THE TOWER GOLD OF CHARLES I

By H. SCHNEIDER

PART III

THE GOLD CROWNS

The correct name for the five-shilling pieces in gold has frequently been a subject of discussion, and the revolt against the term 'Britain Crown' which was invariably used by the old school of numismatists is quite unjustified. The normal contemporary name for the gold five-shilling coins was, in fact, 'gold crown' or 'Britain crown'. The latter name had no doubt lingered on from the reign of James I, but it is not really true that it had become a complete anachronism. The reverse legend of the coins admittedly refers no longer to the union with Scotland, but after all the obverse legend continues to read MAG BRI. The terms 'gold crown' or 'Britain crown' are perfectly acceptable and are, I think, to be preferred to the somewhat academic name 'quarter unite' which was certainly not current during the reign of Charles I.

The portraiture of the gold crowns is a law unto itself. Basically the coins follow the general pattern of the larger gold denominations during the earlier stages of the coinage but constitute a rather more simplified version of them. Attempts at conforming strictly and in detail with the bust models of the larger gold coins were made here and there but met frequently with insuperable technical difficulties owing to the size of the gold crowns. After the introduction of the Group D design when privy mark Harp came into use, the king's portrait became petrified in a most unexpected manner until almost the very end of the coinage in Charles's name. Three short-lived experiments during the Anchor mark period of 1638/9 yield bust designs which we know already from the larger crown-gold denominations are of interest in more than one respect, but of no real importance within the general picture of the portraiture of the gold crowns: the 1632 portrait with the Harp mark was still used in 1646 and the subsequent alterations constitute no major change of design.

The reverse of the gold crowns is closely related to that of the larger gold denominations but we find fewer varieties in the design.

Group A

There is only one obverse design for the gold crowns and this is basically a small version of the unites of Group A, Class II and the double crowns of Group A, Class I showing a fairly tall, double-arched crown upon the king's head. If I have divided Group A into Class I and Class Ia, it was solely on account of a slightly different shield garnishing of the reverse (cf. Pl. XXV, 13 and 14). This is by no means as striking a change of the shield decorations as we find in the unite series between Shield 1 and Shield 2 of Group A, but the variety which has been persistently ignored in existing literature and sale catalogues is worth recording, particularly by reason of the fact
that there is a small difference in the shape of the shield itself: Shield 1 is shorter and broader than Shield la. As was the case with the unites, both shield varieties were probably used simultaneously for a time and several obverse dies occur with Shield 1 and Shield la reverses alike. However, allowing for a certain—and quite normal—overlap, the assumption that Shield la replaced Shield 1 would be consistent with the numismatic evidence. Shield 1 does not seem to have survived the change of privy mark from Lis to Cross Calvary.


The punches for the reverse crown and for the Irish harp were clearly in an experimental stage and there are small technical varieties of no special significance. Class I occurs with privy mark Lis only.


Class Ia is known with the Lis mark and includes a very small number of the gold crowns bearing privy mark Cross Calvary. The latter mark only touches the fringes of Group A and these coins are distinctly rare. Cf. Pl. XXVI, 21.

The Group A coins tally with Kenyon’s Type I. The only anomaly of this class appears to be a coin in the Lockett collection with a much longer, narrower head and an apparently quite different profile (Pl. XXV, 2). However, I am not prepared to accept this specimen as an early experimental portrait variety because it seems to me that double-striking may well have produced one of the freaks which also occur in the unite series of Group D during the Crown-Tun-Anchor marks period. This gold crown which bears privy mark Lis formed part of lot 3374 in the Lockett sale and clearly attracted attention there. But I doubt if we can assign any real importance to it so far as portraiture is concerned: there is a thin ‘shadow’ all along the king’s profile on the coin which is not visible on the illustration and which confirms that the double-striking, noticeable in the word CAROLVS (letter A), has gone right through the coin and affected the portrait.

The lower part of the king’s ‘picardil’ collar of Mr. Lockett’s coin is of unusual design which I have not noticed elsewhere but this is no more than a small technical difference of execution which has no special significance.

**Mules Group A/Group B**


The Britain crowns are the only Tower gold denomination to yield a mule between Group A and Group B. The coin appeared in the Lockett IV sale (1956), lot 2229 and is illustrated in the catalogue. The obverse has the normal features of Group A, and is in fact from the same obverse die as a true gold
crown of Group A, Class Ia with privy mark Cross Calvary. The reverse shows the new, more plainly garnished rectangular shield of Group B (Shield 2) and this die was also used with a Group B obverse.2

Mr. Lockett's coin appears to be the only specimen on record, but this variety may well have been overlooked elsewhere. The simplified shield garnishing of Group B on the reverse can easily pass unnoticed on such a small coin, and Mr. Lockett himself missed the importance of his specimen.

The Group A/Group B mule bears the Cross Calvary privy mark.

**Group B**

The portraits of this large group correspond basically with the double crowns of Group B, Class II and Class III, and Kenyon has listed this series under Type Ia. Compared to the profusion of varieties which we find for Group B in the unite and double crown issues, the over-all picture of the gold crowns of Group B is fairly simple, and the same reverse design is used throughout this entire series.


Abbreviations of the word PROTEGIT on the reverse of the coins are a typical feature of the gold crowns of Class I and seem to occur only during this period which covers the years 1626/8. On the obverse the bust truncation is often quite deeply driven into the lettering of the legend and at times obliterates it almost completely at the bottom of the coins, but a fully divided legend is exceptional.

Class I occurs with privy marks Cross Calvary, Blackamoor's Head, and Castle. Cf. Pl. XXVI, 22, 23, 34.


If Class I yielded unusual abbreviations on the reverse, Class II produced a surprising variety of abbreviations in the obverse legend which are typical for this issue as is the occasional absence of the privy mark on the reverse of the coins. The king's bust is a little smaller than that of the corresponding unites and double crowns, and the legend, although predominantly divided, is not unfrequently found uninterrupted by the bust truncation. As was the case for the unites we find in the gold crown series of this class an isolated obverse die with the privy mark Anchor below the bust (Pl. XXVI, 25).

Class II is known with privy marks Anchor, Heart, and Feathers, and the output of gold crowns must have been particularly large between 1628 and 1630. The coins are very common. Cf. Pl. XXVI, 24, 25, 26, 35.

**Mules Group B/Group C**


1 In Dr. Ernest Carter's collection.
These mules, which are so very frequently misdescribed as 'Kenyon Type II' in sale catalogues, constitute an anomaly in the Tower gold series of Charles I. Whereas muling between Groups B and C is the exception for the unites and the double crowns, it is the rule for the gold crowns. There must have been a considerable surplus of serviceable obverse punches and dies of Group B when the portrait was changed to the Group C model on the larger gold coins. In the case of the gold crowns the old obverse design of Group B remained in use right to the very end of the privy mark Rose period and until the new Group D bust with the falling lace collar was introduced. The output of gold crowns appears to have been quite small during 1631/2, much smaller for the gold crowns than the pyx figures would lead us to believe. Even if we assume that these mules have only touched the fringes of the Feathers mark, the striking of gold crowns must have dwindled out of all proportion during the Rose mark period. We find an over-all pyx figure of 170 lbs. of crown gold for that privy mark, but Britain crowns bearing the Rose are distinctly rare and I doubt if more than about a dozen have come down to us.

The mules of Group B/Group C occur with privy marks Feathers and Rose (cf. Pl. XXVI, 37). The bust usually divides the legend, but I have seen several specimens with the Rose mark having an uninterrupted obverse legend. The reverse design corresponds in all respects with that of the larger gold coins except for the pellets in the field which are as a rule absent even at the sides of the shield garnishing. Why this should be so is very difficult to explain and I would not be surprised if a gold crown with a Group C reverse and pellets somewhere in the field—more likely than not on both sides of the reverse crown—were to be discovered. To jump to conclusions and suggest that the absence of the pellets constitutes evidence that the unite and double crown dies were so marked in order to allow an easy check on their average life and comparison with Briot dies of his mill coinage of 1631-2, whereas no such check was necessary in respect of gold crown dies, would be purely conjectural and not very convincing. It is true, of course, that Briot's mill gold crown remained in a purely experimental stage and is almost certainly a pattern. But the fact remains that we have no reason to assume that the use of the pellets constituted a form of privy marking introduced because of and in connexion with Briot's mill coinage of 1631-2. It will be remembered that the great profusion of pellets which we find on the reverse dies of the Group C unites is not repeated on the reverse of the corresponding double crowns. It may well be that pellets were only used here and there on the reverse dies of the gold crowns with Shield 3, and, considering the comparative rarity of these coins, it is possible that no specimen with pellet marking has come down to us.

**Group C**


That obverse dies of Group C (Kenyon's Type II) were cut at all for the gold crowns is mildly surprising and was certainly not due to urgent mint requirements. They were presumably made as a matter of course because
a different bust design was adopted for the other portrait coins of Charles I. It seems probable that only a very few obverse dies with the new bust were given no more than a practical test on the striking bench.

Considering that all gold crowns with privy marks Feathers and Rose having an oval shield reverse are almost invariably described as belonging to the ‘Kenyon Type II’ family, it is, I think true to say that there was no assured ‘pure’ Group C gold crown on record until quite recently. The Ryan sale (First Part, English Gold, lot 499) produced a specimen and although the late Mr. Ryan had recorded the coin quite correctly in his private notes, he was apparently not aware of the rarity of it. Another specimen from the same couple of dies is in the Lockett collection, and so long as I had only these two coins to work on I was rather reluctant to accept them as belonging to the regular coinage. It seemed strange indeed that these ‘pure’ Group C gold crowns which bear the Feathers mark should have been struck for general circulation considering that the gold crowns with privy mark Rose still have the old Group B bust and are mules. At first sight it seemed possible, therefore, that the Ryan and Lockett specimens were patterns although they were not struck on a polished flan from special dies. However, more recently a further ‘pure’ Group C gold crown was discovered in a French private collection and this is now in the trays of the British Museum. It differs from the Ryan and Lockett gold crowns and is not nearly so well struck. It substantiates the issue of ‘pure’ Group C gold crowns beyond doubt. It is perhaps noteworthy that the reverse die has pellets at the sides of the shield which form part of the garnishing.

At present the evidence rests with these three coins which all bear privy mark Feathers. No specimen with the Rose mark has so far been discovered. Actually, it is rather doubtful whether patterns of gold crowns were made at all, unless in the case of an entirely new venture, such as Briot’s mill series. Patterns of any new bust model were obviously submitted to the king for approval, but it is hardly likely that this was done for all denominations. Large coins—such as shilling pieces or unites—which would show up the new design much better than small ones are likely to have been selected as most suitable for the purpose. And, once the new portrait was approved, the other denominations would automatically be made to conform with the accepted design.

**Group D**

The monotony of design during the years which cover the period from 1632 to the end of the coinage in the king’s name is surprising and quite exceptional for a series of seventeenth-century portrait coins. I have refrained from introducing subdivisions by using criteria of classification which were not adopted for the other Tower gold denominations of Charles I, so that we have only two classes of coins to deal with. Actually, I have sometimes thought that collectors and dealers alike—perhaps exasperated by the lack of portrait varieties in the gold crown series of Group D which tally with Kenyon’s Type III—have assigned an undue importance to very minor varieties in the technical executions of the bust, to the absence or presence of jewels on top of the arches of the king’s crown and to other features such as the type of inner circle used by the die sinkers.
The same applies in my opinion to an isolated portrait punch which we find on a few dies with privy marks Sun and Sceptre. It will be remembered that experiments with a new portrait were made during the Sun mark period for the double crowns\(^1\) and that a different bust came into use in the unite series only a little earlier.\(^2\) Since small denominations such as the gold crowns lag behind in traditional manner when a change in portraiture takes place, one might be inclined to think that a new bust model was intended for the gold crowns also and that it remained in an experimental stage, as had been the case for the double crowns. This is perhaps a borderline case and I have therefore illustrated the variety in question (Pl. XXV, 9) but I do not regard it as one which calls for a subdivision into a separate Class of its own. The difference between this and the standard portrait of the gold crowns with the privy marks Eye, Sun, and Sceptre (Pl. XXV, 8, Pl. XXVI, 32, 33) lies not in the design itself but in its technical execution and there can be no question of an important and deliberate change in portraiture. The slightly different aspect of this bust is accentuated by a rather prominent inner circle of exceptionally small diameter which touches the king’s crown. We have already seen in other instances that an inner circle can influence the aspect of coins to a surprising extent, just as a change of frame can change a picture. It is, of course, admitted that powerful enlargement of this obverse variety shows up quite a few differences from the standard bust model. But that applies to any enlargement of a portrait from different seventeenth-century irons, and I am not prepared to subscribe to the view that this is the only, and the only true, criterion.

In this respect we seem to have reached a deadlock in numismatics. Before the war when I photographed coins rather than casts and used photographic enlargement for certain limited purposes, these methods were rejected by practically everyone and regarded as unsuitable for scientific research. Today, direct photography and enlargements are almost universally looked upon as the sole satisfactory answer to the student’s problems. As one of the pioneers in this technique, I have perhaps the right to sound a note of caution. It is obvious that the photographic enlarger—and, for that matter, the microscope—have settled quite a number of problems which could not have been solved by other means. We should certainly not hesitate to avail ourselves of all the modern optical instruments which can assist numismatic research. But, if used indiscriminately, the photographic enlarger and the microscope may be dangerous idols for the student and impose absurd criteria of classification. It is not only that punches were not made to be scrutinized under a very powerful lens, but enlargement beyond a certain point becomes useless and confusing, even under perfect lighting. This must remain uppermost in our minds when we study enlargements of portrait varieties, and one should always allow for the fact that insignificant and purely accidental differences of execution assume under the enlarger an importance which is simply out of all proportion. Enlargements can be as misleading as completely distorted reproductions and they show up the defects more than the qualities. This applies obviously to small coins and small punches to a much greater extent than to large ones, just as the degree of light-and-shadow distortions increases in proportion with the relief of the coin.

\(^1\) Group H. \(^2\) Group G.
It is not without these guarding comments that I am confronting the reader with a number of enlarged illustrations of the principal varieties of Charles I's gold crowns. The method has been used by other students and I think it constitutes in a case like this the lesser of two evils. On these small coins even comparatively important and striking differences in portraiture are frequently difficult to recognize because the vast majority of gold crowns were poorly struck. The only solution was therefore to select particularly good specimens of the main varieties on which the relevant features are clearly shown and to enlarge the illustrations. For the publication of a paper such as this would be pointless if the reader were unable to check his coins against the illustrations of the various type varieties.

As had been the case for the double crowns, experiments with new portrait designs were made during the Anchor mark period of which only one belongs to Group D. The other two will be dealt with elsewhere. These experiments remained entirely in the test stage for the gold crowns and grew no roots. None of them superseded or even influenced the established Group D portrait and they constituted, as it were, an escapade rather than a true departure from the Group D bust. In the greater picture of gold crown portraiture neither the 'Aberystwyth Bust' (Group E) nor the Briot portrait (Group F) are of great importance, but these experimental coins cannot be regarded as patterns. They form a perfectly regular part of the normal indenture.

Class I. (Obv. Bust 5 with King's Crown 5. Rev. Shield 4 with Reverse Crown 2, 4, 5a, or 6.) Obv. Pl. XXV, 6, 7 showing the slight modifications to the bust truncation. Rev. Pl. XXV, 17 showing Reverse Crown 4.

Kenyon's statement is erroneous that a slight change in portraiture took place on the gold crown when privy mark Anchor came into use. A dividing line is nevertheless often drawn by students after the end of the Tun mark: not because of insignificant differences in the execution of the bust and the arrangement of the king's hair but because of the standardization of the inner circle. The gold crowns of Group D from privy mark Harp to Tun occur predominantly with a thin, wire-lined guiding line. We find them also with beaded inner circles, and quite a few of them have no inner circle at all. From privy mark Anchor onwards only the beaded inner circle is used and there seems to be no exception to this rule.

The illustrations (Pl. XXV, 6, 7 and Pl. XXVI, 23, 24, 38, 39, 41, 42) show that the varieties of inner circles which are basically of no numismatic importance do, however, change the aspect of the coins quite considerably. It is perhaps of interest to mention in this connexion that in his private working notes the late Mr. V. J. E. Ryan, who has rightly been regarded as one of the great experts in this series, had subdivided my Class I of Group D in subsections according to the type of inner circle on the coins. I have not found this altogether desirable because I take the view that the portrait should be the sole criterion, but Mr. Ryan's method of breaking up the monotony of the Group D issues is perfectly admissible.

Unlike the case of the unites and the double crowns, there must have been an only slightly reduced output of gold crowns during the Triangle and

1 Cf. Group E and Group F.  
2 Gold Coins of England, 164.
the Star period, because gold crowns with these privy marks are not particularly rare. Production only dwindled after (P) came into use and seems to have been negligible while (R) was in force. The apparently widespread contention is erroneous that no gold crowns bearing the Parliamentarian (R) mark are extant and that specimens so recorded are, in fact (P) coins struck over a badly removed ©. Such coins exist and if one side of the triangle links up with (P) the overstrike may look uncommonly like (R).

However, the BM gold crown with the (R) mark is above any possible suspicion and so is another specimen I recorded at Spink’s several years ago (PL. XXVI, 43). I think I can vouch for yet another specimen which used to be in the collection of the late Mr. Reynolds and to which I obtained access by courtesy of Mr. J. D. A. Thompson of the Ashmolean Museum. This coin has the privy mark (R) admittedly overstruck on the obverse—apparently over (P) and over ©—but I do not think that the (R) can be seriously questioned, and the (R) mark is perfectly clear on the reverse.

Class I occurs with privy marks Harp, Portcullis, Bell, Crown, Tun, Anchor, Triangle, Star, ©, (P), (R), Eye, and Sun. Cf. Pl. XXVI, 27/31 and 38/43.


During the Anchor mark period a half-hearted attempt at culling the king’s portrait and crown from the model of the double crowns of Group D, Class IIa was made, but it seems to have been an experiment with one or two isolated dies. It was apparently not repeated, for the Class Ia bust seems to occur with the Anchor mark only.


The obverse design of Class I remains unchanged. Actually, the obverses of these coins show all traces of earlier privy marks. But on the reverse we find the somewhat smaller, rounder, and more plainly decorated shield which we know already from the last unites and double crowns struck at the Tower mint.

The mules of Class I/Class II bear privy mark Sun. No such coins with the Eye mark have been recorded but they may well exist.


At long last, a new portrait appears on the gold crown series. It is similar to
that of Class I but sufficiently different to justify a subdivision. On the king’s crown the beading on top of the arches is omitted. These pearls appear to have been a separate puncheon which became visibly very worn already during the (R) mark period, so that some of the coins show only traces of beading on the king’s crown. The punch for the beading appears to have been discarded and not replaced when privy mark Eye came into use, or soon afterwards. The king’s profile becomes now a little longer with a somewhat straighter and more pointed nose, and a further change in the contours of the bust is due to the slightly different manner in which the front part of the bust truncation is shaped (cf. Pl. XXV, 7, 8). Whether these alterations are due to recutting of the master punches or whether new puncheons were made is very difficult to say. Only a few coins with the Class II portrait have come down to us and the majority of these are double-struck or badly struck up or so worn that they are of little use for research work. I am inclined to think that the king’s portrait was struck from a new face punch, but even if the old portrait puncheon was cleaned, recut, and touched up again it was so much changed in the process that it produced a noticeably different profile which must be placed in a class of its own.

On the reverse the old Shield 4 design of Class I appears which is not surprising as the die from which it was struck was altered from (R) to Eye.

Mules of Class II/Class I bear privy mark Eye (cf. Pl. XXVI, 32). Similar coins with the Sun mark may be extant but have not been recorded.


I have described the Class II portrait when dealing with the Class II/Class I mules and the late shield design was referred to under the mules of Class I/Class II. Together, they form the true Class II series of the gold crowns.

Mr. Lockett’s coin of Class II with the Eye mark is distinctly surprising because the late shield design does not even appear on the unites until after the Sun mark was introduced, and we have seen that the first double crowns with that privy mark still have the early shield of Group D, even on ‘true’ specimens from dies on which the Sun was not punched over a previous mark. That the last shield variety of the Tower gold coins should have originated on the gold crowns and been copied by the larger coins later on seems highly unlikely, considering the leading position of the unites so far as the reverse design is concerned. The chances are that, on the unites at any rate, the late shield was used during the Eye mark period also, but no such coins seem to have come down to us.

Class II occurs with privy marks Eye, Sun, and Sceptre. Cf. Pl. XXVI, 32, 33, 44.

**Group E**


When the ‘Aberystwyth bust design’ was introduced on other denominations, a few obverse dies with this portrait model were also cut for the gold crowns. But it would appear that they were given no more than a striking
test and subsequently discarded, for gold crowns with the ‘Aberystwyth portrait’ are very rare indeed. The bust is unnecessarily small for the coin and the punches were no doubt made to fit the size of half-groat rather than gold crown dies. It may have been for this reason that the portrait did not strike up very well and that the coins were found unsuitable for use on a large scale. Group E is known with the Anchor mark only.

**Group F**


When I commented on the problems created by the existence of a very few hammered gold coins from assured Briot dies bearing the Anchor mark and suggested that Briot/Tower mules from experimental Briot dies may well exist, I had no knowledge of a gold crown of Group F in a French private collection. The owner wrote to me soon after the publication of Part I of this paper, very kindly placed the coin at my disposal and gave me permission to publish and illustrate it. It constitutes a most important and interesting addition to the gold crown series of Charles I and to our knowledge of Briot’s portraiture work in England. From an artistic point of view it is on a plane of its own. No other English gold crown of Charles I can match its qualities of design and workmanship. In fact, it is so vastly superior to the normal portrait of the gold crowns that it seems to strengthen the case of some students who hold the view that Briot was holding back with his best efforts of portraiture for the regular Tower coinage so long as his engines were not accepted and his personal position at the Tower remained somewhat unsettled. I, personally, find it difficult to subscribe to this theory. It seems to me that Briot was far too experienced a die cutter to attempt designs of models which he knew could not be executed satisfactorily by the average fully qualified engraver at the Tower mint. If Briot’s ‘own coinages’ of 1631 and 1638 yielded superior designs, punches, and dies, it was due to the fact that Briot did all the work himself and did not have to make allowances for the inferior skill of his colleagues.

With this coin on record, I feel much happier about my comments on the subject of the hammered gold coins from assured personal Briot dies than before, when I had stressed the fact that the explanation I was offering was pure speculation. To assign to Briot personally the Group F, Class II obverse die of the double crowns had seemed to me logical and probable; nevertheless, the Triangle privy mark of the coins made the attribution debatable because it gave such a very late date to an experimental test coin. There can be very little doubt about this attribution now, I think, if we consider the features of the apparently sole surviving gold crown of Group F, because we have here a Briot/Tower mule which cannot be questioned. And, unlike in the case of the double crowns, the Briot portrait was never generally adopted for the gold crowns so that we are clearly dealing with an experimental coin.

The obverse of the Group F gold crown is absolutely true to type. We find Briot’s unmistakable portrait of Charles I and the equally typical king’s

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2. Ibid., 352.
crown with the elegantly curved arches which corresponds in every respect with the king's crown of the unites of Group F, Class I and Class II. The significant nick in the slanted top of Briot’s letter ‘A’ is particularly clear in CAROLUS. Also, the long Anchor punch which was Briot’s own and occurs exclusively on his personal dies of 1638/9 can be found and the legend BRIT FR ET HIB was solely used by Briot and is not known on any standard Tower die of this period. The explanation that this can hardly be anything else than a test die is practically unescapable. And that this specimen should link up with the double crowns of Group F, Class II, bearing the Triangle mark rather than with the unites of Group F, Class I, or the corresponding double Crowns which have Briot’s own reverse design is not surprising. As we have seen Briot was not concerned with the reverse of the coins outside the scope of his own coinage. To test a reverse die would therefore have been futile, but it was no more trouble to cut a reverse double crown die of Briot’s design than of the normal Tower design, for the tools were available. That, however, did not apply to the gold crowns: unlike the shillings and sixpenny pieces, the small silver coins had not adopted the Briot type of shield reverse and the Tower struck no silver coins of a size which tallied exactly with that of the gold crowns. Even a perfectionist like Briot is liable to have drawn the line at making a complete set of new punches for an isolated and not really required reverse die which was to serve no purpose other than to test a new obverse design.

Group F occurs with privy mark Anchor only. The number of Group F gold crowns struck must have been exceedingly small.

THE GOLD CROWNS OF BRIOT’S MILL COINAGE OF 1631–2

(Obv. Pl. XXV, 19. Rev. Pl. XXV, 20)

It is not without great reluctance and reservation that I am including Briot’s mill gold crown in this paper. For I am not dealing with patterns and proofs and there is considerable doubt whether this denomination, which was struck within the scope of Briot’s personal mill coinage of 1631/2, was ever intended for general circulation. The two specimens on record are from the same pair of dies and have Briot’s initial ‘B’ but no flower on both sides.

THE PUNCHES

A detailed comment on the principal punches with which the obverse dies were made would be pointless. For not only are all the important bust varieties and the different models of the king’s crown illustrated, but I am also showing enlarged obverses of a number of key coins for closer inspection and study. All the main Groups are represented and the coins were specially selected for exceptional condition and good striking, so that the relevant features are clearly distinguishable. It is, I think, desirable to place before the reader enlargements of almost perfect coins to illustrate some of my comments on the subject of slight alterations of the king’s bust design. For only few gold

1 B.N.J. xxviii, 1957, 337.
crowns have come down to us which were flawlessly struck up from carefully

cut dies and my research work on the punches of the gold crowns proved so
difficult regardless of the abundance of material that I have arrived at the

conclusion that only enlargements would meet the requirements of the

student.

For the reverse varieties of the gold crowns the main Group designs were

also enlarged, and the different shield models and reverse crowns are all

illustrated.

Because of their minute size the heraldic emblems—particularly in the

first and the fourth quarter—are more often than not rather symbolical. The

French fleurs-de-lis frequently deteriorate to an object which looks like the

letter 'V' or sometimes like a triangle (cf. Pl. XXVI, 42, 43) whereas the three

leopards of England have the tendency to amalgamate to a rectangular block

(cf. Pl. XXVI, 43, 44). There are a few technical differences of no special sig-
nificance in the execution of the lis and the leopard punches—particularly

of the latter which vary quite noticeably in shape and size—and gold crowns

with the Portcullis mark show the same mutilation of one of the fleurs-de-lis

punches in the first quarter which we have already noticed on the larger
denominations of gold coins (Pl. XXVI, 39).

The second quarter with the arms of Scotland shows no departure from the
design of the larger gold coins. The Group A issues have the lion in a double
frame, garnished with fleurs de lis at the corners on the outside. There are
usually six and sometimes seven minute fleurs-de-lis placed against the inner
frame. No change was introduced when the Group B design came into use,
except that the lion punch is somewhat smaller until privy mark Anchor
supersedes the Castle. From then onwards until the end of Group B, a larger
thinner lion punch occurs and this was used concurrently with the earlier
model.

With the introduction of the oval shield on the Group C reverse we find
the Scottish lion in a double frame which has the shape of an early Gothic
arch, and eight fleurs-de-lis are placed round it. There is no other garnishing,
as a rule, but some dies show traces of fleurs de lis against the inner frame as
well.

A double frame shaped to suit the contours of the second quarter of the
shield appears for the Scottish arms on the Group D coins. There are seven
fleurs-de-lis on the outside of the frame and on the inside the small lis punches
are absent. The shape of the frame becomes almost triangular with a very small
lion inside when privy mark Bell came into force. In the gold crown series the
break is much clearer than is the case for the larger Tower gold coins: the
triangular frame superseded the earlier, loftier design completely and remained
in use until the end of the coinage in Charles I's name.

The third quarter with the arms of Ireland is a law unto itself so far as the

harp models are concerned. The first two harp designs which we find on the
gold crowns of Group A and those of Group B down to the Anchor mark
vaguely resemble Harp A of the unites and Harp a of the double crowns.
But the other harp designs are totally different and I have therefore numbered
the harps of the gold crowns since they cannot be linked up with the letter
references of the unite and double crown harp models. Considering the
minute size of the punches, the engravers were probably facing insuperable difficulties to reproduce the sometimes quite elaborate harp designs of the unites and the double crowns in so small a size, so that other harp models had to be used. It will be found that the identification of harp varieties is frequently difficult: weak striking or slight double striking makes harps No. 5, 7, and 8 of the gold crowns look uncommonly alike.

If we ignore the usual small differences which are unavoidable when punches of the same design in so very small a size are made, there seem to be only 8 harp models for the gold crowns. This is not surprising, although the issue of gold crowns was large before the outbreak of the Civil War—at least as large as that of the double crowns. But experience has shown that small punches, and for that matter small dies, have a considerably longer life than large ones.

In conclusion it would perhaps be useful to indicate how a reference for Tower gold coins of Charles I can be obtained without consulting the text of my paper. For after the publication of Part I, I found that it was not generally realized that cross references are given in the List of Illustrations which make it easy to classify the coins rapidly.

Let us assume that a collector who has no knowledge of this series whatsoever wants to obtain a reference for a gold crown of Charles I bearing privy mark Cross Calvary. He should first turn to the chart on which the ‘Principal Combinations of Bust and Shield Varieties’ are recorded. Here he would find three crosses against the Cross Calvary mark and he would see that his coin may belong to Group A or to Group B and that it may also be a Group A/Group B mule. The chart indicates further that it belongs to Group A if it has Bust 1, and to Group B if it has Bust 2. On the reverse, it must have Shield 1a if it belongs to Group A. If it has Shield 2, it is either a Group A/Group B mule or it belongs to Group B. We must therefore check:

1. Bust 1 or Bust 2?
2. Shield 1a or Shield 2?

We now turn to the List of Illustrations and find that ‘obverse of Group A
with Bust 1’ is illustrated on Pl. XXV, 1 and ‘obverse of Group B with Bust 2’ is illustrated on Pl. XXV, 3. We check the portrait of the coin against the illustrations and find that it tallies with, say, Pl. XXV, 1. And we record: ‘Occurs: Class I and Class Ia’ of Group A.

Subsequently we find in the List of Illustrations that we must check Pl. XXV, 14 and 15 if we want to know whether the reverse has Shield la or Shield 2. Let us assume that our coin has Shield la of Pl. XXV, 14. Thus we record: ‘Occurs Class Ia’ of Group A. We have now:

Obverse occurs with Class I and Class Ia
Reverse occurs with Class Ia.

The common element being Class Ia of Group A, the coin must belong there, and we turn to the ‘General List’, Group A, Class Ia, privy mark Cross Calvary. The coin reads, say, MAG BR FR ET HI, and we find that this legend variety is recorded as (1). The full reference for the coin is therefore: Group A, Class Ia, Cross Calvary, 1.

I have purposely selected a coin with a privy mark where we have to choose between three existing varieties. As a rule the identification is much simpler and there are no alternatives, so that we can turn to the General List straight away.

Anyone with a normal working knowledge of these coins would hardly take the trouble to look up the privy mark on the chart nor would it be necessary for him to find out from the List of Illustrations which obverse and which reverse he would have to check. He would take the obvious short-cuts.

If called upon to find a reference for the unite of Charles I with privy mark Lis which is illustrated in Part IV (English Part II) of the Lockett sale catalogue on plate xliii, lot 2176, he would go about it as follows:

He would know that all the unites with the Lis mark belong to Group A and that he would only have to check whether the portrait has the broad, single-arched king’s crown or the higher, smaller and double-arched variety. He would also know that there are only two reverse varieties: one with a fully garnished shield and the other with plainer shield garnishing.

He would straight away turn to my illustrations in B.N.J., xxviii, 1957, and check the obverse of Mr. Lockett’s coin against my pi. xvi, 1 and 2. It tallies clearly with illustration No. 1. He would now turn to my pi. xvii for the reverse and find that it is as No. 26 and not as No. 25. He would then look up No. 1 and No. 26 in the List of Illustrations and see that No. 1 occurs with Class I and Class II of Group A whereas No. 26 occurs on Class II and Class Ia coins. The common element being Class II, he would now look up Mr. Lockett’s unite under the heading of Group A, Class II, Privy Mark Lis. The coin reads MAG BR FR ET HI and that legend variety is recorded under (8). The reference is therefore: Group A, Class II, privy mark Lis, 8. To this one could of course add the position of the privy mark on the reverse, the type of punctuation and of inner circle, the Irish harp model and other features, if desired.

The initials and abbreviations used in the General List were given in B.N.J., xxviii, 1957, but are repeated here, as far as is necessary, for the sake of convenience.
LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS ON PLATES XXV AND XXVI

(ENLARGEMENTS)

1. (BM) Obverse of Group A with Bust 1 and King's Crown 1. Privy mark Lis. Occurs: Class I and Class Ia. Occurs also on mule of Group A/Group B.

2. (RCL) Obverse of a specimen belonging to Group A, Class I, and having an apparently unorthodox variety of the Bust 1 design, perhaps due to distortion caused by double striking. Privy mark Lis.


4. (Sp.) Obverse of Group B with Bust 3 and King's Crown 3. Privy mark Feathers. Occurs: Class II. Occurs also on mules of Group B/Group C.


13. (ECC) Reverse of Group A with Reverse Shield 1, Reverse Crown 1 and Harp 1. Privy mark Lis. Occurs: Class I.


17. (AHB) Reverse of Group D with Reverse Shield 4, Reverse Crown 4 and Harp 7. Privy mark Tun. Occurs: Class I, Class Ia and Mules of Class II/Class I. Occurs also with Group E and Group F.

18. (VJER) Reverse of Group D with Reverse Shield 4a, Reverse Crown 2 and Harp 8. Privy mark Sceptre. Occurs: Class II and mules of Class I/Class II.

19. (BM) Obverse of Briot's mill gold crown of 1631/2. Probably a pattern.

20. (BM) Reverse of No. 19.

ILLUSTRATIONS IN ACTUAL SIZE


22. (Sp.) Obverse of Group B, Class I, privy mark Cross Calvary, 4.

23. (Sp.) Obverse of Group B, Class I, privy mark Castle, 5.

25. (BM) Obverse of Group B, Class II, privy mark \( \rightarrow \) below bust.
27. (ECC) Obverse of Group D, Class I, privy mark Portcullis.
28. (FW) Obverse of Group D, Class I, privy mark \( \{+, 5 \} \).
30. (AHB) Obverse of Group D, Class I, privy mark \( @, 1 \).
32. (BM) Obverse of Group D, Class II, privy mark Eye.
33. (RCL) Obverse of Group D, Class II, privy mark Sun.
34. (Sp.) Reverse of Group B, Class I, privy mark Cross Calvary, 4. Reverse Crown 1 and Harp 2.
42. (Sp.) Reverse of Group D, Class I, privy mark Triangle. Reverse Crown 2 and Harp 8.
43. (Sp.) Reverse of Group D, Class I, privy mark (R), 1. Reverse Crown 6 and Harp 8.
44. (Sp.) Reverse of Group D, Class II, privy mark Sun. Reverse Crown 2 and Harp 8. Garnishing at bottom of Shield 4a missing or obliterated.
**GOLD CROWNS OF CHARLES I**

*Principal Bust and Shield Varieties Classified by Groups*

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GOLD CROWNS OF CHARLES I

Principal Combinations of Bust and Shield Varieties within the Groups

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<tr>
<td>1 1 1</td>
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<td>3 3 4</td>
<td>5 4a 6</td>
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<td>4 9 4</td>
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- Lis
- Cross Calvary
- Blackamoor's Head
- Castle
- Anchor
- Heart
- Feathers
- Rose
- Harp
- Portcullis
- Bell
- Crown
- Tun
- Anchor
- Triangle
- Star
- \( \odot \)
- \( (P) \)
- \( (R) \)
- Eye
- Sun
- Sceptre

O. = Bust varieties.  R. = Shield varieties.
# The Tower Gold Crowns

## Group A

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Class</th>
<th>Shield</th>
<th>Reverse crown</th>
<th>Privy mark beginning of legend</th>
<th>Privy mark end of legend</th>
<th>Beaded and wired inner circle</th>
<th>Wire in inner circle</th>
<th>Irish harp</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>1,2</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
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### Notes:
- Small technical varieties in execution of Harp and Reverse Crown punches.
- Ryan sale, English Gold, 1951, lot 493.
- J. Schulman sale, Jan. 1954, lot 872.
- Montagu sale, Third portion 1896, lot 249.

## Mule

### Group A/Group B

| Cross Calvary | 1 (RCL) | 1 (RCL) | RCL | MAG BR FR ET HI (RCL) | 2 (RCL) | RCL | 2 (RCL) | RCL | 2 (RCL) | Lockett IV 1956, lot 2229. |

---

*The Tower Gold of Charles I*
## GROUP B

### Class I

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<th>Item</th>
<th>Bust</th>
<th>King's coronet</th>
<th>Bust dividing legend</th>
<th>Legend undivided</th>
<th>Beaded inner circle</th>
<th>Wire-lined inner circle</th>
<th>Beaded and wire-lined inner circle</th>
<th>No inner circle</th>
<th>Shield</th>
<th>Reverse crown</th>
<th>Privy mark beginning of legend</th>
<th>Privy mark end of legend</th>
<th>No privy mark</th>
<th>Beaded inner circle</th>
<th>Wire-lined inner circle</th>
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<td>Cross Calvary</td>
<td>2 2</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>x x ...</td>
<td>LR</td>
<td>1. MAG BR/FR ET HI</td>
<td>Rev. PROTEG</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1, 2</td>
<td>Fitz.</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>...</td>
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<td>2</td>
<td>A pattern (7) (BM) has King's Crown 2 with inner arches.</td>
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<td>2 2</td>
<td>x x x</td>
<td>RCL</td>
<td>Sp.</td>
<td>1. MAG BR/FR ET HI</td>
<td>Rev. PROTEG</td>
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<td>1, 2</td>
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<td>x</td>
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<td>...</td>
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<td>...</td>
<td>LR</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>Reverse Crown 1 occurs from a smaller punch.</td>
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<td>x</td>
<td>...</td>
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<td>Rev. PROTEG</td>
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<td>...</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>1 (RCL)</td>
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### MULES

**GROUP B, CLASS II/GROUP C**

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<th>Beaded inner circle</th>
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<td>...</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>...</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rose</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>...</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Obv. Pl. XXV, 3. Rev. Pl. XXV, 15*

*Obv. Pl. XXV, 4. Rev. Pl. XXV, 15*

*Obv. Pl. XXV, 5. Rev. Pl. XXV, 16 and Pl. XXVI, 36*
### GROUP D
This is on pp. 402 and 403.

### GROUP E

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Bust</th>
<th>King's crown</th>
<th>Beaded inner circle</th>
<th>Shield</th>
<th>Reverse crown</th>
<th>Beaded inner circle</th>
<th>Irish harp</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>8 (RCL)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Legend always undivided. Privy mark always at end of reverse legend.

Arms of Scotland as for all other gold crowns with privy mark Anchor.

### GROUP F

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Bust</th>
<th>King's crown</th>
<th>Beaded inner circle</th>
<th>Shield</th>
<th>Reverse crown</th>
<th>Beaded inner circle</th>
<th>Irish harp</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>8 (RCL)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Arms of Scotland as for all other gold crowns with privy mark Anchor. From Briot's own obverse die with Briot bust and a standard Tower reverse die. A Briot/Tower mule. (In a private collection in France.)
GROUP D

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Class 1 (Obv. Pl. XXV, 6, 7. Rev. Pl. XXV, 17)</th>
<th>Shield</th>
<th>Reverse crown</th>
<th>Beaded inner circle</th>
<th>Wire-lined inner circle</th>
<th>No inner circle</th>
<th>Initial harp</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Harp</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5a AHB</td>
<td>×</td>
<td>×</td>
<td>VJER 2</td>
<td>Known with a group of three pellets in lieu of a privy mark on obverse (RCL).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Portcullis</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>2, 4 ×</td>
<td>×</td>
<td>×</td>
<td>LR 2 (HLF) 5, 7</td>
<td>Occurs with privy mark struck over Harp on obverse. Known with a reverse bearing privy mark Bell (BM).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bell</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>2 AHB</td>
<td>×</td>
<td>×</td>
<td>VJER 2, 7</td>
<td>Size and shape of privy mark Bell varies. Known with privy mark struck over Portcullis on either side or both sides. Occurs with privy mark struck over Harp on both sides or on rev. only.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Crown</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>×</td>
<td>×</td>
<td>×</td>
<td>RCL 4 (AHB) 5, 6, 7</td>
<td>Size and shape of privy mark varies.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tun</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>×</td>
<td>×</td>
<td>BRB</td>
<td>×</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Triangle</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>×</td>
<td>×</td>
<td>(ECC)</td>
<td>×</td>
<td>7 Same portrait as double crowns of Group D, Class IIa.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Class 1 (continued) (Obv. Pl. XXV, 7. Rev. Pl. XXV, 17)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Class 2 (ECC)</th>
<th>Shield</th>
<th>Reverse crown</th>
<th>Beaded inner circle</th>
<th>Wire-lined inner circle</th>
<th>No inner circle</th>
<th>Initial harp</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Harp</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>2 (ECC)</td>
<td>×</td>
<td>×</td>
<td>×</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Portcullis</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>×</td>
<td>×</td>
<td>×</td>
<td>×</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bell</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>×</td>
<td>×</td>
<td>×</td>
<td>×</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Crown</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>×</td>
<td>×</td>
<td>×</td>
<td>×</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tun</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>×</td>
<td>×</td>
<td>×</td>
<td>×</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Triangle</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>×</td>
<td>×</td>
<td>×</td>
<td>×</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Obverse legend always undivided. Privy mark always at end of reverse legend.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Star</th>
<th>5</th>
<th>5</th>
<th>×</th>
<th>...</th>
<th>1. MAG BRI FRA ET HIB</th>
<th>(RCL)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>2. FR HI</td>
<td>(AHB) Δ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>3. BR HI</td>
<td>(BNP)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>4. MA</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>5. (RCL)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(P)</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>×</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>1. MAG BRI FRA ET HI</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>2. MA BR FR</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(R)</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>×</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>1. MAG BRI FRA ET HI</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>2. HIB</td>
<td>(Reynolds)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eye</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>×</td>
<td>PC-B</td>
<td>MAG BRI FRA ET HIB</td>
<td>(PC-B)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>PC-B</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>PC-B</td>
<td>MAG BRI FRA ET HIB</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sun</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>×</td>
<td>RCL</td>
<td>MAG BRI FRA ET HIB</td>
<td>(RCL)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>RCL</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>RCL</td>
<td>MAG BRI FRA ET HIB</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Mules Class I/Class II**
(Obv. Pl. XXV, 7. Rev. Pl. XXV, 18)
MAG BRI FRA ET HIB

**Mules Class II/Class I**
(Obv. Pl. XXV, 8. Rev. Pl. XXV, 17)
MAG BRI FRA ET HIB

**Class II**
(Obv. Pl. XXV, 8. 9. Rev. Pl. XXV, 18)
MAG BRI FRA ET HIB

**Sceptre**
(Obv. Pl. XXV, 8. Rev. Pl. XXV, 18)
MAG BRI FRA ET HIB
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Privy Mark</th>
<th>Obverse</th>
<th>Reverse</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>×</td>
<td>Privy mark occurs struck over Triangle on either side or both sides. Legend variety (2) has privy mark Triangle on reverse (AHB).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>×</td>
<td>Occurs with very small privy mark punch on reverse. Also with ( \checkmark ) on obverse or reverse. Known with privy mark struck over Star on either side or both sides.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>×</td>
<td>Known without privy mark on obverse (Ray.) or on reverse (PC-B). Occurs with privy mark struck over ( \Delta ) on obverse (Sp.) or reverse (AHB).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>×</td>
<td>Known with privy mark struck over (P) and perhaps also over ( \Delta ) on obverse (Reynolds).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(PC-B)</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>PC-B</td>
<td>Obverse privy mark struck over (R). Reverse privy mark probably struck over (R) and also over (P).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(RCL)</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>RCL</td>
<td>Large privy mark Sun on obverse, probably struck over Eye and over (R). Reverse privy mark also struck over earlier marks. (Probably similar coin in BM but double striking makes identification of portrait impossible.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4a</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>×</td>
<td>Obverse privy mark over Eye and probably also over (R).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>×</td>
<td>Privy mark struck over (R) on reverse.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(RCL)</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>RCL</td>
<td>Size and shape of privy mark varies considerably. Slight variety of face punch, presumably due to recutting. On one reverse die the shield garnishing below shield is absent (perhaps obliterated in process of die sinking).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(RCL)</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>×</td>
<td>Same slight variety of portrait as for privy mark Sun.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
CHARLES I GOLD CROWNS (ENLARGED 1:2)