In dealing with the first three groups, much valuable information was afforded by the mass of documentary evidence, official and unofficial, which had been called into existence by the introduction of a new coinage, and of which, thanks to the generosity with which the Research Fund of the Society has been supported, we have been able to accumulate a rich store. From 1282 to 1300 little help is forthcoming from such sources. During this period the only landmarks of any importance are the appearance of the personal mark of Bishop Antony Bek on the Durham coins and the substitution of the name of the mint for that of the moneyer, Robert de Hadeleie, on the money struck at St. Edmund’s. The royal provincial mints and that of the Archbishop of York are closed, and the whole currency of the realm is furnished by the royal mints of London and Canterbury and the ecclesiastical establishments of Durham and St. Edmund’s. Towards the end of the period an English mint was opened at Berwick-on-Tweed, but, as the dies used there were of local and semibarbarous work, and were made from locally produced punches, the Berwick coins are of little practical value for comparison with the regular English series, and will be the subject of a special chapter.

It therefore becomes necessary to fall back on a minute study of the coins themselves, wherein the existence of numerous mules will play no inconsiderable part, and to deduce such conclusions as we may from an examination of the Exchequer Accounts, which give the output at London and Canterbury, and, in the case of the former mint, show not only the total sum, but also the amounts of bullion coined into

---

1 On June 3rd, 1912, Mr. J. Shirley Fox prefixed the name “Shirley” to his surname. —Editors
pennies,\(^1\) halfpennies, and farthings respectively. We therefore print the following table before entering upon a discussion of Groups IV–IX:

**AMOUNTS OF BULLION** coined at London and Canterbury from Michaelmas 1281 to Michaelmas 1301 (in pounds Tower, omitting fractions):

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Date of close of account</th>
<th>London</th>
<th>Canterbury</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ferlingi</td>
<td>oboli</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>November, 1282</td>
<td>nil</td>
<td>nil</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>November, 1283</td>
<td>nil</td>
<td>nil</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>May, 1285</td>
<td>nil</td>
<td>nil</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>August, 1286</td>
<td>150</td>
<td>490</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>June, 1287</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>250</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>November, 1287</td>
<td>168</td>
<td>156</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>November, 1288</td>
<td>80</td>
<td>210</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>July, 1290</td>
<td>565</td>
<td>180</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>29 September, 1291</td>
<td>530</td>
<td>200</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>29 September, 1292</td>
<td>nil</td>
<td>90</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>29 September, 1293</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>60</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>29 September, 1294</td>
<td>1,210</td>
<td>nil</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>29 September, 1295</td>
<td>970</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>29 September, 1296</td>
<td>770</td>
<td>240</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>29 September, 1297</td>
<td>800</td>
<td>111</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>29 September, 1298</td>
<td>720</td>
<td>180</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>29 September, 1299</td>
<td>250</td>
<td>nil</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>29 September, 1300</td>
<td>190</td>
<td>nil</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>29 September, 1301</td>
<td>1,269</td>
<td>370</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In the earlier years the London and Canterbury dates do not always correspond exactly, and the day of the month has therefore been omitted. Dots indicate that the amount on the next line covers an account running from the close of that preceding them.

\(^1\) If groats were still being coined during the earlier years of this period they are included under the heading "pennies." See *British Numismatic Journal*, vol. vii, p. 126.
GROUPS IV AND V.

The coins of Group IV, of which five well-defined classes are figured on the key-plate (Plate I, 14-18), are among the commonest of those of Edward I., and may be assigned, on historical grounds, to a period extending from Michaelmas, 1281—the probable date of the closing of the royal mints in the provinces—to the end of the year 1288; after which there is a great falling off in the amount of bullion coined.

IVa (Plate I, 14; Plate VI, 1-5). The differences between IVa and the latest coins of Group III are more easily perceived than described. The king’s face tends to become broader, the neck is less well defined, and large comma-shaped marks are used to indicate contractions. The letter *s* is now always thick waisted. *e* and *c* retain the old open form throughout the group, except in one rather curious die used at the Durham mint (Plate VI, 4). These letters will often be found described as closed in published lists, but this is an error, and careful examination will show that the closed appearance is due to a slight overlapping of the wedge-shaped strokes used to form the bars. In the truly closed forms of *a* and *a* the front of the letter is made of a single vertical stroke, usually more or less curved. The Durham coins of this class are the last issued under Bishop Robert de Insula, and, like those of the other mints, have a plain initial cross. IVa is found of the royal mints of London and Canterbury, and of the ecclesiastical mints of Durham and St. Edmund’s (Robert de Hadeleie).

IVb (Plate I, 15; Plate VI, 6-10), which is also found of the four mints, is an important link in the chain of evolution, because on specimens minted at Durham there appears, for the first time, the personal mark of Bishop Antony Bek, who bore as his arms a cross moline (or *recercelbe*). Bishop Bek received the temporalities of the see on September 4th, 1283, and IVb must therefore have been the type in course of issue at that date. The Bishop’s cross was at first placed on the reverse of the coin, where it was substituted for the usual three pellets in one of the quarters; subsequently it was removed to the
position of initial cross, and, as such, was almost always placed on both sides of the coin until the great coinage of 1300.

IVc (Plate I, 16; Plate VI, 11-14) is found of the four mints. The Durham coins have a peculiar cross moline, apparently improvised by stamping an annulet on each exterior angle of a plain cross. The unbarred form (A) of the letter A, the use of which soon becomes general, makes its first appearance in this class.

IVd (Plate I, 17; Plate VI, 15-16), which is peculiar to the mints of London and Canterbury, is distinguished from IVc only by the insertion of a pellet at the beginning of the legend on either side; that is to say, before EDW and CIVI. This position is to be noted, as the pellet is shifted on the reverse of the next variety.

IVe (Plate I, 18; Plate VI, 17-19). The distinguishing characteristic of IVe, at London and Canterbury, is a row of three pellets, representing the clasp of the royal mantle, on the king's breast. The hair is made from new irons, and there are other minor points of difference. The pellet disappears from the beginning of the obverse legend, but it is retained on the reverse, where it is placed before LON on London coins, and before TOR on those of Canterbury, instead of before CIVI as in the preceding class. Pennies of St. Edmund's, identical in style with those of the royal mints, lack the pellets on the breast and on the reverse. They read VILLA S EDMVDI, and, with the exception of the extremely rare first variety of the long cross coinage of Henry III., are the earliest coins of the Abbey to omit the name of the moneyer. It is not unreasonable to associate the change with the retirement, or death, of Robert de Hadeleie. No record of that event is forthcoming; but an approximate date is given by the admission to office of Richard de Lothbury, who must have been his successor—though the fact is not expressly stated in the records—in Michaelmas term anno regni decimo sexto incipiente, that is to say, during the last week of November, 1287. (Appendix xlvi.)

This gives IVe as the type in course of issue at the beginning of 1288 and confirms the conclusion drawn from the accounts of London.

1 This is well shown on the obverse of the coin figured, which is, however, a mule and has the normal form of the cross moline on the reverse.
Group V.

1 2 3 4 5 6

7 8 9 10 11 12

13 14 15 16 17 18

19 20 21 22 23 24

Group VI.

Group VII.

COINS OF EDWARD I. 1288-1299.

PLATE VII.
and Canterbury. The St. Edmund's coin is of great rarity, and we have seen no Durham examples which we can assign to this class. Mules are found in Group IV between \(e\), \(d\), and \(e\), and it is probable that every possible combination exists. One Canterbury specimen, which on grounds of style we assign to \(d\), has on the king's breast the three pellets of \(e\).

There are halfpennies and farthings which certainly belong to Group IV, but for reasons of practical convenience we shall deal with the small coins of the whole period 1282–1300 together, after the pennies.

**Group V.**

Group V, which may be considered to be a continuation of Group IV, is the last of which the coins are well spread and on which large—indeed, on the latest varieties, exaggeratedly large—lettering is used. A characteristic distinction is a single large pellet, forming the clasp of the mantle, on the king's breast. Subsequent issues are much neater and more compact, and show changes of style and lettering so marked as to suggest a temporary cessation of work at the mint, and a complete change in the staff of the engraving department. The coins are all scarce, though not of the highest rarity, and therefore probably fall into the account closed in July, 1290, which may also have included a part of the issue of IVe.

**Va** (Plate I, 19; Plate VII, 1–3). Very large and spread coins, of good work, with large lettering; a single pellet on the king's breast, but none in the legend on either side; large and conspicuous marks of contraction; \(c\) and \(e\) open, \(s\) thick-waisted, and \(\alpha\) usually unbarred. This type is found of London and Canterbury only, and at both mints occurs muled with the reverse of IVe (Plate VII, 3).

**Vb** (Plate I, 20; Plate VI, 4–10). Large, spread coins, with exaggeratedly tall, narrow lettering, and big, straggling initial cross. The general character much resembles that of Va, but the long, narrow face is from an entirely new iron; and the hair punches, which make the curls less spread than hitherto, are also new. There is a pellet on the breast, as before. This type is found of the four mints,
and in London is often muled with the reverse of \textit{Va}. There is a marked difference between the form of the letter \textit{c} on \textit{Va} and \textit{Vb}.

The Montrave hoard contained a mule—of which, so far, no other specimen has been recorded—of the Durham mint, the obverse of which is of \textit{Vb}, and the reverse of Group VI. We have been unable to obtain a cast of this mule, but as both the obverse and reverse dies occur—though not on the same coin—in our own collection, we have given a figure representing them (Plate VII, 24). The St. Edmund's coins are interesting as showing a contracted, as well as a full, form of the mint name, and on account of the peculiar combination of irons used to form the letter \textit{M} on the reverse.

\textbf{Group VI}.

Group VI is cut sharply off from its predecessors by marked differences in fabric, style, and lettering. Its place in the series is, however, clear, and is proved, apart from the impossibility of putting it anywhere else, by the existence of a mule having the reverse of \textit{Vb} (Plate VII, 11), as well as by the Durham mule already mentioned.

\textit{VIa} (Plate I, 21; Plate VII, 11–12). Coins smaller and more compact than before; initial cross practically plain; letters of good design but rough execution, and smaller than on previous issues; crown very large, with wide-spread fleurs-de-lys; large and very oval face; new hair punches, and general appearance somewhat rough. These dies were probably in use for but a short time, and the type is peculiar to the London mint. We have been unable to draw any clear distinction between the reverses of \textit{VIa} and \textit{VIb}.

\textit{VIb} (Plate I, 22; Plate VII, 13–16). A more refined, better proportioned and better executed version of \textit{VIa}; the letter punches, though well made, often seem to be worn or damaged; the letter \textit{a} is of the true closed form, \textit{N} is usually double-barred on the reverse, and the initial cross is distinctly patée. Most specimens have a swelling, on the king’s breast, which suggests a half-effaced ornament, but appears to be due to a mere flaw. The type is scarce of London and of the two ecclesiastical mints, and it is
not known of Canterbury. A rare variety of the London coin reads \emph{ADWA' R' ANGL}, etc. (Plate VII, 14). The Durham specimen figured (Plate VII, 15) is a mule, and has the reverse of a peculiar coin described under Group VII. The true reverse is shown in Plate VII, 24, and occurs on other specimens in our collection.

In spite of the fact that no Canterbury specimens are known, it is impossible to place \textit{VIb} after Group VII. Examples may yet appear, for, as has been said above, it is a scarce type at the other mints, but, considering the inactivity revealed by the accounts, it is more probable that no new dies were required at the Canterbury mint while this type was in course of issue. A London coin presenting transitional features between Groups VI and VII is figured (Plate VII, 17).

\textbf{Group VII.}

Group VII plays an important part in the elucidation of the chronological problem, inasmuch as it is the latest type issued at Canterbury previous to the revival of activity in 1299–1300. Reference to the table of accounts will show that Canterbury coined but 90 pounds of bullion from Michaelmas 1293 to Michaelmas 1294, only 16 pounds from the latter date to Michaelmas 1296, and thenceforward nothing until after Michaelmas 1299. Canterbury specimens of \textit{VIIa}, though very rare, exist in several collections, and the first issue of Group VII cannot, therefore, be placed later than the earlier part of the year 1294. Further reference will be made to the chronological question when the halfpennies and farthings of the period are described.

\textit{VIIa} (Plate I, 23; Plate VII, 18–21) is the normal type of the group, and the London and Canterbury coins have well-marked peculiarities, conspicuous among which are the rose, which forms the clasp of the royal mantle, and the curious almond-shaped eyes of the king. The crown closely resembles that found on Group VI, if, indeed, it is not, in most cases, from the same punch; the neck and shoulders also show considerable resemblance to the forms of Group VI, but the hair is from new irons, and is much shorter than on any earlier issue. The lettering, which is very neat and cleanly cut, presents several interesting features. The closed \textit{a} finally supersedes the
earlier form of the letter, though C is still open, and N is invariably double-barred. S shows a reversion to the older type, composed of two crescents and two wedges, but the latter are long and narrow, whereas in the earlier groups they were practically equilateral triangles. A thick-waisted form of S also occurs. Pennies of the St. Edmund’s mint omit the rose and have the single-barred form of N, but otherwise conform with the metropolitan type. We have not met with any Durham specimens.

VIIb (Plate I, 24; Plate VII, 22) is peculiar to the London mint. The lettering is like that of VIIa, except that the composite form of S does not occur, and the rose appears on the breast. The almond-shaped eyes are again found, but the crown more resembles that of Group VIII, and the royal mantle is indicated by wedges. The hair is longer than on VIIa, and the iron used on the dexter side has a small flaw by which it can easily be identified.

In this class must be included a peculiar Durham penny (Plate VII, 23), on which the hair is made from the punches used for the London coin, and the crown is also from a similar, if not identical, iron. The lettering, though its character is generally in keeping with that of the other coins of the group, is exceptionally large, and the letter E is of the open form, but made with bars closely resembling those used in the composite S of VIIa. The cross moline is not made from a punch engraved in a single piece, but is formed by adding crescents to a plain cross. The Durham penny of VIIb figured in the plate (No. 15) has the reverse of this type.

The existence of specimens of the Canterbury mint gives Michaelmas 1296 as the latest date for the issue of dies of this group, but, in view of the scarcity of London coins as compared with those of Group VIII, it is probable that all the dies were sunk before Michaelmas 1293, or Michaelmas 1294 at the latest.

GROUP VIII.

Group VIII (Plate I, 25-26; Plate VIII,¹ 1-4), which is of a

¹ Plate VIII will be issued with the next instalment, in which nearly all the coins figured on it will be described.
transitional character, is found only of London and St. Edmund’s, and
must therefore fall into the period between Michaelmas 1297 and
Michaelmas 1299, during which the Canterbury mint was inactive.
It is quite likely that the first specimens go back to Michaelmas 1294,
and that the small amounts coined at Canterbury between that date
and Michaelmas 1297 were struck from surviving dies of Group VII.
On the earlier examples the hair, neck, and shoulders appear to be
stamped with the punches of Group VII, of which the initial cross and
lettering are also reminiscent, although the double-barred \( n \) and com-
posite \( s \) are no longer used. The king’s crown is from new irons, the
rose disappears from the royal breast, and the almond-shaped eyes so
characteristic of Group VII are never found.

CONTINENTAL IMITATIONS.

Before passing to Group IX it is necessary to refer briefly to the
fraudulent issues, emanating from oversea, which had gradually invaded
the country, and which are proved, not only by the evidence of contem-
porary writers and official documents, but also by the composition of
such hoards of the period as have come down to us, to have formed no
inconsiderable proportion of the money circulating in England. Attention
has already been drawn to the comparative insignificance of the output
of the royal mints between July, 1290, and Michaelmas, 1299. The lack
of currency must have been felt almost from the beginning of this period,
for we learn from a contemporary source (Appendix xlviii) that the
invasion of “undesirable aliens” had already become a scandal in 1293.
By the end of 1299 it had reached such proportions that the king
determined to put an end to it, but owing to the scarcity of money he
was unable to take drastic measures at once. Accordingly, at Christmas,
1299, it was ordered that the intruders should pass current for one
halfpenny only, and at this reduced rate they remained in circulation
until the following Easter, when the renewed activity of the royal mints
made it possible to suppress them altogether without serious incon-
venience to trade (Appendices xlvii–li).

The names given to these foreign coins by contemporary writers
are pollards or crokards, in French, and pollardi, krokardi, kokedones or rosarii in Latin. One writer mentions “pollards, crokards, lions, roses, and so forth,” and we are told that the said money came out of Flanders. The majority of these pieces are fairly close imitations of the English penny—though deficient in weight, or fineness of metal, or both—and were struck by numerous princes and prelates in the Low Countries, notably by the counts of Flanders and the bishops of Cambrai. No attempt was made to imitate the English legend, and the issuers inscribed the coin with their own names and titles and did not assume the royal crown, but are represented bareheaded, or wearing a chaplet of roses.

The names given to these coins are obviously descriptive. Robert of Brunne, in his *Handlyngse Synne* (1303), glosses the word croket with “chaplet,” and crokards are those pieces which present, on the obverse, a chapleted head. Rosarii is simply the Latin rendering of the same idea—crowned with roses—and there is no ground whatever for the fanciful attempt to connect the money so designated with abbey pieces or pilgrims’ tokens, or with the well-known counters bearing the legend AVE MARIA GRACIA PLENA, most of which appear to be of somewhat later date.

“Pollards” are coins having on the obverse a large bare head (poll). It is interesting to note that the modern French for a “pollard” willow is titard, which word is also the French equivalent for tadpole. “Lions” are obviously the deniers of the numerous potentates who placed their arms, containing one or more lions rampant, on the obverse of their coins, and copied on the reverse the English cross and pellets. We are unable to offer any explanation of the name kokedones.

An immediate result of the prohibition of the pollards and crokards was the cessation of their issue, which was no longer profitable when they could not be circulated as good English pennies. From 1300 onward continental potentates copy exactly the crowned head of the English king, and often touch the border line of sheer forgery by giving to the legends on their sterlings a superficial resemblance to those of the Edwards. That the prohibition was not wholly effective is proved by the frequent occurrence of pollards and crokards in hoards deposited
during the fourteenth century, although in much smaller quantities than the more exact imitations of the sterling, of which more hereafter. They are especially numerous in hoards found in Scotland, which have provided the only specimens extant of certain rulers. The continental imitations do not throw much light on the chronology of the English coinage, which can be more accurately deduced from native sources, but the establishment of the classification of the English series on a firm basis cannot fail to elucidate many problems of continental numismatics.

APPENDIX.

xlvi.

Johannes\(^1\) abbas sancti Edmundi per fratrem Ricardum de Brunne sacristam sancti Edmundi venit coram Baronibus de scaccario xvij die Maij anno regni regis Edwardi xxv\(^6\) et presentauit Rogerum de Reda ad intendendum officio Monetarii in Cambio sancti Edmundi loco Ricardi de Lothbury quem idem Abbas per fratrem Willelmum de Ho nuper sacristam sancti Edmundi alias presentauit coram baronibus ad scaccarium termino sancti Michaelis anno regni Regis nunc xvj incipiente ad intendendum eidem officio (et cetera).—Harleian MS. 645, folio 153\(^d\).

xlvij.

Infra Natalis solennia prohibita est moneta alienigenarum sub similitudine sterlingorum introducta.—Trivet.

xlviij.

Memorandum ke le jour Seynt Estevene l’an xxvij comencaunt furent le crocars e le pollars apeles. Furent cries a malle parmi Engletere e coreurent jusces le weylle de Pasce preseyn suant. La quelle weylle furent defendu ke mes ne corusent. La quelle mone wint hors de Flandres ke corut en la tere par vj hans per Engleter a grant damaje de tout le reyume.—Appendix. De Antiquis Legibus Liber.

\(^1\) Abbot John de Norwolde, 1279–1301.
Infra presentis Natalis solemnia prohibita est moneta alienigenarum surrepticia et illegitima quam Pollardos Krokardos vel Kokedones atque Rosarios appellabant qui paulatim et latenter loco irrepsersant sterlingorum. Hanc monetam primo Rex Edwardus jussurat valere obolum deinde omnino exteminavit. Gallici nempe hanc monetam fabricauerunt que non erat argentea sed superficialiter deargentata et currebat in locis plurimis loco sterlingorum multique decepti fuerant per eandem.—Rishanger.

A die Natalis Domini pollardi et crocardi denarii cum aliquibus leonibus atque rosis et huiusmodi per prohibicionem regis vim denarii perdiderunt tamen per defectum monete pro obolis interim habebantur.—Annales de Wigornia.

Ab incarnacione Domini anno MCCC et regni regis Edwardi xxviiij et pontificatus G(odefridi) episcopi xxxij id. Aprilis voce preconia clamabatur ne de cetero quis pollardum suscipiat pro moneta nisi sterlingum ubi regis descriptio fuerit et imago.—Annales de Wigornia.

Errata.

Vol. vii, p. 91. For paragraph beginning “Group VII,” please read:—

Group VII (Nos. 23-4), Rose on King's breast, double bar to the letter N. Mints: 23, royal, London, Canterbury; ecclesiastical, St. Edmund's.
24, royal, London; ecclesiastical, Durham. The ecclesiastical coins omit the rose and have simple N.

p. 40, line 5. For “cambie” read “cambii.”
p. 51, line 1. For “assaiam” read “assaium.”
COINS ILLUSTRATING THE PAPER ON
LATE PLANTAGENET GROATS.