regarded as reliable, the references are not given, and it is possible that study of the extensive and still uncalendared borough records might yield further information. It is not, of course, necessary to consider the two hoards as being in any way related merely because they were found near each other. The similarity of the canisters and the close contiguity of date would, however, seem to point to that conclusion. It is also known that there was a mint in Colchester until the time of Henry II and it is conceivable that this was housed outside the castle in a building with some degree of security such as the house occupied by the Constable, though it would have been safer situated in the Castle bailey.

However, the precise connection between the two hoards and the circumstances of their deposition is at present difficult to establish and until it is possible to carry out a thorough search of the surviving records the depositor must retain his anonymity.

II. THE ANGLO-IRISH PORTION

W. A. SEABY

Without doubt this find has proved the most valuable of any discovered in England for assessing the content of the Dublin Mint in the mid thirteenth century. In sheer volume it is, of course, overshadowed by the great 1908 Brussels hoard\(^1\) which officially contained between 1,700 and 1,800 authentic and counterfeit Anglo-Irish Long-Cross pieces. But because of its being a relatively early deposit, and because of its completeness and integrity, and the fact that it has proved to be as perfect a criterion as could be wished for in order to check findings already made from British, Irish, and Continental sources, the 1969 discovery in East Anglia will ever be regarded as quite outstanding from the viewpoint of the Irish numismatist.

The setting up of the Dublin Mint in 1251 and its closure early in 1254 have been very fully dealt with so far as the documentation goes,\(^2\) while such data as the total emission, amounting to £43,238. 16s. 7d., the broad classification of obverse and reverse groupings,\(^3\) and the counterfeits, which to a greater or lesser degree invariably lie alongside the official pennies,\(^4\) have also now been published. Here it is only necessary to give a summary listing of the coins themselves and to compare the results of analyses, made from a more detailed die-classification which has also been completed, with those of the Irish portion from Brussels.\(^5\) At a later date it is hoped to embody the information derived from the die-studies in a monograph dealing with Anglo-Irish Long-Cross coinage as a whole.

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\(^5\) The die-study has been carried out by the writer from the parcel of Anglo-Irish coins sent over to Belfast by the late Albert Baldwin in 1966.
The Irish pennies found in the Colchester hoard are of special interest for several reasons: (a) as showing beyond any doubt that virtually complete integration with English (and Scottish) money occurred within a space of from two to five years of issue as evidenced at a town lying well over 300 miles from their source; (b) as demonstrating the good weight standard of sterling achieved in Ireland; (c) for revealing that even as early as the end of 1255 counterfeiting of the new coinage at lower weights, and possibly in inferior metal, had started. ¹ Perhaps most remarkable of all is the fact that the proportions of coins struck for Davi and for Ricard are found to be the same as those officially recognized in the Brussels hoard, to within the value of a single coin (see below); and this makes for perfect comparison of the Irish element in the two hoards.

The total number of authentic Dublin coins from Brussels amounted to 1,620,² of which 472 (29-14 per cent) were issued in the name of Davi and 1,148 (70-86 per cent) were in the name of Ricard; at Colchester, out of a total of 292 coins recovered, 85 (29-11 per cent) are of Davi and 207 (70-89 per cent) are of Ricard. In regard to obverse dies, out of a total of 154 traced, the number employed by Davi, as revealed by the Brussels hoard, was 93 (39-08 per cent) and those used by Ricard were 145 (60-93 per cent);³ at Colchester the corresponding figures are: Davi 57 (37-25 per cent), Ricard 96 (62-75 per cent). A comparison of the number of combinations in the two hoards shows that, out of 895 so far recognized,⁴ those of the moneyer Davi, found at Brussels, make up 208 (27-44 per cent) as against Ricard’s 550 (72-56 per cent); from Colchester the combinations of Davi number 71 (29-00 per cent) and those of Ricard 174 (71-00 per cent), 47 coins being die-duplicates of others. And in the use of the reverse dies, of which 346 are known, at Brussels the figures are: Davi 91 (26-84 per cent), Ricard 248 (73-16 per cent); and at Colchester, Davi 60 (31-58 per cent), Ricard 130 (68-42 per cent).

Thus, by comparing the figures of the relevant coin groupings in these broadest divisions, it is seen that nowhere is there a difference of as much as 5 per cent between the two hoards and, generally speaking, the variation is only about 2 per cent, or lower. While the sets of figures are too close to be merely coincidental, it is believed they might have been nearer still but for the fact that the deposits in question are about ten years apart in date, and therefore the integration of the Irish and English coinages cannot have been quite as complete in the Colchester hoard as was found to be the case at Brussels. One might even go so far as to say that the hint of Davi’s having stopped striking at Dublin in advance of Ricard⁶ is fully substantiated since he has a higher percentage rating of used reverse dies in the English deposit than in the Belgian deposit, suggesting the last of Ricard’s coins had scarcely had time to reach East Anglia by dispersion in the one or two years after they were struck. But this, perhaps, is to put too fine an edge on the analysis made to date.

¹ M. Dolley and W. A. Seaby, op. cit., p. 43, footnote 4.
² This is the number sent to Belfast, but it is thought to be somewhat below the number actually recovered (see SCBI, Ulster Museum I, p. xliii).
³ The obverse dies are common to both moneyers, but each has a preference for certain dies or groups of dies. Ricard seems to have employed almost all of them but Davi only about two-thirds.
⁴ In addition to making a complete die-identification of some 2,220 extant authentic coins, a record has also been kept of the reverses which combine with each obverse.
⁵ A graph curve, plotted to show combinations in relation to numbers of coins recorded, suggests that the total of combinations may not exceed 1,020.
⁶ SCBI, Ulster Museum I, p. xxxvi.
What appears obvious, however, is that the two hoards combined, together with coins taken in toto from other sources, give validity for proportional representation of moneyers, of die output, of main groupings, and to a lesser extent of classes, whether these be chronological or merely stylistic, within the general framework. It may well be that the striking of coins in Ireland was in some degree more haphazard than in England since, for example, over 99 per cent of the official pennies at Dublin are found to die-link into one chain, thus making for comparative ease of recognition in regard both to authenticity and typological relationship. Nevertheless, a check of the individual weights of the coins themselves shows that the control of the assay was quite on a par with other provincial mints of the period. For instance there is found to be no more than 4·2 grains of difference between the heaviest and lightest coin in the series; and the average weight per coin for the entire group is as high as 22·16 grains or only 0·34 of a grain below the standard for sterling. If we assume that depreciation per penny per annum was of the order of 0·05 grain, then, at the date of deposit, the Irish coins had lost only what might be expected during their hundreds of miles of travelling and their passing through a considerable number of hands. Furthermore, it should be stressed that while no clipping was apparent on any of the coins examined, a fractional loss by such means cannot be entirely ruled out.

The listing below is given by the principal obverse classes with the number of coins for each moneyer; the weight, given in grammes followed by grains, is that of the average for the coins in a particular class or grouping. The coins have been rearranged by reverse classes with the main distinguishing features again given. All obverses read: \( \text{D} \text{AV} \text{ION} \text{DIV} \text{EUI} \) or \text{RIC 7RD OIJD IVG} \) or variants thereof as indicated. Figures in parenthesis refer to Plate VI.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Group I (Obverses: total of dies recorded in group: 77)</th>
<th>Davi</th>
<th>Ricard</th>
<th>Average weight</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>A (a). (1–85) Bust in double triangle; trefoil of crown joined to crown band. Good style. (I 1, 5, 6)</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>54</td>
<td>1·4381 (22·19)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A (b)/B. (86–113) Bust, shouldered, in single triangle; trefoil of crown joined to band. Good style. (I 4)</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>1·4293 (22·05)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D/E. (114–24) Unusual busts, some with small shoulders and double crown band, or with open point to band; sexfoil in place of cinquefoil, etc. (I 7)</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>1·4347 (22·14)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C (a)/(b). (125–8) Generally coarser busts without shoulders, the trefoil of crown is usually detached from band; eyes oval (a), or annular (b). Sub-class iii only is linked, by the reverses with which it combines, to Group I.</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1·4231 (21·96)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Totals and average for group: 51 77 1·4354 (22·15)

1 M. Dolley and W. A. Seaby, 'A Parcel of Edwardian Sterlings in the Ulster Museum,' SCMB (May 1968), pp. 161–6, more particularly p. 164, where an estimate of the average loss from wear per English penny per decade, amounting to half a grain, is postulated.
2 Dykes, op. cit., pp. 109–12; Seaby in SCBI, Ulster Museum I, pp. xxxvi–xxxix and pls. ix, x, and xvi.
Group II (Obverses: total of dies recorded in group: 77)

C (a)/(b). Sub-classes i and ii. Only distinguished by style of sceptre head and other small details of the lettering.
C (c). Three curls either side of head, no shoulders.
C (d). Generally similar in style to the cruder representations in C (a)/(b) and C (c), but the bust is always shouldered.

(group II, obverses)

(davi) A. Letters c, e, and d 'round-backed'; bar of n plain or pelleted; reads: diveli
B. Round-backed lettering; reads: divelii the bar of n combining with upright of cross.
C. Round-backed lettering but reads dav/iond/eve/lin; new a.

(group II, reverses)

average weight

Davi Ricard
23  96  1.4351 (22.14)
34  130  1.4375 (22.18)
85  207  1.4365 (22.16)

Total and average for group:

Over-all totals and average:

Group I (Reverses: total of dies recorded in group: 95)

(Ricard) K. Round-backed lettering; n plain; pellets, or fusils, used for beading of circles.
L. Round-backed lettering; with pellet on bar of n; pellet beading to circles.
M. Round-backed lettering; cross on reverse outlined with secondary lines.
N. Round-backed lettering; reads: divel; with or without pellet on cross bar of n.
O. Round-backed lettering, but reads: divel; one die reads odi, the other o-d (14)
P. Unusual lettering mid-way between groups I and II, left limb of a ball-ended.
U (I). See below under U (II); only distinguished by having the top bar of a tapering away to left, instead of being serifed. Linked by the obverses with which it is combined to group I.

(group I, reverses)

average weight

Davi Ricard
—  22
—  7
—  5
—  4
—  1
—  0
—  8  Average of seven classes:
1.4312 (22.08)

Total and average for group:

Group II (Reverses: total of dies recorded in group: 251)

(Davi) D. Letters c, e, and d 'square-backed' or much thickened; decorative i (swollen in centre) in one or more places of the inscription. (I 2)
E. Square-backed letters as class D, but reads: devli, devcoli, dcveli, doveli, divcli, etc.
F. Squared-backed letters, as class D, with pellet on bar of n; a is variable.
G. Square-backed letters as class D but reads: diveli
Group II (continued)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Davi</th>
<th>Ricard</th>
<th>Weight</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>H.</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>Average of five classes: 1.4335 (22-16)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(Ricard) Q.</td>
<td>Square-backed lettering; decorative i (swollen in centre) in one or more places of inscription.</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>R.</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>9</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S.</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>18</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>T.</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>126</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>U (II)</td>
<td>Square-backed lettering; DIVE; bar of N plain.</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Average of five classes: 1.4390 (22-21)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Totals and average for group: 59 160 1.4375 (22-18)

Over-all totals and average: 85 207 1.4365 (22-18)

The obverse classes are all fully represented, and with the exception of the small class P (3 dies) and class G (1 die) the reverses are also well covered even though coins from only 190 dies, out of a known total of 346, are present. Of varieties calling for special comment, it may be mentioned that the so-called ‘beardless bust’ (obv. die C (c) 128)\(^1\) is represented by four examples and Dykes’s F (obv. die C (a)/(b) 119), with jewels showing in the crown band,\(^2\) by three examples, only one of which shows the jewels plainly. The commonest obverse die (A (a) 12) has eight coins to its credit, and the series admirably demonstrates the degeneration of the die with virtual disappearance of the inner triangle (I 5); the second commonest obverse die (A (a) 3) is likewise represented by eight examples.\(^3\)

Duplicates number forty-seven, in two cases no fewer than four coins coming from the same pair of dies. On the whole, however, representation by single examples of combinations is very marked, suggesting that a fairly widespread scatter of the coins had taken place before they came together again in this hoard. The find is again important because it has brought to light no fewer than sixty-five new combinations which were unknown from Brussels and other sources, also for throwing up one new reverse die of Davi which has been given the coding: H (c) 94 (I 3). There are no obsolete coins of John, as in the Brussels hoard,\(^4\) and only three triangle counterfeits. The imitations are not without interest since they constitute the earliest Irish Long-Cross forgeries of which we have certain knowledge; their average weight is: 1.2677 (19-55). They have been included and illustrated in a recent publication, and it is only necessary to mention that the remarkable example which bears the semblance of a monkey’s or ape’s face cannot very well be fortuitous. It seems most unlikely that it is

1 \(SCBI\), Ulster Museum I, p. xxxviii and pl. xvi, 25. 
2 Ibid., p. xxxviii and pl. xvi, 24. 
3 Ibid., p. xxxix. 