

NUMISMATIC HISTORY OF THE REIGNS OF EDWARD I., II., AND III.—(*Continued.*)

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OPPOSITE this page will be found a plate showing the principal types of those pennies of Edward I. which bear his own name, arranged in chronological order. As it is impossible to figure all the intermediate varieties, which merge almost imperceptibly one into another, the coins have been divided into groups, each of which possesses distinct characteristics, and can be recognised without much difficulty.

GROUP I (Nos. 1-4), 1279. Title Rex not abbreviated, except on No. 4. Mints: London only.

GROUP II (No. 5). Earlier part of 1280. Letter N always retrograde = **И**, a peculiarity not found on any subsequent issue of Edward I. Mints: royal, London, Bristol, Canterbury, York; ecclesiastical, Durham.

GROUP III (Nos. 6-13). About July, 1280, to the autumn of 1281, when the royal provincial mints (with the exception of Canterbury), were closed. Mints: 6, London only. 7, royal, London, Bristol, Canterbury, York; ecclesiastical, Durham. 8, royal, London, Bristol, Canterbury, Lincoln, York; ecclesiastical, Durham. 9, royal, London, Bristol, Lincoln; ecclesiastical, St. Edmund's. 10, royal, Newcastle, York; ecclesiastical, Durham, York. The dies for this type, which does not occur at southern mints, were probably made at York. 11, London, Canterbury. 12, royal, London, Bristol, Canterbury, Lincoln, York. 13, royal, London, Bristol, Canterbury, Chester, Lincoln; ecclesiastical, Durham, St. Edmund's.

GROUP IV (Nos. 14-18). *Circ.* 1282 to 1289. No. 15 is the earliest type issued by Bishop Antony Bek, and is therefore subsequent to September, 1283. No. 18 cannot have been issued before late in 1288, as the name of Robert de Hadeleie, whose successor was appointed in Michaelmas term of that year, no longer appears on the St. Edmund's coins. Mints: most varieties, royal, London, and Canterbury; ecclesiastical, Durham and St. Edmund's.

GROUP V (Nos. 19-20). Very large lettering, single pellet on King's breast. Mints: 19, royal, London, Canterbury; 20, royal, London, Canterbury; ecclesiastical, Durham, St. Edmund's.

GROUP VI (Nos. 21-22). Mints: 21, royal, London; 22, royal, London; ecclesiastical, Durham, St. Edmund's.

GROUP VII (Nos. 23-24). Rose on King's breast, double bar to the letter N. Mints: 23, London; 24, royal, London, Canterbury; ecclesiastical, Durham, St. Edmund's, which, however, omit the rose.

GROUP VIII (Nos. 25-26). *Circ.* 1294 to 1300. Mints: royal, London; ecclesiastical, St. Edmund's. The accounts show that the Canterbury mint was inactive during this period.

GROUP IX (Nos. 27-28). 1300. Mints: 27, royal, London, Canterbury; ecclesiastical, Durham, St. Edmund's; 28 (with or without star on breast), royal, London, Bristol, Canterbury, Chester, Exeter, Kingston-on-Hull, Newcastle, York; ecclesiastical, Durham, St. Edmund's, York. Provincial royal mints, except Canterbury and Newcastle, closed at or before the end of the year.

GROUP X (Nos. 29-34). 1302 to 1307. Fleurs-de-lys at sides of crown show only two leaves instead of three. King's name varies between Edward and Edwa. Evidence of date will be given in the body of this history. Mints: royal, London, Canterbury, Newcastle (29 and 30 only); ecclesiastical, Durham, St. Edmund's.

EDWARD'S LONG-CROSS COINAGE.



ON November 16th, 1272, the date of his father's death, Edward I. was in Palestine. According to the constitutional usage of the period his predecessors had not been considered lawful kings until they had been crowned, and the King's Peace was held to be interrupted during the vacancy of the throne. On this occasion the long delay which would have been entailed might have endangered seriously the tranquillity of the realm, and those in authority decided upon immediate action. The barons accordingly met at Westminster and took the oath of fealty on the Feast of St. Edmund the King (November 20th, 1272). From that day, from which the beginning of his regnal years is reckoned, Edward was called king, and his Peace was proclaimed at once. (Appendix ii.)

Immediately after the Feast of St. Hilary following (January 14th, 1273), Parliament met and took the oaths, and Walter de Mertona was appointed Chancellor, to remain at Westminster until the king's return. Edward landed at Dover on August 2nd, 1274, and was crowned at Westminster on August 19th.

At the time of Edward's accession the post of Keeper of the King's Exchanges of London and Canterbury was held by Bartholomew de Castello, who is first mentioned in that capacity in July, 1266, and who retained his position until the Vigil of St. Andrew in the beginning of the seventh year of Edward I., when the king took the said office into his own hand (Appendices iii and iv). The accounts rendered by him show that the quantities of bullion coined at the London mint from the accession of Edward to that date (November 29th, 1278) were :—

		<i>Pounds Tower (omitting fractions).¹</i>
November 20th, 1272, to November 19th, 1273	...	6,544
November 20th, 1273, to June 24th, 1274	10,230
June 25th, 1274, to June 24th, 1275	7,894
June 25th, 1275, to November 30th, 1278	60,161
Total	<u>84,829</u>

The money struck under Bartholomew de Castello's administration was of the long-cross type, and, although new dies were made more than once, it continued to bear the name of Henry III. It is possible—indeed probable—that the coins of the first two years are in no way to be distinguished from the issues of that monarch, but two types of long-cross money can be attributed, the one with practical, the other with absolute, certainty to Edward I. Both may be recognised by the artist's attempt to render the king's hair in naturalistic fashion, instead of by the conventional arrangement of crescents and dots which had previously been customary. The following are known to us:—

TYPE I, Durham, moneyer **ROBERD**; (Plate II, 1), St. Edmund's, moneyer **ION**. (Plate II, 2.)

TYPE II, London, moneyers **RENAVD** and **PHILIP** (Plate II, 3); St. Edmund's **ION** and **IOGA**. Renaud's coin has **R** in **HERRICVS**.

Of Type I we have met with only the two specimens mentioned above, both of which are in the collection of Mr. L. A. Lawrence. A clue to the probable date of its issue is furnished by the Durham coin. In the earlier part of the thirteenth century the bishops were far from enjoying that highly privileged position to which they attained in the days of Antony Bek, and their coinage was apt to be intermittent. In the thirty-seventh year of Henry III.—to be precise, on June 12th, 1253—nearly five years after the initiation of the long-

¹ The pound tower, which was in use at the mint during the whole of the Plantagenet period, was equal to only 5,400 grains troy. It was divided in the same way as the pound troy, and therefore contained 5,760 grains tower.

cross coinage, Bishop Walter de Kirkham, having satisfied the king, by the exhibition of ancient dies and of money struck from them, and by the testimony of several trustworthy persons, that his predecessors had possessed the right of working a mint, was granted seisin of his dies of the Church of Durham in like manner as former bishops had been wont to have it (Appendix v). To him are attributable pennies of an early long-cross type which bear the name of the moneyer **RICARD**, but, as these show no important variations, it is evident that the right to coin money must have been allowed to lapse, or must have been withdrawn within a comparatively short time.

Between the pennies of Ricard and those of Roberd no Durham coins are forthcoming. It is most unlikely that a privilege so important as that of striking money would be granted, or even renewed, during the king's absence, and as Bishop Robert de Stichil died in France, whither he had gone to attend the Council of Lyons, on August 4th, 1274, some days before Edward's return to England, it may fairly be assumed that the concession was asked for by and granted to his successor, Robert de Insula, who received the temporalities of the see on November 11th, 1274. The Durham coins of Type I may therefore be assigned, with every semblance of probability, to the end of that year.¹

John de Burnedissee, the moneyer whose name appears on the St. Edmund's coin of this type, was appointed, and sworn in, in 1265 (Appendix vi). He also struck long-cross coins of the old type with the conventional representation of the king's hair, and of the type which is next to be described. Although direct evidence of the fact is lacking, it is probable that the privilege of the Abbot of St. Edmunds was in suspense between the death of Henry III. and the coronation of his successor.

¹ The assertion made by Ruding, under the year 1272, that Edward I. restored the privileges of the see of Durham in the first year of his reign is based upon an error. Reference to the authority quoted by him (*Rolls of Parliament*, vol. iv, p. 427) shows that the restoration in question took place in the twenty-first, not the first, year, and was to Bishop Antony Bek, who is named in the document.

The date of Type II, which shows a marked improvement on its almost barbarous predecessor, can be fixed within fairly close limits. On the Wednesday next before the Feast of St. Dunstan, in Easter term of the sixth year of King Edward I. (that is to say, on May 18th, 1278), Bartholomew de Castello presented to the barons of the Exchequer Philip de Cambio, to be moneyer in the exchange of London in place of Reginald (**RENAVD**) of Cant[erbury], formerly moneyer there, and the said Philip was duly sworn in (Appendix vii). In the same term Jocus the goldsmith, who had been appointed keeper of the die at St. Edmunds in 1276 (Appendix viii), was promoted to the higher office of moneyer—doubtless in succession to John de Burnedis—*and* was presented and sworn in at the Exchequer (Appendix ix). Type II, therefore, was introduced some time after the end of 1274, but before the spring of 1278, and continued to be struck until the long-cross coinage came to an end in November of the latter year.

No Canterbury coins of Type I or Type II have as yet come to light, although some small quantity was struck in that city during the early years of Edward's reign, as is shown in the table given below. The account of the Keeper of the Exchange for the first year makes no mention of the Canterbury mint.

AMOUNTS OF BULLION COINED AT CANTERBURY IN POUNDS TOWER
(Omitting Fractions).

November 20th, 1273, to June 24th, 1274	{ king's share	666
	{ archbishop's share	399
June 24th, 1274, to April 23rd, 1278	nil
April 23rd, 1278, to July 7th, 1278	{ king's share	220
	{ archbishop's share	132
July 7th, 1278, to November 20th, 1278 (see vacant, the king takes all)	451
	Total	<u>1,868</u>

On the Thursday next after the Feast of the Nativity of St. John the Baptist, 3 Edward I. (June 27th, 1275), one Roger le

Assaur was sworn in as moneyer for Archbishop Robert de Kilwardby. Bartholomew de Castello was ordered to supply him with three dies, to be cut in his name, and he was granted the custody of the keys of the Exchange of Canterbury, which were then in the possession of one John Digge (Appendix x).¹ That no coins of Roger are known is scarcely surprising, since the archbishop's share during his tenure of office cannot have exceeded 132 pounds.

The 399 pounds representing the archbishop's share of the coinage between November 20th, 1273, and June 24th, 1274, must have been struck from dies engraved in the reign of Henry III. Although Archbishop Robert de Kilwardby received the temporalities of the see on December 14th, 1272, a most interesting postscript to the entry of the presentation of the moneyer Roger shows that he had been defrauded of his rights until the time of that event. Freely rendered it is as follows :—

"This same John [Digge] returned to the said Archbishop on the Friday following one of the aforesaid three dies, which he held by the concession of King Henry by charter, which charter was challenged by the Archbishop as being against the liberties of the Church of Canterbury, and was handed over with the die. And in the matter of the trespass which he had committed, by retaining the other two dies [which he had] by conveyance of Master Richard de Clifford at the time when the Archbishopric was vacant and in the keeping of the said Master Richard, and thenceforward until now, the said John submitted himself wholly to the ordering and good pleasure of the said Archbishop."

It would appear from this that John Digge had not only received one of the archbishop's dies by charter from King Henry III., presumably after the death of Archbishop Boniface of Savoy on July 18th, 1270, but that, under cover of this concession, he had contrived to obtain possession of the other two dies from the receiver of the temporalities appointed during the vacancy of the see, and had

¹ The theory put forward in the introductory chapter that only the irons were provided by the hereditary engraver, and that the actual dies were made in the mint, receives strong confirmation from the fact that the order for Roger's dies was addressed to Bartholomew de Castello, Keeper of the King's Exchange, and not to a member of the FitzOtho family. This is not an isolated instance, for similar cases occur later.

continued to make use of them after the consecration of the new archbishop. His profits cannot have been very large, for the mint was inactive during the last years of Henry III., and apparently during the first year of Edward I., and he no doubt had to pay dearly for his "trespass." Although he is merely described as a "citizen of Canterbury," he must have been a moneyer, possibly the **ION** whose name appears on a very late type of long-cross coins which still shows the conventional hair represented by crescents and dots.

The rarity of the "Henricus" types of Edward I. is sufficiently explained by the complete demonetisation of the long-cross coinage in August, 1280, and the subsequent melting up and recoinage of some half-million pounds of it. The latest varieties had but little time in which to find their way into hoards. The fact that Philip's coins are, comparatively speaking, abundant, suggests that the greater portion of 60,000 pounds of bullion minted after June 24th, 1275, must have been coined subsequently to his appointment.

PREPARATIONS FOR REFORM.

In the summer of 1278 the depreciated state of the coinage, which was much clipped and worn, began to demand attention, and in consequence of statutes passed by the Parliament held at Gloucester in July and August a great inquiry was held on the clipping of coin by the Jews. As a result of it the real or alleged offenders were arrested all over the country in the month of November, and great numbers of them were hanged (Appendices xi and xii).

The pursuit and trial of the unfortunate Jews, which continued through the winter, afforded their Christian neighbours ample opportunity for levying blackmail. Indeed, the practice was carried to such an extent that the king found it necessary to intervene for their protection and, by writ addressed to Stephen de Penecastro, justice for hearing and determining pleas of offences in connection with the coinage, and other judges, gave orders, on May 7th, 1279, that no fresh accusations against them were to be entertained.¹

¹ Patent Roll, 7 Edward I.

Meanwhile preparations for a recoinage on a large scale were being made, and Gregory de Rokesley and Orlandinus de Podio were appointed Keepers of the King's Exchange, in virtue of which office they had complete control of the mints of London and Canterbury. The account which they subsequently rendered to the Exchequer opens on the Friday before the Feast of St. Philip and St. James (April 28th, 1279), but they were not sworn in until May 17th, when the dies for the new coinage were delivered to them (Appendix xiii). Some of their subordinates took the oath at the same time, but it was not until July 6th that three men were presented by them to be sworn as keepers of the dies (Appendix xiv). As one of the most important duties of the last-named officials was to sit beside the workmen and supervise the process of striking (Appendices xv and xvi), it is probable that the date of their entry upon their functions is approximately that of the beginning of actual coining operations, although, as will be seen below, the first exchange of the new money did not take place until a month later.

Pending the issue of the new money, the king gave stringent orders that falsified or clipped coin should no longer be current, and on June 4th he sent to ten cities, from his private treasury, whole and unclipped coin of the old (*i.e.*, long-cross) type, which was to be exchanged for clipped until the new money should be ready (Appendix xvii). The first exchange of the new money took place on August 4th, but the old long-cross money was allowed to remain current for a year, after which its circulation was forbidden (Appendices xviii and xix). The calling in of the clipped coin, which involved a loss by the holder of sixteen pence in the pound (Appendix xix), caused much suffering, the more so as it unfortunately coincided with the worst harvest that had been known for a long time (Appendix xx). The demonetisation of the long-cross coin, too, must have been distinctly unpopular, for more than thirty years had passed without any change in the currency.¹

¹ The long-cross issue superseded the short-cross issue in 1247-8.

THE NEW MONEY.

Two important innovations which marked the new coinage are briefly referred to by John of Oxnesdes and the Continuator of Florence of Worcester, who write :—

“A change was made in the money of England. The triangular farthing was made round. The old money, if in reasonable state, was not as yet forbidden to circulate with the new, but, in addition to what was customary, halfpence having been entirely stopped, a big penny was made, equal to four ordinary pennies.” (Appendix xxi.)

Hitherto small change had been provided by cutting the penny into halves and quarters, which passed current as halfpence and farthings. Mr. Andrew, in his history of the reign of Henry I.,¹ has shown that this operation was performed at the mint before the coin was put into circulation, but it is possible that pennies were at times cut illegally by private individuals. Whether done officially or privately the practice opened wide the door to fraud and abuse. Edward therefore forbade it, and ordered the issue of round farthings, to which, a year later, round halfpence were added. That farthings were made first is doubtless due to the fact that they would serve a double purpose, since two of them could be used in the place of a halfpenny.

The second innovation was the creation of the *grossus sterlingus*, a fourpenny piece, commonly known as the groat.

The substitution of round coins (*quadrantes integri*) for the old cut halfpence and farthings made a deep impression, and this was doubtless not a little enhanced by an obscure prophecy, attributed to Merlin, “Findetur forma commercii; dimidium rotundum erit,” to which reference is made by nearly all the contemporary chroniclers. The well-informed compiler of the *Dunstable Annals* (Appendix xvii), the Continuator of Florence of Worcester, and John of Oxnesdes (Appendix xxi) state correctly that only the farthing was made round at first. The two last named add that the issue of halfpence,

¹ *Numismatic Chronicle*, Fourth Series, vol. i, pp. 10, 54-5, 78 and 492.

that is, of cut halves of the penny to be used as halfpence, was entirely stopped. Less accurate writers fall into the not unnatural mistake of asserting that halfpence and farthings were made round at the same time (Appendices xxii-xxiv).

The issue of the groat attracted less attention, although so large a coin had not been struck before, doubtless because it would rarely, if ever, be seen by the people at large. Coined in comparatively small numbers and for a few years only, it would seldom be found outside the great commercial centres, and would not come in the way of the provincial monks who recorded the history of the times.

A memorandum preserved in the *Red Book of the Exchequer* gives very full details concerning the new coinage (Appendix xxv). It is unfortunately not dated, but internal evidence shows that it was drawn up before May, 1279, possibly immediately after the Parliament of Gloucester, as the note appended to the names of the master moneyers states that they are to find sureties before the Michaelmas next following.

WEIGHT AND STANDARD.

In the first place it is ordered that a standard be made and kept in the Exchequer, and that it be marked with the imprint of the old (*i.e.*, long-cross) die and of the new. This standard was a piece of silver of certified fineness to be used for comparison in testing that of the coins. When the long-cross coinage was initiated in 1247-8, two standards (or assays, as they are called in the document) were ordered to be made, each of the weight of ten shillings, and placed under seal in the treasury. One was to be of pure silver, and the other of silver of the fineness of which the coin was to be struck, and these were to be marked with a certain stamp. Similar assays, but weighing only forty pence each, were ordered to be supplied to the mints of London and Canterbury and to the provincial mints (Appendix xxvi).

To return to 1279. The pound tower is to be made into 243 pence, and not more than six strong and six weak pennies, that is, coins exceeding or falling short of the normal weight by a grain and

a half, are to be tolerated. The penny, therefore, should weigh 23·7 grains tower (22·2 troy), and Hawkins was in error when he assumed that only 240 pence were coined from the pound in the earlier part of Edward's reign, and stated that the change to 243 was made in 1300.

The fineness of the groat is to be in accordance with this standard.

Farthings are to be made round, are to be struck in London only, and are to be called *Lundreis*. Four of them are to contain as much fine silver as a penny, bating an allowance for the increased cost of making such minute coin; but, as they would be inconveniently small if made of sterling silver, it is provided that the proportion of alloy shall be increased, and that only 812 of them shall be made out of the pound tower. This gives a theoretical weight of 7·09 grains tower, or 6·65 grains troy, which exactly accords with the average weight of existing specimens.¹ A special standard is to be made, and marked with the farthing die, and it is to be preserved with that of the sterlings.

It should be noted that the absence of any mention of halfpence in this memorandum confirms the assertion of the chroniclers that these formed no part of the coinage of 1279, but were introduced a year later, a statement which is further borne out by the evidence of the coins themselves. To the memorandum, which is in Norman-French, is appended, in Latin, a list of the principal officers of the Exchange of London, as follows:—

Keeper of the Exchange: Gregory de Rokesley and Orlandinus de Podio, who are also Keepers of the Mint, and are answerable to the King.

Master Moneyers: Master Hubert Alion de Aste, Master William de Turnemire, and Peter his brother, of Marseilles, who are to answer faithfully for the money on pain of life and limb, and are to find sureties before the ensuing Michaelmas.

Assayer: Boniface Galgani, of Florence.

Clerk of the Exchange: John de Haydenstane.

¹ Had the farthings been of the same fineness and proportionate weight as the penny there would have been 972 to the pound tower, and their normal weight would have been 5·5 grains troy.

Against the names of the three master moneyers and that of the assayer is written, in another hand, "Sworn in."

The Keepers of the Exchange were very high and important personages, and their functions covered a wide range. As Keepers of the Mint they were responsible to the king for the weight and purity of the coin, and if they were not technically competent it was their duty to provide efficient substitutes. They were also answerable, directly or through a subordinate, for the safe-keeping of the dies, which they were to guard diligently as being, so to speak, the royal seal (Appendix xxvii).

The master moneyers were responsible for the purchase and alloying of the silver used for the coinage, and had entire control of the moneyers and other workmen employed in the mint (Appendix xxviii).

Entries in the Patent Rolls of 1279 show that William and Peter de Turnemire received £100 yearly as a fee for their expenses in the king's service, and that Master Hubert Alion was granted £200 yearly for his maintenance so long as he remained in the office of moneyer. These were important sums in the thirteenth century, and were, of course, in addition to the payments made on the amounts coined.

The coinage of 1279 was issued from the London mint only. Although a writ dated June 21st, 1279 (Appendix xxix), orders the authorities of the Canterbury mint to give the Archbishop that share of the profits to which he was entitled, a letter from Archbishop Peckham to Stephen de Penecastro, the Justice already mentioned in connection with the proceedings against the Jews, shows that the mint premises were under seal on August 18th, a fortnight after the new money had been put into circulation, and that the delegates of the Keepers of the Exchange did not dare enter them until the seals had been removed by the proper authority. The mint had presumably been closed when Bartholomew de Castello yielded up his office to the king in November, 1278, and the new Keepers of the Exchange were doubtless too busy in London to wish to reopen it at once. The Archbishop complains bitterly of the loss of his profits, and begs

Penecester to come to Canterbury immediately (Appendix xxx). The result of his appeal is not recorded, but the earliest Canterbury coins bearing the name of Edward are those struck in January, 1280, under an agreement with Master William de Turnemire, of which more later.

The writs ordering dies to be prepared for the Bishop of Durham (Appendix xxxi) and the Abbot of St. Edmund's (Appendix xxxii) are dated November 2nd and November 8th respectively. At Durham, as at Canterbury, the earliest Edward coins known are of the type of January, 1280. At St. Edmund's, although Robert de Hadeleie was sworn in as the Abbot's moneyer in Michaelmas term, 1279, no coin was struck before late in June, 1280, for reasons which will appear in due course.

The account rendered by the Keepers of the Exchange is divided into two parts, the first running from April 28th until November 20th (the end of the regnal year), and the second from that date until the opening of William de Turnemire's contract (January 2nd, 1280). Unfortunately the amounts for the various denominations are not given separately, but the total amount of bullion coined was—

Before November 20th	...	93,332	pounds tower.
After	" "	14,532	" "
Total		<u>107,864</u>	" "

Having put his new money into circulation, the king took measures for its protection, and the following, though not dated, was clearly drawn up at this time :—

Memorandum that it be proclaimed throughout the whole realm that there be no clipping of the new money on peril of life and limb and forfeiture of all lands and tenements and all goods and chattels by whomsoever shall have been convicted thereof by judgment of the Lord King's Court. And the King will forbid any clipping of the said money under the aforesaid penalties. And the King will likewise forbid that anyone receive the said money being clipped under the aforesaid penalties. (Appendix xxxiii.)

The "new money," then, was struck in London only, and

consisted of groats and pennies of sterling silver, weighing at the rate of 22·2 grains troy to the penny, and of farthings, of somewhat baser metal, weighing 6·65 grains troy each. These last supply the key to its identification, for, as will appear in due course, halfpence and farthings were subsequently ordered to be made of the same standard of silver and proportionate weight as the larger coin.

It follows, therefore, that farthings of a type which is found habitually to exceed the weight of 5·55 grains troy, or one quarter of the weight of the penny, can be assigned only to the year 1279 or to a limited period immediately following it. Lack of halfpennies of corresponding type narrows down the possible period of issue to the twelve and a-half months between August 4th, 1279, and August 15th, 1280, when halfpence were first issued; absence of specimens struck at provincial mints further restricts it to the year 1279.

All these conditions are fulfilled by the farthings figured on Plate II, Nos. 12-14. They read:—

Obverse.—**EDWARDVS : REX.**

Reverse.—**LON DON IEN SIS**, or more rarely, **LON DRI EN SIS**, and are of two distinct types, corresponding with two of the types of the penny described below. The forms **N** and **II** appear to have been used indifferently on the Londoniensis coins.

They weigh 6 grains troy and upwards, no halfpennies resembling them are known, and they occur only of the London mint. Further, the reading "Londriensis," found on one variety, identifies them with the Lundreis of the memorandum, though this bastard form was soon dropped, for the coins bearing it are very rare.

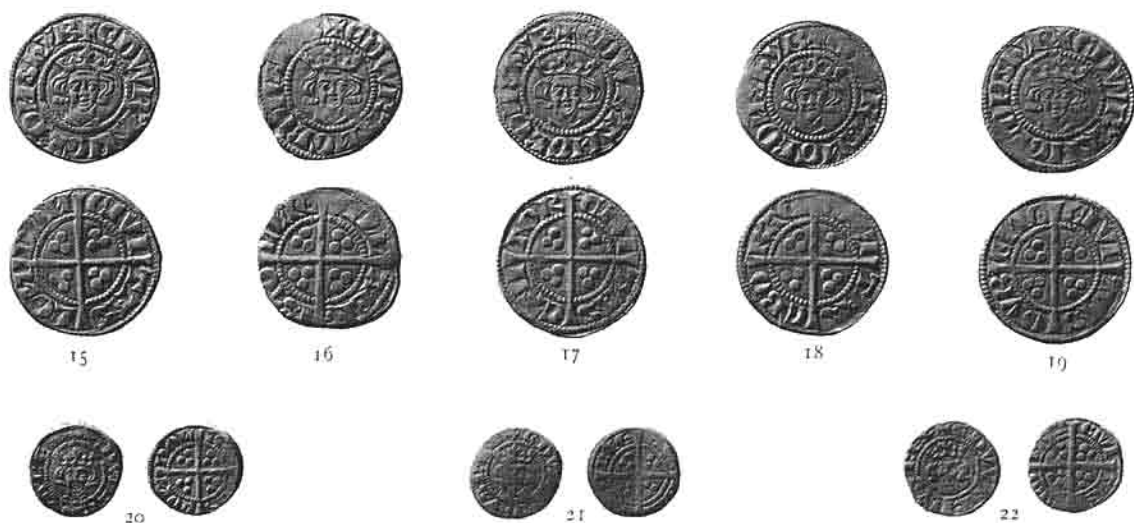
In view of the great importance of the question of weight, it is necessary to reiterate a warning, which has been given over and over again, as to the danger of drawing conclusions from an isolated phenomenon, such as a single specimen exceeding or falling short of the legal weight to a notable extent. Such specimens are to be found in every coinage of mediæval times, and their existence is sufficiently explained by the Exchequer memorandum quoted above (Appendix xxv). So long as the moneyer converted the pound tower of silver



GROUP I. (1279)



GROUP II. (Jan. 1280)



into the proper number of pennies he was allowed considerable latitude in the weight of individual coins—in fact, his work was not condemned so long as there were not more than six strong pennies and six weak (that is, pennies departing from the normal weight by a grain and a-half tower). In the case of the farthings the permitted variation was five strong and five weak coins to the ounce.

When, however, a type shows consistently a certain weight, based on the average of a fair number of specimens, that weight may be taken as conclusive.

GROUP I.

The resemblance between the farthings and the pence figured on Plate II, under Group I (Nos. 4-9), is so striking that it is impossible to question their being part of one and the same issue; and the pence, like the smaller pieces, fulfil all the requirements of the historical evidence. They read as follows:—

a. EDWREXANGL'DNSEYB'

b. EDREX : ANGLIEDNSRIBN

c. EDW : REX : ANGL : DNS : RYB (with variations in the stops).

d. EDWR'ANGL'DNSEYB

Reverse.—In all cases CIVI TAS LON DON.

Type *a* has no hair on the king's forehead, and *b* is without drapery at the neck. On *c* and *d* the forms **N** and **II** are used indifferently, often in the same die. These four types or varieties are found of the London mint only. Types *c* and *d* are very abundant; *a* is quite scarce, and of *b* but two or three specimens are known. The true date of these pence being sufficiently proved by their identity in style with farthings which have been shown to have been issued in 1279, it is unnecessary to answer in detail the arguments which certain previous writers have put forward in favour of an attribution to the early years of Edward III. It is perhaps well, however, to make assurance doubly sure by insistence upon a few capital points. In the first place there is the material evidence of the irons used in making the

dies. Some of these served again for the coinage issued under the indenture made with Master William de Turnemire and begun on June 2nd, 1280, a coinage which can be identified beyond doubt, and it will be seen, when the history of the year 1280 is reached, that the *utensilia* existing at the mint were ordered to be handed over to him. Then the accounts of the Keepers of the Exchange of London show that the issue of 22·2 grain pennies in the reign of Edward III. amounted to but a few hundred pounds, a quantity entirely out of proportion to the mass of these pence which has come down to us. Moreover, there is nowhere any gap in the sequence of types between 1279 and 1344, in which latter year the weight of the penny was reduced from 22·2 to 20·2 grains troy. Neither is there any other year in which a large issue confined to the London mint could be explained. The evidence of hoards, too, is altogether against the attribution of these coins to Edward III. They occurred in the Northampton hoard, which did not even contain late types of Edward I., and, common though they are, they are found in very small numbers in hoards deposited in the latter half of the fourteenth century, although the comparatively scarce issue of 1344 is usually well represented in these.

Turning to the coins themselves, we find many points of relationship with the long-cross coinage, such as the low, flat crown, the absence of a fringe of hair on the King's forehead in Type *a*, the absence of drapery at the neck on Type *b*, the spelling out of **REX** in full on Types *a*, *b*, and *c*, and the frequent use on Type *c* of : or . as a mark of contraction, or separation. The Lombardic **n** on Type *a* connects it with the Edwardian long-cross coins, on some of which that letter occurs, and differs widely in form from that used in the early years of Edward III., until which period it does not reappear. The reversed **n**, on the other hand, is a link with the coins of January, 1280, on which no other form is found.

It is somewhat surprising that four distinct types should have been struck within a period of at most seven months and a-half (May 17th to December 31st). The rare varieties *a* and *b* may have been quickly superseded, but it is difficult to resist the conclusion that Types *c* and *d* were issued concurrently. The Exchequer memo-

randum gives the names of three master moneyers. Hitherto the name of the moneyer had always appeared on the coin for which he was answerable, but this system had now been abandoned for the first time, and it may well have been sought to gain the same end by the use of varying types. This view is supported by the fact that no mule between Types *c* and *d* is known, a circumstance which almost, if not quite, unparalleled in the case of successive issues, points to the exercise of special care to keep the two sets of dies apart.

Type *a*, which in certain peculiarities, notably the absence of hair on the king's forehead and the use of the Lombardic **ꝛ**, is most closely allied to the long-cross coins, and is probably the earliest of the four types, is found with its own reverse (though **N** is substituted for **ꝛ**), but it is quite as often muled with a reverse having the smaller and neater lettering of Types *b* and *c* (Plate II, 10). The reverse of Type *a*, which is distinguishable by the slightly larger and rougher lettering and the form of **π**, is also found associated with the obverse of Type *c* (Plate II, 11). It may therefore be concluded that it preceded Type *c*, and that the dies, though made by a different engraver, were used by the same moneyer.

Here, perhaps, history comes to our aid. The dies for the new money were delivered to Gregory de Rokesley and Orlandinus de Podio on the day on which they took the oaths, that is to say, on May 17th. On July 6th Hugh FitzOtho, guardian of the infant daughter and heiress of Thomas FitzOtho, the hereditary engraver of the dies, presented Stephen de Mundene, citizen of London, to perform those functions in place of the said heiress, and he was duly sworn in before the Barons of the Exchequer (Appendix xxxiv). This points to a change in the *personnel* of the engraving department within less than two months from the initiation of the coinage, and thereby explains the rarity of Type *a*.

Type *b*, which is even rarer, is apparently the first effort of the artist who designed *c* and *d*, which are undoubtedly from one hand, and which it closely resembles in style and lettering. It has several unsatisfactory features, and the form of inscription chosen was by no means happy; the king's name was reduced to the two letters

ED, which might have stood equally well for Edmund or Edgar, and even then the legend is overcrowded. Evidently it was not approved, and gave place almost at once to the earlier varieties of Type *c*.

It may be objected that this theory leaves only two types for three moneyers, since *a*, *b*, and *c* are to be attributed to the same; but it is quite possible that one moneyer was wholly occupied with the issue of groats, and arguments in support of this contention will be given hereafter, when the larger coin is described.

As regards the farthings: those corresponding with Type *a* (Plate II, 12) are easily recognisable, but it is difficult, if not impossible, to discriminate satisfactorily between those belonging to *c* and *d* (Plate II, 13 and 14).

To return to the pennies; these are found only of the London mint, and the absence of Canterbury or ecclesiastical specimens is sufficiently explained by contemporary documents. It is true that the late Mr. Burns, in his account of the Montrave hoard, mentions a single Canterbury coin with the obverse of *d*, but this must be, as he suggests, a mule struck in 1280 with a die which had accidentally survived and had been sent to Canterbury.¹

A very rare variety of Type *d* has an annulet on the king's breast (Plate II, 9). Mr. Andrew has shown, in his great work on Henry I., that the coins struck in London for the Abbot of Reading were distinguished by this mark. May not the significance be the same in this case? The annulet occurs nowhere else, either as stop or ornament on the coins of Edward I., and the iron with which it was put into the die must therefore have been prepared with deliberate purpose. The fact that the abbey was in financial difficulties from 1275 for some years onward, and that the King took an active interest in its affairs, if, indeed, he did not actually control the temporalities,² might account for the issue of Reading coins at a time when other ecclesiastical mints were still awaiting Edward's renewal of their privilege.

¹ We have obtained, too late for inclusion in the plate, a mule of similar character of the York mint. This, and other coins which we have been unable to illustrate, will be included in a supplementary plate.

² See Patent Rolls, 4 and 5 Edward I.

The groats of Edward I. are, of course, the well-known coins which have so long been absurdly misdescribed as patterns. The pattern theory seems to be based on the existence of an example of abnormally heavy weight mentioned by Hawkins, the present whereabouts of which is, we believe, not known. Of a score or so of specimens which we have been able to note, the extremes are 86 and 71 grains, and only two, both in very poor state, fall below 80 grains. As the lawful weight would be 88·8 grains, this variation is no greater than would be found in a score of specimens of any series of groats taken at hazard, though there is a tendency, perhaps not altogether accidental, to fall below the standard. The absurdity of the pattern theory is further shown by the facts that there are no fewer than seven distinct classes of these groats, and that even in the same class it is usual to find several different dies.

The issue of groats lasted for some years, and to arrange the various types in chronological order and associate them with the pence has proved a matter of difficulty. The earliest characteristics are shown by the following, which is therefore ascribed to 1279.

Obverse.—✠ **EDWARDVS : D'N' : GRA' : REX : ANGL'** ; Within a dotted circle a quatrefoil compartment, formed of double lines, the inner of which is dotted and the outer solid, enclosing a crowned bust of the King, wearing the royal mantle, the top of which is indicated by two wedge-shaped pieces ; on either side of the head is a pierced flower of five petals, and under the bust are three pellets arranged in trefoil ; in each spandrel of the quatrefoil is a trefoil-shaped ornament formed of three crescents, horns inward, surrounding a central pellet.

Reverse.—Outer circle : **DN'S RBR' EDVX AQVT'** Inner circle : **LORE DON IAC IVI** ; long cross with foliated ends, cutting the legends, in each angle of which are three pellets arranged in trefoil. The **N** in **DNS** is always of Roman form, with a dot on the crossbar. The letter **X** is usually of a peculiar form (see Plate), but is also found of the shape which occurs on the obverse (Plate V, 1).

After having come definitely to this conclusion, we made a discovery which tends to confirm it, and which is, on other grounds, of

great interest. The Roman N on the reverse normally associated with the double-line tressure obverse (which is sometimes muled with later reverses) always has a dot punched on the middle of the cross-bar (N), a peculiarity usually associated with certain readings and particular forms of certain other letters. This N is often found on the long-cross coinage, throughout its issue, but, so far as we are aware, is unknown on any coins bearing the name of Edward except the groats under discussion and certain pennies struck at York, Durham, and Newcastle (at the last-named mint halfpennies also), towards the end of the year 1280.

Now Master Peter de Turnemire, brother of Master William and one of the three master moneyers who took the oaths in London in connection with the coinage of 1279, was, in August, 1280, the king's master moneyer at York,¹ and, as will be shown hereafter, there is reason to believe that the dies for the pennies above referred to were supplied, not from London, but from the royal mint at York. In fact, the order for dies for the Archbishop of York, dated August 18th, 1280, is addressed, not to the Keepers of the Exchange of London, but to the Keepers of the Exchange of York (Appendix xl). We have failed, so far, to ascertain the exact date of Peter's new appointment, but the pennies with the dotted N were certainly struck while he was in the north, and it is, to say the least, a remarkable coincidence that this peculiar letter should be found only when and where he was master moneyer. Whether the mark was personal to him, and in a sense took the place of the now suppressed moneyer's name, or whether, as seems more probable, it was the whim of a die-sinker who had worked under him in London and subsequently accompanied him to York, remains a matter of conjecture, but its association with him seems to be beyond dispute. It must be remarked that the dot would be put in by the actual die-sinker, not by FitzOtho's engraver of irons, for the N is formed by two blows of a downstroke, connected by a thin bar on which the dot has been stamped. That Master Peter would have his own workmen with him on his transference

¹ See p. 120.

is highly likely, in view of the relations between master moneyers and their subordinates.

GROUP II. (JANUARY, 1280.)

On December 8th, 1279, an agreement was made with William de Turnemire, of Marseilles, one of the master moneyers named in the Exchequer Memorandum, appointing him master moneyer throughout England from the first of January next ensuing (Appendix xxxv). Two copies of this instrument have been preserved, one, apparently of the original draft, in the Red Book of the Exchequer, and the other, which contains important modifications with regard to the remuneration to be paid to Master William, in the Pipe Rolls. A doubtful reading, which will be discussed in due course, points to the conclusion that the same original was before the scribe in each case, but that it had been amended in certain particulars before the Pipe Roll copy was made.

The indenture sets forth that Master William shall be master moneyer throughout England—this, of course, only in so far as the royal mints are concerned, for he would have no jurisdiction over those of Durham and St. Edmund's—and shall strike money, at present, in four places, namely, London, where he shall have as many furnaces as possible; Canterbury, where he shall have and maintain eight furnaces, with the Archbishop's three, and Bristol and York with twelve furnaces apiece. He is to have a master moneyer under him at each of the provincial cities, and is to bear all the expenses of the mints and deliver the coins in a state fit for circulation. In consideration of this the King is to allow him 7*d.* for every pound of the old money recoined by him, and 5½*d.* for every pound of foreign silver coined. The King is to provide suitable premises for the four mints and to satisfy the claims of the FitzOtho family (the hereditary engravers). All *utensilia* existing in the London mint are to be handed over to Turnemire, but he is to return them in good condition at the end of the year, or on giving up his office.

The indenture next makes provision for the coining of the groat "throughout England," and it is noteworthy that it is spoken of in the present tense as a coin already existing, not in the future, as it was in the memorandum of 1278-9. It is to be coined on the same conditions as the pennies.

Master William is also to make farthings "which are now round and are called Lundrenses"—note the use of the present tense again. In 1279 it was expressly stated that these were to be coined in London only, but they are now to be made throughout England. The indenture reads: "and be it known that each pound (*i.e.*, pound tower) shall contain fourscore and three dozen over by tale, and there shall be put in the same more alloy than there is in sterlings because of the great expense of making the said small money."

As 116 farthings cannot make a pound, it is obvious that the scribe must have blundered in some way. At this period numbers were often given in hundreds, fourscores and units, and the only way in which sense can be made of the passage is by assuming that the copyist accidentally omitted "viijc." Inserting this we have seven hundred and fourscore farthings and three dozen over (or 816) to the pound, and this differs by four farthings only from the number fixed by the memorandum of 1278-9, namely, sixty-five dozen and eight pence, or 812.

Finally, it is provided that Master William shall begin work on the morrow of the Circumcision in the aforesaid year (of the King's reign), that is to say, on January 2nd, 1280.

This indenture is a further confirmation of the statements of the Dunstaple annalist, John of Oxnedes, and Florence of Worcester's continuator, who tell us that round halfpence were not issued until August, 1280, for, although it distinctly specifies pence, groats and farthings, halfpence are nowhere mentioned. An examination of the Keepers' accounts further establishes this point.

In dealing with this and subsequent groups, it will be convenient to base the classification on the penny, which formed the staple of the coinage, and was issued in much larger amounts and with greater regularity than were the other denominations.

The penny of January, 1280—one of the best defined types of Edward I.—is found of the four royal mints named in the indenture, that is to say, London, Canterbury, Bristol, and York, and also of the ecclesiastical mint of Durham, the bishop of that See having been authorised to have his dies on November 2nd, 1279 (Plate I, 5; Plate II, 15–19). It is not found at St. Edmund's, for, although the grant of a die was made to the Abbot on November 8th, 1279, circumstances which will be explained in due course, caused a delay of several months in the opening of the mint there. Characteristic features of these pennies are a narrow face and a rather long neck, in the fork of which the chin rests. The lettering is practically identical with that of group *Id*, except that the letter N is invariably retrograde, whereas in the case of *Id* **N** and **n** were used indifferently. Abbreviations are indicated, as in Group I, by a wedge-shaped mark. The King's crown is made with a new iron, but the hair is often stamped with the irons of the preceding group—a proof that the *utensilia* had been duly handed over to Turnemire.

No provincial groats are known of this or of any subsequent issue, and it is probable that the clause ordering them to be struck was never put into effect. The London groat which we assign to this group (Plate V, 2), is practically identical with that of Group I, except that the quatrefoil enclosing the bust is formed of three lines, one solid between two dotted, instead of two lines only, and that there is a dot on either side of the king's bust. The only specimen known to us has a reverse from a die of Group I.

Farthings are found of London, Bristol and York (Plate II, 20–22). Those of London, which still read **LONDONIENSIS** on the reverse, are easily recognised by the invariable use of **n**. This letter does not occur in the inscriptions of those struck at Bristol and York, but the absolute identity of style makes them easily recognisable. Another test is the small, compact, initial cross. That the minor denominations were not minted at Canterbury during the reign of Edward I. is shown, not only by the negative evidence that the coins are not forthcoming, but also by frequent entries in the accounts of expenditure incurred in sending farthings—later, halfpence and farthings—to that

city. The fact that the Archbishop had a share in the profits may be the explanation of this seeming anomaly, as no ecclesiastical mint was allowed to coin other denominations than the penny at this time.

It is not possible to determine with precision the exact date at which the very characteristic type of Group II was superseded by a slightly different design, but it must have been before the beginning of August when, according to the chroniclers, the first issue of round halfpence took place, as these little coins clearly belong to Group III. The accounts rendered by the Keepers of the Exchange from January 1st to May 19th make no mention of halfpence, but give the following amounts coined in London :—

	<i>Pounds Tower.</i>
Sterlings (which must include groats)	46260
Farthings 	5060

all of which may be presumed to be coins of Group II.

GROUP III (*circa* July, 1280, to *circa* December, 1281).

An enormous output was needed to replace the long cross coinage, which was finally demonetised in August, 1280, and new irons must have been engraved and new dies have been sunk almost daily. As a consequence dies are frequently made with a mixture of earlier and later irons, and a gradual evolution takes place, scarcely noticeable from day to day, but eventually modifying to no small extent the appearance of the coin. Certain distinctive types can be classed and dated with a fair approach to accuracy, but transitional specimens are numerous and, though any given coin can be placed with certainty in its proper group, many will be found which do not resemble exactly any of those figured in the plates.

It will be convenient to put together in Group III all those types and sub-types which can be proved to have been struck between the summer of 1280, when Group II ceased to be issued, and Michaelmas, 1281, which is the probable date of the closing of the minor royal mints in the provinces. IIIa, the earliest variety of the group



II-IIIb.

IIIb-II.



(Plate I, 6 ; Plate III, 1) is peculiar to the London mint, and is easily recognised by the shape of the drapery round the King's neck, which has the form of a broken ellipse. It is found muled with Group II, but we have not been able to procure a specimen for illustration, though such was found in the Dumfries hoard. The form **II** disappears and there is a marked change in the form of the letter **A**. Another peculiarity in which it differs from II, but resembles its immediate successor, is in having round pearls instead of spear-head shaped ornaments between the fleurs-de-lys of the crown. The wedge-shaped contraction mark of Groups I and II gives way in Group III to varying crescent-shaped forms, some of which are truncated. The groat figured as No. 3 on Plate V is connected with this penny by the forms of the drapery and of the crown. Owing to remains of solder (the coin having been formerly mounted) it is not possible to say whether there is any, and if so what, ornament on or below the bust. It has : instead of :: between the words on the obverse. The reverse differs from that of I in having the correct spelling **RIBN'E**, but retains the dot on the crossbar of the **N**.

Type III*b* differs from III*a* in the form of the drapery, which is now a mere semicircle, but retains the pearled crown. It occurs of London, Bristol,¹ Canterbury and York, besides the episcopal mint of Durham, and, like III*a*, is found muled both ways with II (Plate III, 1-7). The earliest halfpenny known (Plate III, 8) is of this general type, but has spear heads instead of pearls in the crown. It is found of London only.

It now becomes necessary to show why the Abbot of St. Edmund's, whose writ for dies was dated in November, 1279 (Appendix xxxii), and who had sworn in Robert de Hadeleie as his moneyer immediately after its issue (Appendix xxxvi), did not begin to strike money until the end of the ensuing June. The cause of delay was a dispute between the abbot and the king, and the history of the trouble, which is recorded in Abbot Kempe's register (Appendix xxxvii), may be stated briefly as follows :—

¹ The Bristol coin was obtained too late for illustration. It will be included in a supplementary plate.

When the money was changed, in the seventh year of Edward I., a die—that is to say, one standard with two trussels—was granted to St. Edmund's, but the Abbot thereupon asked the King for a "standard" of the money and an "assay," or test piece of silver,¹ also for information as to the number of pence to be made out of the pound. No precedent for this could be found—a strange thing, since St. Edmund's is named as one of the mints to which an assay was ordered to be forwarded at the time of the introduction of the long cross coinage—and the matter was consequently put off until the following (regnal) year when, after long discussion by the King's council, it was decided that no standard should be given to the Abbot, but that he should be told, by word of mouth, the necessary details, and ordered to make his money accordingly. The particulars were duly supplied by Gregory de Rokesley, but not until the vigil of Pentecost (June 8th, 1280), and the monk who has recorded them remarks, as if in surprise, that no mention is made of the farthing or the groat, coins which were issued by the royal mints only. This, by the way, affords further evidence that the halfpenny, which he does not mention, was not yet in circulation. The entry concludes with a statement that it was in the year of Our Lord, 1280, which was the eighth year of the reign of King Edward, and on the feast of St. John and St. Paul (June 26th) that we first struck money at St. Edmund's.

There are several very remarkable things in connection with the initiation of the Edwardian coinage at St. Edmund's. In the first place the coins, unlike all others of this period, do not bear the name of the mint, but only that of the moneyer, Robert de Hadeleie, although the use of the moneyer's name had been suppressed everywhere else. Secondly, what is certainly the earliest issue (Plate III, 9) is struck from a very peculiar die, evidently of local manufacture, for the irons with which it was made differ wholly from the official pattern. The use of a Lombardic **ꝛ** and the spelling **ꝛIB** instead of **ꝛVB** suggest that the die sinker took for his model a specimen of the groat, which, as has been mentioned above, was not unknown to the monks.

¹ See p. 100.

That something irregular had been done at the abbot's mint is proved by a commission to J. de Lovetot and G. de Rokesle, in July, 1283, to enquire who were the moneyers who had made the King's money in the town of St. Edmund's and had falsified the die delivered there by the king; to examine the money coined by the said moneyers and also the dies in their possession, and to seize the latter if they were not satisfactory (*idonei*); in fact, to make a thorough investigation (Appendix xxxviii).

It is impossible to dissociate this inquisition from : (1) the use of the moneyer's name; (2) the omission of the name of the mint; (3) the existence of the remarkable coin figured on Plate III, 9. The strange thing is that three years should have been allowed to pass before the matter was enquired into. What was the result of the investigation we have been unable to ascertain, but no very drastic action can have been taken, for, although we do not know under what circumstances Robert de Hadeleie ceased to hold the office of moneyer to the Abbot, there is no trace of a fresh appointment until the autumn of 1287, and his name continues to appear on a series of dies of official workmanship.

It is therefore suggested that, owing to the long dispute over the question of a standard, and the peculiar solution given to it, the matter of the supply of a die to the Abbot was overlooked. Gregory de Rokesley, whose duty it was, as Keeper of the Exchange, to furnish the die on the instructions of the Treasurer and Barons of the Exchequer, doubtless thought, when he was ordered to convey the verbal message to the Abbot, that the die had been supplied when the writ ordering that the Abbot be granted seisin of it was issued, some six months earlier, at which time Hadeleie had taken the oaths. The new Abbot, who had never superintended a coinage, would be ignorant of the usual routine, and there is every reason to suppose that, when the anxiously awaited instructions arrived, the monks, ignorant of the fact that they were doing wrong, or possibly misunderstanding the terms of the writ, set to work to make a die on the spot. This would account for the use of the moneyer's name, which had appeared on all previous dies used at the abbey. The omission of that of the mint is, perhaps, merely attributable to lack of space.

Once Hadeleie's name appeared upon the coin—which would certainly not have happened had the original die been made in London in the regular way—its perpetuation is easily explained. When a new die was needed its worn-out predecessor had to be returned to the Exchequer, and the irregular die must have gone back in due course and been given to the official die-sinkers to copy. Sooner or later the use of the moneyer's name and the absence of that of the mint must have attracted the attention of someone in authority, and the investigation of 1283 was the consequence.

THE LINCOLN MINT.

The accounts of the Keepers of the Exchange of London, from May 19th to October 18th, 1280, show a disbursement for sending a keeper of the dies to Lincoln, and, as such an official was only required when coinage was actually going on, it is evident that the mint in that city must have been opened during the period in question. The earliest type found of the Lincoln mint is III*c*, which also occurs of London, Bristol, Canterbury, and York, and of the Episcopal mint of Durham (Plate I, 8; Plate III, 10-15). It differs from III*b* in the form of the crown, on which the spear-head ornaments of Groups I and II reappear, and in that of the drapery, which, though composed of a single curved band, is broader on one side of the bust than on the other; another notable feature is that the pupils of the eyes are almost always very prominent. The lettering closely resembles that of III*b*, and the type gradually merges into III*e* (Plate I, 9, Plate IV, 1-4), the chief characteristics of which are a broader face, and drapery made of two triangular pieces. III*e* we have found of London, Bristol, Lincoln and St. Edmund's (Robert de Hadeleie). A coin of the last named, which we obtained too late to include in the plate, combines the general character of III*e* with the drapery of III*c*, and is the earliest coin with his name which exhibits the regular official workmanship.¹

¹ This coin will be illustrated in a supplementary plate.

Halfpence corresponding with these types were struck at London, Bristol, Lincoln and York (Plate III, 16, 17, 18 and 20). There are farthings, still base and heavy, of London, Bristol and York (Plate III, 21-3); they may be distinguished from those of Group II by the larger and broader head, the absence of the form **II** and the less compact initial cross. No heavy farthing of Lincoln is known, but these little coins are so rare of all the provincial mints that it would be unsafe to draw any conclusion from such negative evidence.

With IIIc must be associated the fourth groat figured on Plate V. It has spear-head shaped ornaments on the crown and comma-like contraction marks. The drapery consists of one curved piece, and there is no ornament under the bust. The obverse usually has : between the words, but is sometimes found with ::. The reverse has the correct spelling **RIBN'E**, and the dot disappears from the crossbar of the Roman **N**; the legend beginning with ::. The obverse of this type is found muled with No. 1.

Several considerations enable us to place the issue of IIIc with tolerable certainty in the autumn of 1280. On the one hand, the evidence of the Lincoln mint puts it before the middle of October; on the other the existence of the halfpence gives the middle of August as the earliest possible date of issue. The history of the northern mints, it will be seen, points to the conclusion that it had merged into IIIc before the end of the year, and it will be shown that the heavy farthings cannot have been struck after Christmas, 1280.

THE NORTHERN MINTS.

When, at a date which we cannot determine exactly, but which probably coincided with that at which similar demands were made by the other privileged ecclesiastics, the Archbishop of York asked to have seisin of two dies, as his predecessors in the See had been wont to have, his claim was disputed by the King. Litigation which followed resulted in a verdict for the prelate, who satisfied the jury that the Archbishop of York had been accustomed, from time im-

memorial, to have two dies in his church of St. Peter, but a further claim to every third die used in the royal mint was not established (Appendix xxxix). A writ was therefore issued on August 18th, 1280, and witnessed by the King in person at York, directing that the Archbishop should have two dies, with all things pertaining to them, "of the King's special grace," and without prejudice to the rights of the crown (Appendix xl). That this limitation had a practical bearing will be shown in connection with later coinages.

The Archbishop's coins are distinguished from those of the royal mint by an open quatrefoil in the centre of the cross on the reverse, a mark which was retained by all his successors until the reign of Henry VII.; some have also a cross or quatrefoil on the King's breast. Those first issued by him are of type III*d* (Plate I, 10; Plate III, 24-7), and this type is found only at mints situated in the North of England, at which it seems to occupy that place in the series which is filled in the South by III*e*.

It must have been soon after this that the royal mint of Newcastle, which had been closed since the first great output of Long Cross coins (1247-50), was reopened, for the following entries, which occur in the Close Roll of 1280, show that it had not begun to strike coin on August 24th:—

August 20th, York:—To James Orland', merchant of Lucca, Keeper of the Exchange of Durham, order to pay to Master Peter de Turnemire, the King's master moneyer of York, and to John Monet', of Florence, 500 pounds, by tale, of the King's new money in the exchange, to be carried by them to Newcastle-on-Tyne, in order to exchange them there. (Vacated, because the writ was restored and it is otherwise below.)

August 24th, Knaresborough:—To the same, order to cause to be delivered to Peter de Turnemire, the King's moneyer of York, 500 pounds of the King's new money in the exchange, in addition to the 500 pounds that the King lately ordered him to deliver to Peter to be carried to Newcastle, to be there likewise exchanged as the King has enjoined upon him. (Vacated, because this writ was restored and is otherwise below.)

Unfortunately, we have been unable to trace this transaction

further, but the writs suffice to show (1) that money was not being coined at Newcastle at the date of their issue ; (2) that there was good reason for opening the mint there. Accordingly, we find that III*d* was struck in that city, and was, moreover, the only type used there at this period.

Type III*d* also makes its appearance at the royal mint of York, and at the mint of Durham, and must have succeeded III*c*, which is found at both of them. It has been shown that the dies of III*c* came into use some time before the middle of October, and we shall probably not be far wrong in assuming that the issue of III*d* began somewhat about Michaelmas. As regards the Archbishop's mint at York, letters preserved in Archbishop Wickwaine's register show that it was in activity in the middle of November, and suggest that it had not long been opened (Appendices xli and xlii). The latest mention we have found of the Newcastle exchange is an order to the Keepers, dated May 28th, 1281, to deliver £1,000 to the Keepers of the Exchange of London.

As the order for the Archbishop's dies is addressed, not to the Keepers of the Exchange of London, but to those of the Exchange of York, and as the type is peculiar to the four northern mints, it is obvious that the dies must have been made at York, either from irons engraved on the spot under some special authorisation, or from irons sent there direct by the hereditary engravers. It is impossible to explain in any other way the absence of this type at the southern mints and more particularly, in the very complete series of London. III*d* is easily recognised, though it is difficult to explain wherein it differs from the southern coins, and with a little practice specimens may be picked out of a heap of pennies without reference to the reverse. Some of the dies show that peculiar form of the letter N, with a dot on the cross bar, which we have associated with the master moneyer, Peter de Turnemire.¹ This peculiar **N** also occurs on the reverse of the very rare halfpenny struck at Newcastle (Plate III, 19), which bears further evidence of provincial production in the substitution of one large pellet for a trefoil of smaller pellets in the angles of the cross.

¹ *Vide supra*, p. 110.

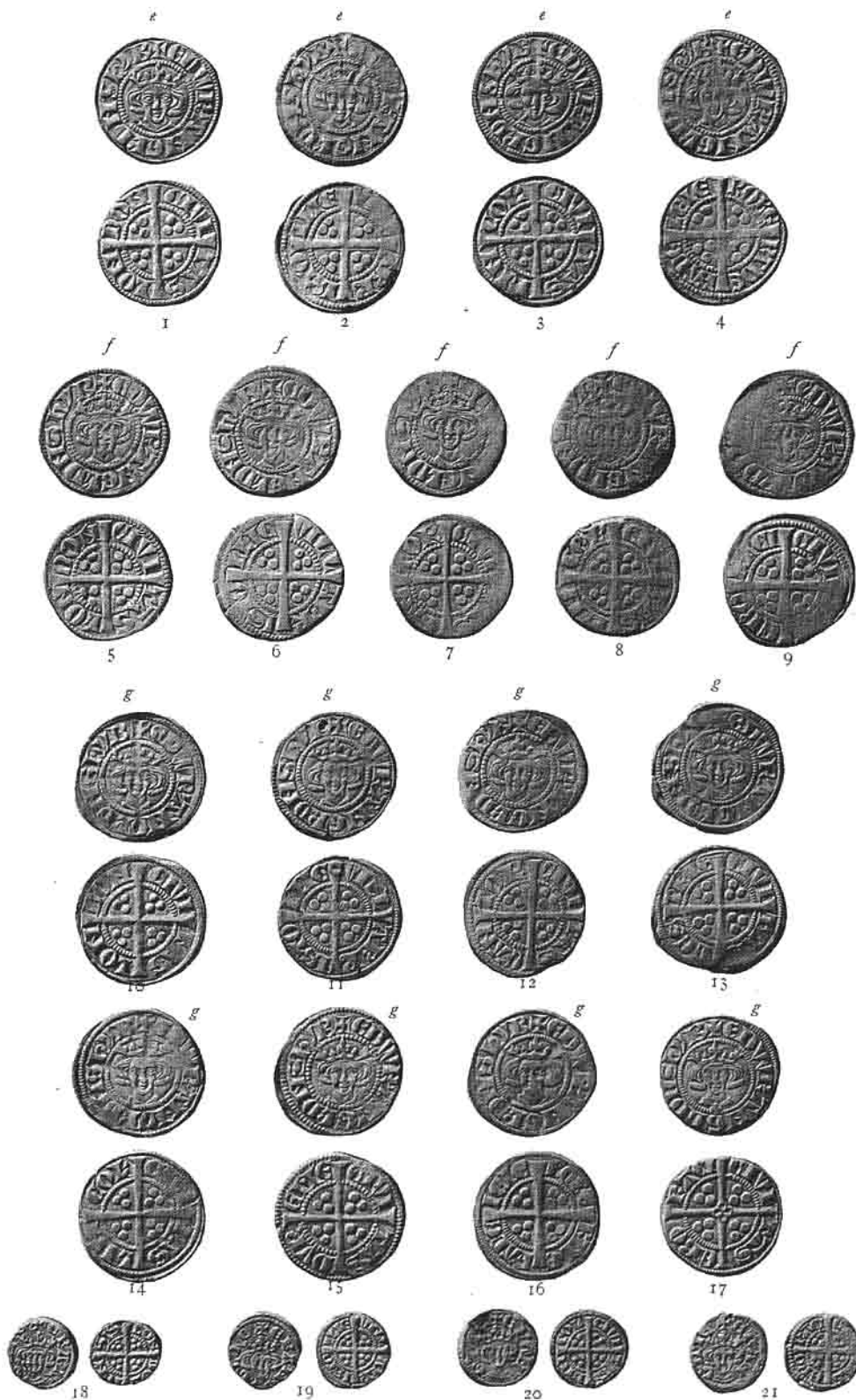
That Peter should have supplied dies to the royal mint of Newcastle, which was possibly under his jurisdiction, is not surprising, but it is remarkable that he should have furnished them to the Bishop of Durham, whose privileges were so jealously watched by the royal authorities. An explanation may perhaps be found in the facts that he was the brother of the Master Moneyer for all England, and therefore doubtless himself an influential personage, and that the King visited York while he was in office.

FARTHINGS OF STERLING SILVER.

Before discussing the date of the remaining varieties of Group III, it is necessary to mention an important change which took place with regard to the coinage of farthings. A memorandum in Norman-French, preserved in the *Red Book of the Exchequer* (Appendices xliii and xliv), sets forth that, whereas Master William Turnemire used to be paid seven pence per pound for recoinng obsolete English money, he is only to have sixpence halfpenny in future, but that the old price of fivepence halfpenny is to be retained for the minting of oversea silver. Eightpence halfpenny is to be paid for the coining of halfpence and tenpence halfpenny for farthings; and because halfpence and farthings are more expensive to make than sterlings they are to be so much lighter as will cover the difference in cost. The reduction in weight on this account, it may be remarked, would be so slight that it would be impossible to draw any conclusion from the weight of existing coins, which, if exactly one-fourth of the penny, should weigh 5.55 grains troy. The document concludes:—"And be it known that groats and sterlings, halfpence and farthings shall be of the same alloy and assay as the standard," which can only mean that the lower standard of purity formerly used for the farthings was abolished, and that all the coins were to be made in future of sterling silver. Finally, it is dated:—"Given the tenth day of February, in the twelfth year of the reign of King Edward (1284)."

That this date cannot be correct is shown by the existence of

GROUP III (continued).



light farthings of sterling silver, which, owing to their resemblance to the pence coined at Chester, cannot be put later than the year 1281, and by the accounts of the keepers of the London Exchange for the period from October 18th, 1280, to April 13th, 1281 (Appendix xlv), which prove that the change in Turnemire's rate of remuneration was made at Christmas, 1280. They contain the following entries:—

Coinage of £4,592 13s. 5d. of foreign silver at 5½d. per pound,
£105 5s. 0d.

Coinage of £25,832 5s. 8d. of old money before Christmas at 7d. per
pound, £753 3s. 7d.

Coinage of £860 of halfpence before Christmas at 9d. per pound,
£32 5s. 0d.

Coinage of £2,230 of farthings before Christmas at 11¼d. per pound,
£104 10s. 7½d.

Coinage of £12,804 0s. 11d. of old money after Christmas at 6½d. per
pound, £346 15s. 6d.

Coinage of £225 of halfpence after Christmas at 8½d. per pound,
£7 19s. 4½d.

Coinage of £1,180 of farthings after Christmas at 10¾d. per pound,
£52 17s. 1d.

It is true that there is a discrepancy of ¼d. per pound in the payment for making farthings, but the rate shown in the account is a record of the amount actually paid, not a mere statement, copied by a scribe liable to error. The date of February 10th, 1284, must therefore be that at which it was copied into the Red Book, not that of its issue.

Type III $\frac{f}{f}$ (Plate I, 12, Plate IV, 5-9) has been found only of the mints of London, Bristol, Canterbury, Lincoln and York (royal), and is uncommon of all of them. The York coin, which appears to be the latest type issued at that mint in the early part of Edward's reign, has the unusual feature of a Lombardic **n** and was probably struck from locally made dies, though its close resemblance to those of the other mints seems to preclude the idea of locally made irons. The letter in question could easily have been made by a combination of those in general use. On this type there appears for the first time (except on the groats, where it was used from the beginning) a new

form of the letter **s**, though the older figure is found on some specimens. Hitherto, **s** had been formed by a combination of two crescents and two wedges, but the new letter, though still made with a combination of irons, is thickened in the waist.

Type III*f* cannot have extended far into 1281, and was succeeded by type III*g* (Plate I, 13, Plate IV, 10-16), which may conveniently be called the Chester type, since it is the only type known (at this period) of that city. It is also found of London, Bristol, Canterbury and Lincoln, besides the ecclesiastical mints of Durham and St. Edmund's (Robert de Hadeleie). An archiepiscopal coin of York, of which we have seen only the specimen figured (Plate IV, 17) is made with irons which we have failed to trace anywhere else, but bears a general resemblance to it.

That III*g* was issued early in 1281 is proved by the Chester coins, for the opening of the mint in that city must have been subsequent to December 5th, 1280, when money was ordered to be sent there to open the King's Exchange.¹

The farthings of good silver, which have already been referred to, resemble the Chester type more than any other type of penny, and may be taken to be contemporary with it. They exist of London (where they are the last to read **LONDONIENSIS** on the reverse), Bristol, Lincoln and York (Plate IV, 18-21). As they are of sterling silver they must have been issued after Christmas, 1280, and the existence of a York specimen shows that the royal mint in that city cannot have been closed until some time in 1281.²

It has been impossible to ascertain the exact date of the closing of the minor royal mints—Canterbury of course remained open—but all the evidence points to its having taken place in the autumn of 1281, possibly at Michaelmas, certainly before the end of the regnal year (November 19th). Newcastle, which did not strike III*f* or *g*, must have closed much earlier. Such evidence as is available is contained in the following extracts from the Calendar of Patent Rolls:—

¹ Close Rolls, 9 Edward I.

² Halfpennies of the London mint which appear to belong to this issue will be discussed in connection with those of Group IV, and figured beside them.

BRISTOL. October 27th, 1281 :—Notification that Peter de la Mare, late Keeper of the Exchange of Bristol, rendered his account before the King at Westminster in the ninth year, for the whole time that he was Keeper, and retired quit.

BRISTOL. January 13th, 1282 :—Acquittance to Peter de la Mare, Constable of Bristol Castle, for the payment to Master William de Luda, King's clerk and Keeper of the Wardrobe, Monday after the Epiphany, 10 Edw. I., of £200 out of the Exchange of Bristol, by the hands of Thomas de Guney (elsewhere described as a King's clerk). No subsequent entries.

CHESTER. July 12th, 1281 :—Mandate to Stephen Sarazin and Robert le Mercer, Keepers of the Exchange of Chester, to deliver to Master William de Luda, Keeper of the Wardrobe, £1,250 for the expenses of the household. (No subsequent entries.)

LINCOLN. July 13th, 1281 :—Mandate to Ralph Raby and Ralph son of Benedict, Keepers of the Exchange of Lincoln, to let Master William de Luda, Keeper of the Wardrobe, have £1,000 for the expenses of the household. (No subsequent entries.)

NEWCASTLE. May 28th, 1281 :—Mandate to Hugh de Vichio to deliver out of the Exchange of the town of Newcastle-on-Tyne to Gregory de Rokesle and Orlandino de Podio, Keepers of the Exchange of London, £1,000 to do therewith what the King has enjoined them. (No subsequent entries.)

YORK. October 27th, 1281 :—Notification that John Sampson and John le Especer, late Keepers of the Exchange of York, rendered their account before the King at Westminster in the ninth year for the whole time that they were Keepers, and retired quit.

YORK. November 3rd, 1281 :—Notification that John Sampson and John le Especer, late Keepers of the Exchange of York, rendered their account for the whole time that they were Keepers before the King at Westminster, 9 Edw. I., and retired quit. (No subsequent entries.)

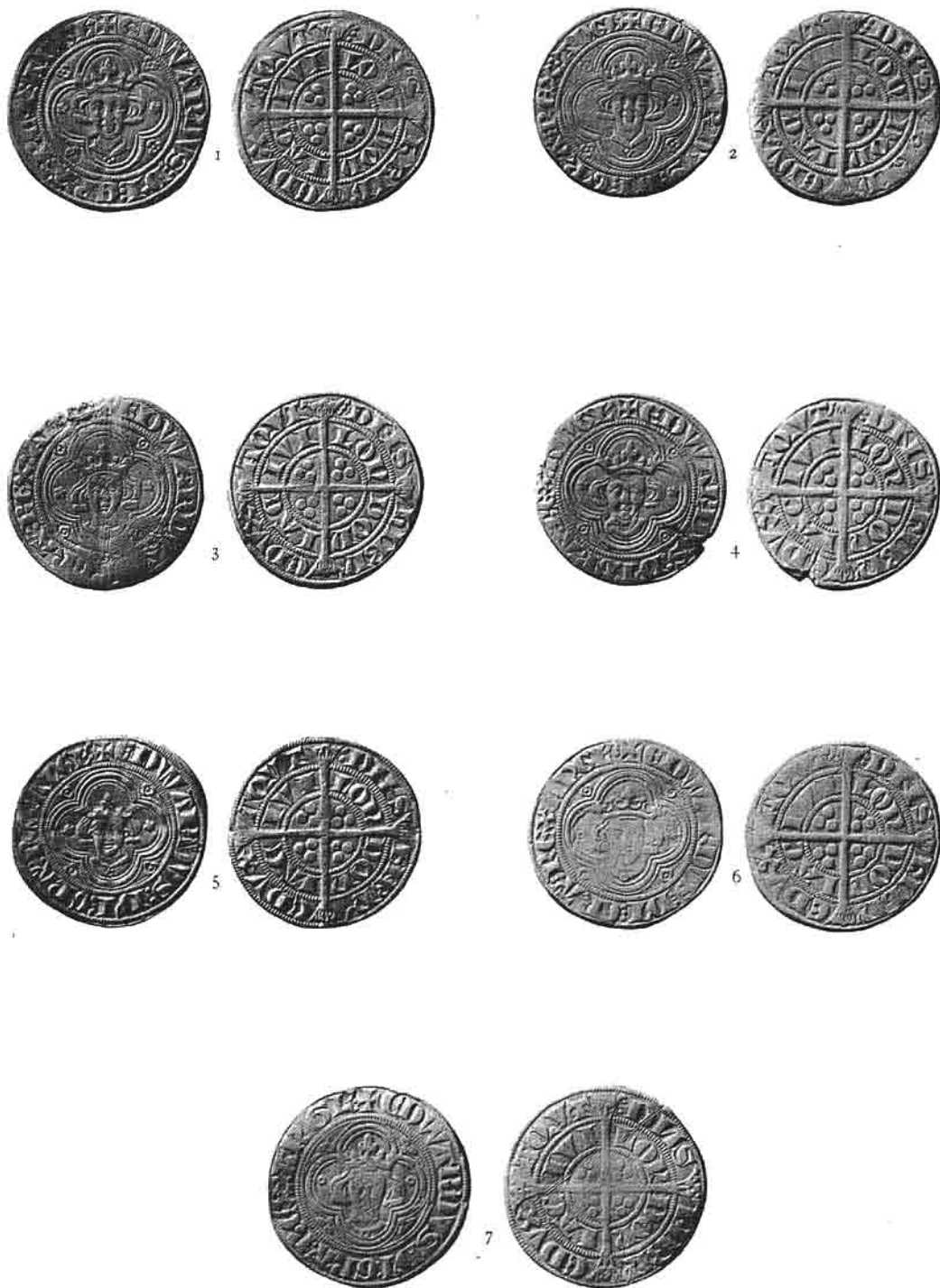
Those groats which have not yet been described (Plate V, 5, 6 and 7) do not bear a sufficiently close resemblance to any of the pence to enable them to be dated with precision. Moreover, we have been unable to ascertain when the issue of groats, which was certainly confined to a very few years, ceased. Apart from the evidence furnished by the style of the coins themselves, we have only two hints. The groat is referred to in the document given as Appendix xliii, but it has been shown that the date of February 10th, 1284, appended

to this, is not that of the subject matter, but that at which it was copied into the Red Book. It may be argued that the copyist would not have mentioned the groat if it had ceased to be coined, but it is more likely that he would have copied the document before him mechanically. This memorandum cannot, therefore, be taken as establishing the fact that groats were still being struck in 1284.

The other hint is found in the accounts of the Keepers of the London Exchange, which, until August 15th, 1286, show the amounts coined of *sterlingi*, *oboli* and *ferlingi*. From that date onward the word *denarii* is always used in place of *sterlingi*. This may be intended to mark a distinction, but it may be mere coincidence, and the piece which has been described by contemporaries as the *grossus denarius* might well be included under the term *denarius*. It must be remembered that the division into denominations in the accounts is not due to any desire to record the amount coined of each, but to the fact that the master moneyer received higher rates of pay for halfpence and farthings than for the larger coins.

As has been said above, the last three groats do not show a close correspondence with the pence. Whether 5 and 6 have been placed in their correct order is open to question, and the fact that 6 is found with the reverses used with 3 and 4 seems to point to the conclusion that they should be transposed. However that may be, we are inclined to assign them to Group III. No. 7, which introduces new features, is certainly the latest groat known, and may well belong to Group IV. As it has been necessary to include it in Plate V, it must be described in this volume. There is no change in the general type or inscriptions of the groats, and it will therefore suffice to point out the most conspicuous differences.

- No. 5. Smaller bust, with a very widely splayed crown; mantle indicated by two triangular pieces; ornaments as on groats previously described, except that a small pierced flower is on the point of the bust. Stops :. Reverse, **N** in **DN'S**, no dot on crossbar; Stops :; one die has the **I** in **ÆIBN'E** linked to the **B** by a diagonal crossbar, like that of an **N**. A specimen formerly in the Montagu collection (lot 401, sale catalogue, Plate II), has **DNS** and a • after **LORDONIA**. We have seen no mules of this type.



LONDON STEREOSCOPIC CO.

GROATS OF EDWARD I.

- No. 6. Crown of very peculiar structure, which is well shown on the plate; bust larger than on 5; Stops **‡**; we have seen no reverse which appears to belong specially to this type. The coin shown on the plate has a reverse from the same die as that of No. 4, which omits the contraction mark in **DN'S**. Other specimens have the reverse of 3.
- No. 7. Very large, spread coins; long bust with tall crown; larger lettering; ornaments in spandrils composed of three well-formed leaves; Stops **‡**; Reverse, **DMS**, without contraction mark or dot; Stops **‡**; new design, containing a conspicuous trefoil, at the ends of the cross.

We desire to express our gratitude to the Staff of the Medal Room at the British Museum, and to those gentlemen who have kindly allowed us to examine their rich collections, and in many cases lent us coins for the purpose of illustrating this section of our work. Thanks are especially due to Messrs. A. W. Barnes, Nathan Heywood, L. A. Lawrence, F.S.A., F. W. Longbottom, Lt.-Col. H. W. Morrieson, F.S.A., W. Talbot Ready, H. W. Taffs and F. A. Walters, F.S.A.; also to Mr. F. W. Lincoln, of Messrs. W. S. Lincoln and Son, for opportunities of examining the very large stock of coins of Edward I. in the possession of his firm.

APPENDIX.

(ii.)

Item data Regis Edwardi filii dicti Regis Henrici mutauit singulis annis die sancti Edmundi Regis videlicet xx die mensis Novembris. (*Red Book of the Exchequer*, 1067.)¹

(iii.)

Compotum Bartholomei de Castello pro se et Ricardo de Baumfeld' de exitibus cambie Londonie et Cantuarie a primo die Iulii anno 1^o per breue Regis patens usque ad xvi diem Nouembris anno liiii^{to} antequam Rex committeret predictum cambium eidem Bartholomeo custodi per se amoto predicto Ricardo per aliud breue Regis patens quod idem Bartholomeus habet penes se. Et eiusdem Bartholomei per se a predicto xvi die Nouembris usque ad vigiliū Natalis domini anno lv^{to} videlicet per quatuor annos et dimidium. (*Pipe Roll*, 114, Mem. 19.)

(iv.)

Compotum Bartholomei de Castello de exitibus Cambii Londonie a festo sancti Johannis Baptiste anno liiii sicut continetur in compoto suo de eodem Cambii in Rotulo iii in rotulo [compotorum] usque ad diem Martis in vigilio sancti Andree anno regni Regis Edwardi septimo incipiente antequam Rex caperet in manum suam Officiū Cambii Londonie per Hugonem filium Ottonis et alios de consilio suo. (*Pipe Roll*, 122, Mem. 28d.)

(v.)

PRO EPISCOPO DUNELMENSIS. Rex omnibus etc. Quia per testimonium plurium fide dignorum et per antiquos cuneos coram nobis exhibitos et eciam per monetam inde fabricatam quam venerabilis pater Walterus Dunelmensis Episcopus coram nobis protulit accepimus quod predecessores eiusdem Episcopi cuneos suos apud Dunolmiam habere consueuerunt reddidimus ei seisinam cuneorum suorum Habendam Ecclesie Dunolmensis sicut predecessores predicti Episcopi eam habere consueuerunt. In cuius, etc. Teste ut supra (*id est*, Windsor, June 12). (*Patent Roll*, 37 Henry III., Mem. 9.)

¹ The references for the *Red Book of the Exchequer* are to the edition published in the Rolls series.

(vi.)

Sacrista Sancti Eadmundi venit coram Baronibus xxix die ianuarii et presentavit ibidem Iohannem de Burnedis monetarium in villa Sancti Eadmundi. Idem presentavit ibidem Iohannem de Shulldham custodem cunei in predicto Cambio qui prestiterunt Sacramentum de fideliter se habendo in officiis predictis tam domino Regi quam abbati. (*Exchequer L.T.R. Memoranda Roll*, Hil. 49 Henry III., ro. 6d.)

(vii.)

PRESENTACIO CUIUSDAM MONETARII DE CAMBIO LONDONIE. Memorandum quod die Mercurii proxima ante festum sancti Dunstani venit coram Baronibus Bartholomeus de Castello custos Cambii Londonie et Cantuarie et presentavit Philippum de Cambio ad intendendum officio monetarii in predicto Cambio Londonie loco Reginaldis de Cant' prius Monetarii ibidem qui quidem Philippus admissus fuit eodem die et sacramentum prestitit de fideliter se habendo in officio predicto. (*K. R. Roll*, Pasc. 6 Edward I., No. 51, m. 5.)

(viii.)

PRESENTACIO FRATRIS SIMONIS DE KINKESTON' SACRISTE SANCTI EDMUNDI. Idem venit coram Baronibus et presentavit Iocum aurifabrum sancti Edmundi per literas Abbatis¹ eiusdem domus patentes ad custodiendum Cuneum predicti Abbatis in villa predicta et predictus Iocus admissus fuit ab eisdem Baronibus ad predictam presentacionem et prestitit sacramentum coram eisdem de predicto Cuneo fideliter observando. (*Exchequer Memorandum Roll*, communia de termino Sancti Michaelis anno regni Regis Edwardi quinto incipiente.)

(ix.)

Sacrista sancti Edmundi presentavit Iocum Aurifabrum de sancto Edmundo ad intendendum officio Monetarii in villa sancti Edmundi qui admissus fuit et sacramentum prestitit de fideliter se habendo erga dominum Regem in predicto officio. (*Exchequer K. R. Mem. Roll*, 51, m. 5d, Pasc. 6 Edward I.)

(x.)

PRESENTACIO ROBERTI CANTUARENSIS ARCHIEPISCOPI. Memorandum quod idem Archiepiscopus venit coram Baronibus die Iouis proxima post festum sancti Iohannis Baptiste et presentavit Rogerum Le Assaur ad officium Monetarii in Cambio Cantuarie et quod tres cunei eiusdem Archiepiscopi in eodem cambio cindantur sub nomine eiusdem Rogeri qui eodem die admissus

¹ Simon de Luton, abbot 1257-1279.

fuit ad idem officium et sacramentum prestitit de fideliter se habendo erga dominum Regem et predictum Archiepiscopum et concessum est eidem Rogero quod custodiat claves eiusdem Cambii et preceptum est Iohanni Digge Civi Cantuarie quod eas eidem Rogero deliberet et Bartholomeo de Castello custodi Cambii Regis Londinie et Cantuarie quod Cuneos sub nomine eiusdem Rogeri cissos ei habere faciat. Quere infra sub hoc signo.*

* Idem vero Iohannes unum cuneum de predictis tribus cuneis quem habuit ex concessione domini Regis Henrici per cartam suam que dicto die Iouis calumpniata fuit per Archiepiscopum quod facta fuit contra libertatem ecclesie Cantuarensis reddidit prefato Archiepiscopo die veneris sequenti simul cum carta predicta. Et de transgressione quam fecit retinendo alios duos cuneos ex demissionem Magistri Ricardi de Clifford tempore quo Archiepiscopatus fuit vacans et in custodia predicti Magistri Ricardi et ulterius usque nunc contra libertatem ecclesie Cantuarensis supposuit se idem Iohannes totaliter ordinacioni et beneplacito prefati archiepiscopi. (*Exchequer I. T. R. Mem. Roll*, No. 48, m. 7, Trin. 3 Edward I.)

(xi.)

Anno Domini millesimo cc^olxxvij^o in quindena Sancti Iohannis Baptiste tenuit Rex Parliamentum suum apud Gloucestriam fecitque statuta que dicuntur statuta Gloucestrie continencia xv capitula et in mense augusti fecit ibidem Rex statutum Quo Warranto et tractatum est de moneta retonsa per Iudeos et capti sunt per totam Angliam xij Kal. Decembris et detecta maleficorum fraude plures eorum suspensi erant factaque est in anno sequenti noua moneta et incisibilis et quadrantes et oboli rotundi quod pauperibus perniciosum erat. (Walter de Hemingburgh.)

(xii.)

Hoc anno (mccclxxvij) Iudei pro tonsura monete in magna multitudine ubique per Angliam suspenduntur. (Trivet.)

(xiii.)

Memorandum quod xvij die Maii liberati fuerunt cunei noue monete Gregorio de Rokesley et Rolandino¹ de Podio custodibus cambii qui prestiterunt sacramentum coram Baronibus de Scaccario una cum aliis ministris de eodem cambio de fideliter se habendis in officio suo predicto. (*Exchequer Memorandum Roll*, communia de termino Paschali anno vij^o Ed. I.)

¹ This name is more usually given as Orlandinus, which form has therefore been used throughout the article.

(xiv.)

Memorandum quod die Iouis proxima post festum Apostolorum Petri et Pauli venit coram Baronibus Gregorius de Rokesley Custos Cambii Londinie et presentavit Iohannem de Blaketorn' Radulfum de Rabith' et Iohannem de Heywode ad intendendum officio custodie cuneorum domini Regis in cambio predicto qui eodem die sacramentum prestiterunt quod bene et fideliter seruiunt Regem in officio predicto. (*Exchequer Memorandum Roll*, Communia de Terminis Trinitatis, anno vij^o Ed. I.)

(xv.)

Officium custodum cuneorum tale est quod ipsi sedeant et videant quod operarii bene percutiant platas ad cuneum missas et quod nulla plata percutiatur neque transeat per cuneum nisi fuerat bona legalis et recta. (*Red Book of the Exchequer*, 984.)

(xvi.)

In cambio Londinie ad cuneos Regis custodiendos duos sunt intendentes unus videlicet ex parte Regis qui ferrum et asserum emere debet et a fabro usque ad manus Sculptoris lamina ferrea formata portare ipsosque cuneos sculptos et rite paratos quotiens cudere et monetare necesse fuerit deliberare et monetarios ut aperte flodones cudant superuidere et alius ex parte dñi Iohannis de Buturtis qui habet in uxorem filiam et heredem Thome filii Ottonis cuius est feodo cudere cuneos Regis qui deseruiunt per totam Angliam qui capit pro sculptura et fabricatura cuiuslibet duodene vijs cuius vero officium est cuneos usitatos deformare ne amplius deseruiant et penes se omnes veteres cuneos ad opus dñi ut pro feodo suo retinere. (*Pinchbeck's Register of the Abbey of St. Edmund's*. Text taken from Ruding's transcription.)

(xvii.)

Eodem die (scilicet in octabis Sancte Trinitatis anno domini mclxxviii) mandauit Rex vicecomitibus Anglie ne falsa moneta vel retunsa ulterius daretur et Rex misit de fisco proprio veterem monetam integram non retunsam ad decem Anglie ciuitates ut inde fieret cambium donec noua moneta fabricaretur. Postea quarto die post Kalendas Augusti fuit primum cambium de noua moneta videlicet de denariis et quadrantibus rotundis et currebat adhuc vetus moneta cum noua per totum annum sequentem et tunc prohibita est generaliter vetus moneta. Oboli insuper integri interim formabantur et currere ceperunt die qua prohibicio veteris monete facta fuit. (*Annales de Dunstaplia*.)

(xviii.)

Inhibitum est ne quis ultra diem assumptionis de veteri moneta negociaretur. Facti sunt noui oboli rotundi. (Continuator of Florence of Worcester.)

(xix.)

Circa idem tempus Dominus Rex publico per totum regnum edicto proclamari fecit quod moneta retonsa amplius non curreret nec inuite ab aliquo caperetur quin etiam in certis locis regni ciuitatibus et burgis paucis tamen cambium fecit institui ita videlicet quo pro qualibet libra monete implacabilis darentur xvj denarii de incremento cambii et perciperent unam libram bone monete non retonse. Circa festum Pentecostes cepit regulacio monete retonse per totum regnum adeo ut infra tempus modicum nemo penitus ipsam admittere dignaretur. (Wikes.)

(xx.)

Eodem anno (1279) fuit excambium monete et annus ita sterilis quod a magno tempore tanta sterilitas non fuerat et annus durissimus propter sterilitatem et excambium simul concurrentia. (Cotton.)

(xxi.)

Facta est mutatio monete in Anglia quadrante trigono in rotundum permutato nec tamen adhuc pristina rationabilis moneta inter nouam discurrere prohibetur ultra vero consuetum obolis penitus suspensis factus est unus denarius magnus equipollens iiij denariis communibus. (John de Oxmede, also Continuator of Florence of Worcester, sub anno mclxxix.)

(xxii.)

Hoc anno circa festum beati Petri ad Vincula facta est generalis monete mutacio qua denarii qui findi poterant in obolos et quadrantes conuersi sunt in monetam rotundam valore pretii singulorum in suo precio remanente. (*Annals of Waverley*, sub anno mclxxix.)

(xxiii.)

Circa festum beati Petri ad Vincula moneta in melius mutabatur quia denarius findi in duas partes pro obolis et in quattuor partes pro quadrantibus consueuit ordinatum fuit ad tollendam occasionem defalcationis monete quod rotundi essent denarii oboli et quadrantes. (*Annales de Wigornia*, sub anno mclxxix.)

(xxiv.)

Moneta Anglie per tonsuram nimis deteriorata ex mandato Regis renouatur obolumque qui prius formam semicirculi habebat tanquam pars denarii in medio diuisi fit rotundus iuxta vaticinium Merlini dicentis findeter forma commercii dimidium rotundum erit. (Trivet, sub anno mclxxix.)

This passage is found verbatim or with slight variations in other chroniclers. Walsingham and Rishanger add the words:—

Facti sunt illo tempore primo et quadrantes.

(xxv.)

Premièrement ke hom deit fere un estaundard ke deit demoer al Eschequer ou en quel lieu ke nostre Seignur le Roy voldra. E solum la forme del Estaundard serra fete la mone e de tel bonte cum le estaundart. Et deit estre [merche] fete et ferue del enprente del vel coyn et del novel.

Enkore ke la grose mone de quatre esterlings deit estre de la bonte del estaundard sus dite.

Enkore ke les ferlings seient round, e doyvent touz estre fet a Londres, e nent aylurs et serrunt appelez Lundreis ; issi ke en quatre ferlings, ky les vodra fundre, len y trose autant de fin argent cum en l'Esterling, fors tant ke lenfaudra ceo ke il conferay[ent] plus a fere. E pur ceo ke ly ferling serroyt trop febles et trop petit de tel lay cum les sterling, si est purveu ke il eyt autant plus de lay. E est a saver ke il serrunt de peys de seysante cink souz e wit deners a la livre, e serrunt taile en tele manere ke en la unce puse aver cink fortz et cink febles ; et li plus forz ne pusent estre de meyns de seisante souz et wit deners a la livre, ne li plus febles de plus de soysante dis souz e wit d[eners] a la livre. E de ceo serra fet un estaundard, ansi cum des esterlings, e mis en Tresor cum le autre ; e deyt estre feru del coyn del ferling.

Enkore deit hom bailler al Mestre une garde, e cele garde deit garder ke les deners scient de peis e de taile, cest a saver ke en la livre ne deit aver ke sis fortz e sis febles. Si ke le un ne portera plus ke le autre de un greyn [e demi] del dreit dener. E cele garde deit peiser la moneye sus dite, e si ele est bien trove de soen dreit peys, li mestre est quites e delivere kant al dit peys de cele moneye ke serra livre de peys et de cunte. E si avenyt ke un dener fust trove a la livre forte ou feble plus ou meyns de un greyn [e demi] al dreit dener, pur ceo ne demore mie la moneye ke ne seyt delivre. Et deit estre la livre de vint souz e treis deners. E si il avenit ke un dener fust plus ou meyns ala livre, pur ceo ne demore mie ke la moneye ne fust livre al Mestre pur payer as marchaunz. E le Mestre est tenu a mender la defaute de plus et de meyns a la moneye ke il fera apres.

Enkore ke hom deit aver un boiste a deus clefs, dunt le un deit garder li Mestre [de la monee], e le autre le gardeyn. E en la dite boiste deit em mettre de chacun dis livres [fetes], un esterling pur fere le assay. E cele boiste deit estre delivre quatre fiet par an par le assayur le Roy, e cesayt [a les Cheker].

Enkore ke nostre seignur le Roy deit aver un bon assayur e leal, e ke cel assayur face le assay [de la moneye] quatre feth le an, secum il est ava(n)t dit. E si avenist ke les deners de la boiste seient trovez echarz de deus greyns e demy a la demy unce, ke pur ceo le Mestre ne seyt poynt greve, mais seit tenuz a restorer la defaute a la deliverance de la boyste [e de plus e de mayns] al dist de le assayur e des gardes. Meymes la manere sayt fete des ferlings ke sunt apele Lundrays de boyste et de tut cum de les deners.

Enkore ke le Roy face crier par tot soen reaume ke nul hom ne chaunge la

monoye, ne nule plates, ne nul autre manere de argent fors al chaunge le Roy, ou a teles persones ke al ceo serrunt assignees; e ke nul hom seit si hardi de porter hors del reaume de Engleterre la monoye abatue; e ke cunte ceo fra soen corse et ses biens seynt a la volunte le Roy.

Enkore ke nul orfevre ne achate nul argent, fors de vele vessele, si nun a chaunge; ne en nule vile seit overant nul orfevre fors en grant rues, a veue de gent, sur greve forfeiture a la volunte le Roy.

(The words in square brackets are interlineated.)

Nomina ministrorum Cambii

Gregorius de Rokele Orlandinus } Custodes Cambii. Idem sunt Custodes mone-
de Podio. } te et respondeant Regi in formam etc.

Magister Hubertus Alion de } Isti sunt magistri monete et respondeant de
Aste Magister Willelmus de } moneta in formam etc. fideliter super vita et
Turnemire et Petrus frater ejus } membrorum. Et insuper invenient fide-
de Marcell(ia). } jussores citra festum Sancti Michaelis
proxima futurum. [Jurati.]

Bonifacius Galgani de Florencia, assayator monete [juratus].

Johannes de Haydenstane, Clericus Cambii.

Contra-rotulator sit ex parte Regis.

N.B.—The words "Jurati," "Juratus" appear to have been added later.

(*Red Book of the Exchequer*, 980.)

(xxvi.)

Et ne futuris temporibus possit fraus fieri de legali moneta regni de consilio predictorum omnium pro utilitate reipublice facta sint duo assaia pond[us] utri[us]que Xs. quorum unum est de puro argento et aliud de argento ad cuius exemplar debet fieri moneta que duo assaia quodam quonio (=cuneo) impressa posita sint in thesauro dñi Regis apud Westmonasterium sub sigillo Maioris Londonie. Consimiliter facta sunt plura assaia in forma predicta dicto conio signata per diversa loca ubi erigitur cambium liberata scilicet apud Londoniam duo pondera xl denariorum unum videlicet purum ad argentum cognoscendum et aliud ad monetam—and at the other mints in the same way. (*Red Book of the Exchequer*, 1073-4.)

(xxvii.)

Ad custodem monete pertinet cognicio et pericia assaiandi examinandi et omnium aliorum per que sufficencia monete probari seu examinari valeat et cognosci quod si custos hoc ignorauerit habeat quempiam ad hoc ydoneum loco sui. Item ad ipsum custodem summopere pertinent per se vel per alium

ubique etiam in manu sculptoris siue ingrauatoris cuneos monete tanquam sigillum regium diligentissime custodire et videre quod in ipsis cuneis per monetarios apte et recte denarii prout condecet monetentur ipsos quoque denarios monetacione consummata conseruare tenetur cum omni diligencia et cautela ne a sua custodia ullatenus transferantur donec per examinacionem ydoneam fuerint liberati sic enim moneta tutissime custoditur. Sit autem examinador circumspectus in facienda qualibet examinacione monete eo studiosius tenerius et attencius quod unde magister monete exoneratur in examine inde ipse custos siue examinador totaliter oneratur ita quod post [examinacionem et] deliberacionis sensuram magister non tenetur amplius respondere. In potestate enim et officio examinantis existet deliberare monetam quam ydoneam inuenerit et non ydoneam reprobare ac ipsam remittere ad funditorium ad custus videlicet magistri emendandam et si necessitas exigerit fundendam ac in omnibus reformandam. (*Red Book of the Exchequer*, 1003.)

(xxviii.)

Ad Magistrum monete pertinet bilhonis¹ et argenti cognicio et eiusdem empicio et allaiacio ac omnimoda monete dispositio necnon et operariorum ac monetariorum suorum gubernatio et cohercio in hiis enim que ad gerendum idem officium requiruntur a nemine possunt regi aut distringi conueniencius quam ab ipso. (*Red Book of the Exchequer*, 1002.)

(xxix.)

Rex etc. custodibus cambii sui Cantuarie salutem. Quia de gracia nostra speciali concessimus venerabili patri Iohanni Cantuarensi archiepiscopo quod ad presens vobis liberet denarios suos proprios et percipiat emolumentum eorundem per visum unius de suis quos ad hoc deputauit quantum ad emolumentum trium cuneorum quos clamat ad se pertinere racione archiepiscopatus sui predicti prout temporibus predecessorum suorum temporibus aliorum cambiorum fieri consueuit saluo iure nostro vobis mandamus quod eundem archiepiscopum id facere permittatis in forma supradicta. Teste me ipso apud Cantuariam xxj die Iunii anno regni nostri vij^o. (*Registrum fratris Johannis Peckham, Archiepiscopi Cantuarensis*, 1882, I, 52.)

(xxx.)

Domino S. de Penecastro, etc. Cum dominus rex nobis tres cunios nostros Cantuarie ita libere tenendos concesserit sicut predecessores nostri eos habere consueuerunt eciam super hoc domino G(regorio) maiori London' et Rolandino de Podio custodibus cambii literatorie mandauerit quatenus dictos cunios nobis pacifice et plene habere permittant et domos cambii Cantuarie faciant preparare rerum quia predicti G et R dictos domos ausi non sint ingredi quia hostia domorum sigillo vestro sunt signata vestram dilectionem de qua plene

¹ See Appendix xlv.

confidimus presentibus duximus exorandum quatenus cum celeritate quam poteritis personaliter accedere dignemini apud Cantuariam et domos cambii cum utensilibus in eisdem existentibus dictis G et R vel eorum attornatis faciatis liberari. Et siquid sit in eisdem quod speciali indiget custodia super hoc si placet vestra ordinet discrecio. Hoc fiducialiter vobis scribimus scituris quod mora est nobis multum damnosa. Tantum si vestro sederit beneplacito facientes ut premissa effectui mancipienter et quod vobis ex hoc specialiter teneamur regraciari voluntatem vestram nobis super hiis rescribentes. Valete. Datum xv Kal. Septembris. (*Registrum fratris Johannis Peckham, Archiepiscopi Cantuarensis*, 1882, I, 52.)

(xxxi.)

Mandatum est Thesaurio et Baronibus Regis de Scaccario quod habere faciant venerabili patri R[icardo] Dunelmensi Episcopo seisinam trium cuneorum de sterlingis noue monete Regis cum omnibus ad cuneos illos spectantibus sicut predecessores sui Episcopi Dunelmenses cuneos ad predictum scaccarium habere consueuerunt in mutacione aliarum monetarum saluo iure Regis. Teste etc. apud Westmonasterium ij die Novembris. (*Close Roll*, 7 Edward I., No. 96, Mem. 3.)

(xxxii.)

Mandatum est Thesaurio et Camerariis quod habere faciant abbati Sancti Edmundi eandem seisinam cunei ad Monetam fabricandam et omnium ad huiusmodi cuneum pertinencium qualiter Simon¹ nuper abbas eiusdem loci habuit de huiusmodi cuneo ad monetam fabricandam ut predictum est. Teste etc. apud Westmonasterium viij die Novembris. (*Close Roll*, 7 Edward I., No. 96, Mem. 3.)

(xxxiii.)

Memorandum quod proclametur per totum Regnum quod nulla fiat tonsura de noua moneta sub periculo vite et membrorum et amissione omnium terrarum et tenementorum ac omnium rerum et bonorum quorumcunque illorum quos inde per iudicium Curie domini Regis convinci contigerit. Et Rex prohibebit ne aliqua tonsura fiat de eadem moneta sub pena predicta. Et similiter prohibebit Rex ne aliquis recipiat aliquam monetam de eadem tonsam sub pena predicta. (*Red Book of the Exchequer*, 983.)

(xxxiv.)

Eodem die (jovis proxima post festum apostolorum Petri et Pauli) venit coram Baronibus Hugo Filius Otonis custos filie² et heredis Thome Filii Otonis

¹ Abbot Simon de Luton died early in 1279. His successor, John de Norwold, was elected on May 5th.

² The entry reads "fil," but other documents show that the surviving child of Thomas FitzOtho was a daughter. See Appendix xvi.

ad quem spectat scindere cuneos predictos et presentavit Stephanum de Mundene ciuem Londoniensem ad intendendum loco predicti heredis officio predicto qui eodem die admissus fuit et sacramentum prestitit de fideliter se habendo in officio predicto. (*Exchequer L. T. R. Mem. Roll*, 52, m. 6d, Trin. 7 Edward I.)

(xxxv.)

[The words printed in small capitals are peculiar to the version given in the *Pipe Roll*. Those in italics are peculiar to the *Red Book* version.]

Conuentum est cum Magistro Willelmo de Turnemire de Marcellia SUPER FABRICACIONE MONETE (*die Veneris in festo conceptionis Beate Marie anno regni Regis Edwardi octauo*) in hunc modum videlicet quod idem (*Magister Willelmus*) erit magister monete (*Regis*) in Anglia et operari faciet monetam in quatuor locis ad presens videlicet (*apud*) London' ubi habebit tot furnesias quod habere poterit apud Cantuariam ubi faciet operari et sustinebit octo furnesias cum illis tribus que sunt Archiepiscopi (*Cantuarensis*) apud Bristolliam habebit xii furnesias et apud Eboracum (*habebit*) xii furnesias et in quolibet predictorum locorum trium (*videlicet apud Cantuariam apud Bristolliam et Eboracum*) habebit sub se unum magistrum ad custodiendam predictam monetam et ea que ad monetam pertinent et sustinebit sumptibus suis expensas et misas hominum suorum in eisdem locis videlicet predicti magistri monetar' et custodis platarum et funditoris garcionis in funditorio et aliorum ministrorum. Ita quod omnia onera et expensas portabit predictus Magister Willelmus in predictis quatuor locis et monetam reddet domino Regni coctam et dealbatam et paratam in omnibus sumptis suis et (*dominus*) Rex dabit ei pro qualibet libra VETERIS MONETE FABRICATA (*sterlingorum*) septem denarios ET PRO QUALIBET LIBRA ARGENTI DE GAUNT ET ALTERIUS ARGENTI CUIUSCUMQUE FABRICATA VD. OB. videlicet tres denarios (*et*) quadrantem pro stipendiis monetariorum percuciencium et fabricancium monetam et allocabuntur eidem magistro unus denarius et unus quadrans in decasu argenti ad ignem et unus denarius et obolus in emendacione cuiuslibet libre monete ita quod pro emendacione monete et in decasu ad ignem allocabuntur ei in qualibet libra undecim ferlingi¹ ut predictum est ita allocabitur eidem magistro unus denarius in qualibet libra pro stipendiis suis et expensis et etiam aliorum magistrorum sub se et aliorum ministrorum SUB SE (*suorum*) tam in cibis et potibus quam robis suis et aliis et pro carbone et pro cuneis emendis et scindendis et aliis expensis circa monetam et (*dominus*) Rex inveniet eidem magistro Willelmo domos in quolibet predictorum quatuor locorum aptas ad fabricandum in eis et sustinebit onus feodi

¹ Erroneously written "sterlingi" in the *Pipe Roll*. Confusion between the two words is very frequent.

(*domini*) Hugonis filii Ottonis custodis Ottonis nepotis sui quod clamat habere in custodia cuneorum vel satisfaciet eidem Hugoni pro illo feodo utensilia autem que (*dominus*) Rex habet Londonie in domibus suis monete liberabuntur prefato Magistro Willelmo in statu quo nunc sunt de prestito et idem Magister Willelmus eadem restituet in fine anni vel quando officium monete dimittet in eodem statu in quo tunc fuerunt. Conventum est etiam cum eodem Magistro Willelmo quod grossum sterlingum qui valet quatuor minores sterlingos faciet per Angliam eodem foro et eadem conditione quibus faciet predictum sterlingum minorem eo tam adjecto quod quia idem grossus denarius fabricari potest leuius quam communis sterlingus quicquid inde poterit comodi accrescere cedet ad proficuum (*domini*) Regis. Conuentum est etiam cum (*eodem*) Magistro Willelmo PREDICTO quod ipse faciet ferlingos per Angliam qui nunc sunt rotundi et Lundrenses vocantur ita quod (*dominus*) Rex habebit de qualibet libra tantum proficui quantum habebit de communibus sterlingis videlicet xii sterlingos et sciendum quod quelibet libra continebit [vii c] quateruiginti lundrenses et iii solidos ultra numero quo apponitur in ipsa moneta magis de ALAYO (*eslaio*) quam in sterlingis propter magnas expensas quas oportet ponere circa eandem paruam monetam fabricandam et estimatur quod in qualibet libra illius parue monete oportet allocari predicto magistro Willelmo decem denarios (*et obolum*) pro factura et omnibus custibus circa fabricam illius libre faciendis et remanebunt (*domino*) Regi de qualibet libra de proficuo xii d. ad minus. Et sciendum quod predictus Magister Willelmus incipiet fabricare in crastino circumcisionis domini anno predicto iuxta formam irrotulata in Scaccario videlicet de omnibus monetis predictis. (*Pipe Roll*, 132, and *Red Book of the Exchequer*, 985.)

(xxxvi.)

Scrutatis rotulis et memorandis de scaccario compertum est in memorandis de anno viij^o Regis Edwardi patris Regis nunc inter communia de termino Michaelis quod tunc Abbas de sancto Edmundo per fratrem Symonem de Kyngyston' sacristam sancti Edmundi presentavit Robertum de Hadeleye ad intendendum officio monetarii in cambio sancti Edmundi et Iohannem de Rede ad intendendum officio assayatoris ibidem et admissi fuerunt. (*Harleian MS.*, 645, fo. 117.)

(xxxvii.)

DE CUNEO ET MONETARIO:—Cum post mortem Regis Henrici filii Regis Iohannis facta esset mutacio monete in Anglia anno vij^o Regis Edwardi filii ipsius Regis Henrici idem Rex Edwardus concessit sancto Edmundo cuneum suum videlicet unum standardum ferreum cum duobus trussellis. Petierunt insuper conuentus sancti Edmundi a dicto domino Rege standardum monete et

assaiam eiusdem ponderis et puri argenti cum numero denariorum libre fabricate sed quia ista hactenus inaudita fuerant nec in aliquo domini Regis Rotulo huius petitionis pro tempore preterito aliqua inuenta fuit facta mencio cepit res dilacionem usque ad annum ipsius domini Edwardi Regis viij. Re g' (grauiter?) interim per dominum Regem et ipsius consilium plenarium diligenter discussa et examinata tandem viij die mensis Iunii anni eiusdem Regis viij ad scaccarium presentibus tam ipsius scaccarii baronibus quam aliis consiliorum ipsius domini Regis pertinencibus taliter pro cuneo sancti Edmundi est prolatum.

In Rotulo Memorand. ad Scaccarium apud Westmonasterium viij die Mensis Iunii scilicet vigilia Pentecostis anno Regis Edwardi filii Regis Henrici viij^o.

Cum labbe de Seint Edmon priast a nostre Seingneur le Roy qe lui rendist le Coyn sulom ceo qe ceo predecessoures auoient eu auaut et nostre Seingneur le Roy le Coyn lui eit rendu a la forme auautdite et meymes celui Abbe venist pus a nostre Seingneur le Roy et li priast qil comaundast qe lem lui liuerast lestandard cum aportenaunt a coyn acorde est par le conseil qe lestandard ne lui seit point liuere mes qe lem die a labbe de bouche com bien dargent puir est en la liuere de la nouele moneye le Roy et com bien de alay lem doit mettre a taunt d'argent et cum bien la liuere del argent mune deit peiser et cum bien de deners il doict auoer a la liuere par acounte. Et pus lui seit dit qil face sa muneye si cum feit liuerer (le) Roy.

Scilicet Grigorio de Rokeleye tunc Londinie maiori atque summo domini Regis cuneorum magistro siue ministro ab ipso domini Regis consilio fuit mandatum quatenus in permissis nos certificaret a quo talem recepimus certificacionem scilicet quod id non scripto scilicet tam nobis retulit.

La lyuere de la muneye content xij vnces. En la lyuere deit estre de fyn argent xj vnces deus esterlings et un ferling et le autre alay. Et la lyuere deit peiser monee xxs. et iiij^d. issint qe nule lyuere ne seit utre xxs. iiij^d. ne meyns qe xxs. ij^d. par counte. Et deit la muneye estre taillie ken la lyuere ne deuent estre qe vj forz et vj febles de vn greyn et demy le fort et de un greyn et demy le feble al dreit dener. Et si il auent qe vij forz ou set seiunt troues febles utre le greyn et demy en la lyuere troue par le assaiour ya (?) pur ceo ne lesse qil ses ne delyuere si plus ne iseint et cele et la muneye le Roy.

Vncia ponderat xx^d. denarius ponderat xxiiij grana. denarius fortis ponderat xxv grana et dimidium granum. denarius debilis ponderat xxij grana et dimidium granum. De quadrante obolo siue de denario precii iiij denariorum nullam adhuc fecimus mencionem. Anno domini gracie M^oCC lxxx^o qui et fuit annus regni Regis Edwardi filii Regis Henrici viij die videlicet sanctorum Iohannis et Pauli iuxta euidenciam per preceptum domini Regis in eius curia ut supradictum est nobis factum primo apud sanctum Edmundum fecimus monetam.

(*Harleian MS.*, 645, folio 152. The paragraph beginning "Cum labbe" is also found in the *Red Book of the Exchequer* (p. 987) with slight variations.)

(xxxviii.)

I de Louetot et Gregorius de Rokesle assignati ad inquirendum per sacramentum et cetera de Comitatu Suffolke qui monetarii monetam Regis in villa de sancto Edmundo fabricarunt et cuneum Regis ibidem per Regem liberatum et traditum intrarunt et falsauerunt et ad monetam per ipsos monetarios fabricatam videndam et examinandam necnon et ad Cuneos quos in custodia dictorum monetariorum ubicumque inueniri contigerit infra libertatem uel extra videndos et ipsos in manu Regis si minus idonei fuerint iuxta discrecionem suam captandos et ad omnes alias circumstantias negotium illud contingentes propter libertatem quamcumque non omisso (*sic*) plenius audiendas et terminandas et ad plenam et celerem iusticiam inde faciendam secundum legem et cetera. In cuius et cetera. Teste Rege apud Kaernarvan xvij die Iulij. (*Patent Roll*, 11 Edw. I., Mem. 13, dors.)

(xxxix.)

Willelmus Archiepiscopus Eboracensis summatus fuit ad respondendum domino Regi de preterito quo waranto clamat habere duos cuneos monetales in ciuitate domini Regis Eboraci sine licencia et voluntate domini Regis vel predecessorum suorum Regum Anglie et cetera.

Et Archiepiscopus per attornatum suum venit et dicit quod ipse clamat predictos cuneos tali waranto quod omnes predecessores sui a tempore quo non exstat memoria fuerunt in seisinam habendi predictos cuneos et ad maiorem euidenciam dicit quod tempore Henrici Regis filii conquestoris quidam Odo Vicecomes Eboraci impediuit quemdam Gerardum tunc Eboracensem Archiepiscopum quominus habere potuit placita in curia sua de monetariis et iudicia eorundem per quod idem Archiepiscopus sciens se inde grauatum accessit ad predictum dominum Regem et ostendit sibi seisinam suam et ius ecclesie sue Sancti Petri Eboraci per quod idem Rex mandauit predicto Vicecomiti litteram suam patentem in hec verba "Henricus Dei gracia Rex Anglorum Odoni Vicecomiti et R filio Godonis salutem Volo et precipio ut Gerardus Eboracensis Archiepiscopus in terris ecclesiarum suarum et in omnibus terris Eboracensis Archiepiscopatus placita sua in curia sua habeat de monetariis suis et de latronibus et de omnibus aliis et omnes leges et consuetudines suas et ecclesiarum suarum de omnibus habeat sicut et Thomas Archiepiscopus melius habuit tempore patris vel fratris mei et noua statuta mea de iudiciis sive de placitis latronum et placitorum monetariorum exequatur et finiat per suam propriam iusticiam in curia sua nec ipse aliquid perdat vel ecclesie sue pro nouis statutis meis set (sed) ea ut dixi in curia sua facit per suam propriam iusticiam secundum statuta mea Teste R Cestrensi Episcopo apud Wintoniam in Pascha." Et dicit quod ipse et omnes predecessores sui usi sunt habere predictos cuneos sicut eos clamat ponit se super patriam et preterea dicit quod omnes predecessores sui usi sunt habere quemque tercium cuneum de tot cuneis quot dominus Rex

in ciuitate Eboraci habuit et petit quod ius suum aliter sibi saluetur in hac parte.

Et Gilbertus de Thornton' qui sequitur pro Rege petit iudicium de sicut ipse nullum titulum ostendit de predictis cuneis habendis nec predictum scriptum sit solum quedam euidencia quod ipse predictos cuneos habere debeat si hoc sit ei sufficiens warantum et pretereā petit pro domino Rege quod inquiratur de seisina et modo seisine. Et Willelmus Louell Iacobus de Fryvill Thomas de Gunneby Johannes de Boxhale Willelmus de Holteby Robertus del Holm Thomas de Sutton' Radulfus Saluayn Willelmus de Hertlington Hugo de Linton' Willelmus le Staliley Johannes de Milforde Nicholaus de Okelsthorpe Johannes de Sutton' et Ricardus de Bruneby iurati ad hoc electi veniunt et dicunt super sacramentum suum quod predictus Archiepiscopus et omnes predecessores sui a tempore quo non exstat memoria fuerunt in seisina habendi predictos cuneos sicut eos clamat Ideo consilium est quod predictus dominus Rex nichil capit per breue istud Et Archiepiscopus inde sine die et cetera. (Placita de Quo Waranto, Rot. 9d.)

(xl.)

PRO ARCHIEPISCOPO EBORACENSI. Mandatum est Custodibus Cambii Eboraci quod habere faciant domino Willelmo Eboracensi Archiepiscopo Anglie primati duos cuneos cum pertinentibus ad cambiendum in ciuitate Eboraci de gracia Regis speciali salue accione et iure Regis et alterius cum inde loqui voluerit prouiso cum quod sacramentum recipiatur a ministris eorundem quod in aliis Cambiis fieri consuevit. Teste Rege apud Eboracum xvij^o die Augusti (*Close Roll*, 8 Edw. I., m. 3).

(xli.)

Domino W. de Maltone:—Faciatis cuniariis nostris Eboracensibus de mutuo hoc quod eis promisistis usque Natale Domini. Burtone xv. Kal. Dec. (November 17, 1280). (*Archbishop Wickwaine's register.*)

(xlii.)

DOMINO I BECK PRO MONETARIO:—Suo predilecto et precordiali in Xristo precentori Eboracensi salutem graciā et benedicionem Quia magistris Petro Gill'no Gwydonis magistris monete cuneos nostros et monetam ad terminum commissimus dummodo de fidelitate eorundem et modo securitatis nostre nobis si placuerit rescribatis ad eorum instanciam super hoc ut amicus premunitor et beneuolus nunciabitis velle vestrum ne dispendium incurramus aliquod vel grauamen. Datum apud Burtonam xij Cal. Decembris pontificatus nostri anno secundo (November 19, 1280). (*Archbishop Wickwaine's register.*)

(xliii.)

Il fet a remembrer ke la ou lem dona a Mestre Willeme Turnemyre pur ouerage e pur moneage de bilon de la tere de Angletere set deners lem ne donne

fors sis deners e maile ore aparamemes e pur ouerage e pur moneage de argent de outre mer sinc deners e maile ausint le fet om uncore e pur ouerage e moneage de mayles viijd. ob. e pur ouerage e moneage de ferlings xd. ob. pur charbon e pur totes maneres de custages e pur ceo ke mayles e ferlings custent plus a ouever e a moneer ke ne funt les esterlings pur ceo sunt il de tant cum il custent plus de mendre peis ke les esterlings e fet a sauer ke les gros deners e les esterlings les mayles e les ferlings serrunt de memes le alay e de memes le assay ke le estandard. Done le dime iur de Feuerer le an de regne le Rey Edward dozime (February 10, 1284). (*Red Book of the Exchequer*, III, 983.)

(xliv.)

Dicitur autem bilho moneta defensa que videlicet cursu caret. (Tractatus nove monete, *Red Book of the Exchequer*, III, 997.)

(xlv.)

Et in MMMM. D. ^{xx}iiij. xij.li. xiiij.s. v.d. fabric' et monetand' de argento de Gaunt Brug' et Bruc' per tempus compoti c.v.li. v.s. videlicet pro qualibet libra v.d. ob.

Et in xxv mill' DCCCxxxij.li. v.s. viij.d. fabric' et monetand' de veteri moneta ante Natale domini DCclij.li. iiij.s. vij.d. videlicet pro qualibet libra vij.d.

Et in DCCCLx.li. obolorum fabric' et monetand' ante Natale domini xxxij.li. v.s. videlicet pro qualibet libra ix.d.

Et in MMCCxxx.li. ferlingorum fabric' et monetand' ante Natale domini Ciiij.li. x.s. vij.d. ob. videlicet pro qualibet libra xj.d. quadrans.

^{xx}
Summa DCCCCiiij.xv.li. iiij.s. ij.d. ob.

Et in xij. mill' DCCCiiij.li. xj.d. fabric' et monetand' de veteri moneta post Natale domini CCCxlvj.li. xv.s. vj.d. videlicet pro qualibet libra vj.d. ob.

Et in CCxxv.li. obolorum fabric' et monetand' post Natale vij.li. xix.s. iiij.d. ob. videlicet pro libra viij.d. ob.

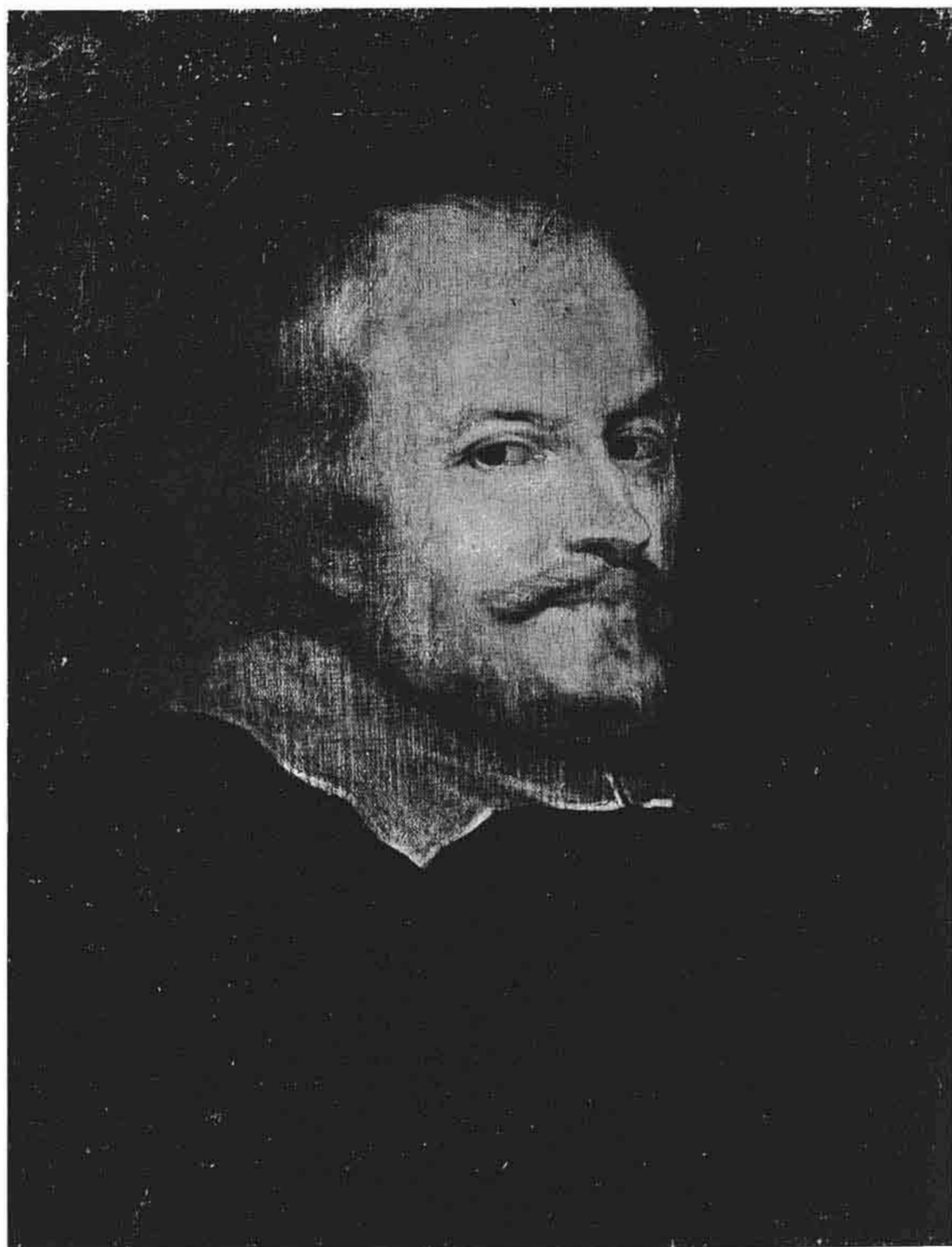
^{xx}
Et in MCiiij.li. ferlingorum fabric' et monetand' post Natale Lij.li. xvij.s. i.d. videlicet pro libra x.d. ob. quadrans.

Summa CCCCvij.li. xj.s. xj.d. ob.

(Extract from keepers' accounts for the period from October 18, 1280, to April 13, 1281. *Pipe Roll*, 15 Edw. I., 132.)

Erratum.

In Appendix i (vol. vi, p. 212, line 7), for "Breuis" read "Breue."



WILLIAM SHAKSPERE.

THE PORTRAIT ON WHICH THE MEDAL OF 1911 IS BASED;
IN THE POSSESSION OF W. SHARP OGDEN.