

SHORT ARTICLES AND NOTES

FURTHER CONFIRMATION OF A KENTISH ALLIANCE? – LIGHT SHED BY A NEW BRONZE UNIT OF VERICA

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THE distribution of the majority of provenanced coins of Verica leaves little doubt that they circulated primarily in those territories that have traditionally been regarded as being inhabited by the tribes of the Atrebates and Regni (Berkshire, Hampshire, Surrey and Sussex).¹ With the exception of a small number of early coins² the people inhabiting this area would seem to have eschewed bronze as a metal appropriate for coinage³ and restricted the production of coins to gold (staters and their fractions) and silver ('units' and quarter 'units' – the latter commonly referred to as minims). That the coinage of this region is indeed bimetallic is demonstrated by the appearance of coins which are struck from both metals and bear similar or identical inscriptions, although whether there was a formal value relationship between coins of the different metals (or indeed whether the coins of the two metals had similar uses) is unknown. Until now Verica's coinage was believed to conform to this structure, and in past studies of the coins of this region⁴ the different authors have catalogued several well defined issues of coins of Verica, each issue comprising gold staters and quarter staters, along with silver 'units' and quarter 'units' or minims, there being no suggestion that any other metal or denomination might appear to

complicate what was seen as a clearly structured coinage.

If the coinage of Eppillus, which has also been found in parts of this southern region of Britain, is compared with that of Verica, then it will be seen that it is also bimetallic and consists of denominations which match those of Verica's coinage. However, in addition to the bimetallic coinage, there is a further series of coins of Eppillus, found predominantly in Kent or its environs, that exhibits a different structure. These coins form a trimetallic system with staters and quarter staters of gold (VA 430-1,⁵ VA 436-1, VA 437-1), 'units' of silver (VA 441-1) and 'units' (VA 450-1, VA 451-1, VA 452-1, VA 453-1) and half 'units' of bronze.⁶ This system is the norm for Kent and the North Thames region (Bedfordshire, Buckinghamshire, Cambridgeshire, Essex, Hertfordshire, what was previously Middlesex and Northamptonshire), and this, together with the almost exclusively Kentish provenances of coins of this group, provides evidence that they were indeed minted in Kent.⁷

In addition to this second group of coins of Eppillus there are two very rare types, both of silver (VA 442-1 and VA 443-1), that have also been found in Kent, and whose legends appear to proclaim, in addition to the

¹ I am grateful to Simon Bean for helpful comments on the text.

² A. Burnett, 'A New Iron Age Issue From Near Chichester', *NCirc* C.10 (1992), 340–342.

³ Although bronze was not used as a primary metal for striking coins in this region (except for the early issues cited above), it was used to produce the cores of plated coins. There has been considerable debate over whether plated coins were officially sanctioned issues produced by the mint (for whatever reason) or whether they were the output of clandestine forging operations. Much of the case for their production being officially sanctioned has centred on the fact that many of the coins appear to be struck from official dies. However, the realisation that these apparently official dies from which the plated coins were struck could have been produced by hubbing them from genuine coins has weakened the case for plated

coins being official issues of the mint (see G.L. Cottam, in 'Correspondence' *NCirc* C1.7 (1993), 243).

⁴ J. Evans, *The Coins of the Ancient Britons* (London, 1864); R.P. Mack, *The Coinage of Ancient Britain* (London, 1953); R.D. Van Arsdell, *Celtic Coinage of Britain* (London, 1989); S.C. Bean, *The Coinage of the Atrebates and Regni*, PhD thesis, University of Nottingham, 1994.

⁵ Catalogue numbers from R.D. Van Arsdell, *Celtic Coinage of Britain* (London, 1989) are prefaced by the abbreviation VA.

⁶ *BNJ* 64 (1994), Coin Register Nos. 43 and 44.

⁷ Although inscribed bronze half 'units' are otherwise unknown in Kent, uninscribed half 'units' have been recorded, eg VA 154-9, and the absence of other inscribed half 'units' could easily be a consequence of the poor survival of what are rather small, base metal coins.

name of Eppillus, that of Verica. One of these coins also appears to make reference to Tincomarus⁸ (VA 442-1), and it has been proposed that these coins record some form of Kentish alliance between Verica, Eppillus and Tincomarus.⁹ A further coin of Verica (VA 532-1), which does not refer to either Eppillus or Tincomarus, also seems to belong to this group of coins, and it is suggested¹⁰ that an alliance was struck initially between Tincomarus, Eppillus and Verica (each of whom styles himself on his coins as a son of Commios – COM.F... Commii Filius – son of Commius),¹¹ but that the alliance was then reduced to one between Verica and Eppillus only (possibly following the death of Tincomarus), finally disappearing to leave Verica holding sway in Kent on his own. Verica finally appears to have been ousted from his position in Britain as a result of civil war and to have travelled to Rome, where we find him in 43AD petitioning for support in

regaining his kingdom.¹²

If the coins described above really do record such a course of events, then it would not be particularly surprising if we were to find further numismatic evidence for Verica's influence and involvement in Kent surfacing at some stage, and for that evidence to reflect the structure of the Kentish coinage of Eppillus rather than that of Verica's coinage in his central southern kingdom. That evidence would now seem to have appeared with the recent discovery of what can only be a bronze 'unit' of Verica. Initially, when the coin was found, it was thought to be the bronze core from a contemporary forgery of what would have been a previously unrecorded stater type of Verica. However, there are a number of features that make this interpretation unlikely and we are left with the conclusion that this really is a bronze 'unit' bearing the name of Verica.



Fig. 1

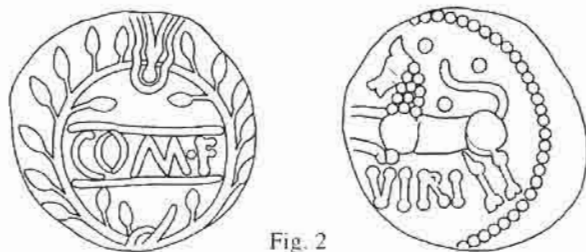


Fig. 2

⁸ Until recently the letters TINCOM, which appear in full or in part on a number of coins (eg VA 397-1), had been thought to stand for Tincommius, following a suggestion made by Evans in 1864 (see note 3, J. Evans, *The Coins of the Ancient Britons*, pp. 157–160). However, following the appearance of a number of examples of an early inscribed silver 'unit' (VA 473-1) which exhibited a legend commencing TINCOM... (the dies being much larger than the coins struck from them often resulted in the legend being off the flan or, at best, incomplete), it began to be apparent that the letters that appeared at the end of the legend on this coin did not correspond to those in Tincommius. In particular, two coins excavated at Hayling Island and published by D. Briggs, C. Haselgrove and C. King in 'Iron Age and Roman coins from Hayling Island temple' *BNJ* 62 (1992) Plate 2, Nos. 42 and 43, clearly show the legend ending in the letters RVS (probably MRVS) and these coins, together with a number of others which had become available for study, allowed a reconstruction of the legend to be published (see note 3, S.C.

Bean, *The Coinage of the Atrebatas and Regni*, p. 102 and p. 301, Figure 5.13, type 1-5). The accuracy of this reconstruction was vividly confirmed by the discovery of a hoard of 50 staters of Commios, Tincomarus and Eppillus which were found near Alton, Hampshire in March 1995 and declared treasure trove at a coroner's inquest at Alton on 10th May 1996. On one of these staters the legend TINCOMARVS is clearly visible, finally confirming the name of this ruler.

⁹ See note 3, J. Evans, *The Coins of the Ancient Britons*, pp. 171–172, 194.

¹⁰ See note 3, S.C. Bean, *The Coinage of the Atrebatas and Regni*, pp. 347–351.

¹¹ However, we should not necessarily take these inscriptions as proof that the three rulers were all sons of the same father (cf Caesar, *DBG*.v.14, on Iron Age polyandry, or there is the possibility of adoption, or merely claims of descent to legitimise authority).

¹² Dio 60, 19, 1.

Fig. 1 shows $\times 2$ photographs of the obverse and reverse of the coin while Fig. 2 shows outline drawings of the coin to the same scale. These are included to clarify parts of the design that are left unclear in the photographs, either because of the oblique lighting used to illuminate the coin, or because they are partially obscured by the somewhat uneven patina on the coin's surface. All the features shown in the drawings are clearly visible on the coin. Other possible, but less clearly defined, features have been omitted.

The factors that argue against the coin being the bronze core of a plated stater are its low weight (2.2 grams) together with its relatively unworn state and thin shallow dished fabric. Normally a bronze stater core in this state of preservation would be expected to weigh somewhere between about 3 and 4.5 grams and to have a thick chunky feel to it, and it is unlikely that the surfaces of this coin could have suffered the magnitude of uniform corrosion necessary to reduce the weight and thickness by this amount without affecting the level of detail that is visible.

The obverse and reverse designs on this new coin have several features in common with coins we believe to have been minted in Kent:

1. The name VIRI takes the same form as that seen on two of the three so-called alliance types (VA 443-1 and VA 532-1) with a similar style of lettering (including the small pellet ends to the strokes that form the letters).

2. The treatment of the horse's neck on the reverse, with closely set pellets covering the entire surface from the horse's chest to its head, is very similar to the treatment of animals' necks on, for example, several uninscribed bronzes,¹³ the coins of Dubnovellaunos (eg VA 166-1) or the silver coins inscribed SA.¹⁴ All of which have been found primarily in Kent. In addition, there is a similarity to the neck of the lion on silver units of Eppillus (VA 417-1) that Bean believes to have been struck from dies produced by a Kentish die cutter.¹⁵

3. The three pellets surrounding the horse's tail are reminiscent of several Kentish coins which have three pellets surrounding a pellet-in-ring motif above a horse as their reverse type (eg VA 163-1 and VA 436-1), but have no real analogues on coins from the central southern territory (although note VA 164-1, actually a North Thames type,¹⁶ which has a similarly shaped and

positioned tail with two pellets and a pellet-in-ring motif surrounding it).

4. The obverse wreath, composed of buds, is very similar not only to some of the silver coins of Amminius (VA 194-1), but also to the wreath on some of the coins of Cunobelin, whose influence seems to have extended into Kent towards the end of the pre-Claudian period (eg VA 2053-1, although in this case the tie of the wreath is on the left hand side of the coin rather than at the bottom). In addition there are similarities to the Kentish stater of Eppillus (VA 430-1, which, although it has a continuous wreath on the obverse, has the legend COM.F across the centre of it as we see on the new coin), and the wreath (again continuous) on the obverse of the silver 'units' of Eppillus from the Calleva mint that Bean believes were from dies produced by a Kentish die cutter.¹⁷

5. The lettering COM.F on the obverse is stylistically similar to that seen on several coins of Eppillus from Kent. In addition, the letter M in COM shows exactly the same form as that on the stater VA 431-1, another coin which Bean believes to have been struck from dies produced by a Kentish die cutter.¹⁸

The coin is believed to have been found near Salisbury on a site which has produced predominantly Roman coins, this being the only Iron Age coin known to have been found there. In fact this is an area within which pure copper alloy 'unit'-sized coins from the late pre-Roman Iron Age (as opposed to the very debased silver stater-sized coins of the Durotriges – eg VA 1235-1, and their base successors) are generally not found. We are thus left not knowing whether this is likely to have been a coin deposited in the pre-Roman period, or whether it has survived the Claudian invasion to be immersed in the large volumes of bronze small change then in circulation and lost at some later stage (although the state of preservation would suggest that the coin had not been in circulation for very long before it was lost). If the latter were the case then the provenance will have little to tell us about the area in which the coin would normally have circulated. Notwithstanding this possibility, single finds of coins are notoriously unreliable in providing information on the principal areas of usage of currency (one has only to consider the rare SEGO stater, VA 1845-1, which has only three securely provenanced findspots recorded: one from Tring, Hertfordshire, one from Langdon,

six recorded examples of VA 164-1, two are from Suffolk, three have recorded provenances from Essex and the final coin is in Colchester and Essex museum and is likely to be a local find. In addition, the coin has an associated half 'unit' (see BNJ 63 (1993), Coin Register No. 127), with ten examples recorded, nine of which have Suffolk or Essex provenances while the tenth is unprovenanced.

¹⁷ See note 3, S.C. Bean, *The Coinage of the Atrebatres and Regni*, pp. 347–351.

¹⁸ See note 3, S.C. Bean, *The Coinage of the Atrebatres and Regni*, pp. 347–351.

¹³ BNJ 64 (1994), Coin Register No. 41.

¹⁴ BNJ 60 (1990), Coin Register No. 130.

¹⁵ See note 3, S.C. Bean, *The Coinage of the Atrebatres and Regni*, pp. 347–351.

¹⁶ Van Arsdell would appear to have assigned this type to Kent mainly on the evidence that the pentagram which appears below the horse on the reverse is a motif that otherwise appears to be confined to Kent. However, this is a dangerous assumption, particularly where some diecutters would appear to have been peripatetic (see note 3, S.C. Bean, *The Coinage of the Atrebatres and Regni*, pp. 347–351). In this case, of the

Kent, and a third which was found in Zealand in 1952¹⁹ to appreciate the fact).

If all the above information is taken into consideration, we are led inexorably to the conclusion that, notwithstanding the Salisbury findspot being some considerable distance away from the south-eastern corner of Britain, this coin was probably struck on behalf of Verica to be current in Kent some time during the period between the formation of an alliance between Tincomarus, Eppillus and Verica and the expulsion of Verica from Britain. Furthermore, given the absence of any reference to either Tincomarus or Eppillus, it is likely that the coin was produced to

complement the silver unit VA 532-1 after the alliance had disintegrated (for whatever reason), leaving Verica alone in power in this region. The existence of the coin adds weight to the argument that VA 532-1 is indeed part of the so-called alliance group of coins minted in Kent and it raises the possibility that further coins of Verica (and possibly even Tincomarus), which conform to the normal currency structure of Kent, may yet be found. One thing, however, is clear. These coins of the alliance period were probably produced in relatively small quantities, and unless a major new hoard or temple site is discovered then they are likely to remain relatively rare.

¹⁹ The coin was found at Munke-Bjergby, Alsted herred, Zealand, in 1952 and is now owned by the National Museum,

Copenhagen. (Celtic Coin Index 73.0225).

SOME IMITATIONS AND FORGERIES OF THE ENGLISH AND IRISH LONG CROSS PENCE OF HENRY III: CORRECTED CATALOGUE

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THE article to which this catalogue belongs was published in *BNJ* 65 (1995), at pages 83–119, but owing to an error by the printer between the checking of final page proofs and the production of bound copies, the catalogue of coins at pages 85–93 appeared with letters missing from all the legends. The complete article was republished in offprint form and circulated

to all members of the British Numismatic Society, but the corrected catalogue is reproduced here to avoid possible problems for readers in years to come. For the footnotes accompanying the catalogue, readers should refer to the appropriate pages in *BNJ* 65.

Ligations are indicated by a line under the letters involved.

CATALOGUE¹⁰

Without sceptre

Class 1a. Obv. Crescent and star of six points *hENRICVS:REX rev.* *ANG/LIE/TER/Cl¹¹*

1. Obverse similar to English prototype but star in i.m. has eight points. Cinquefoil of pellets before *REX*. Pellet on crossbar of *E*s (as on English coins of class 1).

Rev. *BLO/ME/NBE/RG*

1.19/18.4

Struck at the mint of Blomberg, this variety was attributed by Chautard to Bernhard III of Lippe (416 and pl. XXVII, 7). This mint signature also appears on some of the enigmatic Videkind Rex coins.¹² Others of that issue, without a mint name and possibly struck at Enger, have the cinquefoil (rosette) which was the badge of Lippe.¹³ It may perhaps be deliberate that the number of points in the star on the above coin differs from that on the prototype. Berghaus remarks that a star was the armorial badge of Schwalenberg, but the coin to which he refers in this connection has one of only six points. However, an eight-pointed one appears on some Videkind Rex coins,¹⁴ as well as on 'Scottish' sterlings struck by Count Widekind VII of Schwalenberg (pl. 8, A) and those of Count Henry of Sternberg. The latter, struck at Bosingfeld, have three such stars in the crown and one as the sceptre terminal (pl. 8, B). In the light of this the authority responsible for the above coin appears uncertain.

2. *Rev.* *RON/ROL(D)EL/VND* + Double band to crown. Wedge/crescent tailed *R*.¹⁵

1.12/17.3

Class 1b. Similar but obverse reads hENRICVS REX ANG and reverse LIE/TER/Cl¹¹/mint.

3. *Rev.* *(LIE)TER:/EI¹/LVD*

1.40/21.6

Class 2. Star of six points hENRICVS REX TERCl¹¹. Rev. Moneyer and mint.

4. Portrait resembles that on 1. Letter *X* of wedges.

Rev. *E(reversed)IO/IHC/OHC/ANT* (based on Nicole on Cant)

1.00/15.4

5. Same obverse die as 6

Rev. *ION/OHL/INC/OLH¹⁶*

1.09/16.9

6. Same obverse die as 5

Rev. *ClV/ARN/ESB/ERG* (P. Woodhead colln.)

The reverse of this coin die-links with a sterling whose obverse reads *GODEFRIDVS CO* (pl. 8, C – P. Woodhead colln.) confirming the attribution of a cut halfpenny from the same dies to Gottfried III of Arnsberg.¹⁷ The star and crescent i.m. on the obverse suggests that this die was based upon class 1, and the minute extra pellets in the reverse quarters are also a feature of that class.

7. *hENRICVS REX IERCl¹¹* 'Small round face with neck. 'Arrow-head' letter *X*. Same die as 8 and 9.

Rev. *hEN/RIO/NIE/NDE* (based on Henri on Lunde)

1.11/17.1

8. Same obverse die as 7 and 9

Rev. *III/OLE/ONL/VIID* (based on Nicole on Lund)

1.29/19.9

9. Same die as 7 and 8.

Rev. *WNL/IEN/ONL/VND* (based on Willem on Lund)

1.37/21.1

10. *hENKICVS RCNX E-Cl¹¹* 'Pommé' letter *X*.¹⁸

Rev. *HI/OL/OL/V* (inverted) *ID* – retrograde and outwards (based on Nicole on Lund)

1.38/21.3

Class 3. Star of six points hENRICVS:REX III. Rev. Moneyer and mint.

- (a) Narrow face based on English classes 3a and 3ab (see also 134).

11. *Rev.* *DAV/ION/DE/V/ELI¹* (same die as 39 and 70)

1.42/21.9

12. *E* with long spur and obverse *R* with wedge/crescent tail

Rev. *IOH/ON/CAN/TOR*

1.47/22.7

13. *Rev.* WIL/LCM/OIL/VND (reversely barred N with pellet centre) 1.32/20.4
14. Four pellets around bust (as on English class 5). Letter h inverted; legend ends with inverted h (representing l'). 'Arrow-head' letter X.
Rev. RD/AR·D/ONL/VMD (based on Ricard on Lund). Same die as 67. 1.29/19.9
15. 'Arrow-head' letter X.
Rev. hCIN/RIO/ILV (both inverted) NOCI (same die as 57)¹⁹ 1.06/16.4
16. hENRIEVS REX·IH' 'Arrow-head' letter X.
Rev. HIC/OL(inverted)EI/OND/AHT. 1.38/21.3
17. 'Arrow-head' letter X.
Rev. WIL/LCN/LVN/DON. 1.32/20.3
18. 'Arrow-head' letter X.
Rev. NIC/ION/NLV/ANT (combination of Nic(ole on C)ant and Ion or (Dav)i on Lu(nde) – apparently base metal). 0.85/13.2
19. 'Arrow-head' letter X (large). Reversed S.
Rev. RIC/RIO/NIV/INEI (combination of Ric(ard) and (Hen)ri on Lunde). 1.26/19.5
- 0.1. Letter X unclear – apparently pommé, but possibly worn 'arrow-head'.
Rev. ARIE/WhC/-/-²⁰ 1.18/18.3
- (b) Smaller face mainly based on English class 3b.
- (i) Pointed chin.
20. 'Arrow-head' letter X.
Neck indicated: four crescents around portrait (found on English class 5).
Rev. DHV/ION/IVN/DEI (based on Davi on Lunden) 1.46/22.5
21. REX·IHII Solid oval eyes. Reversed N: crescent-tailed R.
Rev. CIVI/NRV/LON/LON²¹ 1.11/17.2
22. *Rev.* CIVI/VIN/-/N (reversed Ns) 0.91/13.8
- (ii) Round chin with heavy beard deceptively copying English class 3b.
23. *Rev.* HIC/OLE/RNL/BOV. 1.33/20.6
24. Same obverse die as 25 and 0.2
Rev. WIL/LCM/LVN/DON. 1.27/19.6
25. Same obverse die as 24 and 0.2.
Rev. WID/LCM/ONC/AIT. 1.33/20.5
- 0.2 Same obverse die as 24 and 25.
26. *Rev.* hEN/RICV/S·CO/MES (attributed to Henry II or III, Lord of Kuinre).²² wnr.
Im. Shield with two (possibly three) pellets.
Rev. RIO/RD/Oih/EIEI (based on Ricard on Here). Single pellet in angles.
This coin has been doubtfully attributed to Count Henry of Oldenburg-Wildeshausen striking at the mint of Vlotho (+ 1270).²³ 1.03/15.9
27. hENRICIV + REX·IHII²⁴
Rev. RIC/ARD/OND/IVEI 1.26/19.5
28. REX·INI' 'Arrow-head' letter X. Same die as 29–32.
Rev. BIR/TONL/IEh/CRNL (h and second R reversed) – same die as 94. 1.44/22.2
29. Same obverse die as 28 and 30–2.
Rev. DNI/COL/EON/LVN (first N pellet-barred – based on Nicole on Lun) 1.43/22.1
30. Same obverse die as 28–9 and 31–2.
Rev. INE/OLC/ONL/VND (based on Nicole on Lund). 1.37/21.2
31. Same obverse die as 28–30 and 32.
Rev. INI/DOI/EI (reversed) OI/LVN (same die as 95 and 105) 1.44/22.2
32. Same obverse die as 28–31.
Rev. WIL/LCM/ONC/ANT (first N pellet-barred) 1.45/22.4
33. 'Arrow-head' letter X. Neck indicated.
Rev. ARIE/WIG/RIE/TVO. 1.15/17.7
34. hCRICVS REX·IN (reversed) ·I' 'Arrow-head' letter X. Four pellets around head. Same die as 35.
Rev. OLE/IIIC/OHL/VHL (based on Nicole on Lund) – same die as 101. 1.41/21.8
35. Same obverse die as 34.
Rev. hEN/RIO/NLV/NDEI. 1.42/21.9
36. 'Arrow-head' letter X. Four pellets around head. Same die as 37.
Rev. hEN/NDE/RIO/NLV (First two quarters retrograde; last N reversed). Same die as 87. 1.48/22.9
37. Same obverse die as 36.
Rev. RIE/R (reversed) AD/ONL/VND (retrograde and anticlockwise). 1.58/24.4

38. REX:NI' (Ns reversed). Irregular letter X (patté/pommé). Pellet between curls. Same die as 39–41 (D & S die 0.1).
Rev. B'R/hEN/TOL/ERN (second R reversed). 1.48/22.9
39. Same obverse die as 38 and 40–41.
Rev. DAV/ION/DEN/ELI' (same die as 11 and 70).²⁵ 1.36/21.0
40. Same obverse die as 38–9 and 41.
Rev. LIET/ERN/CI'+/LON (same die as 65 and 108). 1.25/19.3
41. Same obverse die as 38–40.
Rev. RID/ARMD/ONL/VRD (reversed N – based on Ricard on Lund).²⁶ 1.32/20.4
42. Letter X pommé – see n. 18.
Rev. IICI/OICI/OIL/VID. 1.27/19.6
43. Saltire letter X. Colon after REX Neck indicated. Four pellets in field.
Rev. WIL/LHM/LON/DON. 1.03/15.9
- (iv) Loosely based on class 3.
44. Star of eight points. REX II reversed N and S. Neck indicated.
Rev. G.BO/(PAR)/DCN/SIS.²⁷ 1.17/18.1
45. IhiER(retrograde letters)CVS REX III. Minute initial mark. Unusual letter R with crescent tail.
Rev. hCI/RIO/N(reversed)LV/NDI 1.29/19.9
46. E(reversed)II:ICVS RCIX:HP
Rev. NID/OLE/OIL/VND (second N reversed). 1.30/20.0
47. hIERCIIVS (reversed)IIEIX:IID.
Rev. IIII/OIE/OIIE/VVE. 1.10/17.0
48. hCIRICVS hX III'
Rev. Blundered legend consisting mainly of strokes. 0.88/13.6
- (v) Small module with blundered legends and crude portrait.
49. ICI---VSDICXII. Letter X pommé
Rev. ---/N(reversed)O/DVL/IVO. 0.71/10.9
50. Very blundered obverse legend.
Rev. Cross in circle CII/IIII/HI/VIIIO. 0.71/11.0
51. Strokes in place of obverse legend and jumbled letters on reverse. 0.87/13.9
52. Jumbled letters and symbols.
Rev. --/NO/ON/VD. 1.11/17.1
53. Grotesque portrait and jumbled legends. Very base metal. 0.78/12.0

With sceptre

Class 4. Star of eight points. hENRICVS REX:III' Portrait similar to late class 3c, but holding sceptre which cuts legend between REX and: III.

54. Very blundered legend.²⁸
Rev. IOVI/MOI/IVC/IOII. 1.23/19.9

Class 5. No. i.m. hENRICVS REX III' commencing immediately after sceptre. It is often impossible to suggest an association with a specific one of the eight sub-classes of this type, as many of the imitations display the criteria of more than one of these – some even appear on non-sceptre copies. Most appear to be based upon 5a–c, although a few have possibly taken 5g for their prototype. For convenience they are sub-divided in the following lists primarily by the marks in the field and secondarily by the basic shape of the eyes, but it will be appreciated that there is no chronological or other significance in this arrangement. On official coins, crescents in the field occur mainly in 5a–c and pellets in 5f–g, although a few earlier varieties and all 5d–f have a pellet between the curls. Most varieties have some coins without any marks, but the fringe of minute pellets below the jawline, and sometimes also around the neck ('necklace') is mainly confined to 5g. Annulet eyes were used in 5a, b and d, whilst oval ones occur in all other varieties of this class.

- (i) Four crescents in the field – between and below curls.
Annulet eyes.
55. Rev. RIC/OAL/ARD/VND (N reversed; second A double-barred – a rare feature of some official English reverse dies of classes 5a–b). 1.36/21.0
This reverse die was also used with a Lippe obverse in the name of Bernhard.²⁹
56. Reversely barred N with pellet centre and reversed S on the obverse.
Rev. WIL/NEH (upturned)/OIII/RID (combination of Wil(lem), Hen(ri) and Ric(ard)). 1.17/18.1

57.	Reversed S on obverse (same die as 58?). Rev. hCIN/RIO/IILV(both inverted)/NDCl (same die as 15).	1.34/20.7
58.	Mis-struck. Reversed S on obverse. Only two crescents visible, but probably the same obverse die as 57. Rev. RIÉ/IRD/ONÉ/LOV. ³⁰	1.53/23.6
59.	Rev. HRÉ/RID/ONÉ/LOV. ³¹	1.34/20.7
60.	Rev. ARIC/WIG/RIO/TIÉ.	1.11/17.2
61.	Rev. ARIC/WIC/RVO/TÉO.	1.31/20.2
62.	Rev. ARIC/MIÉ/GLV/-IC.	1.10/17.0
63.	Letter X patté. Rev. hCII/RIO/IILV/IDCl	1.49/23.0
64.	Rev. NIC/ONL/CNL/VIÉ.	1.32/20.4
65.	Reversed Cl in hENRICVS (D & S die 0.3). Same die as 66–7.	
	Rev. LIÉ/TÉR/CI'+/LON (same die as 40 and 108).	1.32/20.4
66.	Same obverse die as 65 and 67. Rev. NIC/OLÉ/ONC/ANT.	1.42/21.9
67.	Same die as 65–6. Rev. RD/AR(-D)/ONL/VMD (same die as 14).	1.25/19.3
68.	Same obverse die as 69–73. Rev. ARW/ENR/ONC/AN (pellet on crossbar of first and second N).	1.41/21.8
69.	Same obverse die as 68 and 70–3. Rev. BR'/hÉI/TONL/CAI (reversely barred N).	1.40/21.6.
70.	Same obverse die as 68–9 and 71–3. Rev. DAV/ION/DÉV/ÉLI' (D & S die R.1 – same as 11 and 39). ³²	1.39/21.5
71.	Same obverse die as 68–70 and 72–3. Rev. hCII/RIO/IILV/IDCl	1.36/21.0
72.	Same obverse die as 68–71 and 73. Rev. NIC/OIÉ/OIL/VID.	1.42/21.9
73.	Same obverse die as 68–72. Rev. WAL/TÉR/OIC/AIT.	1.55/23.9
74.	Reversed Ns on both sides. Rev. RIÉ/ORI/ÉVI/CNR.	1.31/20.2
75.	Rev. ROB/CRT/ON(reversed)Cl/ANT (retrograde).	1.30/20.1
76.	Rev. h-G/ÉDO/WIÉ/TOR.	1.15/17.8

Oval eyes

77.	hENRCIVS Rev. NIC/OLÉ/ONL/VID (retrograde) – same die as 99.	1.46/22.5
78.	Rev. NIÉ/IHD/ONL/VND.	1.40/21.6
79.	Rev. NIC/OHD/ONLÉ/-ON	1.21/18.7
80.	Rev. NIC/ONLCl/GIC/--- (pellet-barred Ns).	1.26/19.6
81.	Rev. hIÉ/OhÉ/II-I/VIIÉ (second É reversed).	0.92/14.2
82.	Rev. ARID/ARII/OIID/VIID (reversed És for Ds).	1.04/16.0
83.	Rev. ARIC/ARC/ONC/VND	1.33/20.6
84.	Rev. ARIÉ/(h?)ÉI/ARIÉ/NLV.	1.04/16.0

(ii) Crescent beneath curls each side. Oval eyes.

0.3.	Rev. ARIC/hEN/RIO/MLV (based on Ricard and Henri on Lund). ³³	1.36/21.0
85.	Rev. ARIÉ/WIG/ARVCI/TRO	1.13/17.4
86.	Rev. ARIÉ/WIC/TOR/--V.	1.04/16.1
0.4.	Rev. IÉ R/WÉ-/SON/VÉT (based on Iervis on Ivel?). ³⁴	1.36/21.0

(iii) Pellet between curls.

Annulet eyes

87.	hENRCIVS. Crescent beneath curls. Rev. hEN/NDE/RIO/NLV (first two quarters retrograde; last N reversed). Same die as 36.	1.35/20.8
88.	Obverse of similar style to 101. Rev. IICl/OLCl/CII/Clv (based on Nicole on Lund).	1.50/23.2

89. *Rev.* BR/hEI/TOL/CiNL 1.28/19.7
90. Fringe of small pellets (same obverse as 91).
Rev. BIL/hEI/TONL/CiNR (hybrid legend possibly based on Gilbert on Can and Henri on Lund). 1.34/20.7
91. Same obverse die as 90
Rev. NIC/OLC/OIL/VHD (reversed EI for D). 1.25/19.3
92. Inverted h on obverse. Crescent-tailed R.
Rev. WIL/LiEM/ONL/VID (reversed EI for D) – same die as 107. 1.34/20.7
93. Fringe of small pellets.
Rev. RIC/ARNO/iNL/ONV (second N pellet-barred).³⁵ 1.42/21.9
94. Fringe and necklace of small pellets. Same die as 95.
Rev. BIR/TONL/iEh/CiRNL (h and second R reversed) – same die as 28. 1.33/20.5
95. Same obverse die as 94.
Rev. INI/DOI/EI (reversed)OI/LVN (same die as 31 and 105). 1.27/19.6
96. Fringe and necklace of small pellets.
Rev. DNI/COL/iON/LVN 1.25/19.3
97. REX divided by hand. Curule X.
Rev. WIL/LiCN/iON/KAN (all Ns reversed) – based on a reverse of cl.5d.³⁶
 Silvered base metal. 1.32/20.4

Oval eyes

98. WIL/LiEM/ONCI/ANT (last N pellet-barred). 1.03/15.9
- (iv) No marks in obverse field.

Annulet eyes; no neck

99. Inverted h on obverse (same die as 100).
Rev. NIC/OLi/ONL/VID (retrograde) – same die as 77. 1.39/21.5
100. Same obverse die as 99.
Rev. NiE/RIi/ONL/BVD (retrograde). 1.33/20.5
101. Obverse of similar style to 88.
Rev. OLi/iiliC/OHL/VHL (same die as 34). 1.43/22.1
102. Distinctive portrait. Crescent-tailed R.
Rev. hEN/RIO/NLV/NDEi (second N reversed). 1.42/21.9

Oval eyes

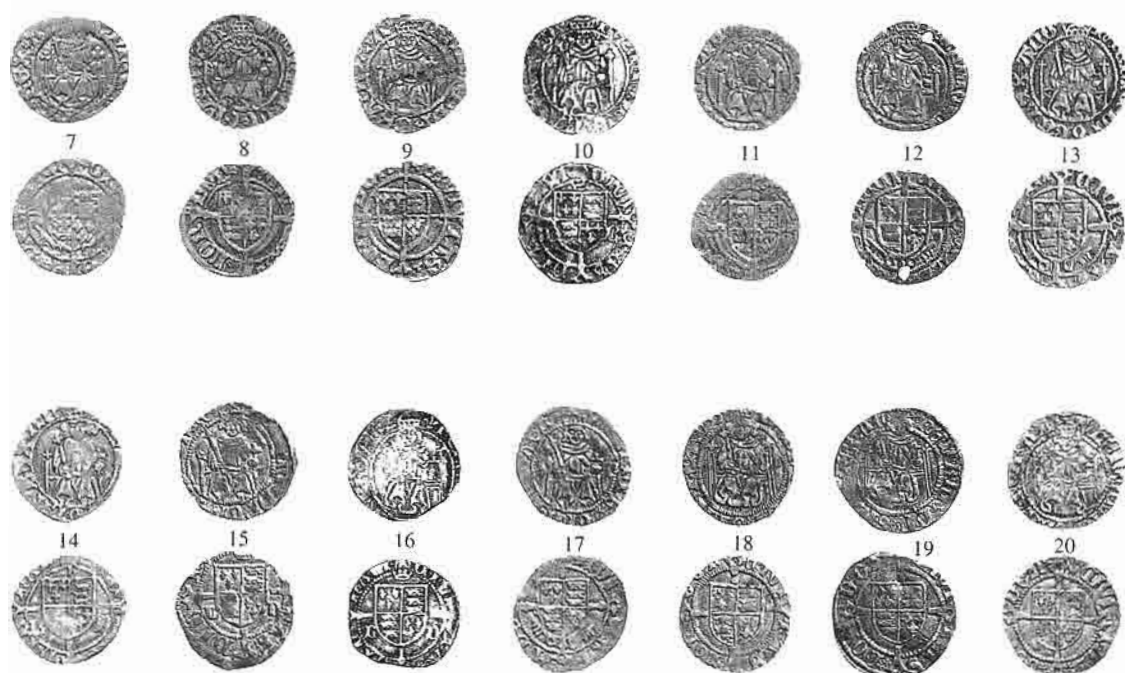
103. *Rev.* DNV/iON/LVH/DiEi (based on Davi on Lunden). 1.32/20.4
104. *Rev.* Nli/hWA/O-R/OIN (Ns and R reversed; h inverted). 1.09/16.8
105. Same obverse die as 106–7.
Rev. INI/DOI/EI (reversed)OI/LVN (same die as 31 and 95). 1.39/21.5
106. Same die as 105 and 107.
Rev. iiliC/OLC/OIL/VND. 1.38/21.3
107. Same die as 105–6.
Rev. WIL/LiEM/ONL/VID (reversed EI for D) – same die as 92. 1.40/21.6
- (v) Four pellets in field.

Annulet eyes

108. Same die as 109 (D & S die 0.4).³⁷
Rev. LiEi/TiER/CiI'+/LON (same die as 40 and 65). 1.35/20.8
109. Same die as 108.
Rev. RliN/iRO/NiEV/iRV (second N reversed). 1.45/22.4
- 0.5 *Rev.* ARiC/iWiC/iRiC/iTVO.³⁸ 1.24/19.1

Oval eyes

110. *Rev.* HiC/OL(inverted)Ei/DNK/iIT (based on Nicole on Kant – cl.5d) 1.40/21.6
111. *Rev.* hEN/RIO/NiV/NDEi. 1.36/21.0



ALLEN: HENRY VII SOVEREIGN PENCE



HOLMES: DAVID II FARTHING



THOMPSON: ARMORIAL TOKEN

112.	Rev. RID/ <u>ARD</u> /OND/ <u>VHD</u> (reversed E for D) – based on Ricard on Lund.	1.22/18.9
113.	Nothing between curls; minute pellet below. Rev. RIC/ <u>ARMD</u> /ONL/ <u>VI'D</u> (reversed N). ³⁹	1.34/20.7
(vi)	Crude and blundered.	
114.	Crude portrait with sceptre to right. Reverse illegible.	1.21/18.7
115.	---ICIEVIL-- Rev. IVIL/ <u>ONL</u> (retrograde & inverted)/IBI/OE (reversed)	0.99/15.3
116.	Crude face with pellet eyes. Rev. IV/ <u>CI</u> E (reversed)/IOI/DO. ⁴⁰	1.33/20.6
117.	Very crude portrait. Rev. REN/A/D/OHL/ <u>VH</u> . ⁴¹	1.26/19.5

Irish type obverses⁴²

-hENRI/CVSR/E X (sceptre)III'. Crowned portrait holding sceptre in right hand; cinquefoil in field, all contained within a triangle dividing the legend.

118.	D & S die 0.6. Same die as 119–21. Rev. NIC/OLE/ <u>ONC</u> / <u>ANT</u> .	1.39/21.5
119.	Same die as 118 and 120–1. Rev. DIN (reversely barred)/COL/EON/LVN	1.43/22.1
120.	Same die as 118–9 and 121. Rev. BER/hEN/TON/ <u>CAN</u> (combination of (Gil)ber(t) and Hen(ri) on Can).	1.38/21.3
121.	Same obverse die as 118–20. Rev. WIL/ <u>LEM</u> / <u>ONC</u> / <u>ANT</u> (D & S die R.5 – BH 38)	1.32/20.4
122.	D & S die 0.8. Same die as 123–4. Rev. (hEN)/RIO/ <u>NLV</u> /HD.	1.09/16.8
123.	Same obverse die as 122 and 124. Rev. hEN/RIO/NIV/ <u>ND</u> E	1.31/20.2
124.	Same obverse die as 122–3. Rev. hEN/RI/-/NO/NOL (many letters inverted or reversed).	1.00/15.4
125.	D & S die 0.9. Rev. ADA/MOI/NE/V/CA. ⁴³	1.25/19.3

Crude varieties with blundered legends.

126.	Rev. PIC/HD/ <u>OND</u> / <u>IVC</u> (based on Ricard on Dive)	1.36/21.0
127.	Rev. E -V/OIE (reversed)/--O/I E V.	1.42/21.9
128.	Rev. VOD/SDN/ <u>VHN</u> / <u>CI</u> AI.	1.12/17.3
129.	D & S die 0.29. Sceptre omitted; trefoil to right and quatrefoil to left of bust. Jumbled letters and symbols in both legends.	1.05/16.2
130.	D & S die 0.36. Small face with beard of long strokes; triangle of pellets to right. Rev. h(inverted)E-/OHE/DVO/IVI E (first and last E reversed) – D & S die R.47.	0.95/14.7
131.	D & S die 0.38. hVGI/CIIOVO/O. Small face without beard; triangle of pellets to right. Rev. H-G/VOII/E E -/O E E (D & S die R.49)	1.40/21.6
132.	Portrait of similar style. Rev. DAV/IIN(reversed)/DVO/ E L (retrograde – Davi on Dive)	1.03/15.9
133.	Portrait with large annulet eyes and beard of strokes resembling the so-called 'ape' face of OS 120. ⁴⁴ Blundered legends on both sides.	0.98/15.1

Problematic

134.	Similar to English class 3a but with beard of curved lines. ⁴⁵ Rev. HIC/OLE/OHL/ <u>VHD</u> .	1.47/22.7
135.	Obverse brockage, ⁴⁶ Portrait resembling that on some coins of Lippe especially in the treatment of the beard (see p. 113)	1.22/18.9

THE CHRONOLOGY OF EDWARD I CLASS 2

MARTIN ALLEN

THE Fox brothers associated the introduction of their class II with the beginning of William de Turnmire's tenure of the office of master on 2 January 1280, as it was the first class struck in three places named in Turnmire's indenture of 8 December 1279: Canterbury, York, and Bristol.¹ Lord Stewartby has suggested that comparison of mint accounts with numbers of coins of the early Fox classes in hoards indicates that class 2² must have begun before January 1280.³ This suggestion is consistent with documentary evidence discovered by Mavis Mate. The first recoinage dies for Canterbury were ready on 15 November 1279, and the Archbishop of Canterbury's dies were delivered to his representative on that day.⁴ It may be concluded that class 2a, the earliest class known from Canterbury, began no later than 15 November.⁵ Class 2a cannot have begun earlier than 6 July 1279, if the Fox brothers were right to suggest that the production of their classes Ib–Id followed the presentation of Stephen de Mundene as engraver on that day.⁶

Eighty-one (43.3%) of the 187 London pence of class 2 in the exceptionally large hoard from Montrave have been attributed to class 2a, but only one of the hoard's thirteen class 2 pence of Canterbury belonged to

this sub-class.⁷ It might be concluded that the Canterbury dies were supplied towards the end of the issue of class 2a. However, the contribution of Canterbury to the production of class 2a may have been substantially reduced by the mint's continued closure after the initial supply of dies in November 1279. Use of the new dies was probably delayed until January 1280, when the accounts for the Canterbury mint began.⁸

The single class 2a obverse die recorded from York coins could have been made before the inclusion of York in Turnmire's indenture of 8 December 1279, although it was probably supplied after that date.⁹ York's first supply of obverse dies may have consisted of a batch of class 2b dies, with a relatively old class 2a die from stock. It can certainly be suggested that the earliest class 2b dies used in York and Bristol were supplied no later than the end of December 1279, in preparation for Turnmire's operation of mints in those places from 2 January 1280.

On 2 November 1279 the exchequer was instructed to supply dies for the new coinage to the bishop of Durham,¹⁰ and the bishop's attorney surrendered two of Durham's three sets of old Long Cross dies on that day.¹¹ The dies provided after the return of the third set

Acknowledgements Mr Nicholas Mayhew, Mr Jeffrey North and the Rt. Hon. Lord Stewartby have read drafts of this note and provided invaluable advice and information.

¹ H. B. E. Fox and J. S. Fox, 'Numismatic history of the reigns of Edward I, II, and III [part 2]', *BNJ* 7 (1910), 91–142, at pp. 111–13.

² Fox class II was redefined, and subdivided into class IIa and class IIb, by G. L. V. Tatler, 'A note on the transition between types I and II of the pennies of Edward I', *BNJ* 28 (1955–7), 288–293. J. J. North *et al.*, *The J. J. North Collection: Edwardian English Silver Coins 1279–1351 with some supplementary examples* (SCBI 39, Oxford, 1989), p. 10, pl. 3, 47–59, pl. 4, 60–74 uses a revised notation, with class 2ab transitional between classes 2a and 2b.

³ I. Stewart, 'English numismatics – progress and prospects', *BNJ* 58 (1988), 110–22, at p. 116. Comparison of hoards with mint accounts might provide a date for the inception of class 2, if the accounts recorded quantities of pence struck during a series of periods between the introduction of class I and the end of class 2. Unfortunately, the most probable date for the end of class 2 (c. July 1280) is not close to either end of the 18 May 1280–18 October 1280 accounting period, and unknown quantities of groats were included with the London pence in the accounts.

⁴ M. Mate, 'Monetary policies in England, 1272–1307', *BNJ* 41 (1972), 34–79, at pp. 46–7. The exchequer memorandum cited by Mate (Public Record Office [hereafter PRO] E 368/53 rot. 2d.) specifies three sets of dies for the archbishop, and five for the king.

⁵ Lord Stewartby has independently reached this conclusion.

⁶ Fox and Fox, 'Numismatic history', pp. 107–8, 136–7 (document xxxiv).

⁷ G. L. V. Tatler and B. H. I. H. Stewart, 'Edwardian sterling in the Montrave hoard', *BNJ* 31 (1962), 80–7, at p. 87, applying Tatler's two subclasses, without the transitional class 2ab subsequently introduced by North (see note 2). N. J. Mayhew, 'The Aberdeen, St Nicholas Street, hoards of 1983 and 1984', *BNJ* 58 (1988), 40–68, at p. 54 lists eleven Canterbury pence with class 2 obverses in the 1983 Aberdeen hoard, only one of which belonged to class 2a.

⁸ G. C. Crump and C. Johnson, 'Tables of bullion coined under Edward I, II, and III', *NC* 4th ser. 13 (1913), 200–45, at pp. 226–7. Mate, 'Monetary policies', pp. 49–50 discusses the extensive refurbishment of mint and exchange buildings in Canterbury, which seems to have caused the continued closure of the mint.

⁹ Tatler, 'A note on the transition between types I and II', p. 289 and fig. I, c recorded only one coin from this die. Mr North has noted two further specimens: one in the 1983 Aberdeen hoard (Mayhew, 'The Aberdeen, St Nicholas Street, hoards', pp. 44, 57, and pl. 12, 12), and the other in 1988 Amble hoard (Sothebys sale 22–23 March 1990, lot 396, listed as class 2b).

¹⁰ Fox and Fox, 'Numismatic history', pp. 103, 136 (document xxxi).

¹¹ PRO E 368/53, rot. 2.

of old dies must have belonged to class 2b, the earliest recoinage sub-class known from the Durham mint.¹² These class 2b dies were probably supplied to the exchequer in November, for transmission to Durham.¹³

George Brooke dated the end of class 2 to May 1280, without supporting evidence.¹⁴ The Fox brothers' date, c. July 1280, depended upon the assumption that the end of class 2 was almost immediately followed by the

issue of the first halfpence, attributable to class 3b, from 15 August 1280.¹⁵ This assumption is consistent with hoard evidence. Classes 3a and 3b supplied only twenty-three (7.8%) of the 293 London pence of classes 3a-3f in the Montrave hoard,¹⁶ and production of class 3f dies probably ended no later than c. December 1280.¹⁷

¹² Mate, 'Monetary policies', p. 47 assumed that the need to return the third set of old dies delayed the supply of the new dies until January 1280, implicitly supporting the Fox chronology, but the exchequer memorandum recording the return of dies (see note 11) does not say when the new dies were supplied.

¹³ Bishop Lewis de Beaumont's first dies, ordered by a writ to the exchequer dated 1 June 1317, were received at the exchequer on 10 June (PRO E 159/96, rot. 85d.).

¹⁴ G. C. Brooke, *English Coins from the Seventh Century to the Present Day* (3rd edn., London, 1950), p. 122. Brooke may have assumed that the introduction of Fox class II coincided

with the beginning of the 18 May 1280 – 18 October 1280 accounting period.

¹⁵ Fox and Fox, 'Numismatic history', pp. 114–15.

¹⁶ Tatler and Stewart, 'Edwardian sterling', p. 87. The coins of Burns group A11 (North class 3bc) and the related variety Burns group A12 have been counted with the coins of classes 3c–f.

¹⁷ Fox and Fox, 'Numismatic history', p. 124 cite a writ of 5 December 1280 ordering the sending of money to Chester to open the king's exchange. The supply of class 3g dies to Chester may have begun at about the same time.

MORE ON THE DUMFRIES HOARDS (1878)

N.M.McQ. HOLMES

IN an earlier volume of this Journal the writer quoted evidence for the discovery of two separate Edwardian coin hoards in Dumfries in 1878, and for their subsequent confusion in published records.¹ The same article contained a full catalogue and discussion of the 'Travellers' Rest' hoard, which was acquired in its entirety by the National Museum of Antiquities of Scotland (now part of the National Museums of Scotland). The recent rediscovery of further items relating to these hoards should be recorded.

The latest document referring to the hoards which was previously known was a letter, dated 31 December 1878, from Stair Agnew, the Queen's and Lord Treasurer's Remembrancer, to George Sim at the National Museum of Antiquities, to accompany a pottery vessel which had contained the second Dumfries hoard. This letter revealed the first evidence of the confusion of the two hoards. Another letter which has come to light in the museum archives demonstrates how the mixing up of the records of the two finds continued in later communications. This letter is from John Reid, then the Q & LTR, to George Sim at the museum, and was dated 21 December 1881, about three years later than Stair Agnew's letter. Reid writes:

In the list of cases of 'Treasure Trove' supplied by Mr. Anderson as regards coins etc recovered thro' my Department for the Museum, he refers to a find of coins in a mass at Dumfries on 6 Jun 1878, but the enclosed from you points to another find there the same year. Will you kindly enquire into this, that if needs be I may include both finds in my Report to the Treasury? It wd. appear that no further action has been taken on this second find, so perhaps in your letter including it in the list we are reporting you could say whether all or any portion of it is to be retained for the Nat. Collection.

A pencil note in Sim's handwriting at the end of this letter records that:

Mr Burns has all the Dumfries Coins, all the Fortrose Coins, and all the selected specimens of the Montrave, but not the

Dumfries seal. Besides the above Mr Burns has the 'Giffnock Find'.

Sim's reply to Reid, dated 9 January 1882, commences:

Dumfries Treas. Trove

Referring to my letter to Mr Agnew of 29th June 1878 acknowledging receipt of his letter of 26th sending a box said to contain 916 silver coins or thereby and an ancient seal, I am sorry I am only now able to deal with that find - I now herewith return 602 of the coins, having retained the remainder and the seal for the Museum.

The letter goes on to deal with the Giffnock and Fortrose hoards. It is clear from this that over 300 coins from the second Dumfries hoard of 1878 were retained for the NMAS, but unfortunately their provenance was not recorded when they were put into the museum's trays, and none can now be identified. The presentation to the museum of coins from both hoards is officially confirmed in a letter from Reid to Sim dated 7 February 1882.

The second recent discovery comprises two coin fragments from the 'Travellers' Rest' hoard. In the report on the hoard the writer noted that 'a cut halfpenny and farthing' of Alexander III had formed part of it, but had subsequently been lost, along with one Edward I penny, after being put on display. If these descriptions had been correct, they would have suggested fractions of pennies of Alexander's first (voided cross) coinage. The two items have now been found, stored with the jewellery items from the hoard, and it can be revealed that they are merely two broken pieces of one second coinage penny, class Mb2. There is no suggestion that they were deliberately cut. The Edwardian penny remains missing.

¹ N.M.McQ. Holmes, 'Old and New Edwardian Hoards from Scotland', *BNJ* 64 (1994), 41-69, at pp. 41-49.

AN UNRECORDED FARTHING TYPE OF DAVID II OF SCOTLAND

N.M.McQ. HOLMES

THE early (pre-1357) coinage of David II is considered to have comprised two separate issues.¹ The earlier, possibly struck at Berwick c. 1329–33, consisted only of halfpennies and farthings with five-pointed mullets in the angles of the reverse cross. The later series, probably struck in Edinburgh c. 1351–57, included pennies and halfpennies bearing six-pointed mullets on the reverse. The pennies of this issue are common, but the halfpennies of the first issue are very rare, and those of the second issue extremely rare, as are the farthings of the first issue. No farthing of the second issue appears so far to have been recorded.

In 1992 the National Museums of Scotland acquired a farthing, found by a metal-detectorist in East Lothian, which appears to belong to the second issue (Pl. 11). Its details are as follows:

Obverse: DAVID-DEI-GRAC-I-; crowned bust to left with sceptre

Reverse: REX/SCOT/TOR/VM-; single long cross; six-pointed mullets in first and third angles; the others uncertain owing to flattening
12.0 mm.; 0.33 g. (5.14 gr.); die axis 1.0

The crude style of the bust, with sharply projecting left shoulder/chest representation, is comparable to that commonly seen on pennies of the second issue, corresponding perhaps most closely to Burns 229–230, the 'First Head' identified by Dakers.² The two visible mullets on the reverse can definitely be seen to have six points, despite the general lack of clarity on this side of the coin, but unfortunately it is impossible to ascertain

whether there are mullets in the second and fourth angles of the cross, although there is a suggestion of one in the fourth. In the first issue coinage, halfpennies bear mullets in two opposite angles only, whereas farthings have them in all four. Halfpennies of the second issue bear mullets in either two or three quarters, with alternate angles on the former type containing the letter I, thought to be the initial of the moneyer, James Mulekyn.³ It would not therefore have been necessary, as it presumably was in the case of the first issue, for the farthings to bear four mullets to enable them to be distinguished at a glance from halfpennies of the same issue with two mullets and two blank quarters. The unique design of both second issue halfpenny types would have served to distinguish them from farthings with either four or two mullets.

The only aspect of this farthing which does not accord with an attribution to the second issue is its weight, which at 5.14 grains is very high for a coinage based on a penny of 18 grains. It corresponds more closely with the theoretical weight of $21 \frac{3}{7}$ grains for the pennies of Robert Bruce, or with the English standards of 1344–46 (20.3 grains) or 1346–51 (20.0 grains), any of which may also have been the standard on which the first issue halfpennies and farthings of David II were based.⁴ Clearly, however, this particular coin may simply have been a particularly heavy specimen of its type, since there are no others with which to compare it, and the weight on its own is not sufficient to contradict the visual evidence supporting the attribution of this coin to the second issue.

¹ I. H. Stewart, *The Scottish Coinage*, revised edition, London (1967), pp. 195 and 208; I. Stewart, 'Scottish Mints', in *Mints, Dies and Currency: Essays in Memory of Albert Baldwin*, edited by R. A. G. Carson, London (1971), pp. 223–24.

² E. Burns, *The Coinage of Scotland*, Edinburgh (1887); C. H. Dakers, 'Notes on Scottish Coins: (1) Rex Scottorum

Pennies of David II', *Proc. Soc. Antiq. Scot.* LXXII (1937–38), 122–24.

³ Stewart, *The Scottish Coinage*, p. 26.

⁴ Stewart, *The Scottish Coinage*, p. 208; 'Scottish Mints', p. 223.

THE CLASSIFICATION OF HENRY VII SOVEREIGN PENCE

MARTIN ALLEN

THE detailed analysis of Henry VII's coinage published by W.J.W. Potter and E.J. Winstanley has been the basis of all subsequent work on the subject.¹ Winstanley's classification of the 'sovereign' pence was founded upon the assumption that coins with no pillars in the throne (type I) were followed by coins with one pillar (type II), two pillars (type III), and two double pillars (type IV), in succession.² This simple scheme was first formulated by L.A. Lawrence.³ There is no reason to doubt that type I is the earliest, and that type IV is the latest. Lord Stewartby has suggested that type I was produced in 1489, before the first supply of dies to Durham, which is assumed to have followed an indenture of 20 September 1489.⁴ Type IV was produced at the London mint only, and D.M. Metcalf has associated this with the prohibition of pence in the provincial mints from 1499 to the end of the reign in 1509.⁵ Types II and III must be placed between types I and IV, but the assumption that the number of pillars infallibly indicates two successive issues should be

critically examined.

Winstanley believed that the two-pillar type III could be distinguished from the one-pillar type II by its use of new lettering of type E.⁶ The Potter and Winstanley lettering types were principally based upon the groat lettering, and in practice it is difficult to apply them to the smaller lettering of the pence, which is from different punches. The only unmistakable difference between lettering E and earlier lettering is the change from a Roman M to a 'Lombardic' M, but all of the Durham pence of types II and III have a Lombardic M in the mint's name. Lettering does not provide definitive evidence for the division of type II from type III.

Table 1 summarizes the type IIc and type IIb obverse dies used to produce the forty-three Durham pence of Bishop Richard Fox in the Ashmolean, British, and Fitzwilliam Museums. There seem to have been four successive supplies of obverse dies, each supply having a different ornament on the pillar or

TABLE 1: Durham obverse dies of types IIc and IIb

Ornament	No. of pillars	No. of dies	Total
Lis	1	5	6
	2	1	
Saltire cross	1	2	5
	2	3	
Cross	1	4	5
	2	1	
Rosette	1	4	6
	2	2	

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¹ W. J. W. Potter and E. J. Winstanley, 'The coinage of Henry VII', *BNJ* 30 (1960-1), 262-301; *BNJ* 31 (1962), 109-24; *BNJ* 32 (1963), 140-60. D. M. Metcalf, *Ashmolean Museum, Oxford. Part III. Coins of Henry VII (SCBI 23)*, London, 1976) illustrates 971 coins catalogued in accordance

with the work of Potter and Winstanley.

² E. J. Winstanley, in Potter and Winstanley, *BNJ* 31, pp. 120-1. E. J. Harris, 'Varieties in the York "Sovereign" pence of Henry VII', *SCMB* April 1961, 137-8, described 100 coins, without attempting a classification.

³ L. A. Lawrence, 'On the coinage of Henry VII', *NC* 4th ser. 18 (1918), 205-61, at pp. 238-46.

⁴ I. Stewart, 'Problems of the early coinage of Henry VII', *NC* 7th ser. 14 (1974), 125-47, at p. 140.

⁵ Metcalf, pp. xix-xx, xxxviii-xxxix.

⁶ Potter and Winstanley, *BNJ* 30, pp. 267-8, 279-82 describe and illustrate lettering types A to E.

TABLE 2: Durham reverse dies used with obverse dies of types IIc and IIIb

Initials	Associated obverse dies	No. of dies	Total
Large DR	Lis	5	10
	Saltire cross	3	
	Saltire cross and cross	1	
	Cross	1	
Large RD	Saltire cross	1	5
	Cross	3	
	Rosette	1	
Small RD	Rosette	5	6
	Rosette and Henry VIII first coinage	1	

pillars: trefoils, saltire crosses, crosses, and rosettes. Six dies of each type may have been provided.⁷ Each supply included one- and two-pillar dies, invalidating the division between the single-pillar type II and the two-pillar type III.

The reverse dies used with the obverse dies in Table 1 have Bishop Fox's initials: DR or RD in relatively large lettering, c. 2.5 mm. high, or RD in smaller, c. 2 mm., lettering. There seem to have been two supplies of large DR dies, one supply of large RD dies, and finally one supply of small RD dies; each supply probably consisted of six dies, matching the number of obverse dies in batches of a dozen dies. Five large DR dies known only from coins with lis obverses were almost certainly supplied with the lis obverse dies. The second batch of large DR dies seems to have been supplied with the saltire cross obverse dies, and the large RD dies were probably accompanied by the cross obverse dies. Finally, the six small RD dies must have been supplied with the six rosette obverse dies. One of the small RD dies was used with a Henry VIII first coinage obverse die of Bishop Thomas Ruthall (pl. 11, 16), providing evidence of the late place of the

small RD and rosette dies.⁸

The evidence of the dies used at Durham supports Lawrence's assumption that the ornaments on the pillars of the throne indicate successive periods of production.⁹ Type IIa has trefoil ornaments, and arches on the seat of the throne, beside the king's legs. Similar arches appear on the sovereigns of Grierson's classes A and B,¹⁰ and on the sovereign groat (pl. 11, 6); the class A sovereign and the groat also have trefoil ornaments on their four pillars. Type IIb pence have trefoil ornaments, and an arched throne or the unarched throne normal on later pence.¹¹ Arched throne coins have Potter and Winstanley cross-ending 2 on the reverse, but some trefoil coins with unarched thrones have cross-ending 7, which appears on all later coins. The unarched throne trefoil type was superseded by the lis type, which is the earliest known for Bishop Fox, following his reopening of the Durham mint under an indenture of 20 January 1495.¹² One London reverse die used with a lis obverse (pl. 11, 11) has the pansy initial mark, the introduction of which has been dated to about the autumn of 1495 by Metcalf.¹³ After the lis type the London mint seems to have left the striking of pence to

⁷ Metcalf, p. xxix, states that the Durham coins of type IIb in the Ashmolean Museum are from eight obverse dies, and suggests that eight dies were supplied, but the illustrated coins (Metcalf, pl. xli, 724-31) are from only six dies. The two dies attributable to type Iii, applying the revised classification tabulated in Table 3, do not have a crozier to the right of the king, unlike the four dies of type 2. The two type Iii dies may have been supplied with the Ashmolean's two reverse dies having Bishop Shirwood's initials (DS) in relatively large lettering c. 2.5 mm. high. The four type 2 obverse dies may have been received with the Ashmolean's five reverse dies having smaller (c. 2 mm.) initials, in a supply of six obverse dies and six reverse dies. A sixth small initial reverse die is represented in the British Museum.

⁸ The reverse die evidently survived the closure of the Durham mint under the restraint of 1499, and was used after the reopening of the mint in 1510 discussed by C. E. Challis, 'The ecclesiastical mints of the early Tudor period: their organization and possible date of closure', *Northern History* 10 (1975), 88-101 *passim*.

⁹ Lawrence, pp. 243-4.

¹⁰ P. Grierson, 'The origins of the English sovereign and the symbolism of the closed crown', *BNJ* 33 (1964), 118-34, at pp. 122-6.

¹¹ Winstanley's notation implies that the cinquefoil initial mark coins of type IIa entirely preceded the unmarked coins of type IIb, but Stewart, pp. 139-40 has noted that this is not a necessary assumption. The presence or absence of the initial mark cannot be used to allocate the arched throne coins to two successive types.

¹² Metcalf, pp. xii, xiv-xv, xviii has proposed that the production of pence was suspended after type IIb, probably in 1490, and has used the indenture as evidence for a revival of production in 1495. It is more probable that only the Durham mint was closed, during the production of unarched throne trefoil coins in London and York. Stewart, p. 139, suggests that the Durham mint was closed from 1492, when the three-year term of its indenture of 1489 ended, until the implementation of the indenture of 1495.

¹³ Metcalf, p. xxxviii.

Durham and York, until its production of type IV during the prohibition of provincial minting of pence ordered in 1499. The Durham and York mints both received supplies of saltire cross and cross dies. Durham rosette obverses have lis sceptre heads from a distinctive broken punch with partly missing side fleurs, which is used in the royal arms on the reverse, and also appears as a throne ornament on York coins. The rosette and broken lis type was the last before the

restraint of the provincial mints. The London pence of type IV have lis ornaments from a new unbroken punch, and the earliest initial mark on them is the cross-crosslet, which was introduced in 1504.¹⁴ Production of type IV may have begun in 1505, to supply some of the pence required at the London exchange for clipped coins established by a proclamation of 27 April.¹⁵ Tables 3 and 4 summarize a revised classification, consistent with the evidence discussed.

TABLE 3: Revised classification

Type	Pillars	Ornaments	Sceptre head	Cross-ends	Remarks	Winstanley
li	none	none	lis	1	sceptre in left or right hand.	I
lii	none	trefoil ¹⁶	lis	2	sceptre in right hand, as on all later coins.	—
2	one	trefoil	lis or trefoil	2	arched throne; trefoil stops or none; cinquefoil initial mark on some London coins.	IIa and IIb
3i	one	trefoil	lis or trefoil	2 or 7	unarched throne; stops: trefoil, rosette or none; lis initial mark on London dies with rosette stops.	IIb
3ii	one or two	lis	lis	7	pansy initial mark on one London reverse die.	IIc–IIIf
3iii	one or two ¹⁷	saltire cross	lis or saltire cross	7		IIc and IIIf
3iv	one or two ¹⁷	cross	lis or cross	7	throne seat on some York coins ornamented with saltire crosses.	IIc and IIIf
3v	one or two	rosette or broken lis	broken lis	7	rosette stops on some obverse dies with broken lis ornaments.	IIc and IIIf
4	two double	lis	lis	7	saltire stops; initial mark: cross-crosslet, pheon or none.	IVa–IVc

TABLE 4: Summary of mint output

Mint	li	lii	2	3i	3ii	3iii	3iv	3v	4
Durham		x	x		x	x	x	x	
London	x		x	x	x				x
York	x		x	x	x	x	x	x	

¹⁴ Metcalf, p. xxxviii. The cross-crosslet initial mark dies of type IVb undoubtedly preceded the pheon initial mark dies of type IVc, but the assumption that the unmarked coins of type IVa were earlier than the cross-crosslet and pheon coins is questionable. Winstanley, p. 121, asserted that type IVa has lettering E or F, and that types IVb and IVc have lettering G, but I have been unable to confirm this. Only three of the lettering G letters (E, N, and R) illustrated from groats by Potter and Winstanley, *BNJ* 30, p. 289, are found on pence, and none of these differs from earlier lettering in ways that can be confidently identified on pence. Subdivision of type IV should be avoided until more secure evidence for the place of

the unmarked coins can be found.

¹⁵ P. Grierson, 'Notes on early Tudor coinage', *BNJ* 41 (1972), 80–94, at pp. 93–4, discusses the proclamation of 1505, which stipulated payment in 'onely golde [*recte* goode] pens of two pens and pens'.

¹⁶ One of the two known type lii obverse dies has trefoils in the positions later occupied by pillars; the other has one trefoil in a similar position, with a stalk that might be described as a very short pillar.

¹⁷ Some saltire cross and cross obverse dies have one double pillar, with or without another, single, pillar.

KEY TO PLATE 11

AM: Ashmolean Museum, Oxford.

BM: British Museum.

HM: Hunterian Museum, University of Glasgow.

MA: author's collection.

1.	Type li.	Sceptre in the left hand.	York.	BM.
2.		Sceptre in the right hand.	London.	BM.
3.	Type lii.	Small DS.	Durham.	BM.
4.	Type 2.	Large DS.	Durham.	BM.
5.		Cinquefoil initial mark.	London.	AM.
6.	Period of type 2.	Sovereign groat, obverse.	London.	HM.
7.	Type 3i.	Rosette stops.	York.	BM.
8.		Rosette stops; lis initial mark.	London.	BM.
9.		Trefoil stops.	London.	BM.
10.	Type 3ii.	Large DR.	Durham.	MA.
11.		Pansy initial mark.	London.	BM.
12.	Type 3iii.		York.	AM.
13.	Type 3iv.	Saltire crosses on the seat of the throne.	York.	AM.
14.		Large RD.	Durham.	BM.
15.	Type 3v.	Rosette ornament; small RD.	Durham.	AM.
16.	Henry VIII first coinage obverse; type 3v small RD reverse.		Durham.	MA.
17.	Type 3v.	Broken lis ornament; rosette stops.	York.	BM.
18.	Type 4.	No initial mark	London.	AM.
19.	Type 4.	Cross crosslet initial mark as the X of REX.	London.	AM.
20.	Type 4.	Pheon initial mark	London.	BM.

AN EARLY SIXTEENTH-CENTURY SILVER HOARD FROM DOWNHAM, LANCS

B.J. COOK AND ADRIAN LEWIS

ON Sunday 12 April 1992 Mr Neil Berry of Blackburn discovered a hoard of thirteen silver coins while metal-detecting in a field between Downham and Sawley, not far from Clitheroe. He reported his find two days later to the Blackburn Museum, where a report was prepared for the local coroner. In the event the coins were not found to be treasure trove, but the coins were nevertheless purchased for Blackburn Museum from the finder, with the consent and participation of the landowners.

The coins were found close together, near to the route of the old road between Downham and Sawley, and not far from the remains of the packhorse bridge which formerly carried the road over Smithies Brook. The find consists of eleven coins of Edward IV and Henry VII (two groats, two halfgroats and six pennies), all of the twelve grain penny standard, plus a *double patard* of Charles the Bold, Duke of Burgundy (1467–77) and a *chinfrao* of Alfonso V, King of Portugal (1438–81). The English coins had a face value of one shilling and sixpence, while the *double patard*

was legally current as a groat, and it has recently been suggested that Portuguese *chinfraos* might have circulated as halfgroats, in which case the whole group's value would have been two shillings.¹ One would not want to base much on the evidence of the weights of such a small group of coins, but for what it is worth, the six pennies have a mean weight of just 75 per cent of standard and range from 65 to 83 per cent; the halfgroats are 75 and 99 per cent of standard; and the three groats cluster reasonably closely to their mean of 95 per cent.

The latest coins present in the group are the two Henry VII coins, with one of the find's two halfgroats attributed to Archbishop Bainbridge, i.e. from December 1508. A deposit date in the first decade of Henry VIII's reign may be suggested, with the absence of the latter's own First Coinage issues not significant, considering their rarity. This deposit date, with the hoard's size and contents (particularly the *chinfrao*) aligns the find with a small group of similar hoards.²

Catalogue

Edward IV, First reign, light coinage (1464/5–70)

1. Penny, Durham, William Dudley (1476–83), D beside neck, nothing in centre of reverse³ wt: 0.56g.
2. Penny, Durham, William Dudley, D beside neck, D in centre of reverse, wt: 0.51g.

Second reign (1471–83)

3. Groat, London, type XIV, im small annulet, wt: 3.02g.
4. Groat, London, type XVI, im pierced cross with four pellets, wt: 2.91g.
5. Penny, Durham, Lawrence Booth (translated to York 1476), B beside neck and D in centre of reverse,⁴ wt: 0.62g.
6. Penny, Durham, William Dudley, D and V beside neck, D in centre of reverse,⁵ wt: 0.64g.
7. Penny (fragment), Durham, details uncertain, D in centre of reverse, wt: 0.52g.
8. Penny, York, George Neville (1465–72, 1675–76), G and key by bust, im illegible, wt: 0.65g.

Henry VII (1485–1509)

9. Groat, London, profile issue, regular type, im pheon (1507–9), wt: 2.88g.
10. Halfgroat, York, profile issue, im rose (1500–7), wt: 1.55g.
11. Halfgroat, York, profile issue, im martlet, keys below shield, wt: 1.18g.

Charles the Bold, Duke of Burgundy (1467–77)

12. *Double patard* as count of Flanders, wt: 2.92g.

Alfonso V, King of Portugal (1438–81)

13. *Chinfrao*, mint of Lisbon (Vaz 41)⁶, wt: 1.35g.

¹ For the *double patard* in English currency, see P. Spufford, 'Burgundian double patards in medieval England', *BNJ* 33 (1964), 110–17; for *chinfraos*, see B. J. Cook, 'Recent Tudor hoards', *BNJ* 64 (1994), 70–75.

² See Cook, 'Recent Tudor hoards', at p. 71.

³ This coin and no. 2 are presumably of type VII 2 (North 1604), with the quatrefoil to the right of the bust illegible.

⁴ This is presumably type XIII, XIV or XVa, with the trefoil by the bust obscured.

⁵ This and the following coin are both likely to be as North 1666, from local dies, with the im cinquefoil, and the V to the left of the bust illegible on no. 6.

⁶ J. Ferraro Vaz, *Livro das Moedas de Portugal* (Lisbon, 1973), p. 118.

A LISTING OF CROMWELL COIN TYPES

MARVIN LESSEN

CONSIDERABLE time has passed since the *Summary of the Cromwell Coinage* appeared in *BNJ* 35 (1966), and its *Supplement* in the *NCirc* of May 1976. This revised table lists the die-struck types currently known, with a minimum of description, except when there is some new information. The old numbering system has been retained, for better or worse, with the capital letter used to define a specific die group. The use of one or more lower case *italic* letters to replace the capital is new: they denote outright forgeries, from false dies, which retain an affinity to that group. A suffix 'a' or 'b' added to an overall sequence number shows an addition to the original list. The quantities known have not changed much, and will not be repeated, nor will the location, unless there is some significance or unique quality. 'Simon' coins mean dies by him, machinery by Blondeau, and both were involved in the manufacture. The edges on all of Simon's Commonwealth screw press coins were made by Blondeau's parallel bar Castaing-type of machine.

A1 'fifty shillings', 1656 Simon. gold. lettered edge, thick.

Reminiscent of French seventeenth century Briot and Warin lettered edge (though from segmented collars) piéfort mill silver patterns, produced as presentation pieces.

A2 20 shilling broad, 1656 Simon. gold. grained edge

A3 20 shilling broad, 1656 Simon. silver. grained edge

A4 20 shilling broad, 1656 Simon. silver. plain edge, thick (Hunter)

a4b 20 shilling broad, 1656 FALSE. gold. coarse grained edge,

121.4 gr, sg 18.12 (author). ex. Glendinning 26 March 1942 (53). A strange concoction, which seems to be struck, but from false dies somehow derived from the genuine coin; unrelated to the style or quality of j30.

B5 halfbroad, Dutch 1658. copper. plain edge

B6 halfbroad, Dutch 1658. gold. plain edge

B7 halfbroad, Dutch 1658. gold. grained edge

C8 halfbroad, Tanner 1656. gold. plain edge

C9 halfbroad, Tanner 1656. gold. grained edge

D10 halfbroad, Dutch/Tanner 1656. silver. plain edge

D11 halfbroad, Dutch/Tanner 1656. gold. plain edge

E12 crown, 1658/7 Simon. silver. lettered edge

E13 crown, 1658/7 Simon. gold. lettered edge

F16 crown, Dutch 1658. silver. lettered edge.

The writer reverts to his original opinion that the main punches were Simon's, especially the bust, considerably reworked in the dies.

F17 crown, Dutch 1658. silver-gilt. lettered edge

G22 crown, Tanner 1658. silver. lettered edge

G23 crown, Tanner 1658. silver. plain edge

According to an unpublished study of Tanner crowns by Collin Southern, the next two pieces were probably

struck by Yeo at the Royal Mint c.1779, specifically for the influential Dr William Hunter, at his request through Lord Cadogan. Southern also concluded that regular Tanner crowns may have been made even later than this period, especially those with the plain edge.

Ga24 crown Simon/Tanner 1658. silver. plain edge 664.5 gr (Hunter).

Ga24a crown Tanner/Tanner 1658. silver. plain edge 636.1 gr (Hunter)

H25 halfcrown, 1656 Simon. silver. lettered edge.

Apparently first 'issued', or at least first became public, 1 June 1657 (cf. *NCirc* July/August 1976, p. 275)

H25a halfcrown, 1656 Simon. lead. uniface obverse. 333.5 gr (author).

This shows a fuller extent of the die face and its beading than does any coin, and thus can only be a trial impression from the die itself, undoubtedly by Simon. The condition of the lead does not allow for any determination about the die pits/flaws always present on the silver coins, for they are not obvious here.

I26 halfcrown, 1658 Simon. silver. lettered edge

I27 halfcrown, 1658 Simon. gold. lettered edge

J28 shilling, 1658 Simon. silver. grained edge

J29 shilling, 1658 Simon. pewter. nine irregular sides.

A trial impression by Simon (British Museum).

j30 shilling, FALSE 1658. gold. grained edge.

Struck from false steel dies created from the genuine shilling, probably 19th-Century (2 known). This might also exist in other metals. The obverse die has survived (author). Of possible pertinence is lot 264 in the John Hall sale catalogue, Sotheby 28 February 1849, under Cromwell gold coinage, 'A Cast from the Shilling, by an old Forger named Singleton' to Taylor for £1.14.0.

j33a shilling, FALSE 1658. silver. grained edge.

96.72 gr (British Museum). From false dies of different style from j30, and not created from the genuine coin. Another in silver at 85 gr (author) has identical letter doubling, but different bifurcation. Perhaps the latter is cast but, if so, not from the BM specimen.

K34 shilling, Dutch 1658. silver. plain edge. thick or thin flan

(a uniface one at 188 gr was illustrated in Folkes).

K36 shilling, Dutch 1658. silver. grained edge

K38 shilling, Dutch 1658. copper. plain edge.

90.6 gr, badly struck (British Museum)

L39 sixpence, 1658 Simon. silver. grained edge

L40 sixpence, 1658 Simon. pewter. plain edge

M41 sixpence, Dutch 1658. silver. plain edge thick or thin flan

(possibly somewhat scarcer than originally thought)

M42 sixpence, Dutch 1658. silver. grained edge

N43 farthing, Ramage. copper. plain edge. Peck 390

O44 farthing, Ramage. copper. plain edge. Peck 391

P45 farthing, Ramage. copper-gilt. plain edge. chain border. Peck 392

Q46 farthing, Ramage. silver. plain edge. 52.8 gr (author). Peck 393

Q47 farthing, Ramage. copper. plain edge. Peck 394

R48 farthing, Ramage. copper. plain edge. Peck 395

S49 farthing, FALSE. from Ramage punches '1651' copper. plain edge. Peck 396 (3 known).

This concoction is not classed as a 'forgery' at present, because it may have emanated from the Royal Mint at some time, in a manner analogous to the Tanner coins. Its origin and purpose are unclear.

Thus, a few items are added; casts, phantoms and those otherwise unaccountable are deleted (hence the missing sequential numbers); and a 'final' listing results, one that should be reasonably complete after so many years of recording, although obscure museum holdings could still contain unknown minor struck pieces. It might be thought wrong to contaminate the list with die-struck forgeries, or not to include the various casts that were misinterpreted in the past (and still are), but such was the decision. The plain edge pewter Dutch crown in the British Museum, once called F20, has not been included, because of the uncertainty

of its manufacture; it remains possible that it is a struck piece and not a cast. No normal thickness (thin) Dutch shilling, K35, has ever surfaced, so it has been deleted, leaving K34 to encompass the usual thick types ('two shillings') and any other plain edge coin of any weight. There are at least two different styles of pewter broads, but all are casts (formerly A4a).

Illustrations are provided (Pl. 12) for the following coins that have never been shown before: A4 (Hunter Museum photograph), a4b, B5, Ga24 (Hunter Museum photograph), H25a, J29, j30 and its die, jj33a (British Museum Polaroid), K38 (British Museum Polaroid), and Q46. The Wertheimer sale catalogue, Glendinning 1945, pictured j30, but it is repeated here in conjunction with its die. An enlargement of a portion of the pewter crown, previously listed as E14 and now removed as a cast, is interesting in showing the unusual cylindrical blobs or protrusions. All photographs were made between 1966 and 1978 and, unless otherwise noted, were by the author, regardless of the coin's present location. Data from Mr Southern have been incorporated where applicable. This paper is dedicated to the memory of my good friend, Dr Ralph Ockenden, who provided so much of the information in the early years, and continual encouragement thereafter.

PLATE 12



A4



a4b



B5



Ga24



H25a



J29



J30



K38



Jf33a



Q46



LESSEN: CROMWELL COIN TYPES

AN ARMORIAL TOKEN FROM 'BREADGATE'

R.H. THOMPSON

THE seventeenth-century token illustrated on Pl. 11 may be described thus:

Obv. Arms: Three crescents within a bordure ermine, on a canton a lion's head erased.

Rev. THOMASIREADERI·IN·IBREADGATIHIS·HALF PENNY

(a superscript E above the T of BREADGAT is possible but not confirmable).

Norweb Collection ex Seaby ex Hird ex Carthew. Die axis 180°. The style appears to date it to the mid sixteen sixties.

In the standard gazetteers there is no place-name resembling 'Breadgat', or rather 'Breadgate'. Nor is there an entry in the standard armories for any such arms borne by Reader, so no assistance was available there for the attribution of this token. It seems to have been first published from a *fair* specimen in the Frank Sedgwick collection of London seventeenth-century tokens (Spink Coin Auctions, no. 51, 16 April 1986, lot 9), where it is attributed to Bread Gate, unidentified, and described as 'of the highest rarity, previously unpublished as a locality'. No such locality, however, is to be found in reference works on London. The token was catalogued by Dickinson as London 393A, and in 1988 in explanation he quoted John Wetton's reference to the Three Horse Shoes tavern in Cheapside, presumably having taken the crescents in the arms for horseshoes: 'This may well have been on the corner of Bread Street, and there may have been a gate at the entrance ...' (*Yorkshire Numismatist*, 1 (1988), 57-9).

This was written in connection with the transfer of the token to London, but placed in the Norweb Collection to 'Bread Gate' in Yorkshire. Although that specimen derives from Ald. Horace Hird via Seaby (there is also a plaster cast of each side), the intended attribution is revealed by Ralph Nott's annotated copy of Williamson as a sub-locality 'Bread Gate' in York (Yorkshire 425A). A number of York street-names do indeed incorporate *-gate*, from Old Scandinavian *gata* - 'street'. However, the English Place-Name Society volume on the East Riding of Yorkshire and York offers nothing closer than *Bretgate*, an old name for Jubbergate. In 1988 Mrs R. J. Freedman, City Archivist of York, mentioned to Michael Dickinson two streets named *Bretgate*, but could offer no alternative spellings closer to 'Breadgate', nor the name Reader in the York Freeman's Roll for c. 1600-1700.

As regards alternative locations in the Danelaw, Miss Elizabeth Pirie, writing to the present writer from Leeds in 1984, had no success in tracing the name anywhere north of the Humber, nor any helpful variety of the name *Broadgate* in Lincoln. Other Danelaw names

considered inconclusively have been *Bridgegate* in Chester, *Bridge Gate* previously *Briggate* in Derby, *Briggate* in Leeds, *Bradgate* in Leicester, and *Bridge Gate* ward in Thetford.

Ultimately the token can be attributed through serendipity, while browsing through List & Index Society Vol. 221, the Prerogative Court of Canterbury parchment inventories post 1660 (PROB 4/1-6416). Inventory no. 629 dated 1670 is for Ann Cestfield *alias* Kestfield of Breadgate, Kent! Breadgate in Kent is evidently Bredgar, a village near Sittingbourne whose main claim to fame (apart from the Bredgar and Wormshill Light Railway) seems to be the hoard of Roman coins found in 1957, and that of fourteenth-century English gold coins found in 1940. Etymologically Bredgar is from *brad* - 'broad' and *gara* - 'a triangular piece of land', but by some mistake 'gar' was altered to the more familiar 'gate'. For example, in Richard Kilburne, *A Topographie or Survey of the county of Kent* (London, 1659), the entry for Bredgar is headed BREDGATE, continuing 'Bradgate, Bredgar ...'

The account of Bredgar in Edward Hasted, *The History and topographical Survey of the county of Kent*, 2nd ed. (Canterbury, 1797-1801), vi. 102-4, mentions the manor of Manns (a name preserved in the substantial residence Manns Place), which was held by Humphry Clarke, died 1608: 'He alienated it to Reader, who bore for his arms *Three crescents, on a canton a lion's head erased, all within a bordure ermine*'. Except that the bordure is not superimposed upon the canton, these are the arms on the token, so its attribution is confirmed. The arms exactly as they appear on the token turn out to be in Papworth (p. 602), but attributed to RIDER, Kent. Under the name Rider they also occur in Berry's *Encyclopaedia Heraldica* and in Burke's *General Armory*, so all these works require correction as to the name, as do Hasted, Berry, and Burke in extending the bordure over the canton (which would be a mark of cadency or illegitimacy). They do, however, supply the tinctures: *Azure three crescents argent within a bordure ermine, on a canton Or a lion's head erased gules*.

In the church, according to Hasted, there were several memorials of the Readers, as late as 1705; but from a brief inspection, courtesy of the churchwarden, on Harvest Sunday 1996, none are now visible. It is possible nonetheless to document more than one Thomas Reader from Joseph Meadows Cooper, *Canterbury Marriage Licences, second series* (Canterbury, 1894), cols. 820 and 1060. In 1629 there was a licence to Richard White of Milton near Sittingbourne to marry Sarah Reader of Bredgar.

daughter of Thomas Reader the elder of the same parish, whose consent was testified by his son Thomas Reader the younger. The latter might be (a) Thomas Reader of Bredgar, yeoman, a bachelor of about 32, who was licensed to marry Elizabeth Woolgate of Sittingbourne, a widow of about 33, on 11 July 1627; or (b) Thomas Reader of Bredgar, carpenter, a bachelor of about 26, who was licensed to marry Ann Kennard of Stockbury, a virgin of about 20, on 24 June 1633. For

this last entry Cowper's transcripts from the original registers, now in the Institute of Historical Research, actually give 'Bredgate'.

There is more that might be done locally to identify the token issuer, and to attempt to reconstruct his family. Nevertheless, quite enough has been found to attribute the halfpenny token of Thomas Reader in BREADGAT to Bredgar in Kent, as the first seventeenth-century token for that place.

THE MACCLESFIELD HOARD OF NINETEENTH-CENTURY GOLD COINS

PHILIP ATTWOOD

TWO cups containing 299 sovereigns and 152 half-sovereigns were uncovered by Mr Mark Andrew Russell on 4 May 1995 in the foundations of a demolished house at 98 Brock Street, Macclesfield, Cheshire.¹ The coins were declared Treasure Trove at an inquest held in Warrington on 20 October 1995, and submitted to the British Museum for inspection. They were subsequently returned to the finder, with the exception of two coins not previously represented in the Museum's collections: Victoria sovereign 1854 (raised WW), and Victoria sovereign 1871 (shield type), both indicated by an asterisk in the accompanying list.

The house in which the hoard was concealed was a workman's cottage on the east side of Brock Street, the second in a row stretching north from Cumberland Street. The site is within the medieval borough of Macclesfield, but in an area that was not built up until the dramatic expansion of the town in the first half of the nineteenth century.² Since the find was made, a new house has been built on the land.

The hoard had been placed in two brown stoneware cups, typical products of the north Midlands of the mid to late nineteenth century, which would have been available locally to the depositor.³ The cups had been placed below the quarry tile flooring, just to the east of the fireplace, in an alcove which had probably been closed in to form a cupboard.

The earliest coin in the hoard was dated 1824, and the latest 1878. It is notable that the latest sovereigns are from Australian mints: two of 1876 (Melbourne and Sydney) and one of 1878 (Melbourne). By contrast, although sovereigns were struck at the Royal Mint in

London in both years, the latest London sovereigns to have found their way into the hoard are two of 1874.⁴ Altogether, twenty (ie. about 7.2%) of the sovereigns were struck at Australian mints, but no Australian half-sovereigns were included.

All the coins showed signs of wear, with the earlier ones in a generally poorer condition. This suggests that the hoard was not built up over the years, but was drawn from current coins during or shortly after the year 1878. It is not unusual for hoards of this period to contain coins stretching back to the 1820s and beyond.⁵ Broadly speaking, the coins in the present hoard reflect mintage patterns over the years in question, with, for example, sovereigns of the high mintage years of 1853 and 1872 well represented, but, as one would expect, there is a generally higher proportion of coins from the later years. If the number of sovereigns of each year found in the hoard is expressed as a percentage of the mintage for that year, and the figures averaged out per decade, the proportions for the different decades for the London mint may be expressed as: 1 (1820s), 3.9 (1830s), 5.0 (1840s), 7.2 (1850s), 8.9 (1860s), 6.0 (1870s). The equivalent figure for the Australian sovereigns is 3.7. For the half-sovereigns, for the 1840s–1870s, it is 9.1, 14.0, 16.5, 23.8. At an average weight of 7.94 g for the sovereigns and 3.94 g for the half-sovereigns, the coins in the hoard were, as one would expect, slightly under weight.

The sum of £375 represented by the present hoard may suggest that it resulted from a single specific transaction rather than an emergency extraction of all available money.⁶

¹ The find was reported in the *Macclesfield Express*, 10 May 1995. The report contains a number of inaccuracies, including the statement that the sovereigns and half-sovereigns were found 'with some older and some foreign coins'. All the coins found in the hoard are listed here.

² For the expansion of Macclesfield, see C. Stella Davies, ed., *A History of Macclesfield* (Manchester, 1961), pp. 144–7, 171–2.

³ I am grateful to July Rudoe and David Gaimster for their comments on the cups, which have maximum diameters of 93 and 125 millimetres. The larger cup was broken during its discovery.

⁴ No sovereigns were struck in London in 1875 or 1877.

⁵ For example, the Laverstoke (Hants) hoard (1940) and the Blechley (Bucks) hoard (1941), which contained sovereigns and half-sovereigns of 1821–1876 and sovereigns, half-sovereigns and silver of 1816–1881 respectively (*NC* 6th series, iii (1943), 108).

⁶ Cf. the Ruscombe (Berks) hoard (1965), in *BNJ*, xxxv (1966), 205. The equivalent of £375 would today be in the region of £13,000, according to recent figures from the Bank of England.

CATALOGUE

George IV

Sovereigns (5)

London mint 1825 (1)
1826 (1)
1829 (1)
1830 (2)

Half sovereigns (3)

London mint 1824 (1)
1828 (2)

William IV

Sovereigns (6)

London mint 1832 (1)
1833 (1)
1835 (1)
1836 (1)
1837 (2)

Half sovereigns (1)

London mint 1835 (1)

Victoria

Sovereigns (288)

London mint shield type, small young head, raised WW,

1838 (3)
1839 (1)
1842 (6)
1843, wide shield (11)
1844 (5)
1845 (5)
1846 (6)
1847 (4)

Shield type, large young head, raised WW,

1848 (1)
1849 (4)
1850 (3)
1851 (4)
1852 (11)
1853 (16)

incuse WW

1853 (1)

raised WW

* 1854 (1)

incuse WW

1854 (3)

raised WW

1855 (1)

incuse WW

1855 (7)

1856 (9)

1857 (14)

1858 (4)

1859 (2)

1860 (8)

1861 (14)

1862 (8)

1863 (19)

1864 (23)

(no rev. die no. (16), rev. die no. 5 (1), no. 6 (2))

(rev. die no. 9 (1), no. 25 (1), no. 27 (1), no. 28 (1), no. 32 (1), no. 45 (1), no. 49 (1), no. 50 (1), no. 51 (1), no. 54 (1), no. 57 (1), no. 61 (1), no. 65 (1), no. 75 (1), no. 78 (2), no. 82 (1), no. 83 (1), no. 93 (1), no. 96 (2), no. 98 (1))

1865 (1)

(rev. die no. 32)

1866 (9)

(rev. die no. 9 (1), no. 25 (1), no. 26 (1), no. 51 (1), no. 61 (1), no. 66 (1), no. 69 (1), no. 74 (2))

1868 (8)

(rev. die no. 7 (1), no. 11 (1), no. 13 (1), no. 17 (1), no. 24 (1), no. 25 (1), no. 31 (1), no. 32 (1))

	1869 (18)	(rev. die no. 1 (1), no. 6 (1), no. 7 (2), no. 17 (1), no. 18 (2), no. 26 (1), no. 30 (1), no. 34 (2), no. 35 (1), no. 38 (1), no. 39 (1), no. 40 (2), no. 60 (2), no. 62 (1))
raised WW	1870 (2)	(rev. die no. 85 (1), no. 88 (1))
	1871 (2)	(rev. die *no. 17 (1), no. 47 (1))
	1872 (17)	(no. rev. die no. (5), rev. die no. 6 (1), no. 10 (2), no. 35 (1), no. 36 (1), no. 37 (1), no. 53 (1), no. 58 (1), no. 65 (1), no. 69 (1), no. 75 (1), no. 81 (1))
George & Dragon type	1871 (5)	(short tail, large BP (1), long tail, small BP (4))
	1872 (8)	
	1873 (2)	
	1874 (2)	
<i>Melbourne mint</i>		
Shield type	1872 (1)	
George & Dragon type	1876 (1)	
	1878 (1)	
<i>Sydney mint</i>		
Wreath type	1855 (1)	
	1862 (1)	
	1864 (1)	
	1867 (1)	
	1870 (3)	
Shield type	1871 (3)	
	1872 (3)	
	1873 (1)	
George & Dragon type	1873 (1)	
	1874 (1)	
	1876 (1)	
Half sovereigns (148)		
<i>London mint</i>	1842 (3)	
	1843 (2)	
	1844 (4)	
	1846 (2)	
	1847 (2)	
	1848 (2)	
	1849 (2)	
	1850 (3)	
	1851 (4)	
	1852 (2)	
	1853 (7)	
	1855 (5)	
	1856 (2)	
	1857 (1)	
	1858 (3)	
	1859 (8)	
	1860 (5)	
	1861 (6)	
	1863 (3)	(no rev. die no. (3))
	1864 (8)	(rev. die no. 9 (3), no. 12 (1), no. 28 (1), no. 30 (1), no. 31 (1), no. 36 (1))
	1865 (10)	(rev. die no. 6 (1), no. 9 (1), no. 11 (1), no. 15 (1), no. 33 (1), no. 36 (1), no. 37 (1), no. 38 (2), no. 52 (1))
	1866 (11)	(rev. die no. 5 (1), no. 13 (1), no. 15 (1), no. 16 (2), no. 21 (1), no. 27 (1), no. 29 (1), no. 31 (1), no. 32 (1), unknown no. (1))
	1867 (5)	(rev. die no. 3 (1), no. 10 (1), no. 13 (1), no. 14 (1), no. 21 (1))
	1869 (9)	(rev. die no. 1 (1), no. 8 (1), no. 12 (2), no. 13 (3), no. 16 (2))
	1870 (5)	(rev. die no. 3 (1), no. 33 (1), no. 43 (2), no. 45 (1))
	1871 (9)	(rev. die no. 6 (1), no. 8 (1), no. 9 (1), no. 11 (1), no. 12 (1), no. 13 (1), no. 39 (1), no. 53 (1), no. 57 (1))
	1872 (10)	(rev. die no. 45 (1), no. 65 (1), no. 112 (2), no. 135 (2), no. 255 (1), no. 293 (1), no. 378 (1), no. 380 (1))

1873 (6)	(rev. die no. 8 (1), no. 53 (1), no. 127 (1), no. 233 (1), no. 308 (1), no. 387 (1))
1874 (5)	(rev. die no. 24 (1), no. 32 (1), no. 38 (1), no. 44 (1), no. 45 (1))
1876 (4)	(rev. die no. 33 (1), no. 42 (1), no. 49 (1), no. 69 (1))