

SHORT ARTICLES AND NOTES

A TREMISSIS OF JUSTIN II FOUND AT SOUTHWOLD, SUFFOLK

DAVID SORENSON

A GOLD *tremissis* of Justin II (565–78), which in March 1984 passed through the hands of a Cambridge coin dealer, is said to have been found by a metal-detector user on what was claimed to be a 'Saxon site near Southwold'. The coin appears to be a *tremissis* of Constantinople similar to Dumbarton Oaks catalogue nos. 13–14¹ and two specimens in the Bibliothèque Nationale.² The legends on the coin read:

Obv. ///IVSTI NVSPPAVI

Rev. VI/////AVGVSTORVI and in ex. COHOB

It weighs 1.49 g and has a die axis of 180°.

¹ A. R. Bellinger, *Catalogue of the Byzantine Coins in the Dumbarton Oaks Collection* 1 (Washington, 1966), p. 202, nos. 13–14.

² C. Morisson, *Catalogue des monnaies byzantines de la Bibliothèque Nationale* 1 (Paris, 1970), p. 128, nos. 11–12.



Of the twenty Byzantine coins or close derivatives of the sixth and seventh centuries found in England and listed by Rigold,³ one is a *tremissis* of Justin II found at Canterbury and one is a *solidus* of Justin I or II found at Richborough. The majority of coins of this period in this country are barbarous imitations of imperial coins, many of them Merovingian.

³ S. E. Rigold, 'The Sutton-Hoo coins in the light of the contemporary background of coinage in England', in *The Sutton Hoo Ship-Burial* 1, edited by R. L. S. Bruce-Mitford (London, 1975), pp. 653–77, at 665.

A PENNY OF COENWULF AND A SMALL HOARD OF CNUT FROM BOTTISHAM, CAMBRIDGESHIRE

M. A. S. BLACKBURN

BOTTISHAM is a village on the edge of the Fens seven miles north-east of Cambridge. It lies just to the north of the Cambridge to Newmarket road (A45). The presence of earthworks, crop marks and finds of artifacts suggests that there were significant prehistoric and medieval settlements in the parish.¹ The village is recorded in Domesday and we know that there were a number of later medieval manors. No archaeological evidence of Anglo-Saxon settlement has been found, but a pagan Saxon barrow was excavated in the nineteenth century and fragments of two ninth-century bronze strap-ends were recently found in the same vicinity as the coins of Cnut described below.²

A penny of Coenwulf of Mercia (796–821) was found near the village by Mr P. L. Evens on 5 April 1983 (Plate, No. 1). It was discovered with

the use of a metal detector in pasture at a depth of about six inches.³ The finder promptly took the coin to the Fitzwilliam Museum for identification and it has since been acquired for the collection.⁴ It is a penny of the *Tribrach* type (*BMC* 93; North 342) by the Canterbury moneyer Seberht (OE *Sæbeorht*) and was struck between c.798 and c.805. The legends read:—

+C·OE·NVVLF R·EX

SE BE RHT (HT ligatured)

Blunt, Lyon and Stewart have recorded six other specimens of this moneyer and type.⁵ This coin is from the same reverse die as *SCBI* (20) Mack 578 and Ryan (Glendining, 22 January 1952) lot 632, but the obverse appears to be previously unknown. It weighs 1.27 g (19.6 gr) and has a die-

¹ Royal Commission on Historical Monuments, *County of Cambridge* 2 (London, 1972), 2–18.

² Recorded in the Cambridgeshire County Council's Archaeological Record.

³ The precise findspots of this and the Cnut coins have been withheld from publication for reasons of security, but they are recorded in the Cambridgeshire County

Council's Archaeological Record.

⁴ It will appear in the forthcoming catalogue *Medieval European Coins in the Fitzwilliam Museum* 1, no. 1139.

⁵ C. E. Blunt, C. S. S. Lyon, and B. H. I. H. Stewart, 'The coinage of Southern England, 796–840', *BNJ* 32 (1963), 1–74, at 51, no. 12.



axis of 290° . The metal has been heavily corroded in the soil resulting in perforation of some areas and a significant loss of weight, but the coin does not show signs of long circulation. This type could theoretically have remained in circulation in Wessex until the mid 850s, in Mercia until the early 860s and even later in East Anglia, but the significant rate of natural wastage from the currency means that it is unlikely to have been lost much after 825.

The other find of Anglo-Saxon coins from the parish was made six months earlier in October 1982 by Mr A. E. J. Rank. Three coins of Cnut (1016-35) were found with a metal detector in a field some way from the village. They lay within a radius of five yards of each other within the top two inches of the plough soil. The coins were all of the *Short Cross* type (North 790), dated by Dolley *c.* 1030-1035/6, and they evidently constitute a small purse-hoard or possibly part of a larger hoard, although no more has been found. Soon after their finding Mr Rank informed the local coroner and the County Archaeologist, and took the coins to the Fitzwilliam Museum for identification. They are temporarily deposited there pending determination of their final disposition.

They may be described as follows:

i. London, moneyer Brungar. (Plate, No. 2)

+C/////T RECX
+BRVNGAR ON LV:

Wt. 1.13 g (17.4 gr). Die-axis 90° .
Slightly buckled, obverse deformed and traces of black deposit on reverse.
Same legends as Hildebrand⁶ 2086.

ii. London, moneyer Swan. (Plate, No. 3)

+CNV / T RCCX
+SPAN ON LVND

Wt. 1.06 g (16.4 gr). Die-axis 180° .
Traces of black deposit on obverse and reverse.
Same legends as Hildebrand 2707. Same dies as *SCBI* (14) Copenhagen iiiB, 2919 and same obverse as *SCBI* (14) Copenhagen iiiB, 2921.

iii. Stamford, moneyer Fargrim. (Plate, No. 4)

+CNV / · TRE+
+FARGRIM ONI STAN

⁶ B. E. Hildebrand, *Anglosachsiska Mynt*, 2nd edition (Stockholm, 1881).

⁷ The weight distributions are set out in H. B. A. Petersen, *Anglo-Saxon Currency* (Lund, 1969), p. 217.

Wt. 0.95 g (14.7 gr). Die-axis 160° .

Traces of black deposit on reverse. Same legends as Hildebrand 3256. Same dies as *SCBI* (27) Lincolnshire Collections 1297.

Each of the coins has traces of a black deposit or patination suggesting that they have been through a fire and the obverse of No. i may have been deformed by heat. Even if the coins had been lying on the surface, it is unlikely that crop burning could have generated sufficient heat to blacken both sides as on No. ii. It is more probable that they had been concealed in a house that was burnt down, or found their way into a hearth.

In the *Short Cross* type the weight standard was progressively reduced from *c.* 1.2 g to *c.* 1.0 g or even less at some mints, and the weight of a coin can thus give some indication of its relative date.⁷ No. i falls in the upper half and No. ii virtually at the mean of the weight distribution of London coins. The Danelaw mints, such as Stamford, struck to slightly lower weight standards, but even so No. iii is well down in the lower half of that region's weight distribution, suggesting that it was not struck early in the issue. The find can scarcely be earlier than *c.* 1032. Equally is it unlikely to have been deposited later than the autumn of 1036, for the recoinage introducing the *Jewel Cross* issue probably commenced in spring 1036. A date of deposit of *c.* 1035 is suggested.

The coins are too few to comment on the proportions in which the mints are represented or on the absence of coins of Cambridge. One could well expect coins of London and Stamford to be found circulating in this region.

The find might be summarized in *Inventory* form:—⁸

BOTTISHAM, Cambridgeshire, Oct. 1982
3 \mathcal{R} Anglo-Saxon. Deposit *c.* 1035
KINGS OF ENGLAND: Cnut, *BMC (A)* type xvi-London: Brungar, 1; Swan, 1; Stamford: Fargrim, 1.
BNJ 53 (1983), 176-77.
Disposition: temporarily deposited in Fitzwilliam Museum.

⁸ I am grateful to the finders, Mr Evens and Mr Rank, for the very prompt and proper action they took in reporting these coins and for their subsequent assistance towards the preparation of this note.

AN OXFORD PENNY OF WILLIAM I

IAN STEWART

IN the Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge, from the J. S. Henderson bequest (1933), is a *Two Sceptres* (*BMC* type IV) penny of William I, the reverse reading of which is recorded on the ticket as BEMVSED ON OXEN. Not surprisingly, no known Oxford moneyer is so named. Although correctly read, this inscription was never originally on the coin, which is badly chipped and has been 'repaired' with a small fragment of another coin reading -EMVS- (or -LMVS-) and -PINE-. Whether or not this was deliberately chosen, and inserted obverse to reverse, as an academic jest, the practical effect had been to obscure the existence of an unpublished coin. A moneyer Brihtred is well



attested at Oxford at this period (Brooke notes coins of *BMC* types II, III, VI and VIII of William I, and type II of Rufus), and there is little risk in assuming that B———ED here indicates the same moneyer. I am indebted to Mr T. R. Volk for the photograph.

ST ANDREWS MINT UNDER DAVID I

JOAN E. L. MURRAY AND IAN STEWART

THE reappearance of a David I sterling with an unusually legible reverse has made it possible to establish that St Andrews mint was in operation in this reign. As many as seven coins, from four die combinations, have now been recognised.

In the accounts of Alexander III's confirmation of the right of coining to Bishop William Fraser of St Andrews in 1283, it was stated that this right was given as freely as in the time of the king's father or any of his predecessors.¹ It is thus not surprising that this privilege should date back to David I, who initiated the Scottish coinage. St Andrews diocese was the most important in Scotland and David attempted to obtain metropolitan status for the see. St Andrews was a place of pilgrimage and some settlement there doubtless preceded the erection of the bishop's burgh, by leave of David I, which was probably at about the same time as the foundation of the priory, for which papal confirmation was granted in May 1144. A charter records that Bishop Robert made Mainard the Fleming his reeve (*praefectus*) in the burgh, also granting him and his heirs three tofts there, to be held for payment of sixteen pence. This was because Mainard was one of the first to build and stock the burgh, and it required the king's consent, since it was the

king who had given (*tribuit*) to the bishop the vill of St Andrews and also Mainard, his own burgess in Berwick.² The moneyer of the St Andrews coins appears as Me(i?)nard on one die and Menaud on another, and the rarity of the name makes it almost certain that he was the same man as the Mainard of this charter, whose status appears to have been appropriate. The Perth moneyer, on coins with pellet-in-annulet reverse,³ is likewise believed to be a Fleming, Baldwin the lorimer, referred to as the king's client.⁴

The St Andrews coins have a pellet in each quarter of the reverse cross fleury, which is the commonest type in Stewart groups I, II and III. The recorded specimens are all illustrated on the Plate. The collated readings are as follows:

1. Obverse (+)NAVIT (RE)+ or ending TI.(R)+ (retrograde)
Reverse +mE(i?)NARD.I. SA: (S sideways, second A inverted)
 - a. Mrs Murray, ex Dr E. J. Harris and Dr A. N. Brushfield (lot 24a, Glendinging, 28 March 1940), pierced and plugged
 - b. British Museum (Plate XLI, 2, in H. A. Grueber, *Handbook of the Coins of Great Britain and Ireland in the British Museum*)

¹ W. Bower, published as *Joannis de Fordun Scotichronicon cum Supplementis et Continuatione Walteri Boweri*, edited by W. Goodall (Edinburgh, 1759), II, 127; *The Original Chronicle of Andrew of Wyntoun*, edited by J. F. Amours, Scottish Text Society (Edinburgh, 1907), V, 126. Both are quoted in E. Burns, *The Coinage of Scotland* (Edinburgh, 1887), I, 159-60 and J. Stewart, 'Scottish Mints', *Mints, Dies and Currency: Essays in Memory of Albert Baldwin*, edited by R. A. G. Carson (1971), p. 220.

² *Early Scottish Charters prior to 1153*, edited by A. C. Lawrie (1905), No. cxix; *A Source Book of Scottish History*, edited by W. C. Dickinson, G. Donaldson and

I. A. Milne, second edition (1958), I, 103-4. The charter is known only from a late transcript.

³ *Coin Hoards I* (1975), Fig. 20.19. These coins are classified as Stewart IVc, IV being the earliest group of the reign - I. H. Stewart, *The Scottish Coinage*, second edition (1967), p. 191.

⁴ For the role of Flemings in this context in Scotland, see R. L. G. Ritchie, *The Normans in Scotland* (1954), p. 313; A. A. M. Duncan, *Scotland: The Making of the Kingdom*, *The Edinburgh History of Scotland*, I (1975), 476-7; W. M. Mackenzie, *The Scottish Burghs* (Edinburgh, 1949), pp. 20, 36.



2. Obverse ()AIVT() or perhaps ()AVIT(), with inverted A
Reverse same die as 1
Dr Stewart
3. Obverse same die as 2
Reverse +2 mENAVD: SAN (S sideways, square A, second N reversed)
a. and b. Dr Stewart
c. R. C. Lockett (I¹⁶ on the complete plates of the Scottish portion, from which it is illustrated. Presumably part of lot 9 in sale V)
4. Obverse same die as 2 and 3
Reverse +()V()SAN (S sideways, perhaps 2 at beginning
Dr Stewart

The cataloguer in 1940 read another N on the obverse of No. 1a, being misled by the serifs of the missing top of the T. Similarly, the right serif of the A may give the impression of being part of the curve of a D, but this must be rejected, although Davit is the normal reading on obverses of Stewart group I. The obverse die of No. 1 and the reverse dies of Nos. 3 and 4 have large well-formed letters with serifs; although differing in the form of the A, they may have been made at the same die-cutting centre, whereas the dies with serifless lettering may have been made locally, by two different hands. Certainly the second obverse die (which may be classed as group II) was of much inferior workmanship to that of No. 1, with worse lettering than the reverse of No. 1, also.

Several features of the better dies indicate a connection with coins of Stewart group III, i.e. those with good lettering similar to group I, but meaningless legends. The Arabic-2 character on the reverse of No. 3 and perhaps No. 4 may be the same as that which Burns described as a reversed

S, on the reverse dies of Figs. 7, 8 and 8A (with some doubt about the first of these).⁵ In the case of these St Andrews dies, however, it is natural to look for a meaningful explanation of the character, in view of the rest of the legend and the presence of a normal S, sideways, in the mint name. In fact, an Arabic-2 form of minuscule R frequently occurs in manuscripts of the period, after O or A, and particularly in the abbreviation for final *rum*. Anderson also shows it followed by superscript t, as a contraction for *respondit*,⁶ and this, or *respondebit*, might have preceded the name of the responsible moneyer in written instructions about dies for St Andrews, and have been copied by the engraver. This must be regarded only as a tentative interpretation, in the absence of any precedent for this formula on a coin.

Perhaps more informative are some of the details of the obverse die of No. 1, as follows:-

- (a) A V of several lines (in this case curved) on the sleeve, to indicate the king's elbow.
- (b) An annulet containing a pellet, on the right shoulder, doubtless representing a brooch securing a cloak. (On some coins of Stewart group III, e.g. Stewart Fig. 4, the drapery is shown behind the brooch: and just such a cloak fastening is depicted for Malcolm IV, in the miniatures of the initial letter of his charter to Kelso Abbey in 1159.)⁷
- (c) The circlet and arcs of the crown are rendered with short strokes at right angles to the lines.

Details (a) and (b) are found on all four of the obverse dies of Stewart group III coins illustrated by Burns and (c) on at least three of them. Moreover, Burns's description 'parrot-nosed' for B Fig.

⁵ Burns, I, 32-5.

⁶ J. Anderson, *Diplomatium et Numismatum Scotiae Thesaurus* (Edinburgh, 1739), No. CXLI.

⁷ Deposited in the National Library of Scotland. Illustrated in Anderson, No. XXIV.

8B also fits the St Andrews die.⁸ These similarities of style are taken to indicate a common source for these dies, without any implication that this need have been at St Andrews. It should also be noted that details (a) and (b) are certainly absent from the majority, if not all, of the well-made Roxburgh and Berwick coins of group I: further work might determine whether the more likely explanation is a change of engraver at a single centre or the use of more than one die-cutting centre. An annulet for the brooch is also present on some Edinburgh coins (e.g. Stewart Fig. 5) of Stewart IVa, i.e. as Stephen Type I, but there the lettering is different. In fact, details (a), (b) and (c) are also found on

⁸ Burns, I, 34.

York coins of the Flag Type, being particularly clear on Mack 217 g.⁹

Acknowledgements

We are particularly grateful to Dr Harris, who recognised the interest of the reverse legend of coin No. 1a, which he bought from a small dealer. He made important progress by identifying the duplicate in the British Museum, which supplied the S of the mint name, before asking for comments from one of us (J. E. L. M.) and subsequently agreeing to sell his coin. We also thank Miss M. Archibald for her help in supplying photographs and casts of the British Museum coin, and in attempts to improve some of the difficult readings. Mr S. Bendall kindly made the casts of Dr Stewart's coins.

⁹ R. P. Mack, 'Stephen and the Anarchy 1135-1154', *BNJ* 35 (1966), Plate VII.

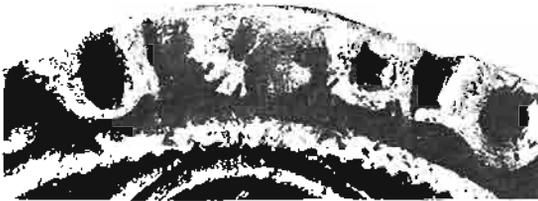
THE GROATS OF EDWARD V

MARVIN LESSEN

IN 1948 Blunt and Whitton listed eleven known obverse groat dies under their type XXII, the sun and rose (S/R) mintmark coins variously attributed to Edward IV and/or Edward V.¹ They further commented that dies 1, 6, 7, 8, and 10 were known with the overstruck boar's head (BH) mintmark. In 1980 Stewart added a BH die link with Blunt and Whitton's die 9, but he was unable to verify a link with die 10.² Die 10 has the characteristics of no fleur on the breast, no pellet under the bust, and unbarred obverse A (reverse barred A in TAS, but unbarred A in ADIVTORE). The S/R and BH die link does exist for this particular obverse die, and the coins are illustrated here with en-

largements of the mintmarks. In the accompanying table this S/R coin is No. 4 under die 11, and the die-linked BH coin is No. 1 under new Stewart die D.

This obverse die link has been established by a very careful examination of the two coins, and the only question that remained was whether or not the second coin's mintmark was indeed a BH and not a blurred double struck S/R. While the coin itself is double struck, this is not a real hindrance to the examination. The right-hand mark, which I shall call a BH, is aligned slightly higher relative to the circle and the C and E on either side of it than is the S/R; the left side of the BH is vertical whereas



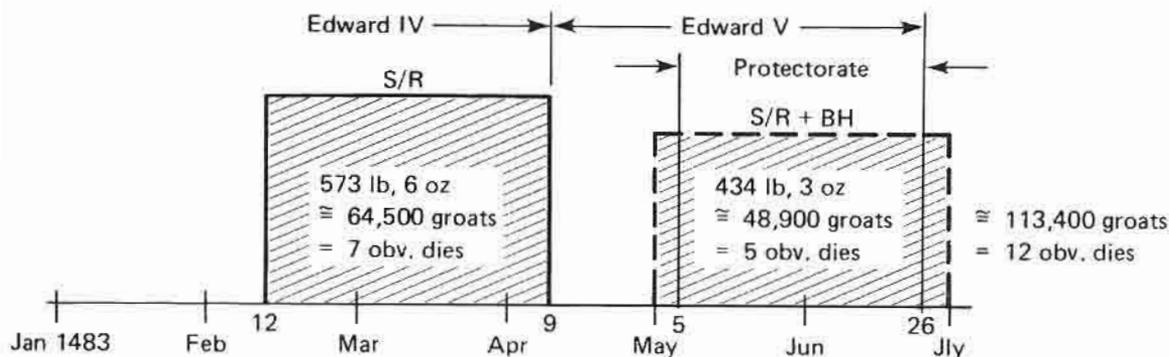
S/R (1.5x)



BH (1.5x)

¹ C. E. Blunt and C. A. Whitton, 'The Coinages of Edward IV and of Henry VI (Restored)', *BNJ* 25 (1948), 325.

² I. Stewart, 'The Dies of Edward V's Silver Coins', *BNJ* 50 (1980), 133, which contains a complete bibliography.



where, weights are of coined silver, in Tower pounds
10,000 groats/obverse die,
smaller denominations are assumed negligible and are ignored.

$$\text{Total groats} = \text{weight of coinage, Twr lb.} \times 5400 \frac{\text{grains}}{\text{Twr lb.}} \times \frac{1}{48 \frac{\text{grains}}{\text{groat}}}$$

the S/R is circular; the entire base of the BH is solid (tusk), but the S/R is hollow; and the tiny protrusions showing below the base of the BH are from the underlying S/R. All in all there is excellent verification that the second coin is a BH. Each of the pairs of photographs presented was made on the same negative so that exact comparison measurements can be made from the enlargements. An attempt was made to find boar's head mintmark punchlinks from the various published illustrations, but this was not successful, and it is not even clear if the BHs were punched into the dies or engraved. Either way, the work was very carefully done to fit properly and hide the original S/R, and this is true for all the re-used dies.

In the paper already referred to, Stewart suggested that the total number of obverse dies and existing specimens should be carefully re-checked to reinforce the Edward IV and Edward V attributions. This has now been done, and the results are detailed in the table, which adjusts the listing of dies and their links as suggested by Stewart. Fifteen S/R obverse dies have been found (fourteen without the unverified No. 13), and thirty-seven (thirty-six) specimens recorded from them. This represents six more S/R dies than Blunt and Whitton found (three of their eleven dies were actually the same, thus they had only nine different dies). There are many reverse dies but, except in certain cases, they have not been studied for this paper. Four of the obverse dies were re-used for the BH groats, and fifteen to nineteen examples are recorded. The literature canvassed for these totals were mainly Sotheby and Glendining sale catalogues from the 1890s on, and post-war Spink and Seaby fixed price lists. By necessity

³ Stokes, *NC* 1929, 35. Dr Challis pointed out to me that those silver bullion figures are actually the weight

only those coins that were illustrated could be considered since visual examination was the criterion for defining the different dies and links. Most of the illustrated examples were represented by good quality direct photographs or photographs from casts, and there is high confidence that the die identities noted are accurate. Obviously there are specimens that were missed, and there were others that were not illustrated and thus could not be used, although in the case of the BH examples these are noted at the bottom of the table. Whether or not all the different obverse dies are now listed it is impossible to determine, but it is reasonable to assume that there will be further ones. The total number of BH groats that I have recorded for the die studies is probably a more realistic number than is that for the S/R, since the former were more likely to be illustrated over the years.

Depending on which items are included in the count of dies and coins, the ratio of S/R to BH dies can be about 3.8:1, but that of the coins about 2:1, and there is no correlation here. By looking at the coinage weight figures³ and dates in the following chart, and by choosing a very arbitrary figure of 10,000 coins for an obverse die's output, we can come up with about 113,400 groats from twelve obverse dies, for both mintmarks, for the calendar period under consideration. However, in using this 10,000 coin life figure for an obverse die, we must reduce four of the S/R dies to a half-life each, because they were reused for the BH, and then it follows that the four BH dies had only a half-life each. Thus we have thirteen equivalent 10,000-coin S/R dies ($15 - 4 + \frac{1}{2} \times 4$) and two equivalent BH dies ($\frac{1}{2} \times 4$). This translates to:

of the coinage output, and not the amount of fine silver passing through the mint as I had supposed.

SUN & ROSE GROATS (B & W TYPE XXII)							BOAR'S HEAD GROATS		
Lesson Obs., Die No.	B&W Obs. Die No.	Breast Fleur?	Pellet?	Obs. A	Rev. A (TAS)	Rev. A (ADIVT ORE)	Recorded Examples	Stewart Obs. Die No.	Recorded Examples
1	1	Yes	Yes	No Bar	Bar	No Bar	1. Wheeler (275) = Thorburn (149) = H. Clark (108) = Webb (201?) = Neck.	C	1. BM = North Pl. 3, 25 = Brooke Pl. 35, 1, 2. Lockett (1649) = Walters 1932 (356); 3. SCMB April 1958 (3584) pierced, ex. R. Carlyon-Britton & Walters (not in Walters 1917); 4. Dawnay 1922 (51); 5. Blunt; 6. Blunt.
2	2	"	"	"	"	"	1. Lockett (1648) = Webb (202?) = Sainthill; 2. SCMB June 1980 (E337).	—	
3	—	"	"	"	?	"	1. <i>NCirc</i> Dec. 1977 (13104) = Sotheby 17 Feb. 1930 (228); 2. ANS, NY, from H. Ives 1953.	—	
4	3	"	"	"	"	"	1. Morrison (211) refers to Sotheby 1904 (218), 2. Mann (251).	—	
5	4	"	"	"	"	"	EDVARD 1. Walters 1913 (462) = Glendining 12 Mar. 1970 (181) = SCMB June 1970 (H2914) = SCMB June 1972 (H2983) = SCMB Dec. 1972 (H3406) = SCMB June 1973 (H3653); 2. <i>NCirc</i> June 1972 (6379).	—	
6	5	"	"	"	"	"	EDVARD 1. Grantley (1458) = Murdoch (372) = Montagu (635). Last two not illustrated.	—	
7	—	"	"	"	"	"	EDVARD, 1. Ryan (958); 2. SCMB Jan. 1972 (H2427) 47.8 gr. = SCMB Sept. 1972 (H3230); 3. <i>NCirc</i> April 1975 (3397) = Glendining 4 Sept. 1974 (141) = Lockett (1647) = Bliss (227).	—	
8	—	"	"	"	"	"	EDVARD, 1. SCMB May 1959 (4929) = SCMB March 1960 (5414), ex R. Carlyon-Britton.	—	
9	7, 8	"	No	Bar	"	"	1. Bascom (100) 40.5 gr. = SCMB Jan. 1963 (H1421); 2. Hilton-Price (66) = Murdoch (371) = Nunn (281).	A	1. London market 1982, 2. London market 1982, 3. Wheeler (276) = Roth (228) = Seaby Sid. Cat. 2151, 4. Ryan (959), 5. Sinkler (742) = Lockett (3175) = Walters 1913 (461), 6. Larsen (106) = SCMB July 1953 (6304) 40.5 gr.; 7. BM, illust. <i>BNJ</i> 22, p. 213, No. 8.
	6	"	"	"	No Bar	"	1. <i>NCirc</i> June 1971 (6816) = Morrison (210) = Allen 1898 (412), 2. BM illust. <i>BNJ</i> 22, p. 213, No. 7, (1 and 2 same reverse die); 3. Lockett (3174).		
10	—	"	"	"	"	"	1. Lawrence (1218).	B	1. Banes 1922 (34)
	9	"	"	"	Bar	"	1. Bower, Glendining 1977 (318); 2. Parsons 1929 (383).		
11	10	No	"	No Bar	"	"	1. ANS, NY, from H. Ives 1954 = Huth (312) = Montagu (634) = Berge (469) to Webster-Brice ? 42.5 gr.; 2. SCMB Jan. 1957 (Y252) = SCMB Dec. 1957 (7297) = <i>NCirc</i> July 1973 (5989); 3. SCMB Aug. 1966 (H3594) = SCMB Jan. 1967 (H3876) = SCMB June 1967 (H1354), 4. Lessen = SCMB Jah. 1959 (X158) 40.5 gr.	D	1. Lessen = <i>NCirc</i> Jan/Feb. 1926 (49003) 45.6 gr.
	—	"	"	"	No Bar	"	1. SCMB March 1983 (E197).		
12	—	"	"	"	Bar	"	1. SCMB Nov 1965 (H3055); 2. Lockett (4036); 3. Parsons 1954 (324); 4. Sotheby 22 July 1982 (273). The apparent marks on breast are just overlapping pressure bands.	—	
13?	11	"	"	"	"	Bar	1. Listed by B&W as Baldwin, but not traced, and obv. die could be same as No. 11 or 12.	—	
14	—	"	"	"	"	"	EDWRD 1. SCMB Jan. 1968 (H1729) from Westminster Abbey chalice, Sotheby 13 Nov. 1967 (48), 2. Bute (75).	—	
	—	"	"	"	"	No Bar	EDWRD, 1. SCMB July 1959 (5719) = R. Carlyon-Britton in <i>BNJ</i> 27, p. 93, different reverse die from above; 2. SCMB Jan 1984 (E18)		

There are several unillustrated Boar's Head groats in twentieth-century catalogues, some of which could be included in the lists above. They are: 1. Walters 1932 (367), no pellet, unbarred obverse A, barred A in TAS, bent; 2. Walters 1932 (359, part), no fleur ? broken, 3. Montagu (633), ex. Pownall, fleur; 4. Glendining 2 Sept. 1971 (141), pellet, fleur, clipped. The S/R coin in Glendining 18 June 1975 (14) is Richard, not Edward.

*New S/R die 15, in the Wilfrid Stayer collection, has No breast fleur, No pellet, No bar in any obverse or reverse A.

B & W = Blunt & Whitton, *BNJ* 25, p. 325
Stewart = Stewart, *BNJ* 50, p. 134 (die D added), and C. E. Blunt's coins moved from die A to C

13 equivalent S/R dies × 10,000 coins/die	= 130,000 coins
2 equivalent BH dies × 10,000 coins/die	= 20,000 coins
	<hr/>
	150,000 coins

which is probably a reasonable correlation with the 113,400 figure, especially so considering the variability of the number of coins each die would produce in the real environment. To accept this analysis leads to a conclusion that about 28,900 groats (48,900 - 20,000) were struck with the S/R during Edward V's reign (May and June) or, more accurately, during the Protectorate. In sum, then, this analysis reinforces the theory that S/R groats were mostly struck late in the reign of Edward IV, were struck again during Richard's Protectorate of Edward V, and then were superseded by the BH groats. The total coins for each type are only illustrative examples that happen to fit the combi-

nation of dies and bullion. If, as seems likely, the dies that were selected for re-use with the BH mintmark were those least used at the time, then the pellet, breast fleur, and obverse A cannot be related to date since all types of dies were used for the final, BH, coinage. Inherent to this discussion is the continued supposition that the sun and rose mintmark began in February, and that the previous cinquefoil mark was not also used at that time.

This discussion should not be automatically applied to the angels, which have not yet been studied in the same detail. Whether or not S/R groats should be considered as coinage of Edward V is a matter of definition, mainly commercial, similar to so many other coinages that have extended from a common coinage reign to one that was far less common.

I wish to thank I. Stewart for the idea to do this paper and for his help, and to C. E. Blunt for review and comments. This paper, of course, owes its origins to the pioneering works of Blunt, Whitton, Stubbs, and Stewart, and it should not be studied independently of those earlier writings.

CASTLECOMER TOKENS: SUPPLEMENTARY NOTES

H. E. MANVILLE AND W. A. SEABY

AN inquiry into the number and types of those countermarked tokens, purporting to be for the payment of the Co. Kilkenny colliers in the early nineteenth century, was published in 1967 when some twenty were isolated of which photographs of nineteen were illustrated.¹ Where known pedigrees were given, fifteen, including one contemporary cast counterfeit, were from a single authentic stamp, and four were from a second, said to be a 'recent fabrication' in the W. Talbot Ready sale on 18/19 November 1920.

Since the publication of that paper the following additional information may be added to the pedigrees.²

- Between 'lot 257*' and 'Present whereabouts unknown.' add 'purchased Spink; N. Asherton, Spink Auction No. 6 (Quaglino's, London, 10/11 October 1979) lot 249.'
- After 'New York buyer;' add 'auction (Glendining, 14 December 1967) lot 249, Pl. IV*; purchased Hearn. Present whereabouts unknown.' After '(Photograph* of obverse of coin obtained' add '; and copies of obverse and reverse from sale catalogue.'
- After 'Oct. 1965' add '; photographs* of both faces obtained).'
- After 'in his collection' add '; purchased by private collector.' and amend to '(Photographs* of both faces of coin obtained).'

- Amend to '(Photographs* of both faces of coin obtained.)'
- After 'Helbing sale cat.*' add 'showing both faces.'
- After 'lot 147' add '; purchased H. E. Manville as example of false mark' and amend to '(Photographs* of both faces of coin obtained.)'
- After 'purchased Spink' add '; -?; auction (Joseph L. Lepczyk, East Lansing, Michigan, 22 September 1982) lot 750, withdrawn from sale.' Amend to '(Photograph* of obverse obtained.)'

The question has again been raised as to when the tokens were issued.³ The *terminus post quem* is 1806 (the date on the latest dollar so far noted having the authentic countermark) and the *terminus ante quem* is 1826 when the Irish currency and British currency were unified (so that 5s. and 5d. Irish would have become 5s. sterling). The first date at which the bullion value of the dollar approximated to five shillings on the London market (thus 5s. 5d. Irish) was between 1806 and 1810 after which for the next four years it fluctuated between 5s. 6d. and 6s. 9d. Then in 1814 it steadied at 5s. for six months until Napoleon's return from Elba when for a hundred days prices shot up but fell again sharply after Waterloo, and the dollar remained at 5s. through the rest of 1815 and 1816. The years 1817 to 1819 seem only an outside possibility for

¹ W. A. Seaby, 'Castlecomer Tokens: An Inquiry', *BNJ* 35 (1965), 139-48 and pl. XV.

² 'Castlecomer Tokens', pp. 146-8.

³ In a letter from Colm Gallagher to the late Antony Gunstone.



21



22



23



24



25



26



B



A (x5)



A (x2)

the issue being somewhat late, although a few Scottish countermarkers remained active at least until 1824. The only likely dates would therefore appear to be 1806-10 and 1814-16; and we must remember that Aquilla Smith in 1855, quoting from a secondary source, suggested that the Countess of Ormonde 'not wishing to lose by the depreciated value of Spanish dollars of which she had a large number, caused them to be stamped five shillings and fivepence and this happened about forty years ago'.⁴ It therefore seems probable that 1815 may have been the date when this occurred in spite of the fact that 1806 is the latest dollar in eighteen authentic examples so far recovered.

The main purpose of these supplementary notes, however, is to put on record and illustrate four more of the authentic specimens, two of which seem only to have turned up in Ireland during recent years, a third with a pedigree going back to the first decade of the present century, and the fourth from an American source; also to call attention to two more counterfeits, one bearing the false stamp, mentioned above, and a late dollar having an outrageous mark impressed upon the obverse. More important still is the publication of the actual die or puncheon from which coins bearing the principal false countermark were stamped. One other counterstruck dollar, in this instance for an Ulster mill, is also published here as being the only other Irish stamp on Spanish silver specie so far traced.

While the six additional coins bring the known total to twenty-five, possibly twenty-six, C.C.C. specimens, both authentic pieces and forgeries, no claim is put forward that the combined listing is exhaustive. Other examples may be lurking in cabinets both public and private anywhere in the world since at least thirteen are known to have crossed the seas to the Continent and America from Ireland and England during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries; and there is every possibility that a number more will have done so. Furthermore, it is by no means certain that all those in Britain and Ireland have been located, so it is to be hoped that this article may draw yet more information from both collectors and dealers.

In order to continue the sequence, numbering starts at 21 for the Castlecomer colliery tokens.

Authentic (First) Countermark

21. Charles IV, 1799, Mexico. With the letter W on its side scratched in field to the right of bust. -?-. Irish dealer, E. Szauer, 1981. Present whereabouts unknown. Illustration of obverse* from Szauer's advertisement in *Irish Numismatics* 81 (May-June 1981). (Photograph* of obverse obtained.)
22. Charles IV, 1804, Mexico. With two parallel scratches in field to right of bust. -?-. in the Bowles collection before 1909 when it was

bequeathed to Bristol Museum. *Catalogue of the Bowles Collection of Tokens, Medals, etc.*, compiled by Richard Quick, Superintendent, published by Bristol Art Gallery and Museum of Antiquities, City and County of Bristol (1909): Section 9 (one of several headed 'Silver Countermarked Tokens') p. 15, No. 16, pl. I, 5*. This collection was merged into the City Museum collection about 1920. The piece in question with other countermarked coins was purchased in 1971 by the City of Birmingham Museum and Art Gallery: Archaeology Department. (Photographs* of both faces obtained.)

23. Charles IV, 1804, Mexico. With the letters L or l(?) W.. cut under the chin. This coin appears to have come from a Waterford source. Auction sale cat. (Sotheby 26 October 1977) lot 377*; purchased by the Irish dealer, Ivan Maxwell, Lifford, Co. Donegal and advertised in *Irish Numismatics* 61 (Jan.-Feb. 1978), 8*; -?-.; auction sale cat. (Glendining, 4 February 1981) lot 213: bought in. Present whereabouts unknown. (Photographs* of both faces obtained.)
24. Charles IV, 1806, Mexico. With vertical scratch in field to right of countermark and ASTLE weak. -?-. American dealer, Almanzar; purchased by the Montreal dealer, William Barrett; purchased by H. E. Manville, May 1972. Obverse much enlarged illustrated on the cover and reverse also enlarged to same size on p. 222 of *Irish Numismatics* 30 (Nov.-Dec. 1972)*. (Photographs* of both faces obtained.)

False (Second) Countermark

25. Charles IV, 1806, Potosi. -?-.; auction sale cat. (Glendining, 14 April 1970) lot 214, but along with other questionable countermarked pieces it was withdrawn before the sale; auction sale cat. (Sotheby, 16/17 February 1972) lot 471*; now in a private collection. Obverse illustrated* in Sotheby's *Art Auctions 1971-2* (1973), p. 375, English Coins, No. 8. See also *Irish Numismatics* 30 (Nov.-Dec. 1972), 223-4. (Photographs* of both faces obtained.)

False (Third) Countermark

26. Ferdinand VII, 1821, Mexico. A very crudely cut stamp but lettering PAYABLE.AT.CASTLE. COMER.COLLIERY just discernible as well as the value in centre; placed *upside down* on the head of the king. -?-.; Spink's forgery trays since 1980. (Photographs* of both faces and enlargement of stamp obtained.)

A. False (Second) Countermark Die

Talbot Ready's statement in 1920 of a recent fabrication is now found to be amply justified. Not only have five one-dollar pieces bearing this mark turned up, none with a pedigree going back before the 1914-18 War, but the puncheon itself by which

* *Proc. & Trans. Kilkenney & S. E. Archaeol. Soc. (JRSAI)* iii (1855), 367, No. 18.

this countermark was made has been acquired by the Royal Mint for its museum collection now at Llantrisant, Mid-Glamorgan. The die was discovered with others amongst some old stock at Messrs Baldwin's premises and was donated to the Mint by Mr Peter Mitchell during a visit to Mr G. P. Dyer in 1976. The latter has kindly supplied the writers with a photograph of the stamp on its block as well as enlarged and reversed photograph of the die so that details can be compared with impressions of the countermark seen on the dollars, Nos. 16-19 and 25. The stamp measures 36.25 mm by 18.5 mm. It is believed this countermark puncheon was manufactured by the numismatist, W. C. Wells, during the early part of this century, as it is generally accepted that he fabricated a number of other dies for coins and tokens.

B. *Grimshaw, Whitehouse, Token*

Although nothing to do with Castlecomer the last token illustrated on the plate is the only other stamp on a dollar known from Ireland.⁵ The example illustrated is also unique in that no further dollars bearing this particular countermark have so far come to light, although a Dundee, Angusshire, halfpenny token of 1796, overstruck GRIMSHAW (obv.) WHITEHOUSE (rev.) is in the collection of the Ulster Museum.⁶

Charles IV, 1794, Mexico. Countermarked 23/GRIMSHAW/SIX SIX (in double compartment)/WHITEHOUSE, the whole set at right angles over the head and bust of the king; pierced at the top for

suspension, with split ring loop attached. In a private collection in Florida, U.S.A. (Photographs* of both faces obtained.)

James Grimshaw as well as T. E. Grimshaw of Whitehouse, just to the north of Belfast, were calico printers in the early nineteenth century; and they are so termed in an 1829 directory. By 1838 we have Thomas Grimshaw and Co., calico printers and dyers at Whitehouse; Edmund Grimshaw, flax spinner; Mossley and James Grimshaw & Son, flax spinners, Whitehouse. But the only time the dollar reached 6s. sterling (6s. 6d. Irish) and above was during the second decade of the nineteenth century.⁷ After reinstatement of regal currency in 1816/17 the need for Spanish specie used in payment of wages was much reduced in England, but it is probable that the practice lingered on in Ireland as it did in Scotland for quite a few years beyond the period when silver and later copper token coinage was proscribed. The figure '23' suggests that each countermarked dollar was numbered and, as the coins circulated locally amongst the Whitehouse traders, the firm of Grimshaw would redeem them in gold or notes for repayment to their workers.

Acknowledgements

Many persons have been involved in this inquiry and it is not possible to set out individual names, but the writers would like to take the opportunity of thanking all collectively for the help they have given, without which it would not have been possible to carry out this survey.

⁵ W. A. Seaby, 'Notes on Countermarking and Defacement of the Official and Unofficial Coinage of Ireland', *Numismatic Soc. of Ireland: Occasional Paper* No. 16 (1973), 7 and pl. II, 34.

⁶ Illustrated in W. A. Seaby, 'Employers' Truck Tickets

and Food Vouchers issued in Ulster during the latter half of the nineteenth century and the early part of the twentieth century', *Numismatic Society of Ireland: Occasional Paper* No. 8 (March 1969), pl. III, 28.

⁷ See above p. 183.