




THE SAXON, NORMAN AND PLANTAGENET COINAGE OF WALES (WITH FOUR ANGLO-SAXON PENNIES.)

X.—XIII. CENTURIES.

# THE SAXON, NORMAN AND PLANTAGENET COINAGE OF WALES.

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## COINAGE OF HOWEL DDA, 913-948.

 AN account of the coin, the obverse of which figured so prominently at the head of the various editions of the Prospectus of this Society, has probably been awaited with some interest. This silver penny, with two others of the Saxon King Eadmund, formed Lot 1 at the sale of a collection of coins and medals, "The Property of a Nobleman," by Messrs. Sotheby Wilkinson and Hodge on the 29th June, 1903, just after the foundation of this Society. The following are the descriptions from the catalogue of the three coins :—

Lot I. Penny of Eadmund—*Obverse*.—+ EADMUND REX. Small cross pattée—*Reverse*.—MELPOMNE in two lines, divided by crosses; above and below, rosette (Ruding, XVIII, 4). Another similar, King's name retrograde, moneyer AFRANDER. Another of Eadgar (?), same type, King's name blundered, moneyer GIL + SVL +, letters in field (Ruding, Plate XXI, 10), well preserved.

The late owner of the coins, the pleasure of whose friendship the writer has had for a number of years, relates that the coins were taken by him to the British Museum, and that one of the officials in the Coin and Medal Department undertook the cataloguing of the collection. To the want of perception on the part of this official, and of the numerous other persons who had the opportunity of seeing the lot, the author is indebted for the acquisition, at a nominal figure, of three very interesting coins.

As the catalogue description is in material respects inaccurate, the correct descriptions of the three coins constituting Lot 1 will now be given, although it is only with the last of them that this paper is immediately concerned.

1. *Obverse*.—EADMYND REX, between two circles; in centre, small cross pattée.

*Reverse*.—MÆLD, in the upper line, OMENĒ (the ME in monogram) in the lower line, divided by three crosses; above and below, ornament composed of six pellets around a central pellet. Plate, Fig. 2.

2. *Obverse*.—+FΛδβδΛΛΔδKE+ (retrograde and reading outwards) between two circles; in centre, small cross pattée.

*Reverse*.—AFRA, in the upper line, II<sub>o</sub>DER, in the lower line; above, ornament composed of seven pellets around central pellet; and below, ornament composed of eight pellets around a central pellet. Plate, Fig. 3.

3. *Obverse*.—+HOF/EL REX.:E between two circles; in centre, small cross pattée.

*Reverse*.—GIL+.: in the upper line, ∞ZVL+ in the lower line divided by three crosses; above and below ornament composed of six pellets around a central pellet. Plate, Fig. 1.

As regards (1), the almost classical MELPOMNE (MELPOMENE!) of the cataloguer is really the well-known moneyer of Chester MÆLDOMEN followed by what is probably intended for the monogram LĒ of the mint name LEIGECEASTER (Chester). This specimen has additional interest in that it is over-struck on a coin bearing a bust, or portrait, but whether of Eadmund or of his immediate predecessor, Æthelstan, is uncertain.

Concerning (2), instead of the moneyer AFRANDER we have the moneyer AFRA followed by an abbreviation II<sub>o</sub> for monetarius or moneta, and the mint name DER for Derby. This is the only coin hitherto noted of Eadmund bearing the name of Derby as its minting place.

As regards (3), one of the most important coins which has come to light in recent years, the obverse reads with absolute clearness +HOPÆL REX: Æ for Howel Rex, the last letter is probably Ʒ with a mark of contraction through the upright stroke, for the mark cuts right through the upright, and is intended for Cymrionum, or whatever the Latin equivalent for Cymri in the genitive plural then was.

The reverse discloses the name of the moneyer GILLYZ, *viz.*—GIL (forward) and LYZ (retrograde) the ∞ (= S) above the Z signifying the possessive case, MOT for MONETA being understood.

The three coins, when they came into the possession of the writer, were coated with the green deposit so usual in the case of coins of the period, and, in addition, No. 1 had some rusty spots and a dark tone, but looking to their general appearance they may well have been discovered together. After cleaning, Nos. 2 and 3 disclosed white silver, but No. 1 still retains a slightly darker tone. These indications, coupled with the fact that the three coins are of the not far distant mints of Chester and Derby, raise the inference that they were probably found together in north-west Mercia. The coin reading HOPÆL REX is the first coin found or identified bearing the name of a King of Cymru (the land of brothers), or, as the country is called by those not inhabiting it, Wales (the land of strangers). The name Howel is one frequently occurring in the annals of Cambria, and it is now proposed to consider to which of the kings of this name the piece in question may be reasonably attributed.

The types of the obverse and reverse of the coin are common to the Saxon Kings Eadmund, Eadred, Eadwig and Eadgar, and, like certain types of the Northumbrian Kings Anlaf and Eric, were imitated from those of the neighbouring Kings of Wessex and Mercia. A moneyer Ingelgar, for example, coined for Anlaf, Eric and Eadred at York, as did the moneyer Hunred at the same place for Eric and Eadred.

In like manner the moneyer GILLYS coined for Eadred (no mint specified) and for Eadgar at Chester, and also for Eadgar, in his last type, at Hereford. The following are descriptions of coins by this moneyer.

1. EADRED 946-955. — *Obverse*. — EADRED REX. Small cross pattée. — *Reverse*. — GILLE, 3 MOT, 0++ in three lines; above and below, rosette of pellets. Plate, Fig. 4. *P. Carlyon-Britton*.
2. EADGAR 957-975. — *Obverse*. — EADGAR REX. Small cross in centre. — *Reverse*. — GILLVS MO.OL+EO for GILLVS MO LE in three lines; above and below, rosette of pellets. Struck at Chester, Montagu Sale Catalogue Lot 713.
3. *Obverse*. — Same. — *Reverse*. — GILLYS MÖL+EO, same type. Struck at Chester. Plate, Fig. 5. *P. Carlyon-Britton*.
4. *Obverse*. — +EADGAR RE+. — *Reverse*. — GILLV3 ÖL+EO, same type. *British Museum Catalogue*, Vol. II, No. 28.
5. *Obverse*. — +EADGARE. — *Reverse*. — GILLYS O+O, same type. Weight, 22.9 grains. *British Museum Catalogue*, Vol. II, No. 157.
6. *Obverse*. — +EADGAR RE+. — *Reverse*. — GILYZ MÖ O+O, same type. Weight, 23.5 grains. *British Museum Catalogue*, Vol. II, No. 158.
7. EADGAR. — *Obverse*. — +EADGAR REX ANGLON. Filleted bust to left. — *Reverse*. — +GYLLIS M+O HEREFO. Small cross pattée. Struck at Hereford, *Hildebrand*, No. 16.

The coin of Howel bears a nearer resemblance in workmanship to the pennies of Eadmund, 939-946, than to those of the other Saxon kings of about the period when it was presumably struck, the triangle of pellets on both the obverse and reverse, and the extra cross in the upper line of the reverse, being characteristic features of some of Eadmund's coins.

The most celebrated Howel was Howel Dda, or Howel the Good, son of Cadelh, son of Rodri Mawr, or Roderic the Great. From the *Annales Cambriæ* we learn that King Cadelh (Catell, Catel), the son of Rodri, died in A.D. 909, and that Anaraud (Anaraut), King of the Britons, (Welsh), died in A.D. 915. The date of Howel's death is given in the

*Annales Cambriæ* as occurring in A.D. 950, but in the *Brut-y-Tywysogion* the entry is

“948. And Howel the Good, son of King Cadell, chief and glory of all the Britons, died.”

The years of the *Annales Cambriæ* appear to be always two in advance of those of the *Brut-y-Tywysogion*, so that the date of the death of King Cadell would, according to the latter reckoning, be A.D. 907, and the death of King Anaraud, A.D. 913. It is presumed, therefore, that the reign of Howel Dda extended from A.D. 913 to 948 or from A.D. 915 to 950, a period of thirty-five years.

During some of these years Eadweard, the son of Ælfred the Great, was King of Wessex, while Æthelflæd, daughter of Ælfred, was Lady of the Mercians until her death in 922, when Eadweard became King of Wessex and Mercia until his death in 925. He was succeeded by his son Æthelstan, who ruled until the 27th of October, 939, when he was succeeded by his brother Eadmund, who reigned until assassinated by Leofa, at Pucklechurch, in Gloucestershire, on the 26th of May, 946. Eadmund was followed by his brother Eadred, who in his turn died on the 23rd of November, 955.

The reign of Eadweard was one of constant strife with the Danes; and in subduing them he was most ably assisted by his equally warlike sister Æthelflæd, Lady of the Mercians. They adopted the system of raising burhs, or fortifications, over against the strongholds of their enemies. The *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* abounds with accounts of the erection of burhs and with stories of the submission, and rebellion anew, of the Danes and their allies, the Irish-Danes, Scots and Welsh. The Welsh, or Cymri, conscientiously believing in their ancient rights, were always willing to assist a new invader in harassing the older Angle and Saxon usurpers. Under the year 907 in the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, we learn that Chester was then renovated, a place, which, in 894, had been described as a desolated city called Legaceaster in Wirrall. In June, 916, Æthelflæd sent a force into Wales and took Brecknock by storm, and there captured the King's wife with four-and-thirty persons; that she was the wife of Howel Dda is usually accepted, and,



in any case, this discloses a state of unfriendly feeling between the Mercians and their more anciently established neighbours in Cymru. In 922 all the people in the Mercians' land, who had before been subject to Æthelflæd, submitted to King Eadweard, and the kings of the North Welsh, *Howel* and *Cledauc* and *Jeothwel*, and all the North Welsh race sought him for lord. This submissive attitude seems to have been chiefly dependent on the warlike king's near presence, as in the year 924, when King Eadweard had nearly completed his victorious career, the *Chronicle* again recounts that he was chosen for father and for lord by the King of the Scots and King Ragnald (who had won York in the previous year), and the sons of Eadulf, and all those who dwelt in Northumbria, as well English as Danish and Northmen, and others, and also the King of the Strathclyde Welsh and all the Strathclyde Welsh.

In this connexion *William of Malmesbury* tells us that King Eadweard, after many noble exploits, both in war and peace, a few days before his death *subdued the contumacy of the City of Chester, which was rebelling in confederacy with the Britons*, and placing a garrison there, he fell sick and died shortly afterwards at Fearndun.<sup>1</sup>

The "subduing" was not, however, very lasting, as in the next year we read that the new king, Æthelstan, subjugated all the kings that were in this island, *Howel*, King of the West Welsh, and *Constantine*, King of the Scots, and *Owen*, King of *Gwent*, and *Ealdred*, son of *Eadulf*, of *Bamborough*; and with pledge and with oaths they confirmed peace in the place which is named *Eâmôt* on the twelfth day of July, 926, and renounced every kind of idolatry, and after that departed in peace.

In the year 926 (924) we find from the *Annales Cambriæ* that *Howel Dda*, the son of *Cadelh*, went to Rome, and *Elen*, his mother, died. He seems to have taken the opportunity afforded by the conclusion of peace with King Æthelstan to have gone to Rome to obtain the sanction of the Pope to the celebrated code of laws, more fully referred to hereafter, in respect of which his reputation has been chiefly preserved to this day. In 937 he is believed to have been one of the kings defeated by *Athelstan* at the great battle of *Bremesburgh*.

<sup>1</sup> Probably Farndon in Cheshire.

The *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, during the reigns of Æthelstan, Eadmund and Eadred, contains no further direct reference to Wales, though, under the year 944, it is recorded that King Eadmund harried over all Cumberland, a province then still claimed by the Welsh, and gave it up to Malcolm, King of the Scots, on the condition that he should be his co-operator both on sea and on land. Eadmund and his brother Eadred seem to have been chiefly occupied in wars with Northumbria and its Hiberno-Danish rulers. The *Chronicle* records the history of successive battles, peaces and renewals of strife, ultimately terminating in Eadred's possession of the Northumbrian realm.

Let us now consider when the coin of Howel Dda is likely to have been minted.

In the preface to the *Ancient Laws and Institutes of Wales*, 1841 (*Aneurin Owen*), it is stated that "about the commencement of the tenth century we find Howel Dda, or Howel the Good, a conspicuous king in South Wales, in the government of which he succeeded his father Cadell. He inherited from his mother Elen possessions in Powys, and his influence appears to have been powerful throughout North Wales." As we have seen above, Howel went to Rome in 926, and in the same year his mother Elen died.

The reign of Æthelstan seems to have been one when the strength of the King of Wessex was fully felt, but, on his death in 940, when his brother Eadmund, a lad of 18 years, succeeded, it may well be that Howel Dda, then in the height of his power, tried to put into execution the Cymric ideal of a ruler of all the Britons, the wearer of Arthur's crown. For this purpose Chester was the best available capital, uniting as it did the land of Cymru and the territories of the Strathclyde Welsh, situate in the fairest vale of the land and commanding the seas leading to and from Ireland, the land of the foes to English rule and the constant invaders of Northumbria.

No coin of Eadweard, Æthelstan, or Eadmund bearing the name of Howel's moneyer, Gillys, has yet been recorded, but as we have seen, the name occurs on those of Eadred and Eadgar, and in the case of the earlier coins of the latter king, in conjunction with the mint of Chester. It is therefore suggested that the coin of Howel Dda is of



Eadmund's reign, soon after his accession, and that Gillys continued to coin at Chester for Eadred and Eadgar, just as Ingelgar coined at York for Anlaf, Eric and Eadred.

In the laws of Howel Dda he is styled "Prince of Cymru" and "King of all Cymru." There are three versions of the code, one for Venedotia, or North Wales, a copy being deposited at the King's Court at Aberffraw; one for Demetia, or South Wales, a copy being deposited at Dynevor; and the third for Gwent, or South-east Wales. The laws show that the king had a proper conception of his dignity. In his great hall at Aberffraw, in Gwynedd, the King was inviolable; the violation of his protection, or violence in his presence, could only be atoned for by a great fine—a hundred cows and a white bull with red ears for each cantrev, or hundred, he possessed, a rod of gold as long as himself and as thick as his little finger, and a plate of gold as broad as his face and as thick as a ploughman's nail.

His sons, nephews and any relatives he chose to summon, surrounded him, and could make free progress amongst his subjects. Of the great officers, the chief of the household came next to the King: he was the executive officer of the Court. The chief judge occupied at night the seat occupied by the king during the day, so that justice should always be obtainable. The duties and privileges of all the members of the king's retinue are minutely described. (*Wales*, by Owen M. Edwards, 1903.)

But, like all other men, whether good or bad, Howel the Good departed this life, and his dreams of British unity and one king for all Cymru were dissipated by the quarrels of his sons. Thus we learn that in the year 973 Eadgar brought all his naval force to Chester and there came to meet him eight kings, viz. (according to *William of Malmesbury* and others), Kinad, King of the Scots, Malcolm of the Cambrians, that prince of pirates, Maccus, and all the Welsh kings, whose names were Dufual, Giferth, Huval (Howel ab Howel Dda), Jacob and Judethal. These, being summoned to his Court, were bound to him by one, and that a lasting oath. He exhibited them on the river Dee in triumphal ceremony; for, putting them on board the same vessel, he compelled

them to row him as he sat at the prow,<sup>1</sup> thus displaying his regal magnificence, who held so many kings in subjection; indeed, he is reported to have said that his successors might truly boast of being kings of England, since they could enjoy so singular an honour.

The selection of Chester for this ceremony of homage is significant when we now know that it had been chosen by Howel Dda for the exercise of his royal prerogative in the issue of a regal coinage.

NOTES AS TO HOWEL FROM DR. BIRCH'S  
*CARTULARIUM SAXONICUM.*

No. 663. Witenagemot at Exeter. Grant by King Athelstan to Frithestan, Bishop of Winchester, of land at Stoke, co. Hants. 16th April, A.D. 928.

Witnesses. Next after Athelstanus.

"Ego Howel subregulus consensi et subscripsi."

No. 675. Witenagemot at Worthy, co. Hants. Grant by King Æthelstan to the thegn Ælfric of land at Wæclesford, or Watchfield, co. Berks. 21st June, A.D. 931.

Witnesses. Fourth (after the King and the Archbishops of Canterbury and York).

✠ Ego Hupal subregulus consensi 7 subscripsi.

No. 677. Witenagemot at Luton. Grant by King Athelstan to the thegn Wulfgar of land "at Hamme," or Ham, co. Wilts. 12th November, A.D. 931.

Witnesses. Fourth (after the King and two Archbishops).

✠ Ego Hopæl subregulus consensi et subscripsi.

No. 689. Witenagemot at Middeltun. Grant by King Æthelstan to the thegn Ædelgeard of land at Meon, co. Hants. 30th August, A.D. 932.

Witnesses. Fourth (after the King and two Archbishops).

Ego Hopel subregulus consensi et subscripsi.

No. 697. Grant of privileges by King Æthelstan to Chertsey Abbey. 16th of December, A.D. 933.

Witnesses. Second (next to the King).

Ego Hupol subregulus subscripsi ✠

<sup>1</sup> According to *Florence of Worcester* he took the helm.

No. 702. Witenagemot at Winchester. Grant by King Æthelstan to the thegn Ælfwald of land at Derantune, near Canterbury, co. Kent. 28th May, A.D. 934.

Witnesses. Fourth (after the King and two Archbishops).

✠ Ego Hopæl subregulus consensi et subscripsi.

No. 703. Witenagemot at Nottingham. Grant by King Ædelstan to St. Peter's Church, York, of land at Agemundernes, Amounderness Hundred, co. Lancaster. 7th June, A.D. 930 for 934 (?).

Witnesses. Fourth (after the King and two Archbishops).

✠ Ego Howael subregulus consensi et subscripsi.

No. 1344 (703B) is another form of No. 703.

No. 705. Grant by King Æthelstan to Winchester Cathedral of land at Enedford, or Enford, co. Wilts. 16th December, A.D. 934.

Witnesses. Second (next to the King and before the two Archbishops).

Ego Hupal subregulus.

No. 706. Anglo-Saxon form of No. 705.

Witnesses. Second.

Hupal Vnder cyning.

No. 716. Witenagemot at Dorchester. Grant by King Æthelstan to Malmesbury Abbey of land at Broemel, or Bremhill, co. Wilts. 21st December, A.D. 937.

Witnesses. Fifth.

Ego Howel subregulus consensi et subscripsi.

No. 718. Witenagemot at Dorchester. Grant by King Æthelstan to Malmesbury Abbey of land at Wdetun, or Wootton, co. Wilts. 21st December, A.D. 937.

Witnesses. Fourth.

Ego Howel subregulus consensi et subscripsi.

No. 719. Witenagemot at Dorchester. Compound Charter of King Ethelstan, embracing the grants in Nos. 671, 672, 716 and 717, etc. 21st December, A.D. 937.

No. 721. Grant by King Æthelstan to St. Peter's Church, Exeter, of land at Topsham, co. Devon. A.D. 937.

Witnesses. Sixth.

✠ Ego Hopæl regulus.

No. 815. Poetical grant by King Eadred to Wulfric the "Pedisequus" of land at Workingtone, co. Cumberland (?) A.D. 946.

Witnesses. (After the King, Archbishops, Bishops, and "*pontifices*.")

✠ Hopæl regulus.

No. 882. Grant by King Eadred to Wulfric, "*miles*" of land at Burgtune, on the River Wenris, or Bourton-on-the-Water, on the River Windrush, co. Gloucester. A.D. 949.

Witnesses. Sixth in the first column (or seventh including Eadred).  
Hopæl rex.

No. 883. Grant by King Eadred to Æpelmær, "*præses*" of land at Cetwuda and Hildesdun, or Chetwood and Hillesden, co. Buckingham. A.D. 949.

Witnesses. Twelfth in first column.

✠ Hopæl regulus.

No. 1350 (1044C). Record of the dispute between Huwel Da<sup>1</sup> and Morgan Hen as to the descent of the Cantreds of Glamorgan, settled by King Edgar in Council. About A.D. 959 (*sic*).

#### COINAGE OF WILLIAM I., RICHARD I. AND JOHN AT RHUDDLAN.

We must now pass to the consideration of the Norman coinage of Wales, or rather *for* Wales. This consists of very few pieces, the only coins hitherto described being two, from the same dies, of the last issue (the Paxs type) of William the Conqueror of the Rhuddlan mint. These appeared in the great Beaworth hoard, and were originally attributed by the late Mr. Hawkins to Huntingdon, but are now included in the British Museum cabinet as to one specimen under *Huntingdon* and as to the other under *Romney*.

The two coins are read in Mr. Hawkins's list, ELFPINE ON HVDIN, and the following footnote is given :—

"This letter as much resembles R as H, and the coin may read RVDIN for Rhuddlan, but the name of the moneyer makes H the more probable reading."

What is said as to the moneyer has reference to the coins of the same type reading IELFPINE ON HVT (Huntingdon).

The Rhuddlan coins, however, really read ✠ÆLFPINE ON RVDILI Plate, Figs. 6 and 7, and there can be no reasonable doubt of the Welsh mint being the correct attribution, indeed it was so appropriated by Mr. Brumell as long ago as in 1838. The name IELFPINE occurs

<sup>1</sup> Probably Howel the son of Howel Dda.

on coins of many mints of the paxs-type issue, amongst them, of Hereford, a city on the Welsh border.

From *Domesday Book*, Vol. I, folio 269, we learn that Rotbert de Roelent or Rodelend (Rhuddlan) held North Wales of the King at farm for forty pounds. The following entries concerning Rhuddlan also occur in Vol. I, folio 269 :—

“CHESHIRE.

“IN ATISCROS HUNDRED.

“Earl Hugh (of Chester) holds of the King ROELEND (Rhuddlan).

“There in the time of King Edward ENGLEFELD lay, and all was waste. Earl Edwin held it. When Earl Hugh received it, it was in like manner waste. Now he has in demesne the half of the castle which is called ROELENT, and is the *caput* of this land. There he has eight burgesses, and the half of the church and of the *minting rights*, and a half of the iron ore that may anywhere be found in this Manor and a half of the water of Cloit (the river Clwyd) and of the Mills and fisheries that may be there, that is to say, in that part of the river which belongs to the fee of the Earl, and a half of the forests which pertain to any vill of this Manor, and a half of the toll, and a half of the vill which is called Bren &c. &c. . . . .”

“ROTBERTVS de ROELENT holds of Earl Hugh a half of the same castle and borough, in which Rotbert himself has ten burgesses, and a half of the church and of the *minting rights* and iron minerals there found, and a half of the water of Cloith and of the fisheries and mills there made and being made, and a half of the toll and forests which belong to any vill of the above-said Manor, and a half of the vill which is called BREN &c.

“The lands of this Manor, Roelend and Englefeld, or of the other bailiwicks pertaining to it were never gelded or hided.

"In this Manor of Roelend there is made a new castle likewise called Roelent.

"There is a new borough and in it 18 burgesses between the Earl and Robert as above said, and the burgesses themselves have the laws and customs which are in Hereford and in Breuill, that is to say, that for the whole year for any forfeitures they owe nothing except XII pence for homicide and theft and premeditated Heinfar.

"In the very year of this description toll is given to the farm of this burgh for three shillings.

"The rent of Earl Hugh out of Roelent and Englefeld is worth 6 pounds and 10 shillings. Robert's part is 17 pounds and three shillings."

Turning to Hereford, therefore, we find that, according to the survey, the moneyers paid eighteen shillings for their dies and twenty shillings within a month after receiving them; that when the King came into the city they had to mint as much money as he required, and upon their death the King received a heriot of twenty shillings, or if they died intestate a forfeiture of all their goods. It would seem, however, at Rhuddlan, that the Earl and Robert de Rhuddlan stood in the place of the King.

The Rhuddlan mint was again in operation in the reigns of Richard I. and John, when short-cross pennies still bearing, as was usual, the name of Henry II., were issued.

These are of Class II, (1189-1205).<sup>1</sup>

❖ **HALLI ON RVLΛ**, *retrograde*, *British Museum*.

❖ **HALLI • ON • RVLΛ**, *retrograde*, Plate, Fig. 8. *P. Carlyon-Britton*.

✱ **HALLI ON RVLΛ**, *British Museum*. *P. Carlyon-Britton*.

✱ **HALLI • ON • RVTΛΛ**, Plate, Fig. 9. *W. Talbot Ready*.

✱ **SIMOND ON RVLΛ**, *British Museum*.

<sup>1</sup> See *British Numismatic Journal*, I, p. 365.



- ❖ **SIMOND ON RVLΛ**, *British Museum.*
- ❖ **TOMAS ON RVLΛ**, Plate, Fig. 10. *P. Carlyon-Britton.*
- ❖ **TOMAS • ON RVLΛH**, Plate, Fig. 11. *P. Carlyon-Britton.*

Class III, (1205-1216).

- ✱ **HENRICVS ON RVLΛ**.
- ✱ **HENRICVS • ON • RVTN**, Plate, Fig. 12. *P. Carlyon-Britton.*
- ✱ **HENRICVS • ON RVLTN**, Plate, Fig. 13. *P. Carlyon-Britton.*
- ❖ **SIMOD ON RVLΛ**, *retrograde.*
- ❖ **SIMOND ON RVLΛ**. *P. Carlyon-Britton.*

The reading of the mint names RVLAN and RVTLAN, in Class II are fuller than those usually found, and the latter reading has not hitherto been published. In Class III the readings RVTN and RVLTN are also unpublished. After the fresh light these coins throw upon their attribution, the mint need no longer be followed by the query we so often see after it, for the readings can leave no reasonable doubt as to Rhuddlan being indicated.

Rhuddlan was a borough and formerly a seaport in the present county of Flint, its name being supposed to be derived from the red colour of the soil of the banks of the river Clwyd, on which it is situate. The adjoining marsh, called Englefield or "Morfa Rhuddlan," was the scene of a great battle in 795 between the Mercians under Offa and the Welsh under Caradoc, King of North Wales, who was there defeated and slain. In 1015 Llewelyn ab Sytsyllt, King of North Wales, erected (or restored) a fortress and palace here, which, after his assassination in 1021, continued to be the principal residence of his son and successor, Gruffydd ab Llewelyn. In the reign of Edward the Confessor the castle was captured by Harold. According to the *Domesday* entries, the castle at the close of Edward's reign was possessed by Edwin, Earl of Chester. A new castle was erected, as we have also seen, by Robert Fitz Umfrid, surnamed from this place "de Roelent," who was a cousin of Hugh Lupus, Earl of Chester. In 1109 Gruffydd ab Cynan attacked the castle, burnt the outer ward and killed many of the garrison.

Henry II. in 1157 advanced to Rhuddlan, repaired the castle, and

garrisoned it with a strong force. This King was again here in 1165, but for a few days only. In 1167 the castle of Rhuddlan, after a gallant defence of two months, was taken by Owain Gwynedd, and later we find it given by Henry II. to Davydd ab Owain Gwynedd on his marriage with Emma, natural sister of that King.

Towards the close of the reign of Richard I. Ranulph, Earl of Chester, was besieged in this castle by the Welsh under Llewelyn ab Iorwerth, King of North Wales in succession to Davydd, but after a long siege he was ultimately relieved by Roger de Lacy, the Earl's Lieutenant. King John, in 1211, advanced through Rhuddlan into Carnarvonshire. In the following year the castle was unsuccessfully attacked by Llewelyn, but was captured by him in 1214.

The short-cross coins of Rhuddlan correspond with the events recorded in the reigns of Richard I. and John, on occasions when the privilege and duty of minting the king's coins, existing in the Conqueror's reign, would be revived and enforced. The reference previously given to the custom at Hereford, and therefore also at Rhuddlan, of a special coinage whilst the king was there upon an expedition, may account for these particular issues at Rhuddlan. These pennies are, as is apparent to anyone who examines them, of rougher workmanship than those of other mints issued at the same periods, so that at a glance and without reading the inscriptions, those having experience can allocate them to Rhuddlan, just as one can in like manner detect the coins of Edward I. and II. struck at Berwick-on-Tweed.

It is probable, therefore, that in each case the dies were of local manufacture, the reason in the case of Rhuddlan being the special circumstances attendant on the issue of the coins, and in the case of Berwick the remoteness of the place from the die-issuing centre, at that time London. These remarks will equally apply to the next section of the coinage of Wales described—namely, the coinage of St. David's.

The period assigned to the issue of the various classes of short-cross coins are those suggested by Mr. H. A. Grueber in his account of

the Colchester find<sup>1</sup> being, with a slight modification, the classification arrived at by Sir John Evans many years before. The date 1208, however, is corrected to 1205.

In his account of the Rhuddlan mint contained in the same paper,<sup>2</sup> Mr. Grueber remarks that "The absence of any record of a grant of a mint to the place is due to the exigencies under which the coins were struck." He seems, therefore, to have been unaware of, or to have forgotten, the important entries in *Domesday Book* relating to the "moneta" of Rhuddlan and its ownership, which may also account for the allocation of the Rhuddlan coins of William I. to the mints of Huntingdon and Romney, in the trays of our National collection.

The short-cross coins of Henry II., and his immediate successors reading **ĽAR** and **ĽARD**, formerly attributed to Cardiff, have been rightly corrected to Carlisle (Carduil) and Wales was thus left mintless until a short time since.

#### NOTES ON RUDDLAN FROM THE PIPE ROLL,

14 HEN. II. p. 199. A.D. 1167-1168.

*Windlesores.* (Richard de Luci renders the account.)

Gaufrido de Ver. c. 11. ad custodiendā March Walie.

\* \* \*

Et Comiti Cestř .xx. m̃ ad muniēd Castell de Ruelent.

\* \* \*

Et Gaufr̃ de Ver .iiii. 11 \* \* s̃ ad pficiendā libat̃ seruentū ī Discessu eĩcitu<sup>9</sup> de Ruelēt.

#### *Anglicized.*

To Geoffrey de Ver £100 for the guarding of the Marches of Wales.

\* \* \*

And to the Earl of Chester 20 marks for the strengthening of the defences of the Castle of Ruelent [Rhuddlan].

\* \* \*

And to Geoffrey de Ver £4 in the furnishing of payments to servants in the marching off (? retreat or withdrawal) of the army from Ruelent [Rhuddlan].

<sup>1</sup> *Numismatic Chronicle*, 4th Series, Vol. III, p. 156.

<sup>2</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 173.

COINAGE AT ST. DAVID'S, IN THE TIME OF  
WILLIAM I.

Among the coins of William I., discovered at Beaworth in 1833, there are enumerated, in the account by the late Mr. Edward Hawkins of that find printed in *Archæologia*, Vol. 26, and reprinted in Ruding's *Annals of the Coinage*, five specimens bearing on the reverse the inscription :

+ TVRRI ON DEVITVN.

These are placed under the head of "uncertain," in lieu of being assigned, as are the bulk of the coins, to some definite place of mintage.

By way of an explanation of the uncertainty, the following footnote is added.

These pieces are probably forgeries, and the names of the mint and moneyer factitious. See the account of some barbarous coins at the end of the catalogue.

Following the direction contained in the footnote we find, not quite at the end of the catalogue, but mixed up with the coins of York :

- 16.<sup>1</sup> The workmanship of which is exceedingly bad, and of a peculiar character ; on three only of them the King's name is intelligible, and none of the reverses are so, except perhaps one, viz., NVTIVED NO IIVT, *i.e.* TVRRI ON DEVITVN, written retrograde : and it is remarkable that the five coins inserted in the foregoing list, with this legend, are the only ones which resemble these barbarous pieces in workmanship.

To this description is appended another footnote, in the following words :

"It is difficult to ascribe a probable origin to these coins ; the workmanship is so bad and so different in style,

<sup>1</sup> The number 16 refers to the number of specimens discovered.

the inscriptions so entirely without probable interpretation, that they can scarcely be considered to have been struck under the royal authority ; and yet the weight and fineness of the metal, equalling that of the authentic coins, seem to take away the great temptations to forgery."

The inconsistency between the first and last footnotes is too obvious to render comment desirable or necessary. The uncertainty and want of logical thought, unhappily so usual in the case of the official numismatist, are here displayed, but fortunately clothed in language too honestly simple to disguise the facts. We are able to extract the following points :—

1. That twenty-one coins of this "uncertain" class were examined by Mr. Hawkins.
2. That they came from the great Beaworth hoard in company with thousands of undoubted coins of William I.
3. That six bore the inscription + TVRRI ON DEVITVN, which, in one case, was retrograde.
4. That the remaining fifteen "uncertain" specimens resembled the six "Devitun" coins in being of "bad," "exceedingly bad," "different" and "peculiar" workmanship, character and style.
5. That the weight and fineness of the metal of the whole twenty-one "uncertain" coins were equal to those of the undoubted and authentic examples.

The facts that the coins under consideration are of the weight and fineness of the last issue of the reign of William I., the Paxs type (Type VIII)<sup>1</sup> and were found with a great deposit of money chiefly of that issue, which presents none of the peculiarities alluded to by

<sup>1</sup> These numerals refer to the order of types in my *Numismatic History of the Reigns of William I. and II.*, commenced in this *Journal*.

Mr. Hawkins, should have enabled him to finally dismiss the theory of these pieces being forgeries.

The circumstance of the "uncertain" coins having been found with many others of the same type of good workmanship, precludes the idea of their having been of later manufacture, and mere degraded reproductions through the faulty copying and recopying over a long period of a well executed original pattern.

It must therefore be concluded :

1. That the "uncertain" coins are genuine, and consequently not forgeries of their period of issue or of any subsequent time.
2. That they are of the same issue and period as the other coins of the Paxs-type.
3. That they were current coin, and, like the remainder of the Beaworth coins, had stood the test of, and had been deposited in, the Royal Treasury at Winchester.<sup>1</sup>

Having deduced these definite conclusions, it is now proposed to closely consider the coins and the inscriptions borne upon them.

The mint named Devitun was for a long time referred to Devizes, in Wiltshire, apparently because of the similarity of the first two syllables. There seems to have been no substantial ground for this attribution, because, as *Domesday* shows us, at the time of its compilation, which was immediately prior to the period of issue of the Paxs-type coins, Devizes was called "Theodulveshide." The present writer, early in 1901, suggested Downton, in Wiltshire, as the place of mintage of the Devitun coins, but was chiefly influenced in that view by the attribution to Shaftesbury of a remarkable penny of the moneyer Godesbrand, more particularly referred to hereafter.

At the time of the attribution of the Devitun coins to Downton it must be remembered that the subject of a Welsh coinage had not received any consideration, or to be more correct, it was then thought that there was no Welsh coinage to be considered.

<sup>1</sup> *British Numismatic Journal*, I, p. 27.



The Devitun coins consist of several groups, all intimately connected.

1. *Obverse*.—**\*PILLEIM REI\***; similar to the ordinary design of Type VIII—the Paxs-type—but a large annulet intersecting the arches of the crown and a cross pommée on the king's right shoulder.  
*Reverse*.—**\*GODESBRAND ON SI\***; ordinary design of Type VIII, but of rougher workmanship. Plate, Fig. 14.
2. *Obverse*.—From the *same* die as No. 1.  
*Reverse*.—**\*TVRRI ON DEVITVN\***; similar to No. 1. Plate, Fig. 15.
3. *Obverse*.—**\*PILLELM REI\***; ordinary design of Type VIII, but of rougher workmanship.  
*Reverse*.—**\*TVRRI ON DEVITVN\***; from the *same* die as No. 2. Plate, Fig. 16.
4. *Obverse*.—Blundered inscription, three pellets on the King's right shoulder (as is usual).  
*Reverse*.—Blundered inscription. Ordinary type but of rough workmanship. Plate, Fig. 17.
5. *Obverse*.—Similar, but cross pommée on the King's right shoulder.  
*Reverse*.—Similar to No. 4. Plate, Fig. 18.

It will be noted that Nos. 1 and 2 are from the same obverse die, and that Nos. 2 and 3 are from the same reverse die, so the three pieces are indissolubly connected.

The large annulet which cuts the arches of the crown on Nos. 1 and 2, and the cross pommée forming the ornament on the right shoulder of the King on Nos. 1, 2 and 5, are unmistakable signs of the ecclesiastical origin of the pieces bearing them, although the cross pommée has not hitherto been noticed in this significance on coins earlier than some of the short-cross series of the reigns of Henry II. to Henry III.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *British Numismatic Journal*, I, p. 38.

The conditions require, therefore, the attribution of the Devitun pieces to an ecclesiastical mint situate in a remote district where the coins emanated from dies of local manufacture, and did not possess the good work and neat design existent in the case of coins issued from mints to which dies were supplied from the great centre of London.

St. David's, in the remote west of Wales, the site of an ancient episcopal, if not an archiepiscopal See, the resting place of the Patron Saint of Wales, a celebrated shrine of pilgrimage visited by William the Conqueror himself, seems to fulfil all the conditions required by the money under consideration. *Dewi* is the Welsh for David, and one of the four townships or "cylchs" (= circles, or courses), into which the parish is divided, is even now called Dewiston, just as the peninsula on which St. David's is situate is known as Dewisland. Dewiston and Oppidum Sancti Davidis are the recognised equivalents to St. David's.

To a Norman moneyer DEVITVN was the obvious rendering of Dewiston.

Having now dealt with the mint, let us see what light is thrown upon the matter by the name of the moneyer, Godesbrand, which occurs on No. 3.

The earliest coin known to the writer bearing this name, and having sufficient of that of the mint to definitely determine the place, is one of Type VII<sup>1</sup> (A.D. 1055-1057) of Edward the Confessor which reads on the reverse, +GODESBROD ON SER=Shrewsbury.

It is therefore probable that the coins of Type VI (A.D. 1053-1055) and Type IX (A.D. 1059-1061), Nos. 1164 and 1173 in Vol. II of the *British Museum Catalogue*, must be removed from Shaftesbury to Shrewsbury, together with the writer's coin of Type X, reading +GODESBRAND only, and the remarkable "mule" reading +GODESBRAND ON 2, which is No. 1175 of the *British Museum Catalogue*.

The problem is, however, to some extent complicated by reason of the facts that the name Godesbrand, or Godsbrand, occurs at Shaftesbury on coins of Types VI (Hks. 243), VII (Hks. 239), and

<sup>1</sup> These numerals, when they refer to coins of Edward the Confessor, are the order of his types in the writer's "Eadward the Confessor and his Coins," *Numismatic Chronicle*, 1903.

VIII (Hks. 241) of William I.; on an Exeter coin of Type VII (reading not authenticated); at Malmesbury on the Mule VII-VIII (Hks. 240) and Type VIII (Hks. 241); also on coins of Type VIII of **BA** (probably Barnstaple) and **E** (Cricklade?); and on coins of Type VIII reading **SRI** and **SI** hitherto attributed to Shaftesbury, but which probably ought to be removed to Shrewsbury.

There seem, therefore, to have been more than one moneyer of the name of Godesbrand, but it is at least worthy of note that the name does not appear again after the issue of the last type of the Conqueror's coins.

The Godesbrand who struck at Malmesbury probably exchanged towns with Seword, of Barnstaple, during the issue of Type VIII of William I., as both names occur at each town on coins of that issue, and the last named continued to strike at Malmesbury during the issue of Types 1 and 2 of William II.

Godesbrand of Shrewsbury seems to have gone to St. David's probably by the direction of Roger de Montgomery as lord of both Shrewsbury and Pembroke, taking with him, at any rate, his movable upper or reverse die.

His mission there was, we may infer, to instruct Turri, the moneyer of Sulien, Bishop of St. David's, in the art of coinage.

His first act would therefore be to engrave an obverse die and to use it in conjunction with his imported Shrewsbury die. Then came the engraving and use of the die which produced the reverses of Nos. 2 and 3, first with the obverse die of No. 1, and then with a new obverse die, or, it may be, with the obverse die properly belonging to the reverse of No. 1, as it bears no distinctive ecclesiastical mark and may well have been brought by Godesbrand from Shrewsbury.

Godesbrand seems soon to have left his pupil Turri to do his own work, and coins Nos. 4 and 5 and some variants are attributed to this stage of the proceedings.

Turri would appear to be a form of name derived from Thurgrim, other forms of which are Turgrim, Thurrim, and Thurrin, just as Terri came from Tierri, Thidric, and Theoderic.

We have now shown that there is nothing suspicious about the name of mint or moneyer. The issue of coins at St. David's arose, it

is confidently suggested, out of the visit of William I. to St. David's, an event which is generally assigned to the year 1081.

The English chroniclers attribute a military motive to the expedition, while those of Wales assign to it a religious character. The actual truth seems to be that William went into Wales to inspect, and, if need be, conquer the land by the sword, but, finding no opposition, he went peacefully to St. David's and gave his action a politic turn in gaining the goodwill of the inhabitants by an act of devotion to their patron saint.

Tribute had been exacted from Wales by Harold on behalf of Edward the Confessor, then his king, and the observance of this financial duty, touching as it did both the pocket and dignity of William I., was one that he doubtless provided should be renewed or continued as a condition of his peaceful withdrawal from the land of Cymru. In this connection it must be remembered that, when in England, the Conqueror's custom was to keep his Christmas at Gloucester, and there he kept his last in the year 1086. Gloucester was conveniently situate as regards South Wales, and thence any neglect to render tribute could have been speedily punished.

It is possible that coins of Type VI (Hks. 243) and Type VII (Hks. 239) may yet be found of the St. David's mint. Type VI was current at the date of the Conqueror's visit to St. David's in 1081. It is, however, probable that the issue of coins began and ceased with those of the Paxs-type (Michaelmas, 1086, to September, 1087).

The death of William I. occurred on the 10th of September, 1087, and Bishop Sulien died in the following year, whilst in that year also St. David's seems to have been utterly destroyed by a foreign foe, probably Danes or Hiberno-Danes.

The following entry is taken from Wharton's *Anglia Sacra*, II, p. 649.

"Anno MLXXXVIII. Sulgenus Episcopus lxxv. ætatis suæ anno moritur, Menevia frangitur et destruitur a Gentilibus."

Before concluding these remarks on the mint of St. David's, it is the writer's pleasant duty to acknowledge the co-operation of his colleague, Mr. W. J. Andrew, in the search for a satisfactory attribution

of the Devitun coins. Although the likelihood of *Devi* and *Dewi* being identical had occurred to the writer during the preparation of the other sections of this paper, the actual crystallization of the idea took place in the course of a discussion with Mr. Andrew on this and other subjects. In making this acknowledgment it is not the writer's wish to burden his friend's shoulders with the arguments adduced in support of the main proposition that the hitherto mysterious Devitun is really no other than the far-famed St. David's of Wales.

It must be remembered that at this period the Bishops of St. David's still exercised independent archiepiscopal powers, but, under Norman influence, these were waning, and Bishop Bernard, who was elected to the see in 1115, submitted his diocese to the jurisdiction of Canterbury. Upon this event it seems not improbable that the minting rights of St. David's were transferred to the *caput* of the district—Pembroke Castle, the Norman stronghold of south-west Wales.

#### COINAGE OF HENRY I. AT PEMBROKE.

The remaining discovery to be recorded is that of coins minted at Pembroke in the reign of Henry I.

Pembroke (in Cymric, "*Penvro*," signifying a headland or promontory) is situate in the south-westernmost part of Wales, but a few miles from St. David's and near to Milford Haven, where a find of coins of Henry I. occurred. Arnulf, son of Roger de Montgomery, Earl of Shrewsbury, entrusted the original fortress, or mound with stake palisade, to Gerald of Windsor, who made it an almost impregnable stronghold. During the reign of William Rufus and the revolts of Gruffydd and Cadogan, Pembroke, under Gerald, was the only castle in the west that held out against them. Early in the reign of Henry I., on the fall of Robert de Belesme, his brother Arnulf de Montgomery and Pembroke also fell, and he was sent into exile. *Orderic* twice styles him an Earl, evidently assuming that he was Earl of Pembroke, but he was probably mistaken, although Arnulf's position in South Wales, as Lord of Pembroke, was but secondary in name to that dignity.

Gerald of Windsor, who married Nest, daughter of Rhys ab Tewdwr, according to Caradoc of Llancarvan (a contemporary of Giraldus Cambrensis) rebuilt the castle of Pembroke in the year 1105 on a stronger site, called Congarth Vechan. The marriage of Gerald of Windsor with Nest, constituting as it did a tie with the princes of Wales, aroused the jealousy and suspicion of Henry I., who used all means of reducing his authority and influence.

We find, therefore, that in 1138 Gilbert de Clare was created, by Stephen, Earl of Pembroke, and thus became possessed of the castle and extensive territories, and that the Earldom received the privilege of *jura regalia*, so that Pembrokeshire became a County Palatine.

The only three known coins of Pembroke are of Mr. Andrew's Type XIV<sup>1</sup> (Hawkins 262), and are in the cabinet of the writer of this paper. This type was current from 1128 to 1131. They may be described as follows :

*Obverse.*—✠ **HENRICVS RE.** Crowned bust facing ; sceptre fleury (held in the King's right hand) to the left, and a star to the right of the head ; suspended from either side of the crown three pellets. All within a circle springing from the shoulders.

*Reverse.*—✠ **GILLEPATRI : ON : PEI.** A large quatrefoil enclosing a star upon a cross of pellets, each foil surmounted by three annulets conjoined ; opposite each spandrel, a fleur-de-lys inwards springing from an inner circle. Plate, Figs. 19, 20, 21.

The Pipe Roll of 1129-1130 records that Hait, the Sheriff, rendered an account of the firma of Pembroke, and that he had paid into the treasury £58 18s. 9d. and owed £1 1s. 3d., thus showing that Pembroke paid a firma of £60. A little lower down is another entry bearing directly on the Pembroke coins just described.

"Gillopatric *the moneyer* renders an account of £4 for a forfeiture in respect of the last year's money. He pays £2 into the treasury and owes £2."

<sup>1</sup> *A Numismatic History of the Reign of Henry I.*



This entry on the Pipe Roll of the very period of the issue of the coins described, containing, as it does, the name of the moneyer, whose name also appears on the coins, is conclusive evidence of their being of Pembroke, and is only one more instance of the value of Numismatic science as a handmaid to historical research.