrence for his kindly aid in furnishing a large number of catalogue readings, and for ready help always cheerfully afforded.

CHAPTER I.

Norman Money.

To arrive at a decision as to what constituted the Norman money, it is requisite to examine the state of the case in Saxon times.

In the short reign of Harold II., in that of Edward the Confessor, and for a long time prior to that period, in fact, since the time of Edward the Elder, the only coin of the realm was the silver penny. The other denominations mentioned in Domesday Book and elsewhere were moneys of account only, or as regards the halfpenny and farthing, a half and a fourth of a penny made by the actual division of the piece.

In the Conqueror's reign, as in those of Harold II. and Edward the Confessor, and in some earlier reigns, it was the custom to issue from the mints portions of pennies, representing literally halfpence and farthings (viz., fourthings). These were produced by the actual cutting of a perfect penny into halves or quarters. Of such cut coins of the reign of William I. specimens of the halfpenny of Types I, II and III are in the cabinet of the writer, and it is recorded that a single example of Type V was present in the large hoard of Henry I. and Stephen's coins found at Watford, and that eighteen halfpennies of this order of Type VIII were found in the Beaworth hoard.

With the exception of a cut halfpenny of Type 3 of William II. (Hks. 247), the writer is not aware of the existence of cut coins of the remaining types of the two reigns, and no specimen of the farthing has come under his notice, though it is probable that specimens are preserved. The cutting was effected with a sharp-edged instrument which left a portion of the edge bevelled and did not cause the coin to in any way curl or bend. From experiments recently made by Mr. W. T. Ready and the writer, it is conjectured that the instrument used was similar to an ordinary pair of modern shears or strong scissors.
This practice of cutting the silver penny into halves and fourths was in existence from the time of Alfred the Great till the reign of Henry III., although at different times it was suppressed by royal order. The old standard of England required the silver of which the pennies were made to be 11 ounces 2 pennyweights fine and 18 pennyweights of alloy. The proper weight of the penny was 24 grains.

The pound Tower, so called from the Tower of London, for so long the chief mint of the realm, was lighter than the pound Troy by three-quarters of an ounce, so 24 grains Tower were equal to only 22\textfrac{1}{2} grains Troy.

In Norman times the relative proportional value of the standard silver ounce as compared with fine gold was as 1 is to 9; i.e., an ounce of fine gold was worth 9 ounces of standard silver. As regards the relative value of a Norman penny as compared with a coin of the same denomination of the present day it is somewhat difficult to arrive at a just and true determination. Perhaps the most convincing comparison is that afforded by their relative power of purchase. At page 95 of Vol. I of *The Annals of the Coinage of Great Britain and its Dependencies*, by the Rev. Rogers Ruding (third edition, 1840) is a table of prices of various articles at different times, compiled from the "respectable authorities" specified in a note thereto.

The following are the entries relating to, approximately, the Norman period:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Wheat per bushel</th>
<th>Horse</th>
<th>Ox</th>
<th>Sheep</th>
<th>Hog</th>
<th>Husbandman's wage per day</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>d.</td>
<td>£ s. d.</td>
<td>s. d.</td>
<td>s. d.</td>
<td>s. d.</td>
<td>d.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1050</td>
<td>2\textfrac{1}{2}</td>
<td>1 17 6</td>
<td>7 6</td>
<td>1 3</td>
<td>2 0</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1150</td>
<td>4\textfrac{1}{2}</td>
<td>12 5</td>
<td>4 8\textfrac{1}{4}</td>
<td>1 8</td>
<td>3 0</td>
<td>—</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

It will be seen that all the prices of 1050 differ very materially from those of 1150.
In the year 1795 the prices of the same articles are given as under:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Wheat per bushel</th>
<th>Horse</th>
<th>Ox</th>
<th>Sheep</th>
<th>Hog</th>
<th>Husbandman's wage per day</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>s. d.</td>
<td>£ s. d.</td>
<td>£ s. d.</td>
<td>£ s. d.</td>
<td>£ s. d.</td>
<td>s. d.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7 10</td>
<td>19 0 0</td>
<td>16 8 0</td>
<td>1 18 0</td>
<td>5 8 0</td>
<td>1 5 4</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Here again the variations of price are very considerable and by no means proportionate. Perhaps the best method is to follow Mr. W. J. Andrew's course and to take the daily wage of the Norman agricultural labourer, as compared with that of his twentieth-century successor, as the standard of comparison.

Per diem.

Norman... ... ... ... ... ... 2d.
XXth Century... ... ... ... ... 25. to 25. 6d.

From this it will be seen that the relative value of a Norman penny as compared with a penny of to-day was from twelve to fifteen times greater.

As the wealth of the country, the manner of living, the requirements of the age, the standard of articles considered necessary, the methods and sources of supply of necessaries and luxuries, the tastes of the people and their means of livelihood, all greatly differ from the conditions existing in Norman times, the writer must leave those members of the Society who are housekeepers and housewives to work out a solution of this fiscal question according to their tastes, requirements and politics.

The method of producing the coins may now usefully be considered. In Saxon and Norman times this was identical. The silver was beaten into a sheet of the required thickness, from which circular discs of the requisite diameter were punched, or cut with a pair of shears or strong scissors. The dies, or coining irons, consisted of two parts, the lower or standard die, and the upper or trussell die. The upper die was also
called a puncheon. Both were of iron, and the engraved surfaces of both appear in existing specimens to have been hardened into steel; but the polished appearance may have been produced by the pressure exerted in the operation of coining. The standard die terminated at the lower end in a long sharp point that was firmly driven into the wooden block, used by the moneyer as a smith uses an anvil.

The trussell was a separate instrument, having its lower surface engraved with the reverse design to be impressed upon the disc or flan. The flan was placed upon the lower die, engraved with the obverse design; the trussell was then held in position above it.

To prevent splitting, it is probable that a metal clip or collar was fastened around the point of juncture, and that the upper die was firmly held with a thong or a pair of tongs or long pincers by the operator while striking the head with a heavy hammer to impart the impressions of the dies to the metal placed between them.

The trussells or puncheons, therefore, as is well exemplified by existing specimens, received the direct blows of the operating moneyer or coiner, and their durability was only about half that of the lower or standard and fixed dies. That they were actually issued in this proportion is shown by the records quoted hereafter.

The obverse and reverse designs of a coinage throughout the realm were, with such slight variations as are always present in work effected by hand as distinguished from work done by means of machinery, the same, except as regards the names of the moneyers and the places of issue. It is therefore evident that the dies were issued from a common centre, probably Winchester and London in succession, and were prepared under the supervision of an official called the cuneator.

As regards the names of moneyers and the towns of issue, it must be presumed that written particulars were furnished to this official.

In spacing out the dies, marks seem to have been made with a pair of hard metal compasses, as on many specimens of Saxon and Norman coins a small central pellet is noticeable and, on those coins not having a true inner circle, a slightly raised hair-like circle just within the lettering is sometimes discernible, these being produced in
relief from the corresponding depressions in the dies. These and other marks of a similar use served to aid the engraver in the execution of his work.

The spacing of the lettering of the reverse legend is generally well thought out. Where the name of the moneyer is lengthy, that of the mint is much abbreviated; on the other hand, where the name of the moneyer is short, a full rendering of the mint-name is given. The names of moneyer and mint-place are connected by the word **ON**, the Saxon equivalent to "in" or "of." In some rare instances the Latin genitive and the Norman French "de" are made use of, showing that in Norman and Plantagenet times, "of" and "de" were equivalent to the Saxon "in."

It is worthy of note that our seventeenth-century tokens disclose the use of the word "in" in the same sense and connection. There are, however, examples of Saxon and Norman coins when, owing to the length of the moneyer's name, coupled with want of thought on the part of the engraver, the name of the mint-place is entirely omitted.

As regards the types of the coinages of William I. and II., the tax of "moneyage," or in the Latin of the period *monetagium*, has an important bearing. This is stated to have been introduced by William I. at the time of or soon after the Norman Conquest, but it is certain that it was abolished soon after the accession of Henry I., from whose "Laws" it also appears that it did not exist in the time of Edward the Confessor. The passage (I, 5) is as follows:—

"Monetagium commune, quod capiebatur per civitates et per comitatus, quod non fuit tempore Edwardi regis, hoc ne amodo fiat omnino defendo."

In reference to *monetagium*, Du Cange says:—

"There was formerly a payment of twelve pence every three years, due from each hearth in Normandy for moneyage, and for feuage, or the privilege of cutting wood in the forests for firing. It seems to have been peculiar to that duchy, and was paid, or at least one part of it, that the money might not be changed; for in those times the seigniorage which was taken upon every alteration of the coins was highly oppressive, and it was therefore commuted for by this tax. It
was introduced into England either at the time of, or soon after, the Norman Conquest."

The duration of a type was thus fixed at a minimum of three years, and it may be regarded as certain that while this regulation was in force neither William I. nor William II. would allow a type to be of longer duration than three years. It therefore follows that each type, in the absence of the demise of the Crown, ran for a period of three years. The triennial periods were seemingly computed from Michaelmas to Michaelmas, that festival being the period at which, in later times, the Exchequer year began and closed. Although the Exchequer, \textit{eo nomine}, originated in the reign of Henry I., its functions were prior to that time exercised by the Treasury or Financial Department necessarily existent in every well-governed community.

The customs and forms in vogue in Norman times appear to have been, to a large extent, adopted from the system built up in Saxon days.

A necessary consequence of a change of type, during the period when the \textit{monetagium} law was in force, was that the issue of a new type effected also a change in the legal tender; or, in other words, put all prior types out of circulation. This circumstance accounts for the many specimens of over-struck coins even now existing. It is generally found that the new impressions, in the case of such over-struck coins, are of the issue \textit{next} succeeding those originally, or last previously, borne by the coins so brought up to date.

In this connection it may be noted that in the \textit{Domesday} account of Lewes the expression "\textit{Cum moneta renovatur}" is used as equivalent to "\textit{Quando moneta vertebatur}."  

The hoards of coins discovered, in the main, support this view, as the coins of the issue current when the hoard was collected are always much the more numerous; and especially was this so in the case of the largest hoard of coins of the period yet discovered, viz., the Beaworth find.

Some period of latitude within which to change, or renew, the money was, however, probably allowed, and this period of perhaps
three months was, it is suggested, also the time during which the mule, or combination types, were permitted to be issued.

If reference be made to the Tamworth find, described hereafter, it will be seen that of a total of 294 specimens, 30 only were of the last issue of William I. (Type VIII), while 97 were of the first type of William II., 3 of the mule connecting Types 1 and 2, and the remaining 164 consisted of Type 2, viz., that which was current when the hoard was deposited.

When the type of the coinage was changed the moneyers had to pay certain fees at London on receiving the new dies.

The Domesday entry under Worcester (I, 172a, 1) is as follows:

"Quando moneta vertebatur quisque monetarius dabat xx solidos ad Londoniam pro cuneis monetae accipiendis."

The like payments were made at Chester (I, 262b, 2). Lewes (I, 26a, 1) and Shrewsbury (I, 252a, 1). At the last-mentioned place the payment was not due until the fifteenth day after the receipt of the new dies. These instances are sufficient for our present purpose, as the actual Domesday references to the mints will be given hereafter in the specific account of each. The old and broken dies were claimed by the hereditary cuneator as his perquisite. This claim was allowed to Thomas Fitz Otho, in the forty-ninth year of Henry III. on his petition to the King in the Court of Exchequer, that they belonged to him of right and inheritance, and that his ancestors had been accustomed to have them. This upon examination was found to be true (Madox's History of the Exchequer, Vol. II, p. 11).

The following accounts of what was done at York in the reign of Henry VII., extracted from the archives of the Corporation of that city by Mr. Robert Davies and printed in an article by him dated 19th August, 1854, in Vol. 1 of the Proceedings of the Yorkshire Philosophical Society (pp. 268-9) are of considerable interest:

"Delivere of the old coyneing yryns unto the Citie of London:

"Be it had in mynde that the xxviiij day of June in the secund yere of the reigne of King Henry the vijth Thomas Graa master of the
Status of the Moneyers.

95

mynt within the palois yardth of the Citie of York delivered unto William Todde maier of the city of York a bagg of ledder contigneing xij old conyng Iryns, that is to say, iiiij Staunders and viij Trusselles, the which bagg the said William Todd maier sealed and delivered to ye handes of John White, coignier, to deliver unto ye Chequor at London and from then to bring newe yravene Iryns agene from the said Eschequor unto the said citie of York."

And again:

"Delyvere of ye coigneyng Yryns of ye citie of York unto Thomas Gray:—

"Md that the xixth day of July in the secunde yere of the reigne of King Herry the sevent, Thomas Gray, Goldsmyth, Maister of the Mynt at the paloys of the moost reverend Fader in God tharchbishopp of York, personally appering bfore William Todde maier of the citie of York in ye chambr upon Ouse brig, presented unto hym a bagg of ledder sealed contigneing in ye same iiiij Staunders and viij Trusselles beryng the peny coigne, sent unto hym furth of the Kings Eschequor as he shewed; the which bagg my lord maire receyved at thandes of the said Thomas, and delyvered unto hym the said iiiij Staunders and viij Trusselles, and reservyd the bagg whiche thei wer in unto hymeself for soo moche as yr was a holle in ye side of the said bagg at the which the said Iryns was taken furth."

The method of coining by the hammer arose in the earliest times, and was not wholly discontinued until the year 1662.

The writer has inspected original dies ranging in date from the reign of one of our Norman kings to that of James I., and, as a result, finds no material variation in form between the earliest and the latest made.

Much has been said in reference to the social status of the moneyers whose names appear upon the coins. By some they have been exalted to the rank of noblemen, by others degraded to that of serfs. The truth appears to be that they were neither the one nor the other. Their status varied, moreover, according to whether they were moneyers directly responsible to the kingly authority or were the men of the lord of a private mint. In the former case they were probably recruited from the ranks of the most wealthy and responsible citizens of the royal city or burgh where they exercised their office; in the
latter case, as the expression "qui in potestate viri erant," in Eadmer's Life of St. Dunstan, seems to show, they were merely villeins.

The appearance of the name of the moneyer coupled with that of the place of issue on the coins was intended to fix responsibility for the issue of debased or light money, but notwithstanding this and the severity of the punishment following on conviction, the temptation to issue false coin seems in many instances to have been too great to be withstood.

One would suppose that a moneyer who was sufficiently dishonest to issue false coin would not be likely to place his own name and town upon base coins of his fabrication. The issue of the dies from the Exchequer seems to have been the only protection afforded to honest moneyers against the perpetration of such a fraud upon them, but it is difficult to suppose that a person engaged in the dangerous practice of false coining would be unable to manufacture false dies. When one considers the fact that the then method of establishing innocence was "the triple ordeal," the thought of the many miscarriages of justice in reference to the alleged malpractices of moneyers that must have occurred, is sufficient to make any modern citizen thankful that he has not to perform the duty of moneyer to king or lord!

CHAPTER II.

Treasure Trove Deductions.

As important evidence as to the sequence of the types is derivable from the records of what types have from time to time been discovered in association, it is proposed, even at the risk of repeating what has been already written, to give an account of each recorded find of coins of the period under consideration. These, in the order of the time of discovery, are as follows:—

York: 1704.

In the year 1694 a destructive fire broke out on the north side of the street called High Ousegate, by which several houses standing on the site of those which in 1855 were the property of Mr. Thomas
Various Finds of the Coins.

Gregory, were so much damaged that in the year 1704 the owner began to rebuild them, and in excavating for the foundations, a small oak box was found deeply imbedded among piles of timbers which had supported much more ancient structures than those that were injured by the fire. The box contained about 250 silver coins, 50 or 60 of which were examined by Thoresby. From the slight information given by him, it would seem that Types I and II of William I. were the only varieties present. (See Thoresby's Ducatus Leodiensis, p. 350, and Vol. I of the Proceedings of the Yorkshire Philosophical Society, 1855, p. 213.)

Dymchurch, Kent, 1739.

This find is incidentally referred to by the Rev. Dr. Griffith in his account of the St. Mary Hill Church find of 1774. He mentions (see Archaeologia, Vol. IV, p. 358) that in June, 1739, there was found at Dymchurch, in Romney Marsh, an earthen vessel containing about 200 pennies of Edward the Confessor, Harold II., and William the Conqueror, and that there were many exact halves and quarters intermixed with the whole pennies.

St. Mary Hill Church, London, 1774.

In Vol. IV of Archaeologia is contained an account by the Rev. Dr. Guyon Griffith, Rector of St. Mary Hill Church, of a find of coins and other objects which occurred on the 24th June, 1774. It appears that a number of labourers were employed in preparing a foundation for a large sugar warehouse, intended to be built upon the site of several old houses which had been pulled down for that purpose, near St. Mary Hill Church, on the east side of Love Lane. When they had cleared away the ground to the depth of 14 or 15 feet below the level of the street, they struck with their pick-axes an earthen vessel that stood upright in the ground, about 18 or 20 inches beneath the brick pavement of a cellar. There immediately fell out a considerable number of round pieces of metal, most of them very black, and many so much decayed as to crumble to pieces in handling;
but others were well preserved and solid, and readily changed to the colour of silver when rubbed.

Within the earthen vessel that was broken by the pick-axes was found a smaller one, lying with its mouth downwards, and covering a number of coins that were in the finest preservation, and many of them scarcely discoloured at all. Among them lay a fibula of fine gold, very neatly wrought in filigree, ornamented in the centre with a sapphire, and in the margin with three pearls, and the matrix for a fourth, which was missing. The larger of the two earthen vessels having been broken into several pieces, was not preserved with any care. It was of a bluish-coloured earth of a close texture, about a quarter of an inch thick, and was judged to be capable of containing nearly two quarts; its shape was like that of an urn. The smaller vessel, which remained entire, was of a brownish earth, inclining to red, of a stony granulated texture, about an eighth of an inch thick, and bore evident marks of having been used for the melting of metal. It was, however, of a different shape from modern crucibles. It was capable of holding $4\frac{1}{2}$ ounces troy measure, was $3\frac{1}{4}$ inches long, $2\frac{1}{4}$ inches high, and $2\frac{3}{8}$ inches at its greatest breadth, gradually contracting into a lip at one end.

In regard to the coins themselves, Dr. Griffith remarks that it was not easy to judge how many there were at first, nor what number of them was preserved, but that this much might be depended upon,—that between three and four hundred of them having been carefully examined they were found to consist entirely of coins of Edward the Confessor, Harold II., and William the Conqueror, there being, as in the case of the Dymchurch hoard, many exact halves and quarters intermixed with the whole pennies.

The pennies of Edward the Confessor proved to be considerably above half of the number examined. There were many fine specimens of six then known types corresponding to Nos. 1, 8 and 17 of Edward, in tab. vi and Nos. 25, 35 and 42 in tab. vii of Hickes's Thesaurus. These, after correcting the order of enumeration, correspond to Types VI, VII, VIII, IX, X and XI of the present writer's arrangement of the coins of Edward the Confessor. Besides, there
were two previously unknown varieties. These are shown by the illustrations of them to have been a coin of Type VII, variety bust to left (London mint) and a mule of VII = VIII (Cambridge mint).

The coins of Harold II. were generally with a sceptre, but sometimes without.

The pennies of William I. were of four then known types (Nos. 1, 2, 5 and 7 in Plate I published by the Society of Antiquaries). These correspond, after correcting the order of enumeration, with Types I, II, III and IV of the present writer's arrangement. The most numerous were those of Type III (Hks. 236). In addition there was found the unique mule of Type III = IV, fully described and illustrated on p. 146, the illustration being reproduced from that given in Dr. Griffith's plate.

The following readings of coins of Type III are reproduced, with some necessary corrections, from the account by Dr. Griffith.

* ÆGELPI ON ÔSENE
* ÆGELRIE ON LVND
* ÔLFSIG ON LVND
* BRVNPINE ON STAIE
* GODRIE ON ÔEOT
* GODPINE ON LVNDI
* LEFRIL ON LVND
* LVFIPINE ON EÔFE
* MANN ON LANPAI
* OSEBEARN ON ÔEOTE
* SIDEMAN ON PERHA
* SPOTTINE ON ÔEL
* PILTVNE ON LANPA (? PVLFIPINE)
* PINERAL ON LEPEIS (? PINRIED)
* PIEITED ON LVND (? VHTRED)
* PVLFIPINE ON LANPA

Lists of reverse readings of coins of the Sovereign Type (Type VIII) of Edward the Confessor and of those of Harold II. are given, but, unfortunately, not of the other types comprised in the hoard.
From a note contributed by Mr. Edward Hawkins to the Numismatic Chronicle, Vol. VIII (April, 1845, to January, 1846) p. 170, we learn that in or about the year 1820 thirteen silver pennies were found by some workmen whilst sinking the foundations for a house. Eight of these were of William II.

Type 2 (Hks. 246)... ... ... 3
,, 4 (,, 249)... ... ... 1
,, ,, (,, 250)... ... ... 4

The remaining five coins were of Henry I., viz., four of Hks. 251, "and one very similar, but without the annulets over the shoulders."

Malmesbury, Wilts, 1828.

At page 189 of Vol. I of Olla Podrida (by Richard Sainthill, 1844) there is printed a letter dated 17 December, 1841, from Mr. C. W. Loscombe, of Clifton, Bristol, who records that on the removal in 1828 of the foundations of an ancient chapel, built by William I. on the site of Maildulph's cell, to make room for a poor-house, some silver pennies of William I. were discovered beneath the principal stone, which was said to be a ton in weight.

Of these, thirteen were in Mr. Loscombe's possession, and were, with one exception unfortunately not described, of Type IV (Hks. 237).

One coin only is described, viz., of Type IV.

* PILLELMVS RE* AN.
* PVLFPINE ON E*EI. Weight, 20 grains.

The undescribed exception may have been the Exeter coin, Type II, described in the Loscombe Sale Catalogue of 1855 and reading—

* SIEPARD ON E*EE

Beaworth, Hants, 1833.

A good account of this, the largest of the finds of coins of William I., by Mr. Edward Hawkins, is contained in Archaeologia
Various Finds of the Coins.

Vol. XXVI, and Mr. W. J. Andrew has, in Vol. I of this *Journal*, given some most interesting particulars as to the probable occasion of the hiding of the treasure.

Mr. Hawkins states that the coins were deposited in an oblong box, 13 inches long, 11 inches deep, and 9 inches broad: but that it was so mutilated by the people in their eagerness to get at all its contents, that only one side and a part of the bottom remained entire; it had a small plain semi-circular iron handle, without any ornament or trace of inscription. The material of which the "box" was made is not stated, but earlier in the account it is noted that the attention of the boy finder was attracted by a piece of lead sticking up above the surface in the track of a wagon-wheel. The leaden vessel in which the coins were found is in fact preserved in a room, used as a museum, over the west gate of the City of Winchester. By the courtesy of Mr. W. H. Jacob, Hon. Curator of the West Gate Museum, we are enabled to give illustrations of this interesting relic of the Conqueror's days (see illustrations). The vessel is cylindrical in shape, nearly 13 inches in height and 8 inches in diameter. It is somewhat flattened by reason of vehicles having passed over the surface of the ground beneath which it was deposited. The vessel is a well executed example of lead casting totally devoid of ornament. It was opened from the top, where there is a wedge-shaped excrescence indicative of a fastening or hinge. The cover was not preserved. It is presumed, therefore, that the "box" alluded to by Mr. Hawkins was an outer case in which the still nearly complete leaden vessel was contained.

The great bulk of the coins consisted of specimens of the Conqueror's last type, Type VIII, generally referred to as the "Paxs type." Of these Mr. Hawkins examined 6,439, in addition to 18 cut halfpennies. The other types represented were Types V, VI and VII and the mule VII = VIII, represented by his figures 238, 243, 239 and 240 respectively. It is unfortunate that Mr. Hawkins did not record the number of specimens of the earlier types; but the following is a statement of the varieties of readings and mints that are recorded by him:—
TWO ILLUSTRATIONS OF THE LEADEN VESSEL IN WHICH THE BEAWORTH HOARD WAS DISCOVERED.
Various Finds of the Coins.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type</th>
<th>V</th>
<th>VI</th>
<th>VII</th>
<th>VII = VIII</th>
<th>Type VIII</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>32</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>6</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
| Making a grand total of 6,520 pennies and 18 halfpennies. These figures represent only those recorded by Mr. Hawkins, but it is well known that there were many other specimens dispersed in various ways, some being sold and others thrown away.

The following table, showing the number of specimens recorded of each type for each mint, may be of service in aiding the reader to form an opinion of the comparative rarity of the coins of any given mint. The names of the moneyers and the numbers of specimens of each variety of rendering of the names of moneyers and mints are reserved for the specific accounts of the coins of each mint given hereafter—

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Type V</th>
<th>Type VI</th>
<th>Type VII</th>
<th>Mule VII = VIII</th>
<th>Type VIII</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Barnstaple</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bath</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bedford</td>
<td></td>
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| Total        | 32     | 32      | 11       | 6        | 6439      |
There are two Paxs-type coins of Rhuddlan, although only one is recorded in Mr. Hawkins's list, and is given to Huntingdon. This specimen remains in the National Collection assigned to the Huntingdon mint, and is placed with the undoubted coins of that mint.

The second specimen, possibly that formerly belonging to Mr. Brumell (Sotheby, April, 1850), is, although from the same dies, assigned by the official numismatists to Romney, and is so placed in the cabinet at the British Museum. As a fact, both attributions are equally erroneous.

This is readily to be understood when we find, on reference to a recent article by Mr. Grueber, who at present has the care of the English coins in our National Collection, that he confesses to not knowing of any Domesday reference to a mint at Rhuddlan.¹

York, 1845.

In the early part of the year 1845 workmen employed in taking down some houses belonging to Mr. James Lancelot Foster, at the corner of Coney Street and Jubbergate, discovered below the cellar floor a hoard of about 500 or 600 silver pennies, which, as is usual, owing to the antiquated and ill-administered law relating to Treasure Trove, was speedily dispersed.

Mr. Edward Hawkins, with the assistance of the Rev. Charles Wellbeloved, of No. 8, Monkgate, York, obtained a sight of 167 of the coins, and contributed to the Numismatic Chronicle for 1845 an unsigned article containing an account of these. All inspected by Mr. Hawkins were of Type II of William I., and it is mentioned that there was one coin with a profile bust, which he did not see, and one penny of Edward the Confessor, not described.

It may be of some service to our readers to have a list of the coins noted by Mr. Hawkins, many of which appear to have found their way into the British Museum, while some others were very properly

¹ See Numismatic Chronicle, 1903, p. 172. The words used are "Rhuddlan.—The attribution of coins to this mint has always been considered uncertain, as there are no records on which to rely." The italics are ours.
deposited in the Museum at York. By inspection of the coins the writer has been enabled to make many corrections of Mr. Hawkins's readings of the reverse legends:

**Type II (Hks. 234).**

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<tr>
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Various Finds of the Coins.

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The above list comprises 166 coins. To this must be added the undescribed "penny of Edward the Confessor," in order to make the total of 167 inspected by Mr. Hawkins.

Shillington, Beds, 1871.

We learn from a note contributed by Mr. William Allen to the Numismatic Chronicle (see Vol. XI, N.S., p. 227) that on Thursday, 9th April, 1871, some workmen, who were engaged in searching for
coprolites, had thrown down a mass of earth and were proceeding to remove the same when one of them struck his pick-axe through a small jar, a little larger than a cocoanut, smashing it up and scattering its contents. The jar had a herring-bone ornamentation upon it. The vessel contained, it is estimated, some 250 silver pennies chiefly of William II. and Henry I.

Mr. Weston, the manager of the works where the find took place, obtained as many of the coins as he could from the finders, and some were presented to Trinity College, Cambridge, where, through the courtesy of the Librarian, the Rev. Robert Sinker, D.D., Mr. L. A. Lawrence and the writer recently inspected them for the purposes of this work.

Mr. Allen had the opportunity of inspecting about a third of the total number of coins found, and remarks that they were much confined to four types, viz., Hks. 244, 246, 250, and 252. The most numerous were those of Hks. 250, and there were a few of Hks. 252. He mentions, in addition, that he saw one coin of the Paxs type (presumably Hks. 241) and a coin of Henry I., not of 252, but unfortunately he omits to say of what type. Of this most instructive find of coins the only readings given are:—

1. Hks. 244. * PILLELM RE# I
   " IELFRIE ON LIEPIE
2. " IELERIE ON LVN
3. " DELIR ON STEPN
4. " GODPINE .. [ ]

In reference to the third coin, Mr. Allen, speaking of the moneyer, says, "whose name I cannot properly decipher." The present writer suggests that the true reading is * IECIFIER ON STEFN.¹

Of the coins of Hks. 252, London and Southwark were the only mints deciphered by Mr. Allen. The 19 coins from this find, now preserved in the Library of Trinity College, Cambridge, disclose the following types and readings:—

¹ A reference to Mr. Allen's Sale Catalogue (Sotheby, 1898) converts this surmise into a certainty, as Lot 337 (illustrated in Plate II) gives the reading exactly as suggested.
Various Finds of the Coins.

From this list it will be seen that types 1, 2, 3, and 4 of William II. were present in the Shillington hoard, and as early coins of Henry I. also occurred, it is probable that some specimens of William II.'s fifth and last type (Hks. 248) were amongst the large number of unexamined specimens, as well as those types of Henry I. which preceded Hks. 252.

But against this supposition is the fact that no coin of Hks. 248, or of any type of Henry I. earlier than Hks. 252, appears in Mr. Allen's Sale Catalogue, whereas there are many of types 1 to 4 inclusive, of William II. and of Hks. 252.

City of London, 1872.

In 1872 a hoard of coins, probably exceeding 7,000 specimens, was found somewhere in the City of London, but, again owing to the fears inspired by the unfortunate administration of the law relating to Treasure Trove, no details are recorded of the place of discovery.¹

Mr. Ernest H. Willett, F.S.A., obtained a large number of these coins and deciphered 2,230 of them.

¹ The Allen Sale Catalogue discloses that the Mansion House, Walbrook, E.C., was the place of discovery.
In the account by him in *Num. Chron., N.S., Vol. XVI, p. 323,* he mentions that there were coins of the following Kings:

<table>
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<th>Number</th>
<th>Kings</th>
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<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Æthelred II.</td>
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<tr>
<td>19</td>
<td>Cnut</td>
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<td>2,798</td>
<td>Edward the Confessor</td>
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<td>1</td>
<td>Harold II.</td>
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<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>William I.</td>
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<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Magnus of Denmark</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

and, in addition, several pounds in weight of specimens broken and in bad condition which were refused by Mr. Willett. Many specimens were acquired by Sir John Evans, and others by Mr. Baily. In 1881 these latter were purchased on his decease for the Guildhall Museum, in the City of London. The coins of William I. described by Mr. Willett are as follows:

Type II. * PILLEMV RE*  
* IESELBRIHT ON GIPEI (Ipswich).  
* PILLEMV RE*  
* GODPINE ON DEOT (Thetford).  

Type IV. * PI[. . . ] RE*  
* ANG (Lincoln).  
* PILLEM RE*  
* IELPIN (London).  
* PILLEM RE*  
* ANGLOLV  
* GODPINE ON LVND (London).  

The coins preserved in the Guildhall Museum are as follows:

Type IV. * PILLEM RE*  
* ANDAR ON [LV]ND (London).  
* P . . . . RE*  
* IELPIN (London).  
* . . . . M RE*  
* IELPIN (London).  

1 These two coins appear to be from the same dies.
Various Finds of the Coins.

- PILLEM RE* ANG
- BLAESVNII ON LVN (London).
- PILLEM RE* ANGLI
- GODRIE ON NORDPI (Norwich).

Tamworth, 1877.

During the execution, in the year 1877, of the works in connection with the new Board Schools at Tamworth, a workman raised with his pick a small packet, somewhat triangular in shape, formed of lead, turned over (like a turn-over puff). It contained coins of which four or five were sold and dispersed. The remainder were sent to the Treasury and thence to the British Museum for examination, and were found to be 294 in number.

They comprised four varieties, viz., Hks. 241, 244, 245 (three coins only), and 246. The account by Mr. C. F. Keary is contained in *Num. Chron.*, N.S. Vol. XVIIp. 340.

List.

**William I. "Paxs" Type. Type VIII.**

| BRIHTPORD ON BRI | EDPOLD ON NORDP (Norwich). |
| AELFSI ON LEHELE | BRIHTRED ON OXN (Oxford). |
| EDPINE ON LIEST | GODPINE ON SAER (Salisbury). |
| GOLDPINE ON DOF | ALDOINE ON SVDE (Southwark). |
| SILAEPINE ON SEF | LIFPORD ON SVDE |
| DVNIE ON HÆSTI | LIFPORD ON SVDEI |
| ASEGLPINE ON HRE (?) | ÆVRGBON ON STAI (Steyning). |
| LIESTIII ON HRE (2) | SPIRTIE ON PALN (Wallingford). |
| PINRED ON LIEPN | LIFRIL ON PERI (Warwick). |
| GODRIE ON LEHRE | SEPINE ON PILT (Wilton). |
| VLF ON LINCOLNE | SPIRIELINE ONPIN (Winchester). |
| AELFRIE ON LNI | ÆLFÆRÐ ON PIN (corrected from PIN) (Worcester). |
| AÆPI ON LVNDEI | GODPINE ON —— ? |
| BRVÆVIL ON LVND | Illegible (1). |
| SEPORD ON MALM | Total 30. |

1 The letters VN are in monogram.
William II. Type I.

SIGOD ON BDEFD (corrected from SIGOD) (Bedford).
LIFPI ON BDEFDRI (Bedford).
BRIHTPOBD ON BRIE (Bristol).
PIBERN (corrected from PIBERN) ON GRANT (Cambridge).
BRIHT ... ON CNT? (Canterbury).
IEGerI ON LNTLI? (Canterbury).
LIFPIE ON LELGI (Chester).
LIFINL ON LELIEI "
SENOFL ON LE . ST "
BRVPNNA ON LIE (Chichester).
BRVPNNA ON LIE "
PVLFPIE ON COLEI (Colchester).
GODI . . . ON DERBI (Derby).
SEPINE ON AELI (Exeter).
SE . PINE O/V EIEI "
IELFPON ON ILFLI (Ilchester).
GODRIE ON LEBRE (Leicester).
VLF ONLIEO (corrected from ALF) (Lincoln).
IELFRID ON LBN (London).
IELFRID ON LVDN (9) "
BRIHTPI ON LVND "
EDRILE ON LVNDE (2) "
EDRILE ON LVNDE "
EDRILE ON LVNDEI "
EDRILE ON LVNDEI "
EDRILE ON LVNDEI "
EDRILE ON LVNDEI "
EDRILE ON LVNDEI "
EDRILE ON LVNDEI "
EDRILE ON LVNDEI "
EDPI ON LVNDEI "
EDPI O/VV LVNDEI "
EDPI ON LVNDI "
EDPI ON LVNDI "
LIFSVNE ON MIEL (Maldon).
SEPORD ON MALME (Malmesbury).
ÆGL ... I ONORDP (Norwich)
PI . . . . . . . ON SNOTINE? (Nottingham).
SINFTRED ON ROFEI (Rochester).
SODPINE ON SAERI (Salisbury).
SEGRIM ON SEREBI "
IELFN . . SAND (Sandwich).
SEPINE ON HMTII (Southampton).
LIFPOND ON SVD (Southwark).
GODRIE ON STAFLRE (Stafford).
GODRIE ON ST . . D "
EDLEAERD ON STA (Stamford?).
BRVPNIE ON TAMPR (12) (Tamworth).
LOLIN ON TAMPR (2) (Tamworth).
COLINE ON TAMPR (Tamworth).
GODRIE ON STFRE (Stafford).
WELFPIE ON PALE (Thetford).
GOLDINE ON PER (Warwick).
GOLDINE ON PERI "
LIFRIE ON PRPI "
DIDRED ON PRPCE (2) (Warwick).
IELFPIE ON PILTI (2) (Wilton).
EDRILE ON PINPE (?)
LIFPOLD ON PINLE (Winchester).
BALDRIE ON PIHR (Worcester).
ESTMÆR ON PIHR "
ALEIF ON EFRPICE (corrected from IILLIF) (York).
B Aldine ON PA or PV (?)
BRVPNIE (?) ON "
BRVPNSTAI ON "
GODPINE ON (?)
Illegible 8.

Total 97.
Various Finds of the Coins.

WILLIAM II. TYPE 2.

CODRICE ON BEDFORD (Bedford).
LIFPINE ON BE . . . "
BRIHTPORD ON BRIC (Bristol).
COLBLAE ON BRIC (corrected from COLININE) (Bristol).
IELFPINE ON LEIC (Chester).
LIFIL ON LEIEI "
LIFIL ON LEIEES (2) "
LIFILE ON LEIEES "
LIFILE ON LEIEEES "
LIFPINE ON LEILE (Hks. 245) (Chester).
LIFPINE ON LEILEI (Chester).
SVNOVLF ON LEI "
SVNOVLF ON LEI "
SVNOVLF ON LEIEI (2) (Chester).
BRVMAN ON LILE (Chichester).
CODPINE ON DRBE (corrected from GODPINE ON DERE) (Derby).
GVDNIL ON DRBE (Derby).
LIFPINE ON DRBI "
IELFÆIET ON DORE (Dorchester).
IELFÆIET ON DORI "
. . . . . . ? ON DOREI (Dorchester).
BRHTNOE ON GEI (Hks. 245) (corrected from G1F) (Gloucester).
[BRIH]TOE ON GLEP "
SÈRIM ON GEI "
DVNIE ON HSTINE (Hastings).
IELGIPNE ON HRI (Hereford).
LIFSVN ON HREF "
LIFPINE ON GIFEL (Ilchester).
CODRICE ON LEHR (Hks. 245) (Leicester).
CODRICE ON LEHR (2) (Leicester).
CODRICE ON LEHR (Leicester).
CODRICE ON LEH (2) "

DVST . . . OLN (Lincoln).
DVSTTHN LINC (2) "
DV . . . IN LINC "
IELFPINE ON LVN (London).
BRVNI ON LVND "
BVT ON LVNDNE (4) "
BVT ON LVNDIE "
EDPI ON LVNDE "
EDPI ON LVNDNE (3) "
EDPINE ON LVNDE (2) "
GODPINE ON LV "
GODPINE ON LVND (3) "
LIFSI ON LVNDE "
LIFSI ON LVNDNE "
LIFSIE ON LVNDI "
PVLFRIE ONLVND "
PVLSAR ON LVND "
PVLPINE ON LVND "
PVNRIC ON LVND "
. . . NEI ON LVND "
. . . INIE ON LVN "
SEPORD ON MALM (2) (Malmesbury).
IEGLRIL ONORDP (Norwich).
EDPOLD ONOR "
GODPINE ON NORDP "
IIERE ON SNOTINGE (Nottingham).
BRVNRÆD ON OSEI (probably BRIHTRIED) (Oxford).
SP . . . PINE? ON O* (Oxford).
PVLLPI ON ONE "
. . . PINE ON OSEI "
GVÆRIED ON ROfI (corrected from GVDMAN) (Rochester).
IERNPEI ON SERV (corrected from SERV) (Shrewsbury).
IERNPI ON SERV (corrected from SERV) (Shrewsbury).
LIFPORD ON SIE . . . (Salisbury).
Summary.

William I., Type VIII, (Hks. 241) ... 30
II., Type 1, (,, 244) ... 97
Mule 1=2, (,, 245) ... 3
Type 2, (,, 246) ... 164

Total 165.
Various Finds of the Coins.

York, 1882.

In 1882, a find, or finds of coins of Edward the Confessor and William I. took place in Bishophill.

As regards the coins of William I., these appear to have been of Type I, the mule I=II (Hks. 235) and Type II, the bulk being of the last mentioned type. Some were secured by the late Canon Raine and were presented to the York Museum, but Mr. C. Wakefield, Hon. Curator of Antiquities, is unable to say which specimens came from this source. The writer has, however, through the kindness of Mr. Wakefield, Mr. Oxley Grabham and, by no means least, through the interest displayed by our member Mr. J. F. Walker, taken a note of every coin of William I. and II. in the York collection, and has also been furnished with photographs of some of the most interesting specimens. The descriptions of all of them will be found hereafter under the headings of the several mints whence they emanated.

Judging from the appearance of the specimens in the York collection there seems to have been a find, probably also in York, of coins of Types V and VI of William I. (Hks. 238 and 243). The association together of these two types only, is of sufficient importance to render it desirable to describe all the specimens here, in addition to their description hereafter in connection with the coins of York.

Type V.  * LIMRIV ON DETFR (Thetford).
"  * ALDVR ON EFRPI (3) (York).
"  * ALDVRVLF ON EFR  
"  * HARDVLF ON IF  
Type VI.  * HRDVLF ON EFPR  
"  * HRDVOLF ON EFR (2)  
"  * DOR ON EFRPI  
"  * DOR ON EFRPIE  . .

Whitchurch, Oxfordshire.

In his former paper, "On the coins of William I. and II., and the sequence of the Types" (printed in Numismatic Chronicle, 1902), the writer referred to a find of coins mentioned to him by Mr. W. F. Lincoln, Senr., as having come into his hands many years ago. It is
there stated that these were exclusively of Types I, II, and III of William I., and that the two last named types greatly predominated.

Since that date Mr. W. Sharp Ogden very kindly sent for exhibition at a meeting of the Society a small, circular cardboard box containing the coins specified below:

1. Edward the Confessor, Type X (Hks. 225), reading *BRIHTMER ON PA* (Wallingford).
2. William I., Type II (fragment) [*...*] TMER ON PA.
3. " " *BRAND ON PÆLINGI.
4. " Type III *CEORL ON BRÆSTOI.
5. " " *SIPEARD ON PINCE.

This had, in very faded ink upon the cover, the inscription: "'Found on Whitchurch Common.'"

Upon inspection the Wallingford coin of Type X of Edward the Confessor was found to be from the same dies as many specimens in Mr. Lincoln's possession, and he was then able to recall the fact that, in addition to the coins of William I. before referred to, there were many of Types X and XI of Edward the Confessor and, possibly, also some few of Harold II. This find, though practically unrecorded, produced the great majority of the coins of Type III of William I. (Hks. 236) now in our collections. The large number of Wallingford coins present in the hoard renders it probable that the Whitchurch Common referred to on Mr. Ogden's little box is that situate in Oxfordshire, opposite Pangbourne.

There is appended hereto, in tabular form, a summary of the information in regard to the sequence of the types, obtained from the evidence afforded by the various finds of coins before described.

While dealing with the subject of discoveries of hoards of coins it may be well to refer to a circumstance that should be obvious, viz., that the presence in our cabinets of to-day of a large or small number of specimens of a given type is a matter to a great extent dependent upon the mere accident of discovery and the time of the deposit of the coins found.

Various Finds of the Coins.

Although to-day the last type of the Conqueror, the Paxs type, is that of which we possess by far the largest number of specimens, the condition of affairs was distinctly different prior to the discovery of the Beaworth hoard in 1833. Mr. Hawkins, in his account of that find, remarks in reference to the reverse of the type that "Ruding, drawing a general conclusion from the single specimen figured in his plates, interprets the words 'Pax subditis,' and considers the coinage commemorative of the surrender of Exeter, where that one coin happened to be struck."

The discovery of fresh hoards may disclose equally numerous examples of any other type or types of the two reigns under consideration. In this connection it must be remembered that our knowledge of many types of a given mint depends upon the preservation of a single specimen, nay, sometimes of a mere fragment. The perusal of the lists of coins appended to the accounts of each mint given hereafter will make this proposition abundantly clear. Much depends upon the locality of a find for the presence or absence of a given type of a given mint in it. It is not wise, in the writer's judgment, to assume that the missing type or types may not one day come to light.

To point the moral intended to be impressed it may be mentioned that the writer is able from his own collection to add numerous mints to those hitherto recorded of the various types under discussion. For example, in his exhaustive treatise on the coins found at Beaworth, no coin from the Guildford mint of the Paxs type issue is recorded by Mr. Hawkins, and yet undoubted coins of Guildford of this issue exist, one being in the National Collection and another in that of the writer.

Although, as already stated, a cut halfpenny of Type V was present in the large find of pennies of Henry I. and Stephen, discovered at Watford in A.D. 1818, it has not been thought advisable to include a description of the hoard under these reigns, for this single halfpenny was the only piece, amongst 1,127, which was earlier in date than A.D. 1128.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Place and date</th>
<th>I.</th>
<th>II.</th>
<th>III.</th>
<th>IV.</th>
<th>V.</th>
<th>VI.</th>
<th>VII.</th>
<th>VIII.</th>
<th>I.</th>
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<th>3.</th>
<th>4.</th>
<th>5.</th>
<th>Remarks</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>York, 1704 ...</td>
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<td>Mixed with coins of Edward the Confessor and Harold II.</td>
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<td>Dymchurch, 1739 ...</td>
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<td>St. Mary Hill Church, 1774</td>
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<td>Mixed with coins of Henry I.</td>
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<td>Bermondsey, 1820 ...</td>
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<td>Malmesbury, 1828 ...</td>
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<td>Beaworth, 1833 ...</td>
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<td>York, 1845 ...</td>
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<td>Mixed with coins of Henry I.</td>
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<td>Shillington, 1871</td>
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<td>Mixed with coins of all reigns from Æthelred II.</td>
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<td>City of London, 1872</td>
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<td>Tamworth, 1877 ...</td>
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<td>York, 1882 ...</td>
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<td>Mixed with coins of Edward the Confessor.</td>
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<td>&quot; (undated)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Whitchurch, Oxon (undated)</td>
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<td>Mixed with coins of Edward the Confessor and Harold II. (?).</td>
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CHAPTER III.

THE TWO KINGS AND THEIR GREAT SEALS.

William I.

It is thought that a short sketch, culled from the writings of early authorities, of the appearance and character of the monarchs whose coins we are considering, may not be without interest.

William I. was born at Falaise in the year 1027 or 1028, being the son of Robert, Count of Hiesmois and afterwards Duke of Normandy, by Herleva, or Arletta, daughter of Fulbert the tanner. Duke Robert succeeded his brother Richard in 1028, and in 1034 or 1035 went on pilgrimage to Jerusalem and died before the year 1035. Although Robert made no attempt to legitimize his son William by a marriage to Herleva, even subsequent to his birth, he formally made him his heir and nominated him as his successor. William was brought up in a hard school and, when others of his age were mere boys, he had already attained the hardihood and thinking capacities of a man. His struggles and victories in Normandy paved the way for his subsequent victories in England and abroad.

At the date of the battle of Hastings, 1066, William was an experienced statesman and hardy soldier of the age of 38 or thereabouts. He had in 1053, when about 25 years of age, married Matilda, the daughter of Baldwin V., Count of Flanders, and a descendant of Alfred the Great. For some reason the papal sanction to his marriage was deferred, but it was ultimately given by Nicholas II., in 1059.

William of Malmesbury, speaking of the Conqueror, says:—

"He was of just stature, extraordinary corpulence, fierce countenance; his forehead bare of hair; of such great strength of arm that it was often matter of surprise that no one was able to bend his bow, which himself could bend when his horse was on full gallop; he was majestic, whether sitting or standing, although the protuberance of his belly deformed his royal person; of excellent health, so that he was never confined of any dangerous disorder, except at the last; so given to the pleasures of the chase, that, ejecting the inhabitants, he let a
space of many miles grow desolate, that, when at liberty from other avocations, he might there pursue his pleasures. He gave sumptuous and splendid entertainments at the principal festivals; passing, during the years he could conveniently remain in England, Christmas at Gloucester; Easter at Winchester; Pentecost at Westminster. At these times a royal edict summoned thither all the principal persons of every order, that the ambassadors from foreign nations might admire the splendour of the assemblage, and the costliness of the banquets. Nor was he at any time more affable or more indulgent; in order that the visitors might proclaim universally, that his generosity kept pace with his riches . . . . His anxiety for money is the only thing for which he can deservedly be blamed. This he sought all opportunities of scraping together, he cared not how; he would say and do some things, and, indeed, almost anything, unbecoming such great majesty, where the hope of money allured him."

The last paragraph would almost lead one to suppose that the King was an ardent numismatologist, for the words used are strongly applicable to some numismatic transactions of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries!

The accompanying illustration is a reproduction of the first Great Seal of this king:—

The obverse has, between two dotted circles, the legend:—

\[ * \text{HOC} \cdot \text{NORMANNORVM} \cdot \text{VILLELMVM} \cdot \text{NOSLE} \cdot \text{PATRONVM} \cdot \text{SI} \]

The King on horseback to the right, in coat of chain mail, conical helmet, and wearing spurs; in right hand a long lance with three streamers; in left hand a round-headed shield held by a strap and showing the inner surface. Horse-trappings: a small saddle, stirrup, girth and breast-band.

The reverse, or counter-seal, has, between two dotted circles, the following legend:—

\[ * \text{HOC} \cdot \text{ANELIS} \cdot \text{REDEM SIGNO} \cdot \text{FATARIIS} \cdot \text{EVDDEM} \]

The King enthroned, wearing a crown surmounted by three crosses, \textit{pattées fichées}, clad in the tunica, the corpulence of the abdomen distinctly shown, both arms extended and raised from the elbow; in
The Great Seals.
right hand a sword erect; in left hand an orb surmounted by a tall cross pattée fitchée. Throne without back.

The legends together form the couplet:

"Hoc Normannorum Willelmum nosce patronum,
Si hoc Anglis regem signo fatearis eundem."

The next illustration is that of the Conqueror's second Great Seal. The general designs of both seal and counter-seal are similar to, but varying in some details from those of his first seal. These are sufficiently apparent on inspection and comparison, but attention may be directed to the fact that whereas the first \( E \) in \( eundem \) is square, the second is a round \( e \). and that Hoc on the obverse has a small \( h \).

**William II.**

William II. was born in Normandy before the conquest of England, presumably before the year 1060, as he is described as being "aged above forty years" when he died.

William of Malmesbury says of him:

"Greatness of soul was pre-eminent in the King, which, in process of time, he obscured by excessive severity; vices, indeed, in place of virtues, so insensibly crept into his bosom, that he could not distinguish them. The world doubted, for a long time, whither he would incline; what tendency his disposition would take. At first, as long as Archbishop Lanfranc survived, he abstained from every crime; so that it might be hoped he would be the very mirror of kings. After his death, for a time, he showed himself so variable, that the balance hung evenly betwixt vices and virtues. At last, however, in his latter years, the desire after good grew cold, and the crop of evil increased to ripeness; his liberality became prodigality; his magnanimity, pride; his austerity, cruelty. . . .

"He was, when abroad, and in public assemblies, of supercilious look, darting his threatening eye on the by-stander; and with assumed severity and ferocious voice, assailing such as conversed with him. From apprehension of poverty, and of the treachery of others, as may be conjectured, he was too much given to lucre, and to cruelty. At home and at table with his intimate companions, he gave loose to levity and to mirth. He was a most facetious raider at anything he had himself done amiss, in order that he might thus do away with obloquy, and make it matter of jest."
As regards the personal appearance of Rufus, the same author says:

"Should anyone be desirous to know the make of his person, he is to understand that he was well set; his complexion florid, his hair yellow; of open countenance; different coloured eyes, varying with certain glittering specks; of astonishing strength, though not very tall, and his belly rather projecting; of no eloquence, but remarkable for a hesitation of speech, especially when angry."

Accompanying is a representation of this king's Great Seal:

The obverse has the legend, between two dotted circles:

\* WIL[LELMVS] DI RA RES ANGLORV.

The King enthroned, wearing a crown of five points, of which the central point ends in a cross, a tassel terminating in three pellets dependent from either side beneath the crown; tunic and pallium regale, fastened at the throat and adorned with broad bordure. Each arm extended and raised from the elbow; in right hand a sword upraised and point inclined inwards. In left hand an orb surmounted by a cross. Throne without back. In field on either side a star, or rose, having six rounded leaves. All within a dotted circle.

The reverse, or counter-seal, has the legend, between two dotted circles:

\* WILELMVS D-I RA [RE] ANGLORV.

The King on horseback to the right in chain armour, conical helmet, spur on heel; in right hand long lance with three streamers, sword on King's left hanging down below the horse. In left hand, round-headed shield grasped by internal strap.

It will be noticed that whereas in the case of William I., the King, as Duke of the Normans, is shown on the obverse and the monarch enthroned as King over the English on the reverse, William II., on his seal, is portrayed on the obverse as King of the English, and the Norman representation, with the same legend as that on the obverse, is relegated to the reverse or counter-seal.
The Great Seals.
CHAPTER IV.

THE TYPES OF THE COINS.

There are eight substantive types of William I. and five of William II. The eight types of William I. are represented by the figures in Hawkins, as follows:

Type 1, fig. 233.
" II, " 234.
" III, " 236.
" IV, " 237.
" V, " 238.
" VI, " 243.
" VII, " 239.
" VIII, " 241 and 242.

Fig. 235 is a "mule," or combination of the obverse of Type I (233) and the reverse of Type II (234).

Fig. 240 is, in like manner, a "mule," or combination of the obverse of Type VII (239) and the reverse of Type VIII (241).

Fig. 241 represents the general appearance of Type VIII, whilst Fig. 242 is a representation of one of several variants from the general type.

The five types of William II. are represented in Hawkins, as follows:

Type 1, fig. 244.
" 2, " 246.
" 3, " 247.
" 4, " 250.
" 5, " 248.

Fig. 245 is a "mule," or combination of the obverse of Type 1 (244) and the reverse of Type 2 (246).

Fig. 249 is an uncommon variety of Type 4, being of the same design but without the star on either side of the King's head. In this particular it more nearly resembles the preceding Types 3 and 2.
THE TYPES OF WILLIAM I. (continued).  
XI. CENTURY.  
PI. II.
and, as hereafter appears, represents the earlier stage of the issue of Type 4.

The details of all of the types of both reigns and the various facts and arguments for determining their sequence will be dealt with when specifically considering them hereafter, but it would seem desirable to here attempt the classification of certain of the coins into groups, representing the work of successive cuneators or designers of the types.

The general style of the work and lettering of Types I to V (inclusive) of William I. so nearly resembles that of the coins of Harold II. and the later coins of Edward the Confessor, more particularly the last type (Type XI) and what, in another place, I have termed the “artificial mule” immediately preceding it, as to lead to the supposition that these five types are of the design, and executed under the superintendence of the same person who was responsible for the coinage of Harold, and at any rate, for the above specified types of the Confessor.

In each of the three reigns a portrait of the sovereign is clearly intended, and, as far as we are able to judge, the artistic effort is not unattended by success.

The late Mr. Frederick Spicer in a paper on “The Coinage of William I. and II.” published, in an incomplete form, after his much regretted and sudden decease, has quoted some very acceptable authorities and given some equally reliable arguments in support of the supposition that Theoderic the Goldsmith (the Domesday tenant in capite of Kennington in Surrey, and of lands in Oxfordshire) was the cuneator employed by the Confessor. He was, therefore, the probable designer of the last types of the Confessor, of the coins of Harold II., and of the first five types of William I.

Otho or Otto, also styled in Domesday Aurifaber or Goldsmith, was, it is believed, the successor to Theoderic. Domesday shows that his lands were acquired during the Conqueror’s reign. The date of Otho’s acquisition of, or appointment to, the office of Cuneator has not been historically ascertained, but should the deduction attempted from the style of workmanship of the coins remaining to
us be correct, it may be inferred that Otho's work was initiated by the preparation and issue of Type VI (Hawkins, 243) at Michaelmas, 1080.

The voided cross and pyramid are characteristic features of several of the designs attributed to Theoderic, while it is reserved to Otho to introduce the large cross, ends patée, appearing first on Type VI of the Conqueror, and prominently continued on the reverse of his Types VII and VIII and equally so on the reverses of Types 1 to 4 (all save the last) of William II.

Mr. W. J. Andrew, F.S.A., in his Numismatic History of the Reign of Henry I. conclusively fixes the date of the appointment of Otho FitzOtho to the office of Aurifaber in succession to his father, himself the presumed successor in the same office to the Saxon Theoderic, as having been made by a charter granted at Arundel at Midsummer, 1101. The last type, viz., Type 5, of Rufus was probably designed by Otho the son prior to his formal appointment, as it bears a marked resemblance to Hawkins, Fig. 251, which Mr. Andrew regards as Type I of Henry I. Alternatively, the Arundel charter may have been one of confirmation by the new King, Henry I., soon after his accession.

The work of Type 5 of William II. also closely resembles that of Hawkins 254, which Mr. Andrew gives as Type II of Henry I., but which is in the opinion of the present writer Type I, Hawkins 251 representing Type II of Henry I.; although Mr. Andrew adheres to his original opinion.

Otho the son had probably been trained in the art of medallic designing and engraving in the expectation of his being made thereby eligible as successor to his father's office. A limited art of this kind is calculated to encourage hereditary succession, and this in fact ensued.

The work of Types 3 and 4 of Rufus is distinctly inferior to that of the previous types assigned to the elder Otho, and may well betoken advancing age or failing powers. The general characteristics of his work are preserved in Type 3, but the substitution of the large voided cross (ends still patée) for the hitherto unvaried large cross, ends patée, of Otho senior's period, seems to mark a period of change.
General Designs of the Types.

The exact date of the issue of Type 4 of William II. (Hks. 249 without the stars on either side of the King's head, and Hks. 250 with such stars) is fixed by an astronomical occurrence recorded alike in the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, by William of Malmesbury and Henry of Huntingdon—namely, that a fresh comet appeared in the year 1097. Now Type 4 was current from Michaelmas 1096 to Michaelmas 1099: therefore, the recurrence, according to the then ideas, of the comet of 1066 was commemorated on the coins, by addition to the dies which were engraved after the appearance of the heavenly visitant. That the same emblem, replaced on the King's right hand by the more usual sceptre, was continued in Type 5 is not a matter of surprise or one occasioning remark.

The reverse of Type 5 displays once more the pyramid ornament so favoured by Theoderic, and exemplifies a reversion by a new man to an old design, a trait of the character of Otho the Younger when in designing what the writer deems to be the first type of Henry I., he exactly reproduced, allowing for differences of work and size, the first type of the new monarch's illustrious father, the Conqueror, and founder of Henry's title to the English throne. The same tendency to reversion to earlier types in the issues of Henry I. for which Otho FitzOtho is responsible is very noticeable in the cases of the reverses of:

Type III (Hks. 253) in its resemblance to the coins of Harold II.;

Type V (Hks. 256) to the Paxs type of William I. (Hks. 241);

Type VII (Hks. 267) to Type VII of William I. (Hks. 239), the obverse being a reproduction of Type 5 (Hks. 248) of William II.;

And Type IX (Hks. 264) again to the Paxs type of the Conqueror, the central annulet being adopted from Type I of William II. (Hks. 244);

Lastly, Type X of Henry I. (Hks. 263) is distinctly reproduced, with characteristic variations, both as to obverse and reverse, from Type 2 of William II. (Hks. 245).

In Otho FitzOtho's remaining types under Henry I. there is traceable a tendency to copy from coins of the two Williams.
A Numismatic History of William I. and II.

Type I.

After 14th October, 1066, to 29th September, 1068.

**FIG. A.—THE FIRST TYPE OF WILLIAM I.**

Hawkins, 233.

*Obverse.*—Legend.

- **PILLEMVS RE**
- **PILLEMVS RE** I
- **PILLEMVS RE** Α
- (above the crown) **PILLEMVS RE** Α
- **PILLEMV RE** I
- **PILLEMV RE** Α
- **PILLEMVS RE** ΑΙ
- **PILLEMVS RE** Η
- **PILLEVΣ RE** ΑΙ
- **ILLEMV RE** Α (Romney only).
- **PILLEMVΩV I** (Bust to right).

Crowned bust to left, in front sceptre. Legend commences opposite lower part of sceptre.

*Reverse.*—Cross fleury, annulet enclosing pellet in centre, within a beaded inner circle.

**Mints:**—31.

Colchester. Ilchester. Stamford.
Derby. Lincoln. Thetford.
The First Type of William I.

Wallingford.
Wilton.
Wareham.
Winchester.
Warwick.
Worcester.
York.

Finds:—Dymchurch (1739); St. Mary Hill Church (1774); York (1845); Whitchurch Common; City of London (1872).

Weight and quality:—19 to 21 grains and generally of standard silver.

Form of letters.—\( \Delta \) and \( \Delta = A \cdot E = C \cdot S = G = E \cdot N \) and \( \Upsilon = N, S \) and \( \sigma = S, Y, P \) and \( \Phi = W \cdot V = V \cdot \kappa \) and \( IE = \kappa \cdot D = TH \).

The general type of the obverse of this issue of the Conqueror’s coins bears a very striking likeness to that of Harold’s sole type. This first type of William I. may be regarded either as a continuation of Harold’s coinage, or as one dating back to the time of the death of Edward the Confessor for the purpose of completing the period of its currency. In the latter case the Domesday fiction of regarding the reign of Harold as non-existent would be anticipated. The head and neck are turned to the left so as to display the features of the King in profile. The monarch is, unlike Harold, without a beard, but retains the upper lip unshaved. The left ear is well defined, and the line of the great muscle of the neck, known to anatomists as the sternomastoid, passes from the breast at the exposed base of the throat diagonally upwards to a point behind the ear. The crown is, like that of Harold, shown to consist of a circular band of gold set with jewels; from the front and back of this circlet, as seen in profile, rise two supports sloping inwards and terminating in a larger jewel or pellet below and above the line of the circlet. From each support to the centre of the crown rises a jewelled arch, surmounted at the point of juncture by a large jewel or pellet similar to the two by which each support is terminated. As the crown when shown sideways, as in this issue, presents the same appearance as when shown as worn by a full-faced representation of the King, it is clear that there were two complete, or four semi, jewelled arches rising from four supports to a jewel immediately above the centre of the wearer’s skull. Slight indications of short hair appear at the back of the head under the
crown and behind the ear. From this point between the hair and the
crown depend two strings or tassels terminating in knobs, probably
intended for jewels. These represent the ornaments dependent from
the cap worn beneath the crown. In the full-faced representation of
the same crown shown in Type II (Hks. 234), two such ornaments
are shown on each side of the head. They appear on the coins of
Harold and of many of his predecessors.

On the last type of the Confessor (Type XI), and the mule
X = XI they are particularly noticeable, but in these cases terminate
in three pellets arranged as 2 and 1.

The sceptre or rod is like that on the coins of Harold and the
later coins of the Confessor, above specified. It is a circular shaft
with knobs at nearly equal intervals. In the portion visible on the
coins of this type there are three such knobs, one at the lower end, one
midway up, and the third at the top, this in turn being surmounted by
three balls or pellets, 2 and 1.

Unlike his predecessor, William is depicted habited in a richly-
embroidered or jewelled robe or mantle, probably the *pallium regale*
of the coronation ceremony. The rod is that described as “the rod of
virtue and equity,” which if reference be made to Type IV (Hks. 237)
is there shown on the left side of the King’s bust. The sceptre with
the cross is there shown to the King’s right, and on the Conqueror’s
last type (Type VIII), the sceptre with the cross is held in the King’s
right hand, although rested on his left shoulder.

On the other hand, however, the sovereign type (Type VIII) of
the Confessor represents the rod or staff in the King’s right hand,
whilst the orb surmounted by the cross, supposed by some to be the
same object as the sceptre with the cross, is held in his left hand. The
same order is shown in the type of the mule X = XI, and the Great
Seal of the Confessor displays on one side the virga or rod in the right
hand and an orb, without the surmounting cross, in the left, and on the
other side are shown the sceptre with the dove in the right hand
but the *sword* in the left. In his earliest days, William, as King of
the English, desired to act as an elected King of that people. He
seems to have adopted the English currency and all its system of issue,
weight and fineness exactly as they had been in the days of his predecessors. Although in his later days, as is so clearly shown by Domesday, he regarded Harold as a mere usurper and non-existent among his predecessors as a king; yet in his earliest English days, William, in a grant of land made early in 1067 to Regenbald his priest, addressed in Saxon to Saxon officials, speaks of Harold as "Harald Kinge," although in Domesday the entry in reference to the same holding uses the form "Heraldus comes."1

This policy may account for the profile of William being directed to the left, as was that of Harold; on the other hand, it is capable of argument that as William was in his view the direct successor of the Confessor, his profile would be, for the sake of distinction, in the opposite direction.

That even then there was some confusion of thought on this point is shown by the existence of coins of this type with bust in profile to right.

Some of Harold's coins are without the rod, or sceptre as it is more usually termed, and the same variation occurs in this first type of the Conqueror.

As in both the reigns of Harold and William I., coins of the same place of the varieties with and without the "sceptre" exist, the distinction, if intentional, must be one due to the time of issue of the dies rather than to any special circumstance attaching to the places at which they were intended for use, unless, indeed, the two classes of coins respectively represent those issued by the moneyers of the King and of some other personage having a share in the profits of the mints in question.

As regards the reverse design it is one new to our series of English coins, but was the prototype of the reverses of two of Henry I.'s issues, viz., Hks. 254 and Hks. Type IV.

The annulet or ring in the centre is the emblem of eternity and doubtless represents the ring used in the coronation service. The second English Coronation Order, one of the eleventh century,

1 See Feudal England (J. H. Round), p. 422.
directs the giving of the ring after the anointing with oil of the monarch. The words of the service are: "Receive this ring, the seal of the Holy Faith, the strength of thy kingdom, and the increase of thy power, whereby thou mayest learn to drive back thy foes with triumph, destroy heresies, unite those whom thou hast conquered and bind them firmly to the catholic faith."  

The ring also played a prominent part in the conferment of Bishoprics by the Sovereign. Bishops before they entered into possession of their dignities received a ring and crozier from the hands of the King, which constituted their investiture. This virtually gave the King a control over the appointment of prelates and in the reign of Henry I. was the subject of grave dispute between him and Pope Paschal. This dispute was compromised by the King resigning the right to grant investitures, by which the spiritual dignity was presumed to be given, but the bishops had still to do homage for their temporalities. (*Student's Hume*, p. 100.)

A cut halfpenny of Type I is in the cabinet of the writer (see under Romney): weight 8½ grains.

*Varieties:*—

(a) *Obverse.*—Legend commencing over the King's crown and divided by the bust. See under Bedwin, Taunton (235) and York.

(b) Without the rod or *virga* (usually termed "sceptre"). See under Exeter, Hereford, London and Norwich.

(c) King's face bearded. See under York.

(d) Inner circle on reverse *plain.* See under Bedford, Romney, Thetford, Winchester.

(e) Larger bust of the King to *right.* See under London and Worcester.

(f) On *obverse.*—Large pellet between the King's neck and sceptre. See under Cambridge.

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¹ This and subsequent extracts from the Coronation Service are from Mr. L. G. W. Legg's handsome book entitled, *English Coronation Records*, Archibald Constable & Co., Ltd., Westminster, 1901.
The chief, and in themselves sufficient, connecting links between Type I and Type II are the "mule" or "combination-type" coins having the obverse of Type I (Hks. 233) and the reverse of Type II (Hks. 234).

A mule of this kind is represented in Hks. 235. Eight specimens are known to the writer:—

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Mintage</th>
<th>Count</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Huntingdon</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lincoln</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Southwark</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stamford</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Taunton</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

all of which are hereafter described under the mints named.

It is well to here describe and explain the significance and importance of the mule coins.

The obverse, in Saxon and Norman times, is invariably that of an earlier issue and nearly always of the issue immediately preceding the type of the reverse.

As explained in a former chapter, the lower, or standard, die was that fixed to the block or operating bench of the moneyer, the upper die, or trussell, was detached, and more liable to damage and wear in the course of the striking of the coins, as it received the direct blows from the moneyer's hammer in the process of manufacture.
The lower die was of a more durable character and less liable to damage and was, until removed, a fixture ready to the moneyer's hand. Specimens of both upper and lower dies are described and illustrated in Vol. I of this Journal, and the mode of striking the coins is there also described.

In Vol. VII, p. 18, of the Numismatic Chronicle, there is a short account written by Mr. John Field, of the discovery in the year 1835 in a vault beneath the Record Office of the Treasury of the Exchequer, Chapter House, Westminster, of 64 Standards or Staples (viz. the lower or obverse dies) and 123 trussells or puncheons (viz. the detached upper or reverse dies).

These are stated to have been for the coinage of groats, half-groats and pennies of Edward III. and Henry VII., and mostly for the York Mint. They were, however, much corroded and no very minute examination seems to have been made of them, although the then keeper of the Records, Sir Francis Palgrave, assisted by Mr. Field, had a cabinet made for the preservation of the dies. It is mentioned that the faces of the dies were of steel. A bag of "counterfeit" groats and other coins of lead or other metal baser than silver was discovered at the same time. These it may be suggested were in reality trial-pieces, not counterfeits, and their examination would doubtless be of much interest and of great help in determining the devices on many of the corroded dies.

Sir Francis Palgrave was keeper of the Records of the Chapter of Westminster Abbey and it is, in the account cited, said that his predecessors in office seem to have been Treasurers, or were Masters of the Mint to the Kings of England from the time of Canute to a comparatively recent date.

The steady and almost uniform occurrence of coins, both in Saxon and Norman times, that connect a preceding type with its next successor would seem to show that the system was intentional, and that the connecting links were intentionally issued to show the sequence of the types, a matter of real importance when it is remembered that certain types were periodically put out of circulation. A prudent moneyer may well have kept such a set for reference, even without a
The Importance of Mule Coins.

prophetic sense of kindness towards the members of the British Numismatic Society. The moneyers were doubtless also the bankers and money-exchangers of the period, and a set of mule coins would be good evidence of succession, and also of what money was current and what was not, or would serve to those making inquiry as a guide to what pieces were "good" and what "bad" in the same manner that the sheets issued by foreign governments to-day, and officially displayed in public offices and banks, throw light on what coins may be accepted and what should not be accepted. That the more sophisticated moneyer, or banker, benefited in these financial matters is not unlikely, a condition of affairs not uncommon here and abroad in the like circumstances at the present day!

In an honest endeavour to ascertain the truth and as a follower of Mr. Andrew's invaluable and unexampled endeavour to produce order from the chaos created by successive official numismatists, the writer desires to record his view that we may accept three propositions or general rules, namely:

1. That the first type issued after the accession of a Norman king would be in profile.
2. That the reverse type of a mule coin would be later in date of issue than that of the obverse.
3. That mule and over-struck coins were usually, though not invariably, composed of successive types.

To return to our main subject. The over-struck coins also confirm the sequence of types. It is an obvious proposition that the original design impressed on a coin must be earlier than that super-imposed. Coins in the stock of a moneyer-banker were brought up to date in this way prior to issue in those cases where a change of type had taken place before the coins had been put into circulation, and equally was this the case when coins of an older issue were brought in for re-coinage. In point of fact it would seem that the coins which were so re-struck were often of the type immediately preceding that of the new impression, but this is, of course, a practice subject to many exceptions quite warranted by the necessities and probabilities of the case. The practice
of “overstriking” dates back to quite early Saxon times, and no one who is acquainted with specimens existing can doubt that the earlier coins were used as flans and re-struck as new coins, in the same way that Spanish dollars were, in the time of George III., converted by re-striking into Bank of England tokens. It would hardly seem necessary to emphasize a fact so apparent but for the circumstance that Mr. W. J. Hocking, a present-day official at the Royal Mint, has in *Numismatic Chronicle*, 1905, p. 109, been induced to suggest a contrary view, viz., that the double impressions emanate from an imperfect re-engraving of the dies! Let any one who has any doubt remaining on this point refer to Fig. 13, Plate I.

In illustration of the change from Type I to Type II, Mr. W. S. Ogden has a penny of Hereford reading on the reverse *EDPI ON HEREFORI*, distinct traces of the old reverse design being visible through the pattern of the new reverse, and slight indications of the old profile obverse being discernible through the new obverse design. Coins that have slipped in the process of striking and are consequently “double struck,” and those flans that have been taken from the dies and replaced the wrong way up, and therefore bear on each side traces of the same obverse and reverse are not to be confused with over-struck pieces.

**Type II.**

*Michaelmas, 1068, to Michaelmas, 1071.*

![Fig. C.—The Second Type of William I. Hawkins, 234.](image)

*Obverse.—Legend.*

* PILLEMVS REI.
* PILLEMVS RE* I.
* PILLEMVS RE* A.
* PILLEMV RE*. 
Full-faced bust crowned, tassels pendent from beneath each side of the crown. Legend commences at left of the coin.

Reverse.—Voided cross, each limb terminating in a pellet between two crescents, in centre, annulet usually enclosing a pellet, and in each angle a pyramid surmounted by a pellet: all within a beaded inner circle.

Mints:—40.

Ilchester. Shrewsbury.
Ipswich.

Finds.—York, 1704; St. Mary Hill Church, 1774; Malmesbury, 1828; York, 1845; Whitchurch Common; City of London, 1872.

Weight and quality.—17½ to 21½ grains, and nearly always of standard silver.

Form of letters.—The same as in Type I, except that the square form of the $F = W$ is entirely replaced by $P$ with a rounded top. $S$ and $Z = S$. 

$\text{* PILLEMV RE* I.}$
$\text{* PILLEMV RE* A.}$
$\text{* PILLEMV RE.}$
$\text{* (over the crown) PILELI/MVS RE*.$$
$\text{* PILEME RE* (Lincoln).}$
The obverse of this coin is the full-faced representation of Type I, and the details of the crown and dependent ornaments are identical with those represented on Type I and, of course, on the connecting "mule" (Hks. 235) and the ordinary type of Harold II.

The trachea is indicated by a vertical line from below the centre of the chin to the juncture of the neck with the King's mantle, which is here shown as being folded over and fastened on the right shoulder with a fibula or brooch in the form of an annulet.

The voided cross on the reverse rendered the operation of dividing the penny into cut halfpennies and farthings a matter of easy exactitude. The central annulet has the same significance as that in Type I. Specimens of the cut halfpenny in the cabinet of the writer weigh 8 1/2 and 9 1/2 grains.

A Huntingdon coin of this type is struck upon a coin of Harold II., the new obverse appearing above the old reverse, and vice versa. See under Huntingdon. This is the coin alluded to on p. 138.

Varieties:—

(a) Obverse legend commences over the King's crown, divided by bust. See under Wallingford.

(b) Inner circle on obverse. See under Ipswich.

This would seem to be the most fitting place to refer to the remarkable coin in the British Museum bearing the reverse of this type. The reverse legend is *CODEZBRAND ON Z* (probably for Shrewsbury). This is coin No. 1175 of the B.M. Catalogue, where it is accorded the position of Type XVI of the coins of the Confessor.

Until recently the piece was supposed to be unique, but at Easter, 1905, the writer, in company with Mr. Andrew, found a second example in the collection of the York Museum. Both examples are illustrated on the following page.

These are, in the opinion of the writer, examples of "accidental" mules, the moneyers having at the time of issue of Hks. 235 used by
mistake old obverse dies of the Confessor's last type, also a profile, in lieu of the dies of Type I (Hks. 233).

Both coins were probably found at York in the year 1845, as in the Annual Report of the Council of the Yorkshire Philosophical Society for that year is contained a reference to the discovery made in the early part of the year at the corner of Jubbergate and Coney Street of pennies of William I., with one or two of Edward the Confessor, and all of the same type, the reverse of the Conqueror's coins agreeing with that of Edward. Some of the coins from this find were described by Mr. Hawkins in the 1845 volume of the Numismatic Chronicle. They were all of Type II, and the readings there given correspond with many of the coins of that type now in the British Museum. The circumstance of these two mule coins being found with coins of William I.'s second type seems an almost conclusive argument in favour of the correctness of the view above stated of their having been, in fact, issued during the currency of that type.

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**Fig. D.** Coin from altered die connecting the second and third types of William I.

This remarkable coin, now illustrated for the first time, was formerly in the cabinet of Captain R. J. H. Douglas, a member of the
British Numismatic Society, and is now in that of the writer. It is the first-discovered direct connecting link between Type II (Hks. 234) and Type III (Hks. 236). The obverse legend is—

* PILLEMVS RE*

and the original design is exactly that of Type II.

The die has, however, been altered by the addition of pillars, beneath the crown, like those appearing on the next type. The design is to some extent obscured by reason of double-striking. The reverse legend is—

* LIOFSTAN ON OIPESPI,*

and the type that of the next issue, Type III. It is the only known specimen of an Ipswich coin bearing the reverse design of Type III. Ipswich coins bearing the name of the moneyer "Liofstan" are, however, known of Type II, preceding this issue, and of several types that succeeded it.

**Type III.**

*Michaelmas, 1068, to Michaelmas, 1071.*

**Obverse.**—Legend:

* PILLEMVS RE  
* PILLEMVS RE*  
* PILLEMVS RE* I  
* PILLEMV RE*  
* PILLEMV RE*  

Crowned full-faced bust of the King beneath a portico. Legend commences at the left of the coin.
The Third Type of William I.

Reverse.—Cross fleury with quadrilateral compartment enclosing annulet in centre, within plain inner circle.

Mints:—30.

- Bath.
- Bedford.
- Bristol.
- Canterbury.
- Chester.
- Chichester.
- Colchester.
- Derby.
- Exeter.
- Gloucester.

- Hereford.
- Ilchester.
- Ipswich.
- Leicester.
- Lewes.
- Lincoln.
- London.
- Marlborough.
- Nottingham.
- Oxford.

- Southampton.
- Stamford.
- Taunton.
- Thetford.
- Wallingford.
- Wareham.
- Wilton.
- Winchester.
- Worcester.
- York.¹

Finds.—St. Mary Hill Church, 1774; Whitchurch Common.

Weight and quality.—16½ to 21 grains of standard silver.

Form of letters.—The same as in Type II.

The explanation of the obverse of this Type given by the late Mr. Frederick Spicer appears to be correct. The bust of the King is shown full-faced and crowned under a portico, apparently of Roman design, supported by a rounded column on either side rising from a larger base-support. Each pillar is surmounted by a ball or pellet, and a similar object is at the central point of the obtuse angle representing the pediment of the portico which rests on the supporting pillars. In the centre of the triangular space thus exhibited there is, on some specimens, a small object resembling a crescent: this probably represents an architectural feature, such as a window or open space.

The King's crown varies from the representations on Types I and II in that the surmounting arches are replaced by concave segments of circles. In most specimens the tassels pendent from the undercap are absent, but in a rare variety of the Wallingford mint these are still

¹ *Archaeologia*, vol. iv, p. 356.
shown as on the preceding two types. The bust is clothed in the pallium regale as on Type II, but in this case the fastening on the right shoulder of the monarch is generally represented by three pellets (1 and 2), while on others there is no ornament on either shoulder. On some few specimens the line indicating the trachea is present.

In the winter of 1069 William put down all hostile movements throughout the province of Mercia by the power of a royal army. He built a castle at Chester, and another, on his return, at Shrewsbury, leaving strong garrisons and abundant stores of provisions in both. After these events King William kept the feast of Easter, 1070, at Winchester where he was solemnly crowned by three special legates sent over at his request by Pope Alexander, who honoured William as his most beloved son in Christ. They were Ermenfrid, Bishop of Sion in the Valais, and two other Cardinals named Peter and John. The King detained them at his Court for a year, listening to and honouring them “as if they were the angels of God.”

After Easter a synod was held at Winchester, at which the King and the Cardinals presided. Here Stigand, Archbishop of Canterbury, was deposed, and other important ecclesiastical business was transacted. (Orderic B. IV. ch. vi.)

William had received the support of the Church from the commencement of his enterprise against Harold, and he seems always to have rendered a grateful return for this, and to have honestly done his best to promote the interests of Church and State alike, by the appointment of wise and suitable persons to the chief offices of the Church in England. The issue of this type commenced at Michaelmas, 1071, so, as the Cardinals did not leave England till a few months earlier, it may well be that the design for the new coinage was of their suggestion, and that one of them prepared a drawing intended to represent the crowned effigy of the King beneath the portal of, and directly protected by, the Cathedral Church of St. Peter at Rome.

In Mr. Legg’s English Coronation Records (p. 30), there is a beautiful reproduction in sepia of a picture contained in a MS. belonging to Captain Holford, of the coronation of a King temp. of William the Conqueror. The monarch is clad in a richly-
embroidered tunic, over which is the pallium regale fastened on the breast by a large circular brooch. He is seated on a throne or chair without back, his feet clad in buskins resting on a cushion on a lower step. The view presented is nearly full faced, the head being slightly inclined to the King's left, on which side is represented the figure of an archbishop in the act of placing an arched crown, surmounted by a small orb and cross, on the monarch's head. The crown consists of a jewelled circlet from which rise four arches to a central point, and beneath the crown is the coif. In the archbishop's left hand is a crozier. Behind the archbishop stand five nobles, the foremost carrying a sword resting on his right shoulder. On the King's right is another archbishop, or bishop, who is in the act of placing with his right hand, into the King's right hand, a sceptre surmounted by a large globe, from which issues an object shaped like a fleur-de-lys. This prelate also carries a crozier in his left hand, and behind him are six nobles, the foremost bearing a sword resting on his right shoulder.

The picture is set beneath an arch of the usual circular Norman form; the curtains dependent from behind the top of the arch are draped back to show the spectator what is being done within the building. Above the centre of the arch is a tower, and a smaller tower is on either side; seen in perspective behind are two other towers, one being visible in each space between the central tower and the two flanking towers. These three towers last mentioned each terminate in a pointed top surmounted by a ball, and are exactly of the shape of the pyramid and pellet ornaments on the reverse of Type II of the Conqueror's coins.

The intention of the artist was to represent the coronation in progress within the church. Allowing for the small amount of space available on a coin, the obverse of Type III may well represent a similar scene, but this does not preclude the idea of special protection from the church more fancifully given on another page.

The quadrilateral ornament on the reverse of this type, and in like manner the similar ornament on the reverse of the preceding type, and also on those of Types V and VI in later years, may, as Mr. W. S. Ogden seems to think, represent, in symbol, the ground plan.
of the Holy City. They would equally well represent a Norman château or church, and in particular the White Tower of London, or the Cathedral of Westminster, the pyramidal or conical terminations, most clearly represented in Type II, being, as shown above, very characteristic of the corner towers with pointed tops observable in buildings of this period. The ecclesiastical symbol of eternity and investiture, the ring, is again the central object in the reverse design of this type.

Cut halfpennies of this type are in the cabinet of the writer; weight, \(8\frac{2}{3}, 9, 9\frac{1}{3}, \) and \(10\frac{1}{2}\) grains.

Varieties:

(a) Long tassels dependent from beneath the crown (see under Wallingford).
(b) Annulet or fibula on the King's right shoulder, similar to that on Type II (see under Winchester).
(c) Beaded inner circle on reverse.

A coin of Exeter supplies the connecting link between Type III (Hks. 236), and Type IV (Hks. 237). This is engraved in *Archæologia*, Vol. IV, Plate XXI, and in Ruding, Supplement, Part II, Plate I, Fig. 1.

The obverse legend is—

\[ \star \text{ PILLEMV RESIA/N} \]

\(^1\) See Mr. Ogden's paper in this *journal*
The general design is that of Type III; but, as in the case of the mule connecting Types II and III before described, the die has been altered, in this instance, to make the left pillar resemble the virga, and the right pillar the sceptre with the cross.

The relative positions of these as they appear on Type IV are, therefore, reversed.

The reverse legend is—

*SPOTTINE ON ESE*

and the type is that of Type IV (Hks. 237).

The name of "Swottine" as a moneyer occurs on the substantive Types III and IV at Exeter, as well as on the mule coin now under description, but there is no record of the occurrence of his name on prior or later coins. This coin was found at St. Mary Hill Church, and is described and illustrated in *Archæologia*, Vol. IV, p. 357, in the Rev. Dr. Griffith's account of that hoard. The plate in Ruding on which this coin is also illustrated is, in the description of the plates, stated to have been prepared under the superintendence of Mr. Benjamin Bartlet, and intended by him as a second supplement to the plates which the Society of Antiquaries added to their edition of Folkes's Tables. There would therefore appear to be no reason whatever for doubting the existence and genuineness of the piece.

The circumstance of the altered obverse die finds an exact parallel in the case of the Ipswich mule II = III above described.

**Type IV.**

*Michaelmas, 1074, to Michaelmas, 1077.*

FIG. G.—THE FOURTH TYPE OF WILLIAM I.

HAWKINS, 237.
Obverse.—Legend.

* PILLEM RE* AN
* PILLEM RE* ANI
* PILLEM RE* ANG
* PILLEM RE* ANCLI
* PILLEM RE* ANCM
* PILLEM RE* ANGLO
* PILLEM RE* ANGLOI
* PILLEM RE* ANGLORI
* PILLELMVS RE* AN
* PILLM RE* AN (Lincoln).
* PILLM RE* ANG (Lincoln).
* PILLEM RE* ANGL
* PILLEM RE* ANGL
* PILLEM RE* ANGLOR (York).
* PILLEM RE* ANLOFO (York).

Crowned full-faced bust of the King between sceptre, end patee, on his right and sceptre patee on his left, within an inner circle, usually plain and rarely beaded. Legend commences above the crown.

Reverse.—Cross fleury over cross patee, in centre, annulet; within a plain inner circle.

Mints:—36.

Bedford. Ipswich. Shrewsbury.
Bristol. Leicester. Southampton.
Dorchester (mule only). Malmesbury. Wallingford.
Dover. Marlborough. Wareham.

Finds.—St. Mary Hill Church, 1774; Malmesbury, 1828; City of London, 1872.
Weight and quality.—19 to 22 grains of standard silver.
Form of letters.—The same as on Types II and III.

The crown on this type again represents the top as composed of *arched* connecting bands. The pallium regale is again shown as clothing the bust, but the ornaments on the King's shoulders vary. In some specimens a single pellet is shown on the King's right shoulder, on others there is a pellet on each shoulder, and on some specimens, equally numerous, both shoulders are devoid of ornament.

On the King's right is the sceptre with the cross, on his left the *virga* or rod. Their attributes have been considered in describing Type I. They are well-known portions of the regalia of these realms, and take a prominent place in all the coronations of our sovereigns.

The obverse of this type presents another coronation scene. The incident in the ritual here represented is that where the archbishop delivers the sceptre with the cross into the King's *right* hand, saying "Receive the sceptre, the sign of kingly power, &c.," and, after an intervening prayer, delivers the rod or *virga* into the King's *left* hand, saying "Receive the rod of virtue and equity, &c." These ceremonies take place after the actual crowning of the monarch has been duly performed.

In considering this and all other types of the Norman coinage, it must be remembered that the artist had in view a state portrait of the King. He was therefore represented in his official guise as King, in his solemn coronation robes. A present-day state portrait of a monarch is depicted on the same lines.

The reverse design may be described as a double cross, the four principal limbs of which comprise four sceptres fleury, and the intermediate limbs the like number of *virgae* or rods, all proceeding from the usual sacred central ring. The sceptre fleury appears on Type VII of this reign, and on Type 5 of William II. as the equivalent of the sceptre with the cross, and in each case is borne in the King's *right* hand. It appears also on the reverses of Types 1, 3 and 5 of William Rufus, and this form of sceptre may also be symbolised by the fleurs
appearing on the reverses of Types I, III and VII of the Conqueror's coins.

The sceptre outlined on the coins of many Saxon kings is shown to terminate in a fleur-de-lys-like object, and on Type VII of Edward the Confessor such a sceptre is used interchangeably with the sceptre with the cross.

No cut halfpennies or farthings of this type are known to the writer.

Varieties:—

(a) S, instead of annulet, in centre of reverse design. See under Lincoln.
(b) Beaded inner circles on obverse and reverse; annulet, in lieu of pellet, on King's right shoulder. See under London.
(c) Beaded inner circle on reverse. See under Malmesbury.
(d) No initial cross to reverse legend. See under Wallingford.
(e) The letter O where occurring is replaced by two annulets interlinked, thus ☐. See under York.
(f) On obverse three pellets on the King's right shoulder. See under Norwich.

Mule \( \frac{IV}{V} \).

Fig. H.—Mule connecting the fourth and fifth types of William I.

* PILLEM RES* AN.
* IEGLPIE ON HERI (Hereford).

This, like Hks. 235 connecting Types I and II, is a mule or combination type, connecting Types IV and V in the same direct way.
The coin illustrated came from the Howard, Brice and Montagu (Lot 212) collections, and is now in the cabinet of the writer.

There is no record of the earlier appearance of the name of the moneyer, Ægelwine, at Hereford, but he coined there in several subsequent types of both William I. and William II.

The writer has notes of two specimens of the Mule IV = V of the Dorchester mint, reading on the reverse:

\* GODPINE ON DORE \* GODPINE ON DOREET,

and one of Ipswich, reading on the reverse:

\* IEGLBRIH ON GIP

but is unaware of the present whereabouts of these three specimens.

**Type V.**

*Michaelmas, 1077, to Michaelmas, 1080.*

**FIG. I.—THE FIFTH TYPE OF WILLIAM I.**

HAWKINS, 238.

Obverse.—Legend.

\* PILLEM RE* A
\* PILLEM RE* AI
\* PILLEM RE* AN
\* PILLEM RE* ANI
\* PILLEMVS RE* ANI

Crowned full-faced bust of the King between two stars, all within a plain inner circle. Legend commences above the crown.

Reverse.—Over a quadrilateral ornament, having a pellet at each angle, a cross bottonée with an annulet in the centre; all within a plain inner circle.
Mints:—42.

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<tr>
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<td>Shrewsbury.</td>
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<td>Southwark.</td>
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<td>Cricklade</td>
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<td>Dorchester</td>
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<td>Dover</td>
<td>Oxford.</td>
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<td>Gloucester</td>
<td>Romney.</td>
<td>Yarmouth (?)</td>
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<td>Hereford</td>
<td>St. Edmundsbury</td>
<td>York.</td>
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Finds.—Beaworth, 1833; York (undated).

Weight and quality.—17 to 24 grains of standard silver.
Form of letters.—The same as on Types II, III and IV.

The full-faced representation of the King's crowned bust is nearly the same as that on the preceding type, but the sceptre and rod are replaced by a star on either side of the King's face. There is usually a single pellet on each shoulder, but, very rarely, that on the King's left shoulder is omitted.

This type presents the earliest instance of the use of the star as a device, although in later times it frequently reappears.

On the great seal of William Rufus, and on Type 4 of his coins, the two stars are shown in the same positions as those on this type. A single star in the same position appears on the last type of that King.

In the reign of Henry I, a star or stars appear on the obverses of Types VII (Hks. 267), VIII (Hks. 266), and X (Hks. 263), and as the central ornament on the reverses of Types XIII (Hks. 265) and XIV (Hks. 262). They also appear on the reverse of Type VIII.
The Fifth Type of William I.

(Hks. 266), and the rosette-like object in front of the King’s face on Type IX may also be intended for a star.

The *Annales de Waverleia* record the appearance of a comet, or some such astronomical phenomenon, in the spring of the year 1077, just prior to the time when the dies for this coinage were being prepared, so it must be concluded that the cuneator, when in search of a variation from the recent coronation types, had recourse to a representation of this phenomenon.

The passage referred to is as follows: *Dominica Palmarum circa horam sextan sereno caelo stella apparuit* (Rolls Series, p. 193).

The great comet of 1066 is referred to in the *Saxon Chronicle* in the following terms:—

“There was seen over all England such a sign in the heavens as no man ever before saw. Some men said that it was the star Cometa, which some men called the haired star; and it first appeared on the eve of Litania major, the viiiith of the Kal. of May (April 24th), and so shone all the seven nights.”

This was regarded, after the event, as William’s lucky star.

*Ordericus Vitalis* (Book V, ch. ix) contains the following lines in reference to this comet:—

*Forester.*

The comet of 1066 was that now known to astronomers as Halley’s Comet. Its last appearance was in 1835, and as a period of 75 or 76 years elapses between its visits, it may again be expected in 1910, or thereabouts.

On the Bayeux Tapestry the Saxons are represented as looking at the portent with wonder not unmixed with fear.

Later we shall see how the occurrence of stars on some of the coins of Type 4 of William II. is to be accounted for, whereas their absence
on the other coins of the same issue is in like manner explained. Some of the stars on the coins of Henry I. have already been explained by Mr. Andrew.

The appearance of a brilliant and unusual star or comet on Palm Sunday of 1077 would be sufficient reason for recalling at this juncture, after the suppression of the rebellion of Ralph the Breton, Earl of Norfolk, coupled with the execution of Earl Waltheof (31st May, 1075), and the subsequent quarrel between the King and his eldest son, Robert, an omen so superstitiously connected with William's fortune. Orderic tells us that the death of Earl Waltheof was the cause of much censure on King William from many quarters, and numerous were the troubles he afterwards suffered. In the thirteen years which he afterwards lived he never won a pitched battle nor succeeded in taking a town he besieged.

His unsuccessful invasion of Brittany had taken place in 1075 or 1076, when he retreated in haste from Dol, and lost baggage and equipment to the estimated value of £15,000 sterling. In these circumstances any appearance that could be construed as a recurrent star of victory would be indeed welcome, on the principle of "assume a virtue if you have it not!"

Henry of Huntingdon, in concluding his account of William the Conqueror's reign, writes:—

"What though, like Caesar, nature failed
To give thy brow its fairest grace!
Thy bright career a comet hailed,
And with its lustre wreathed thy face."

Forester.

These lines may well have been inspired by a remembrance of this type of William's coins (Type V), and they seem to be a direct reference to its distinguishing device.

The star which, in some form, constitutes part of the insignia of every order of knighthood is a survival of the idea underlying the use of the stars as a favourite badge of the Norman Kings.

The reverse design consists of a quadrilateral ornament of a more open character than that appearing on Type II, with a cross
The Sixth Type of William I.

constituted of four *virgæ*, or rods, issuing from the usual central sacred ring or annulet superimposed thereon.

A cut halfpenny of this type was found at Watford in 1818 with coins of Henry I. and Stephen.

*Varieties:*—

(A) Reverse, a pellet in the fourth quarter of the quadrilateral ornament. See under Bristol.

(B) In lieu of the quadrilateral ornaments, four pyramids like those on the reverse of Type II; inner circle *beaded*. See under Norwich.

(c) *Beaded* inner circle on obverse. See under London.

(d) *Beaded* inner circle on reverse. See under Colchester, London, Norwich, &c.

(e) A detached pellet under each star on obverse. The star to the right of the King's face has eight points instead of the usual six. See under Exeter.

**Type VI.**

*Michaelmas, 1080, to Michaelmas, 1083.*

![Image of coins]

**Obverse.**—Legend.

* PILLEM RE* I
* PILLELM RE
* PILLELM RE*
* PILLELM RE* I
* PILLELM RE* A
* PILLELMRE
* PILLELMRE*
* PILLELMRE* I
Crowned full-faced bust of the King, who holds in his right hand, resting on his right shoulder, a naked sword inclined diagonally outwards. A plain inner circle from shoulder to shoulder. Legend commences at the left of the coin.

Reverse.—Over a cross fleury with quadrilateral ornament in centre, a large cross, ends pattée, all within a plain inner circle.

Mints:—34.

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<td>Bristol.</td>
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<td>Taunton.</td>
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<td>Wareham.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Huntingdon.</td>
<td>Sandwich.</td>
<td>Watchet.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Ilchester.</td>
<td>Shaftesbury.</td>
<td>Winchester.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Lincoln.</td>
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Finds.—Beaworth, 1833; York (undated).

Weight and quality.—17½ to 22½ grains of standard silver.

Form of letters.—Similar to those on the preceding types except that A and V are represented by two nearly upright strokes, thus, II, and ligulate letters, e.g., MR are now introduced.

This is the only type of William I. upon which the King appears holding a sword, and it is also the first type of the reign on which sufficient of the bust is represented to exhibit the hand of the monarch. In like manner it is the first of a long series to bear the large cross, ends pattée, on the reverse. As already conjectured, it probably is the first type designed by Otho the elder. The bust extends to the edge of the coin, a feature absent in Types IV and V, but one that is present in every subsequent type of the two reigns.
The robes and crown of the King are very similar to those displayed on the prior obverse types.

The sword has not necessarily a warlike significance, as it plays a prominent part in the coronation service and always appears on the Great Seals.

The counter-seal of Edward the Confessor shows the King holding the sceptre with the dove in his right hand and, curiously enough, a sword in his left hand sloping outwards and resting on his left shoulder.

At a coronation the sword was delivered naked to the king with these significant words:

"Receive this sword, which is bestowed on thee with the blessing of God, wherewith thou mayest have strength by the power of the Holy Ghost to resist and cast out all thine enemies, and all the foes of the holy church of God, and protect the Kingdom committed to thy charge; and defend the camp of God, by the help of the most invincible conqueror, our Lord Jesus Christ, who with the Father and the Holy Ghost liveth and reigneth, etc."

These words are from the second of the English Coronation Orders, which, as before stated, are from a MS. of the eleventh century, and may have been used at the crowning of William I., and in them the sword and ring are included amongst the regalia.

Both Great Seals of the Conqueror show him seated, vested in a long tunic reaching nearly to the ankles, and over it a mantle fastened on the right shoulder. He is crowned, and bears the sword in his right hand and the orb with the cross in his left hand, and in these latter particulars the seal of William II. is similar to both those of his sire.

Orderic records (Book V, Chap. V) that King William spent the feast of Whitsuntide, 1080, at Lillebonne, where he summoned William the archbishop and all the bishops and abbots, with the counts and other barons of Normandy to attend him. The King's commands were obeyed. It was in the eighth year of the papacy of Gregory VII. that the celebrated synod was held at Lillebonne, in which the wants of the Church and the State generally, were carefully provided for by the wisdom of the King with the advice of his barons.
William seems to have remained abroad during a considerable part of the period of the issue of Type VI, having committed the government of his English realm to his half-brother Odo, Bishop of Bayeux and Earl of Kent. While Gregory VII. was still Pope, Odo seems to have aspired to be his successor. William, not approving of this plan of Odo's, lost no time in crossing the sea, and intercepted the Bishop in the Isle of Wight, whence he was about to cross to Normandy. The speech attributed by Orderic to William on this occasion gives a résumé of the events that had transpired during the currency of Type VI of the Conqueror's coins. Having assembled the great nobles of the realm in his royal Court, the King thus addressed them:

"Illustrious lords, listen attentively to what I shall say, and give me, I pray you, salutary counsel. Before I went over to Normandy I entrusted the government of England to my brother, the Bishop of Bayeux. There were in Normandy many who revolted against my authority, and if I may say so, both friends and foes set themselves against me. Even my own son Robert, and the young nobles whom I had brought up and invested with the ensigns of knighthood, rebelled against me, while some traitorous vassals and my border foes eagerly joined the ranks of the malcontents. But by God's help, whose servant I am, they failed of success, and got nothing from me but the sword which pierced them with wounds. By the terror of my arms I restrained the people of Anjou, who were leagued for war against me, and I also curbed the rebellious inhabitants of Maine. Thus occupied, I found myself embarrassed by affairs beyond the sea, and was long detained labouring for the public good."

The King then recounts the misdeeds of Odo during his absence, and afterwards orders his arrest. No one daring to arrest a bishop the King himself seized him, and in answer to Odo's protest as bishop replied, "I do not condemn a clerk or a bishop, but I arrest an earl I have myself created, and to whom, as my vicegerent, I entrusted the government of my realm, it being my will that he should render an account of the stewardship I have committed to him."

The reverse of this type has already been sufficiently described. The only link connecting the type under consideration with its
predecessor, Type V, is a London coin in the possession of the writer which is over-struck on a coin of that type.

This reads on the obverse:

* PILEELM  RE*E*

and on the reverse:

* GODPINE ON LVNI.

No mule coin connecting this type with its successor, Type VII, has yet been recorded, nor is the writer aware of the existence of any cut coins of this issue.

Varieties:

(A) On reverse, a bar across the upper and lower limbs of the central cross. See under Ilchester.

(B) On obverse, two pellets to the right of, and a cross to the left of the King's neck. See under Dorchester.

(C) On obverse, a double cross † to the left of the King's neck. See under Dorchester.

(D) On obverse, annulet to the left of the King's face. See under Wareham.

(E) On obverse, cross to the left of the King's face. See under Wareham.

(F) On obverse, the crown has concave segments of circles: in lieu of arches, a long dependent ornament from beneath either side of the crown, the line of the trachea indicated: in these features much resembling the bust represented on Type III. See under London.

**Type VII.**

*Michaelmas, 1083, to Michaelmas, 1086.*

**FIG. L.—THE SEVENTH TYPE OF WILLIAM I.**

_HAWKINS, 239._
Obverse:—Legend.

* PILLELM RES*
* PILLELMRES*
* PILLELMRES*

Crowned bust of the King in profile to right, the right arm is shown with the hand grasping a sceptre fleury in front of the face, and inclined outwards. A plain inner circle from shoulder to shoulder. Legend commences at the left of the coin.

Reverse:—Large cross, ends pattee, in centre an annulet; in each angle a fleur attached by a pellet to a plain inner circle.

Mints:—31.

Bristol. Romney.
Canterbury. St. Edmundsbury.
Colchester. Salisbury.
Dorchester. Shaftesbury.
Dover. Shrewsbury.
Exeter. Southwark.
Ipswich. Taunton (also mule Hks.'s plate).
Leicester. Thetford.
Lewes. Twynham (Christchurch, Hants).
Lincoln. Wallingford.
London. Wareham.
Maldon (mule only). Wilton.
Malmesbury (mule only). Winchester.
Norwich. Worcester.
Nottingham (mule only). York.
Oxford.

Find: Beaworth, 1833.

There have probably been other discoveries of coins of this type as some of the specimens in our cabinets of to-day are in condition and appearance far different from those found at Beaworth.
The Seventh Type of William I.

Weight and quality—17½ to 21 grains of standard silver.
Form of letters—similar to those on Type VI.

This is the second and last profile type of William I. The King's crown is of the same form as that shown on the three preceding types (Nos. IV, V, and VI). The right ear and features of the monarch are well defined, the chin and nose betoken great firmness of character. The sterno-mastoid muscle is clearly shown, and is in the same position as described under Type I. The slightly convex line at the base of the neck would seem to indicate the top of the wearer's tunica below the royal mantle, the top of which is sometimes ornamented by a row of pearls, having the appearance of a chain from shoulder to shoulder. On the right shoulder are three pellets, and on the left shoulder, a single pellet. At the King's wrists are four lines that may represent simply the ornamented cuff of the sleeve of the under tunic, or possibly the armillae, or bracelets, of the coronation regalia. The lines above these represent the folds of the mantle at the aperture for the arm near the elbow. The shaft of the sceptre is strengthened or ornamented by knobs placed equidistantly, one is below and another immediately above the hand, a third half-way up, and the fourth at the summit, and from this rise three leaf-shaped objects forming a fleur.

The reverse again bears the large cross, ends pattée, first introduced on the immediately preceding type, but the fleurs, which on that type are attached to the central quadrilateral ornament, are in this case attached to the inner circle equidistantly in the four angles of the cross. These much resemble the ornament which surmounts the sceptre on the obverse.

The central annulet is again present. The dies for this type were the next prepared after the King's return to England from Normandy, and on his taking into his own hands the government of his English realm after the seizure and imprisonment of his half-brother Odo, to whom, as above related, the same had been confided during his absence abroad.

The sceptre, indicative of William's kingly power; his power as
King of the English, rather than as Duke of the Normans, is again displayed upon this, and the succeeding and last, type of his coins.

Varieties:—

(a) On obverse the three pellets on the King's right shoulder are replaced by a loop-like ornament or fibula.

That Type VIII (Hks. 241 and 242) immediately succeeded Type VII (Hks. 239) is sufficiently shown by the mule coins having the obverse of Type VII and the reverse of Type VIII. A mule of this kind is represented in Hawkins, Figure 240.

Specimens of the following mints are recorded:—

Maldon,
Malmesbury,
Nottingham,
Taunton,
Thetford,
Wilton,
Winchester.

These are not in all cases limited to single specimens, and like the mules connecting Types I and II of this reign, already referred to, and those similarly connecting Types 1 and 2 of William Rufus, hereafter to be described, seem to afford evidence of a wide-spread, if not a general custom of issuing mule coins for a period between the general issue of one substantive type and that succeeding it.
As some clever forgeries of this mule coin exist, it is thought to be a fitting opportunity to here allude to the great service that Mr. L. A. Lawrence, our much esteemed colleague, has done to students of Norman numismatics by his most convincing exposure of several series of forgeries of supposed coins of the reigns of William I. and II. and other reigns.

Had these forgeries continued to be regarded as genuine the correct sequence of the types could not have been ascertained, and the study of Norman numismatics would have remained in the chaotic state in which it was prior to Mr. Lawrence's discoveries and the subsequent issue of Mr. Andrew's valuable "Numismatic History of the reign of Henry I."

Mr. Lawrence's paper on the forgeries of William I. and II. is printed in the *Numismatic Chronicle* for 1897, but it is matter for regretful remark that one of these very forgeries, purchased by Mr. Grueber at the Montagu sale for the National Collection, is still treated as genuine in his *Handbook of the Coins of Great Britain and Ireland*, which was not published until 1899, and it is still more unfortunate that this fabrication is the very one selected for illustration of Hks. 250 in his Handbook, notwithstanding that numerous genuine coins of the type are in the National Collection.

That, prior to Mr. Lawrence's paper, an official numismatist should have catalogued ten, and selected for illustration six, of these forgeries in addition to other forgeries, at the Montagu sale, is not matter for surprise. The purchase of three of them for the National Collection is only matter for regret, but the obstinate retention of these same forgeries with the genuine coins in the National Collection is matter for strong condemnation in the interests of the beneficial owners of the coins, the British Public. The genuine specimens of the mule coins VII = VIII will be described under the notices of the several mints issuing them.

Another interesting link between Types VII and VIII is afforded by an overstruck coin in the collection of the writer. The obverse and reverse designs of Type VIII are super-imposed on those of Type VII.
A Numismatic History of William I. and II.

The coin reads:—

Obverse. * PILLELMÆ PILLE.
Reverse. * SEPINE ON HMTVI.

The letters PILLE at the end of the new obverse legend are those of the old obverse legend of Type VII. This specimen is a particularly well-struck piece. Knowing that the old design had to be obliterated, the moneyer seems to have been careful not to spare the use of his hammer.

Many of the more clearly struck pieces of the “Paxs,” and other types of William I. and II., when closely examined with a strong glass, show signs of having been overstruck. The practice of recoining appears from the evidence of overstruck coins to have been very general, and a process that to some extent took place on the issue of each new type. This circumstance, doubtless, to a considerable degree accounts for the small proportion of coins of issues earlier than that current at the time of deposit, present in the Beaworth and other large finds of Norman coins.

Type VIII.

Michaelmas, 1086, to 10th September, 1087.

TWO VARIETIES OF THE EIGHTH TYPE OF WILLIAM I.

Fig. N.
HAWKINS, 241.

Fig. O.
HAWKINS, 242.

Obverse.—Legend.
* PILLELM RE*.
* PILLELM RE* I.
* PILLELM RE Δ.
* PILLELM RE* Δ.
* PILLELMI RE*.
* PILLELMVS RE*.
* PILLELM REI*.
Crowned full-faced bust of the King, right arm shown with the hand grasping sceptre, fleured in centre of shaft and terminating in a cross pattée, inclined outwards over his left shoulder. A plain inner circle from shoulder to shoulder. Legend commences at the left of the coin.

Reverse.—Large cross, ends pattée, in each angle an annulet, enclosing in succession the letters PAS. All within a plain inner circle.

Mints:—62.

Barnstaple (241).
Bath (241).
Bedford (241).
Bridport (241).
Bristol (241).
Canterbury (241 and varieties).
Chester (241).
Chichester (241 and 242).
Colchester (241).
Cricklade (241 and 242).
Derby (241).
Dorchester (241).
Dover (241).
Durham (241).
Exeter (241 and varieties and 242).
Gloucester (241 and varieties).
Guildford (241).
Hastings (241).
Hereford (241).
Hertford (241).
Huntingdon (241).
Hythe (241).
Ilchester (241).
Ipswich (241).
Launceston (241).
Leicester (241 and 242).
Lewes (241).
Lincoln (241).
London (241 and varieties and 242).
Maldon (241).
Malmesbury (241).
Marlborough (241).
Norwich (241).
Nottingham (241).
Oxford (241).
Pevensey (241).
Rhuddlan (241).
Rochester (241).
Romney (241).
St. David's (Devitun) (241 and varieties).
St. Edmundsbury (241).
Salisbury (241).
Sandwich (241).
Shaftesbury (241).
Shrewsbury (241).
Southampton (241 and variety).
Southwark (241).
Stafford (241).
Stamford (241).
Steyning (241).
Sudbury (241).
Tamworth (241).
Taunton (241).
Thetford (241 and 242).
Wallingsford (241).
Wareham (241).
Warwick (241).
Watchet (241).
Wilton (241 and variety).
Winchester (241).
Worcester (241).
York (241).

Finds: Beaworth, 1833; Shillington, 1871; Tamworth, 1877.
Weight and quality: $21\frac{1}{4}$ to $21\frac{3}{4}$ grains of standard silver.
Form of letters: Similar to those on Types VI and VII.

The obverse of this type is practically the same representation of the King, only full-faced, as that appearing on its immediate predecessor in profile. In the great majority of specimens the fastening of the King's mantle on his right shoulder is represented by three pellets, two below surmounted by the third, and a single pellet on his left shoulder. The variants are described below under the head of "varieties."

As regards the crown the straight golden band set with jewels is on many specimens replaced by two bands, the lower always plain and the upper sometimes beaded, rising from the lateral supports of the crown to the base of the central support and forming
The Eighth Type of William I.

an obtuse angled arch above the King’s forehead. A single tassel depends from beneath the crown on either side of the King’s face. The size and length of such tassels greatly vary in different specimens. In some specimens the upper edge of the royal over-mantle is jewelled and in others plain. In all specimens the sceptre varies from that on Type VII in that it is surmounted by a distinct cross pattée, in lieu of a fleur, and has a fleur, or leaf on either side, springing upwards from the central knob of the shaft.

As regards the reverse type, the large cross, ends pattée, again appears, although the central annulet is omitted. There is, however, a large annulet in each angle of the cross containing in regular succession the letters \( PT\&S \). The relative position of these letters, always, however, in proper succession, greatly varies in different coins; sometimes the initial letter \( P \) is in the first, sometimes in any one of the three remaining angles of the cross.

The meaning of the inscription \( P\&S \) has been much discussed, but there seems no reason to depart from the explanation which the present writer gave of it in his former short paper “On the coins of William I. and II. and the Sequence of the Types,” printed in the Numismatic Chronicle for 1902, viz., that it may well be commemorative of the ultimate state of peace and law instituted by the Conqueror’s firm government. In that paper the writer quoted from the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, page 189, of the translation, the following passage, “Among other things is not to be forgotten the good peace he (William I.) made in this land; so that a man who had any confidence in himself might go over his realm with his bosom full of gold unhurt.”

Just prior to the issue of this type (Michaelmas 1086), great events had been taking place in England. At midwinter (Christmas) of 1085 the King was at Gloucester with his “witan” and there held his court five days. The King had a great council, and very deep speech with his “witan” about this land, how it was peopled, or by what men; then sent his men over all England into every shire, and caused to be ascertained how many hundred hides were in the shire, or what land the King himself had, and cattle within the land, or what
dues he ought to have in twelve months from the shire. Also he caused to be written how much land his archbishops had, and his suffragan bishops, and his abbots, and his earls; and what or how much each man had who was a holder of land in England, in land or in cattle, and how much money it might be worth. So very narrowly he caused it to be traced out, that there was not one single hide, nor one yard (virgate) of land, nor even an ox, nor a cow, nor a swine was left, that was not set down in his writ (Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, p. 186).

This work was done between January and July of 1086, and the results are represented by the compilation from those "writs," or the returns to them, of the great record now known as Domesday Book. Having thus ascertained the position of his affairs the King would see his subjects face to face, and have a direct oath of fealty from them. Accordingly by Lammas of 1086 (1st August), he was at Salisbury, and there his "witan" came to him, and all the landowners that were of account over all England, were they the vassals of what lord soever; and they all submitted to him, and were his men, and swore to him oaths of fealty, that they would be faithful to him against all other men (Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, p. 186).

William was now King indeed, the bonds of fealty were renewed, and in return his subjects had the full assurance of the King's Peace. At this very time the dies for the Paxs coinage were being prepared in readiness for Michaelmas, 1086, and no events so well as those first narrated could be more fittingly commemorated. The subsequent happenings of this reign have no bearing on its coinages, as William the Great died during the currency of this Paxs issue.

The following translation from Orderic of the epitaph written by Thomas, Archbishop of York, may be of interest, particularly the reference to the sceptre, which in the form surmounted by the cross first appears on the last issue of the Conqueror's coins.

Here William, greatest of his princely race,
A home, a tomb, finds in this narrow space.
Him the fierce Normans faithful homage paid,
And lordly Maine his stern commands obeyed;
The Eighth Type of William I.

But mightier still, he England's sceptre swayed,
The glorious prize, when Senlac's bloody field
Saw her brave sons before the Conqueror yield.
When twenty days and three,¹ the August sun
'Mid the bright Virgin's stars his course had run,
To Him who rules on high he bowed his head,
And the proud King was numbered with the dead.

Forester.

Eighteen cut halfpennies of this type were found at Beaworth.

Varieties:

(A) On obverse, annulet on King's right shoulder. (Hks. 242.)
(B) On obverse, annulet on King's left shoulder. (See under Exeter, Gloucester and London.)
(C) On obverse, no ornament on King's left shoulder. (See under Barnstaple, Canterbury, Exeter and Gloucester.)
(D) On obverse, no ornament on either shoulder of the King. (See under Bath, (?) Canterbury, Gloucester, Southampton and Wilton.)
(E) On obverse, large annulet in centre of and cutting the two top bars of the King's crown. Four pellets in form of cross pommée on King's right shoulder. (See under St. David's and p. 50.)
(F) On obverse, four pellets in form of a cross pommée on King's right shoulder. (See under St. David's and p. 50.)
(G) On obverse, no inner circle. (See under London.)
(H) On obverse, a single pellet on either shoulder of the King. (See under Warwick.)

¹ This should be seventeen days, as William died on the 9th September, 1087.
WILLIAM II.

Type I.

Michaelmas, 1087, to Michaelmas, 1090.

FIG. P.—THE FIRST TYPE OF WILLIAM II.
HAWKINS, 244.

Obverse.—Legend.

* PILLELM R.
* PILLELM *.
* PILLELM R* I.
* PILLELMRE.
* PILLELMRE*. 
* PILLELMRE* I.

Crowned bust of the King in profile to right, the right arm is shown with the hand grasping a naked sword, in front of the face and inclined slightly outwards, plain inner circle from shoulder to shoulder.

Legend commences at the left of the coin.

Reverse.—Large cross, ends patée; in centre, annulet over cross fleury, all within a plain inner circle.

Mints — 44

Bedford. 
Bristol. 
Cambridge. 
Canterbury. 
Chester. 
Chichester. 
Colchester. 
Derby. 
Dover. 
Exeter. 
Hastings. 
Hereford. 
Hertford. 
Huntingdon. 
Hythe. 
Ilchester. 
Ipswich. 
Launceston. 
Lewes. 
Lincoln. 
London.
The First Type of William II.

Maldon. | Salisbury. | Thetford.  
Marlborough. | Shrewsbury. | Warwick.  
Norwich. | Southampton. | Wilton.  
Nottingham. | Southwark. | Winchester.  
Rochester. | Tamworth.  

Finds.—Shillington, 1871; Tamworth, 1877.

Weight and quality.—19½ to 22½ grains of standard silver.

Form of letters.—Similar to those on Types VI, VII, and VIII of William I.

This being the first type of a new reign, bears the bust of the King in *profile*, as, in the writer's opinion, is the unvaried rule in the case of our four Norman sovereigns' reigns.

Type I of William I. has the bust in profile to the *left*.

Type I of William II. has the bust in profile to the *right*.

Type I of Henry I., the like to the *left*, and Type I of Stephen to the *right*.

It will therefore be seen that the rule throughout as regards *first* types is for the profile to be in alternate reigns to the *left* and *right*. The King's right ear is well defined, and his features also; the face is bare except as to the upper lip. The crown is somewhat arched at the top, and the two lappets dependent from the under cap or coif are shown at the back of the head below the crown. The sterno-mastoid muscle is not disclosed on coins of this issue. The arrangement of the drapery of the bust is similar to that on Type VII of William I, except that the shoulder ornaments or fastenings are seldom clearly shown. The sword probably has reference to that of the coronation order, but it may have been the King's intention to intimate to his subjects that he would, if necessary, maintain his rights by use of the sword. William II. was
crowned at Westminster by Archbishop Lanfranc on the 26th September, 1087.

It is interesting to note from the numismatic point of view that soon afterwards the King went to Winchester and inspected the treasury and the riches which his father had before gathered. In the words of the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, “it was not to be expressed by any man how much was there gathered in gold, and in silver, and in vessels, and in robes, and in gems, and in many other precious things, which are difficult to recount. The King then did as his father had commanded him ere he died, he distributed the treasures, for his father’s soul, to every monastery that was in England: to one monastery ten marks of gold; to one, six; to every country church sixty pence; and into every shire were sent a hundred pounds in money, to distribute to poor men for his soul.”

From this account some idea of the amount of coined money stored in the Treasury at Winchester at the time of the Conqueror’s death may be formed.

In the early part of 1088 there was much treason in the land, and by Easter many great lords, with Odo, the King’s uncle, at their head, were in open rebellion against the new King. The King, with the aid of his English subjects, used his sword with good effect and stamped out the disaffection with success.

The reverse of this type has already been sufficiently described. The central annulet, it should be noted, again appears.

No mule coin connecting this with the last type of the Conqueror’s reign has come under the writer’s notice. He, however, has a specimen of this issue which is overstruck on a Paxs-type penny. This reads on the obverse,

* PILLELMRE

and on the reverse,

* IELFRIED ON LVÆI

Varieties:—None.
This mule has the obverse of Type 1 and the reverse of Type 2, and such a coin is represented in Hawkins, Figure 245. Specimens are known of the following mints:

Chester,
Dover,
Gloucester,
Leicester,
Lincoln (?)
Oxford,
Winchester.

These are described under the several mints mentioned.

Type 2.

Michaelmas, 1090, to Michaelmas, 1093.

Obverse.—Legend.

* PILLELM RE
* PILLELM RE*
Crowned full-faced bust of the King, the right arm shown with the hand grasping a naked sword resting on the right shoulder and inclined outwards. A plain inner circle from shoulder to shoulder. Legend commences at the left of the coin.

Reverse.—Quatrefoil with pellet at each angle, enclosing large cross, ends pattée, with an annulet in the centre. All within a plain inner circle.

Mints:—50.

Bedford.  Ilchester.  Southampton.
Bristol.  Launceston.  Southwark.
Canterbury.  Leicester.  Stafford.
Chester.  Lewes.  Stamford.
Chichester.  Lincoln.  Steyning.
Cricklade.  Maldon.  Tamworth.
Hythe.  Shrewsbury.

Finds.—Bermondsey, 1821; Shillington, 1871; Tamworth, 1877.
Weight and quality.—20 to 22 grains of standard silver.
Form of letters.—Similar to those on Type I.
The obverse of this type is a full-faced presentment of its profile predecessor. The top of the crown is slightly arched and the dependent lappet on either side is shown. The workmanship of some specimens is good, but of others, presumably those from the later dies, discloses a marked deterioration. The design is somewhat similar to Type VI of William I., which, it will be remembered, was issued at a time when he had been much in Normandy. It is perhaps a coincidence, but in any case a point worthy of note, that at the time when the dies for this coinage of William II. were in course of preparation (prior to Michaelmas, 1090) the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle records that

"the King was considering how he might take vengeance on his brother Robert, most annoy him, and win Normandy from him."

As regards the reverse, the large quatrefoil in which the usual cross, ends pattée, is enclosed, is a design new to this and the preceding reign, and does not again occur until that of Henry I.

The central annulet appears on most specimens, though on some it merges into a pellet and, on rarer examples, is entirely absent.

Varieties:

(A) On obverse, large pellet to the left of the King’s face; see under Dover.
(B) Pellet, instead of annulet, in centre of cross on reverse.
(C) No annulet or pellet in centre of cross. See under Lewes, London, Romney, and York.
(D) Group of three annulets interlaced in centre of cross. See under Worcester.

Type 3.

Michaelmas, 1093, to Michaelmas, 1096.

FIG. 5.—THE THIRD TYPE OF WILLIAM II.
HAWKINS, 247.
Obverse.—Legend.

* PILLELM RE
* PILLELM REI
* PILLELM RE
* PILLELM JRE
* PILLELM RE
* PILLELM RE

Crowned full-faced bust of the King, the right arm shown grasping in the hand a naked sword resting on the right shoulder and inclined slightly outwards. A plain inner circle from shoulder to shoulder. Legend commences at the left of the coin.

Reverse.—Large cross, ends pattée, over cross fleury, all within a plain inner circle.

Mints:—28.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Bristol</th>
<th>Hythe</th>
<th>Sandwich.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Canterbury</td>
<td>Ilchester.</td>
<td>Southwark.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chester</td>
<td>Leicester.</td>
<td>Stamford.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Chichester</td>
<td>Lincoln.</td>
<td>Sudbury.</td>
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<td>Colchester</td>
<td>London.</td>
<td>Tamworth.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Dover.</td>
<td>Norwich.</td>
<td>Thetford.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Huntingdon.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Find.—Shillington, 1871.

Weight and quality.—19½ to 22 grains of standard silver.

Form of letters.—Similar to those on Types 1 and 2, but of coarser execution.

The obverse of this issue is, in general design, the same as that of the next preceding type. The workmanship is, however, distinctly coarser, the top of the crown is flat, the lappets are not shown, and the
neck and bust have a thinner and longer look. The face of the King appears to be gaunt and haggard. This is probably due to a decline in power or art on the part of the cuneator, but the fact that in Lent, of 1093, the King was taken so sick at Gloucester that he was everywhere reported dead, is a coincidence.

The Red King must have indeed been very ill as he made many promises to God to lead his own life righteously, and to grant peace and protection to God's churches, and never more again for money to sell them, and to have all just laws among his people. So recounts the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle; but, as is narrated in an ancient couplet of a more powerful potentate:

The Devil was sick, the Devil a monk would be;
The Devil was well, the devil a monk was he!

In like manner, when he became well, Rufus withdrew his grants of land to many monasteries and abandoned all the good laws he had before promised.

The reverse of this type is somewhat similar to Type 1, especially in the case of those examples which, through carelessness in the making of the dies, have the leaves of the fleurs represented as solid instead of in outline. In Type 1, however, the central annulet is always well defined, whilst in the type under consideration it is invariably absent.

The statement on page 170 of the third edition of The Silver Coins of England, as to there being a mule of obverse 243 and reverse 244 struck at Colchester, is a regrettable mistake of a sometime official numismatist, Mr. Kenyon. This erroneous statement does not occur in the first or second edition of the same work. The coin thus described by Mr. Kenyon is in the British Museum, and is an ordinary specimen of 247 without any special variation. It is illustrated in the Numismatic Chronicle, Series IV, Vol. IV, Plate X, fig. 12, in support of Mr. Spicer's quite unsupportable theory that Type VI (Hks. 243) of William I. and Type 4 of William II. (Hks. 247) are one and the same type, and that the first of William II. The letterpress refers to the same coin and the authority Hawkins (1887 Edition).
A conclusive proof that Type 3 (Hks. 247) was issued subsequently to Type 2 (Hks. 246) is afforded by a specimen, struck at Rochester, in the collection of the writer. This is a coin of Type 3 overstruck on Type 2, the old reverse being most clearly visible through the superimposed impression of the new reverse type.

The writer has a cut halfpenny of this type: weight, 11 grains.

Varieties.—None.

Type 4.

Michaelmas, 1096, to Michaelmas, 1099.

Two varieties of the fourth type of William II.

Fig. T. Fig. U.


Obverse.—Legend.

* PILLELM REI
* PILLELMRI
* PILLELMRA
* PILLELMRE
* PILLELMREI
* PILLELMREI
* PILLELMREI

Crowned full-faced bust of the King between two stars. A plain inner circle from shoulder to shoulder. Legend commences at the left of the coin.

Reverse.—Voided cross, ends patee, annulet in centre, over cross annulettée. All within a plain inner circle.
Mints:—36.

Bristol.  Ilchester.  Sandwich.
Chester.  Lewes.  Shrewsbury.
Chichester.  Lincoln.  Southampton (249 only).
Huntingdon.  St. Edmundsbury.  Winchester.

Finds:—Bermondsey, 1821; Shillington, 1871.

Weight and quality.—20\(\frac{1}{2}\) to 21\(\frac{3}{4}\) grains of standard silver.

Form of letters.—Similar to those on Type 3, but of still coarser workmanship.

The obverse presents a very similar representation of the King to that displayed on the last preceding type, except that in most examples the face is broader. The crown is usually quite flat at the top, and has the appearance of two horizontal and parallel lines with a row of pellets, representing jewels between them.

The drapery is similar to that on the preceding types of the reign, and there is usually a pellet on each shoulder of the King. The earlier coins of this issue have no ornaments in the field, and an example is afforded in Hawkins, figure 249. The later coins of this type have a star on each side of the King’s face. The change thus made in the obverse type, probably took place in the early part of the second year of issue in consequence of the appearance of a comet. This is recorded in the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle under the year 1097 in the following passage:—

"Then at St. Michael’s mass there appeared an extraordinary star, shining in the evening, and soon going to its setting. It was seen
in the south-west, and the ray that stood from it seemed very long, shining south-east; and almost all the week it appeared in this wise. Many men supposed that it was comet.”

The term *comet* is used as if it were a proper name and indicated a particular star and not one of a class.

Under the year 1095 the same authority narrates that—

“On the Mass night of St. Ambrose (4th April) there were seen, nearly over all this land, and nearly all the night, very many stars, as it were, to fall from heaven, not by one or two, but so thickly that no man could count them.”

*William of Malmesbury* records that in the tenth year of Wm. II., on the kalends of October, a comet appeared for fifteen days, turning its larger train to the east and the smaller to the south-east. Other stars also appeared, darting, as it were, at each other. *Henry of Huntingdon* tersely remarks, “A comet appeared in this year (1097).”

The early coins (Hks. 249) of this issue, being without sword or sceptre, have an unfinished appearance, and it is not unreasonable to suppose that the appearance of a comet, or, as was then supposed, the re-appearance of Comet, the lucky pre-Hastings star of the Norman House, was considered a good omen and an important event. It was an apt and easy object with which to fill the blanks in the field of the coins. For the sake of uniform appearance a star was placed on either side and thus the design already used by the engraver of the Conqueror's fifth type (Hks. 238) was again adopted.

The voided cross on the reverse is revived on this type, for the first time since the issue of Type II of Wm. I. (Hks. 234). The central annulet is present and four are added, one at the end of each limb of the cross superimposed on the voided cross. These may, it is suggested, be intended to symbolise the five sacred wounds of our Lord.

It may be noted that in March, 1096, Peter d'Acheri (or Peter-the-Hermit) began to preach the Second Crusade, and the recovery of the Holy City was a subject occupying many men's thoughts.
Orderic says—

"Intelligence of the Apostolical mandate having been quickly spread throughout the world, those of all nations who were predestined to enlist under the banner of the mighty Messiah, were roused to action. Its thunders echoed through England and the other islands of the ocean, nor were they drowned by the roar of the waves, which, in their deep channels, separate those islands from the rest of the world."

Varieties:—

(A) Annulet, in lieu of pellet, on the King's left shoulder. See under Hythe.

(b) No ornament on either shoulder. See under Oxford.

(c) On reverse, a pellet in the second and third quarters of the central cross. See under Thetford.

Type 5.

Michaelmas, 1099, to 2nd August, 1100.

FIG. W.—THE FIFTH TYPE OF WILLIAM II.

Obverse.—Legend.

* PILLELMIRI
* PILLELMRE

Crowned full-faced bust of the King, the right arm shown with the hand grasping a sceptre fleury, resting on the right shoulder and inclined outwards. Star to the right of the King's face. A plain inner circle from shoulder to shoulder. Legend commences at the left of the coin.

Reverse.—Cross fleury, a pyramid in each angle surmounted by a pellet; all within a plain inner circle.
Mints:—23.

Bristol. Hereford. Shrewsbury (?)
Chichester. Lincoln. Stamford.
Guildford. Romney. Winchester.
Hastings. Salisbury.

Finds.—None recorded.

Weight and quality.—19½ to 21½ grains of standard silver.

Form of letters.—Similar to those on Type 4, but of rather neater work.

The coins of this type are of smaller module, and of neater and more elaborate design than those of the prior types of this reign. They are resembled by the early coins of Henry I., and in like manner were, as stated above, probably the first work of Otto the Younger. The star on the King's left side is continued from the design of the last preceding type, but that on the monarch's right side is replaced by the sceptre held in his right hand and rested on his shoulder.

The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle records that at Easter, 1099, King William II. came hither to this land from Normandy, and at Pentecost held his Court, for the first time, in his new building at Westminster. Henry of Huntingdon also mentions that in his twelfth year William kept Court for the first time in the new palace at Westminster. He adds that upon his entering the hall to inspect it, some of his attendants observed that it was large enough, others that it was much larger than was necessary; to which the King replied that it was not half large enough. This was the celebrated Aula Regis, around which the Courts of Justice were long situate, and which, restored and altered, remains to the present day. The sceptre probably indicates the intention of the King to do justice to his subjects in this new Palace of Justice.

The reverse of this type has a cross fleury, in effect four sceptres
The Number of Mints.

from a central point. The "pyramids" have already been commented upon when describing Type III of the coins of William I., and may, as there suggested, be referred to the conical towers forming the corners of the White Tower of London, said to have been begun by the Conqueror and completed by Rufus.

Varieties.—None.

CHAPTER V.

The Mints.

For the purposes of the present work it is not necessary to carry enquiry further back than the law of Æthelstan enacted at the Synod of Greatley (Greatanlege). This probably was held soon after the year 928. It was enacted that there should be one kind of money throughout the whole realm and that no one should coin but in a town; that if a moneyer should be guilty, his hand with which he committed the offence should be cut off and fixed upon the mint. But if he should be accused, and would clear himself, then he should go to the hot iron, and acquit his hand of the fraud which he was accused of. It was at the same time ordained that there should be in Canterbury seven moneyers—four belonging to the King, two to the bishop, and one to the abbot; in Rochester three—two for the King and one for the bishop; in London eight; in Winchester six; in Lewes two; in Hastings one; in Hampton two; in Wareham two; in Shaftesbury two; and elsewhere one in the other Burghs.

From this it is clearly to be inferred that, except where otherwise expressly specified to the contrary, the moneyers were "for the King." The statement that there was to be one moneyer in every Burgh not specified is of very great importance.

An examination of the mint names appearing on our pre-Norman coins shows that this was a privilege universally exercised.

The number of mints rises to the highest point in the inglorious reign of Æthelred II, eighty-five having been recorded, and the number in Cnut's reign was nearly the same. The following is a list of sixty-nine boroughs existing in the reign of William I. of which coins either of William I. or William II. are now in evidence.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Barnstaple</th>
<th>Hythe</th>
<th>Sandwich</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Bedford</td>
<td>Ilchester</td>
<td>Shaftesbury</td>
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<tr>
<td>Bath</td>
<td>Ipswich</td>
<td>Shrewsbury</td>
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<tr>
<td>Bedwin</td>
<td>Launceston</td>
<td>Southampton</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bridport</td>
<td>Leicester</td>
<td>Southwark</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bristol</td>
<td>Lewes</td>
<td>Stafford</td>
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<td>Cambridge</td>
<td>Lincoln</td>
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<td>Canterbury</td>
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<td>Chester</td>
<td>Maldon</td>
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<td>Chichester</td>
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<td>Tamworth</td>
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<td>Colchester</td>
<td>Marlborough</td>
<td>Taunton</td>
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<td>Cricklade</td>
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<td>Derby</td>
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<td>Twynham</td>
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<td>Dover</td>
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<td>Exeter</td>
<td>Pevensey</td>
<td>Warwick</td>
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<td>Gloucester</td>
<td>Rhuddlan</td>
<td>Watchet</td>
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<tr>
<td>Guildford</td>
<td>Rochester</td>
<td>Wilton</td>
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<tr>
<td>Hastings</td>
<td>Romney</td>
<td>Winchester</td>
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<tr>
<td>Hereford</td>
<td>St. Davids</td>
<td>Worcester</td>
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<tr>
<td>Hertford</td>
<td>St. Edmundsbury</td>
<td>Yarmouth (?)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Huntingdon</td>
<td>Salisbury</td>
<td>York</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Of these, it is interesting to note, eleven have the termination "chester," showing that they were Roman cities occupied by the after-coming Anglo-Saxons; nine have the suffix "borough" or "bury," showing in their names their title to be classed as boroughs; and the like number possess the termination "ford," pointing to the erection of a burh to guard an important river crossing.

The absence from the list of the important boroughs of Buckingham and Dunwich is remarkable.

Historical accounts of the several mints, together with a list of all varieties of the coins known to the writer, issued from them during the two reigns under consideration, will be given hereafter.