

## CONTINENTAL IMITATIONS OF THE ROSE NOBLE OF EDWARD IV

By ANTHONY THOMPSON

VERY little is known in this country about the large class of rose nobles bearing the name of Edward IV, but of larger module and coarser execution than usual. Their style and fabric, as well as their average weight (about 116 grains), stamps them as of foreign manufacture, and they are called "Flemish" because there is a convenient historical explanation for their issue—Edward's seven months' exile in Flanders between October 1470 and April 1471. They are held to be Flemish because they resemble the pieces copied from Henry VI's noble, whose origin is also assumed to be Flemish. The identification of the rose nobles rests solely upon this resemblance, for there is, so far, no documentary evidence in support of an emergency coinage in Flanders—Deschamps de Pas prints no document in his exhaustive studies of the Flemish issues of Charles the Bold which might indicate that the Burgundian mints of Flanders were put at Edward's disposal.<sup>1</sup> Even the fundamental point about the origin of the "Henry" nobles is by no means certain, for there is a suspicion that some of them may have been coined at or near Cologne in the sixteenth century.<sup>2</sup>

In this country the "Flemish" rose nobles of Edward IV have always been regarded (and rightly) as a side-line of English numismatics, but this attitude neglects an important aspect of our numismatic history—the commercial value of the rose noble abroad, which led to its imitation.<sup>3</sup> Montagu saw this clearly when he postulated a continental issue of rose nobles, based upon Anglo-Flemish trade relations, and continuing to circulate over a very long period.<sup>4</sup> He argued that as some of the Henry nobles (of similar style) were found at Fischenich near Cologne (a hoard buried not earlier than 1624), both currencies could have circulated together during the sixteenth century.<sup>5</sup> Other hoards support this contention, for out of the large number containing English coins there are about half a dozen in which Henry nobles and Edward rose nobles occur either together or separately. In that of Amersfoort, buried about 1560, both currencies were represented, together with Burgundian nobles of Philip the Fair,<sup>6</sup> while at Joncret in Hainaut, in a hoard deposited about 1575–6,<sup>7</sup> there were six rose nobles and no Henry nobles. Several other hoards show a mixture of Edward rose nobles (often

<sup>1</sup> *Revue Numismatique Française* (N.S.), vii (1862), pp. 351 ff.

<sup>2</sup> H. Montagu in *Num. Chron.* <sup>3</sup> xiii (1893), pp. 26 ff.

<sup>3</sup> But see Snelling, *A View of the Gold Coin and Coinage of England*, p. 8 footnote (l), who suspected a continental issue of rose nobles for commercial purposes.

<sup>4</sup> Montagu, *op. cit.*, p. 34.

<sup>5</sup> Montagu, *op. cit.*

<sup>6</sup> *Tijdschrift van het Nederlandsch Genootschap voor Munt- en Penningkunde*, iv (1896), p. 103.

<sup>7</sup> *Revue de la Numismatique Belge*, 2<sup>e</sup> série, t. i (1851), p. 92.

accompanied by English angels) and the Dutch provincial rose nobles, struck a few years later (1575-89). At Talmont, in western France,<sup>1</sup> a single Henry noble was associated with three rose nobles, while in an unnamed Dutch find dating from c. 1580-90,<sup>2</sup> only rose nobles were present, again mixed with Dutch issues. From the evidence of these hoards it can be assumed that the English rose noble enjoyed a widespread popularity in France and the Netherlands. It might also be argued that the popularity of the "Henry" noble had to some extent declined, but it is unsafe to generalize in this instance because the investigators of continental hoards have invariably failed to distinguish copies from their originals, and so it is impossible to estimate their comparative frequency. The distribution of the hoards does tell us one thing: the Henry and rose noble currencies are very likely to be Flemish or Dutch in origin, for the majority of the hoards in which they occur are from the Low Countries. The only comparable finds in England that I know of are those at Bisham Abbey (Berks.),<sup>3</sup> where there was one Henry VI noble and six rose nobles, none of which can be proved to be foreign imitations, and at St. Albans, where there were twenty-two rose nobles, none of them copies, and no Henry nobles.<sup>4</sup> Rose nobles and Henry nobles (whether true or imitation) are more common in Scottish hoards, as one might expect from the close relations between that country and France.<sup>5</sup>

Confirmation of the popularity of the Henry and Edward coinage during the sixteenth century is provided by the numerous placards issued in the Netherlands, France, and Scotland, especially towards the end of the century. In the latter country rose nobles figure in a list of 1598.<sup>6</sup>

Like the foreign *sterlings* of an earlier period, imitations of the English gold noble were a result of the continual illegal export of coin from England in the fourteenth century.

In spite of the efforts of Edward III and Richard II to attract bullion to the mint, quantities of gold nobles were exported and sold at a profit abroad to be recoined. The Dukes of Burgundy, whose newly acquired Flemish dominions lay nearest to England, did not scruple to coin nobles on the English standard, but of less intrinsic worth (Pl. A, 1). These pests, arriving from the already flourishing trade-centre of Calais, caused great distress in England, until they

<sup>1</sup> *Revue Numismatique*, 3<sup>e</sup> série, t. iii (1884), p. 271 f.

<sup>2</sup> *Bulletin Mensuel de Numismatique & d'Archéologie* (Brussels, 1883-4), p. 50.

<sup>3</sup> *Num. Chron.* (N.S.), xviii (1878), p. 304.

<sup>4</sup> *Num. Chron.*<sup>3</sup> vi (1886), p. 173 (Pl. vii).

<sup>5</sup> e.g. Dunblane, 1869; *Num. Chron.* (N.S.) x (1870), pp. 204 and 240 f.; *Proc. Soc. Ant. Scot.* viii (1870), pp. 286 ff., and Glasgow, 1795; Lindsay, *Scotch Coins*, App. 17, p. 264.

<sup>6</sup> Cochran-Patrick, *Records of the Coinage of Scotland*, p. 194. I have not been able to consult the following works enumerated by Snelling: *Edicts des Monnoyes Lesquelles ont cours par le Pays de Liège de l'An 1477 jusques à l'An 1623*, 4to, Liège; *Der Cooplieden Haud boucxhin*, 12mo, Ghent, 1546; *Hel Thresoor oft Schat Van alle de Specien*, 12mo, Antwerp, 1580; *Ordonnances*, 12mo, Paris, 1571, 1577, and Petter Diikman, *Observationer forma Swenskas och Gothers penningers Rachningz*, Obs xxv, 12mo, Stockholm, 1686.

were driven out of currency by Henry IV's reduction in the weight of his own gold coins in 1412. The harm had been done, however, and there is evidence that a coinage of imitations (other than the official one of the Burgundian Dukes) was growing up abroad. This must have caused some inconvenience in the Burgundian dominions as well as in England, for in October 1433 Philippe le Bon issued an *Ordonnance* referring to the imitation of *deniers d'or* "emprainte et fourme des deniers de nostredit Seigneur, ou assez semblables à iceulx" [*sic*] by neighbouring countries.<sup>1</sup> The term *denier d'or* is always used to describe the noble.

A few years before (in 1423), a money-changer of Malines, named Clais Warin, had been arrested for receiving "monnaies fausses contrefaites et défendus"<sup>2</sup> [*sic*]. It is to this period that we must assign the first of the "Henry" nobles, copied from the Annulet issue of Henry VI. Evidently the English noble had become so popular as a commercial currency<sup>3</sup> that merchants (or feudal rulers) had found it expedient to issue private and presumably illegal coins.<sup>4</sup>

It is certain that these copies enjoyed a limited circulation in England, for one of them was present in the Horsted Keynes find buried about 1440<sup>5</sup> (cf. Pl. A, 2).

When Edward IV remodelled his coinage in 1465 he found it expedient to strike a new denomination in the style of the old noble which had become so popular abroad. The result was the rose noble of higher value and weight, a coin even more popular than its predecessor, and eventually one of the main currencies of northern Europe. In these circumstances it is not surprising to find that it too was extensively imitated.

A definition of this type of imitation was given by Serrure in 1847, when he described the coins as *contrefaçons* (counterfeits). He further distinguished between those bearing the name and titles of their issuer, whether official or otherwise (e.g. the rose nobles of Holland, Zeeland, Overijssel, &c., as well as nobles of Ghent) and those indistinguishable from their prototype, but not seriously under weight.<sup>6</sup> Both classes are represented amongst the rose nobles to be described.

Research by continental numismatists, amongst them Verkade, Serrure, and Schulman, has established that many *contrefaçons* of English gold coins (angels, rose nobles, and a few sovereigns) were issued either semi-officially, as in the case of some Friesland coins, or

<sup>1</sup> Deschamps de Pas in *Revue Numismatique*, 1861, p. 472.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 461.

<sup>3</sup> Evidence of their circulation in eastern Europe is provided by a hoard from the Warsaw district, which contained Henry V nobles. See Spink's *Numismatic Circular*, Nov.-Dec. 1914, p. 682, nos. 2461 and 2462.

<sup>4</sup> It should be noted that imitations of English gold nobles were issued by Waleran III of Luxemburg, Count of St. Pol and Ligny (1371-1415), from his mint at Elincourt (Cambrai district). These are probably the earliest copies known. See Rigollot in *Revue Numismatique*, 1850, pp. 203 ff.; Poey d'Avant, *Monnaies Féodales*, iii, p. 418; and Engel and Serrure, *Traité*, iii, p. 1075 f.

<sup>5</sup> *Num. Chron.*, 1929, p. 237.

<sup>6</sup> *Revue Belge de Num.*, t. iii (1847), p. 261.

privately and without sanction by municipal authorities, e.g. at Gorinchem in Holland. The issue of these pieces coincides with the beginning of the Dutch wars of Independence and the formation in 1575 of the United Provinces. In view of the close trade connexions between England and the Netherlands, and the influx of English volunteers into the Dutch provinces, both of which contributed to the desire for a new coinage of English style, this is a subject which directly concerns English numismatics.

In the preceding pages I have outlined the evidence (such as it is) of documents and hoards relating to the probable date of issue of the "Flemish" style rose nobles. It tends to a sixteenth-century date, and a late one. It remains to be seen whether a close study of the coins themselves will confirm this idea.

It is easy enough to classify these pieces in a broad manner by their style—there are, fortunately, several well-defined groups—but it is much harder to produce a satisfactory die-sequence. The common denominator is, as will be seen presently, the lettering, but even here there are notable exceptions.

First, I will take a typical example of a "Flemish" rose noble, and describe it:

*Obv.*  $\text{GD} / \text{.} \text{.} \text{.} \text{WTRD} \text{.} \text{.} \text{.} \text{DI} \text{.} \text{.} \text{.} \text{GRN} \text{.} \text{.} \text{.} \text{RER} \text{.} \text{.} \text{.} \text{ANGL} \text{.} \text{.} \text{.} \text{S} \text{.} \text{.} \text{.} \text{RRRN} \text{.} \text{.} \text{.} \text{DNRS} \text{.} \text{.} \text{.} \text{IB} \text{.} \text{.} \text{.}$

The king standing in a ship, holding a sword and shield. A rose on the ship's side and  $\text{G}$  on a banner at the stern.

*Rev.* M.M. Crown.  $\text{IRD} \text{.} \text{.} \text{.} \text{AVT} \text{.} \text{.} \text{.} \text{TRRNSIERS} \text{.} \text{.} \text{.} \text{POR} \text{.} \text{.} \text{.} \text{MDIVM} \text{.} \text{.} \text{.} \text{ILLORV} \text{.} \text{.} \text{.} \text{IBNT}$  A rose upon a sun as on the English rose noble. [Pl. A, 4.] Weight: 116 grains.

If we analyse the details of this coin against those of the genuine piece, it is obvious where the differences lie. The composition of the copy is poor compared to that of the coin illustrated on Pl. A, 3, and the relief is very low. The correct lines are there, but appear empty and meaningless because they are all of the same texture. The rose on the ship's side is large and flat, with no attempt at moulding; a reference to that on genuine pieces shows it to be small and regular. I call this rose No. 1 and that of the copy No. 2 [cf. Nos. 3. and 4].

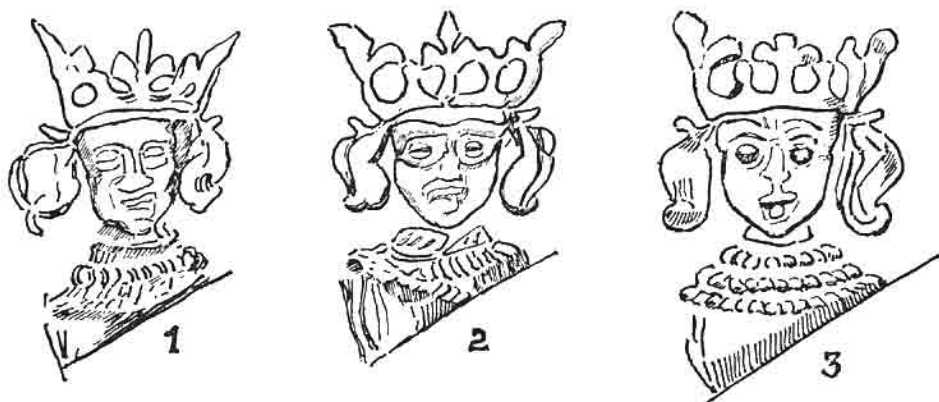
The portrait on the imitation is large and coarse, with an oval face and a spread crown. It compares very unfavourably with the head on the English dies. Another characteristic of the Flemish series is the way in which the letter  $\text{G}$  is inverted and used as a  $\text{D}$  and  $\text{G}$  at will.

The material upon which a classification may be based can be summarized as:

- (a) Style of portrait. Out of a number of varieties I have chosen the three most clearly defined. Number 1 (Fig. 1) is a small head with heavy features, usually double-struck. Number 2 (Fig. 2) is larger, with a noticeable gap between the face and crown-punches. Number 3 (Fig. 3) has already been mentioned. It has pellets for eyes. Between them, these three portraits are

enough for a quick identification of most of the Flemish rose nobles.

(b) The shape of the rose.



(c) The longer sword, and the form of the king's sword-arm, which is varied by its thickness and by the presence or lack of a point of armour at the elbow.

(d) The lettering.

#### GROUP I

(Pl. A, 5-8)

The group which looks earliest in style consists of three pieces.

Taking the three coins, we find that they have smaller flans and a more compact design than is usual amongst the Flemish dies. They have portrait no. 1 and rose no. 1 (small), while the privy mark, a sun, is at the beginning of the obverse inscription.<sup>1</sup> It is thicker than the English variety, and one of its eight rays is broken (*Cat. of Dies*, nos. 1 and 2). On all three coins the obverse die is identical (O 1 = Pl. A, 5).

There are three reverses (R 1-3). No. 1 has a crown mark with a pellet each side. No. 2 also has the crown, but the pellets are distributed between the letters of **IBTT**.

Number 3 is probably the same die altered. It bears a sun as privy mark, but this appears to be punched over another mark, perhaps the crown. No traces of this are visible, but there is a depression in the metal round the sun, suggesting that it was punched in after the former mark had been burnished out (Pl. A, 8).

Reverses 1 and 3 both have a pellet above the **n** of **INRA**.

The lettering is uniform for the three coins. **as** are normal, but an

<sup>1</sup> The sun mark occurs both at the beginning (i.e. below the sail) and at the end of the obverse legend on genuine half- and quarter-ryals; the combination of sun and crown is (*pace* Brooke, *Engl. Coins*, p. 155) unknown for the ryal, though it exists on halves and quarters: Durlacher's ryal, which he exhibited at a meeting of the Royal Numismatic Society on 21 March 1895, was undoubtedly an imitation, and may be identical with the British Museum specimen (see *Proceedings, Num. Soc.*, for March 1895), Durlacher Sale (Sotheby), 1899, lot 71, and my catalogue of die varieties, no. 1).



inverted  $\alpha$  (Fig. 3) is used for  $\mathfrak{d}$ . The  $\pi$  has slightly curved limbs (Fig. 1) and the  $\mathfrak{C}$  is generally of the form shown in Fig. 2.  $\mathfrak{R}$  has a long tail (Fig. 4), and  $\mathfrak{R}$  is small with square feet (Fig. 5).  $\mathfrak{W}$ s are correctly formed of two V-punches (Fig. 6).

### *Die-sequence of Group I*

<p>O 1 = Sun with trefoils between <b>DMS IB.</b> One out of eight rays in the sun is broken off short.</p>	<p>combined with</p>	<p>R 1 = Crown with a pellet each side and one above <math>\mathfrak{h}</math> in <b>IhQ</b> R 2 = Crown. Pellets in <b>IBTT</b> only; one above <math>\mathfrak{h}</math>.</p>
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There is an obvious attempt at a regular system of privy marking here. The trefoils on the obverse are constant and may only be a reproduction of the English dies, but the pellet system must have a significance of its own. It suggests an official or semi-official issue, and it is noticeable that something very like it occurs on some Elizabethan ryals,<sup>1</sup> as well as on other coins of our series.

As an introduction to the next two groups it will be convenient to give some details of the way in which the rose noble was used in the sixteenth century.

The involved state of the Netherlands currency under its Burgundian rulers, and subsequently under Charles V, encouraged the importation of foreign currencies, and consequently their imitation.

In 1497 and 1499 it was recorded in placards issued in Flanders that the country was filled with gold coin "faibles au poids ou contrefaites, et par conséquent, décriées".<sup>2</sup> In spite of *ordonnances*,<sup>3</sup> this state of disorder continued, and Charles V was forced to prohibit a number of issues between 1520 and 1525.

Foreign coins and imitations of them were imported and raised above their real value, and people profited from the high prices at which these were accepted by carrying on illicit commerce and bringing in prohibited coins.

The high prices abroad reacted unfavourably in England, as is shown by the following proclamation issued by Henry VIII on 22 August 1526:<sup>4</sup> "Owing to the enhancement of value abroad money was carried out of this realm by secret means, nobles, half nobles and ryalls, and as a remedy it is proclaimed that all gold current within this realm shall be of the same value as it is in other outward parts. . . ." The proclamation goes on to fix the values of the French "Crown of the Sun" and Henry's new gold crown and to fix the rate of 44 shillings the ounce as the sum to be paid for gold of the fineness of the sovereign, ryal, noble, and half-noble brought to the mint. This was Cardinal Wolsey's first attempt to deal with the difficult problem, and inaugurated his debasement policy. By March 1542 values of nobles, half-nobles, and ryals had again been raised abroad, and an English

<sup>1</sup> Cf. the escallop-marked coins described in *Num. Chron.*<sup>6</sup> (1; nos. III-IV), 1941, p. 147 f.

<sup>2</sup> *Revue Belge de Num.*, 1876, p. 62.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 82 f. See *Ordonnances*, 15 August 1521 and 25 September 1525.

<sup>4</sup> *Brit. Num. Journ.*<sup>1</sup> x (1913), p. 139.

proclamation prohibited their export and raised the value of the ryal from 11s. 6d. to 12s.<sup>1</sup>

The same thing happened in Scotland, where rose nobles were extensively used. In 1526 James V followed Henry VIII in raising the values of his coins.<sup>2</sup> His list includes:

1. The [French] Crown of the Sun	xviiij s.
2. The Angel noble	xxviiij s.
3. The Double Ducat [Spanish] or "Harry" noble [Flemish]	xxxvj s.
4. The rose noble	xlij s.
5. The Portugal Ducat	xli s.

By 1544 values had again been raised, the Harry noble to 42s. and the rose noble to 48s.<sup>3</sup>

In 1546 certain English gold coins were prohibited in Scotland because they were "na fyne gold, bat copper for the maist part, and of na fynance".<sup>4</sup> Amongst those mentioned was a "Riale". As Henry VIII is not known to have issued rose nobles for general currency, this passage may perhaps be taken as evidence for the circulation of English forgeries or of foreign *contrefaçons*.<sup>5</sup>

The latter would be a natural result of the high values put upon the rose noble, as people would be encouraged to issue light pieces and import them into England.

In this way it is possible to suggest a period for the beginning of the *contrefaçon* coinage more in keeping with its style than an earlier date. To be more precise, I shall (with reservations) put it at between 1526 and 1546.

*Contrefaçons* of many sorts were issued, amongst which the rose noble inevitably figured. It was double the weight of most of its contemporaries, and its fine quality, both intrinsically and artistically, ensured its acceptance in many places. One country after another adopted it as a standard of currency, and Snelling<sup>6</sup> lists a number of states which put it into circulation. Cologne, Trier, and Jülich were amongst these, and they were followed by Denmark (where the Tolls of the Sound were usually estimated in rose nobles),<sup>7</sup> Sweden, and Norway, as well as the Hanseatic communities who found it essential for their trade with England and the Netherlands. It circulated as a trade coin in Russia under the name of *Korabel'nik* or "ship-coin" during the reign of Ivan the Terrible (1547-84).<sup>8</sup>

In these countries the silver mark had always been used as the

<sup>1</sup> *Brit. Num. Journ.* x (1913), p. 152.

<sup>2</sup> Cochran-Patrick, *Records of the Coinage of Scotland* (1), p. 95.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 96.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 85.

<sup>5</sup> Brooke expressly condemned the Henry VIII ryal in the British Museum. Its lettering and the open crown suggest a comparatively modern forgery (see Grueber, Pl. xiv, 394; Kenyon, p. 84; its weight is 117 grains).

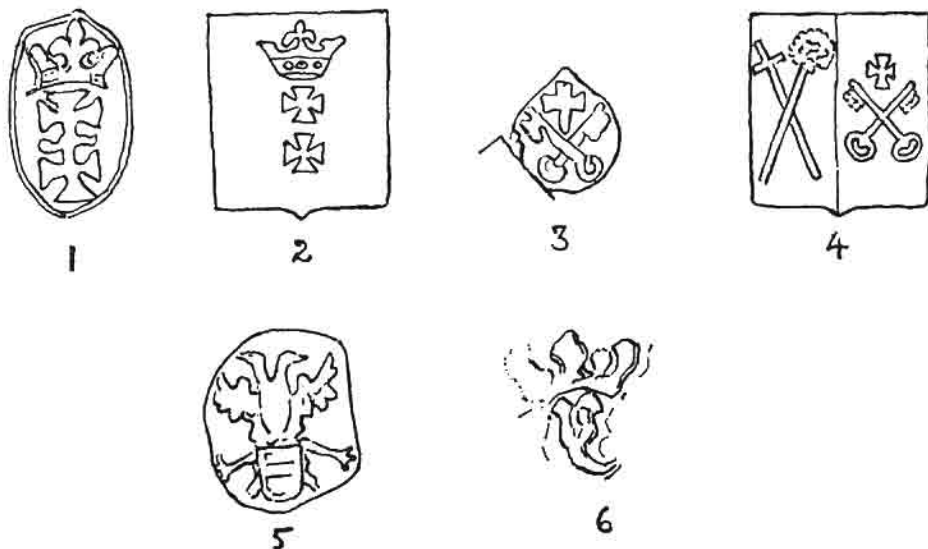
<sup>6</sup> Snelling, *A View of the Gold Coin and Coinage of England*, p. 8, footnote (1).

<sup>7</sup> Lorentzen, *Museum Regium* (Copenhagen, 1710), p. 2, Sect. 5, c. 12; Snelling, *op. cit.* The term "Rose Noble", or "Rozenoble" is of foreign origin. English records generally call it the ryal.

<sup>8</sup> Schrötte, *Wörterbuch der Münzkunde*, p. 460.

"Coin of Account", but it appears that the rose noble was now preferred as a currency standard.<sup>1</sup>

In the course of trade rose nobles and Henry nobles were bound to be countermarked, and there are several such stamps which require explanation. The commonest are for the great Baltic trade-centres of Dantzic (a crowned double cross; **Pl. B, 1** and Figs. 1 and 2)<sup>2</sup> and Riga (a cross over keys; **Pl. B, 2** and Figs. 3 and 4). These are probably both sixteenth century, and appear on genuine and imitation pieces. There are military reasons for some of the other marks. The double-headed eagle of Groningen (**Pl. B, 4** and Fig. 5) dates from the siege of that town by the Dutch troops under Prince Maurice of Nassau in 1591,<sup>3</sup> while the much rarer mark of Ypres (a crowned Gothic  $\mathfrak{y}$ ;



**Pl. B, 3** and Fig. 6) was used during the blockade by the Spaniards in 1583.<sup>4</sup> That illustrated is on the obverse of a worn Calais noble of Henry VI (Annulet issue).

Coins bearing the stamp of Riga include a genuine rose noble (**Pl. B, 2**) and one of the sun-marked coins of group I (Cat. no. 2). Some confusion has arisen about the origin of this mark; both Schulman<sup>5</sup> and Ives<sup>6</sup> accept it as that of Riga, but the catalogue of the Cassal Collection (sold at Sotheby's in 1924) described it as "Keys in saltire between a slipped trefoil" and called it the mark of Arch-

<sup>1</sup> Snelling, *View of Nobles Struck Abroad*, p. 53, where it is stated that the Baltic countries adopted the new standard under the patronage of the Teutonic knights.

<sup>2</sup> Fig. 2 is traced from Rentzman's illustration of the arms of Dantzic in *Numismatisches Wappen Lexicon*, 1877, Pl. xvi, 222.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. a Zeeland noble with this mark, illustrated in Schulman, *Sale Cat.*, 1919, Pl. II, 19.

<sup>4</sup> Vandenpeereboom, *Numismatique Yproise* (Brussels, 1877), p. 24 f.

<sup>5</sup> Schulman, *Sale Cat.*, 1911, Pl. II, Fig. 78.

<sup>6</sup> Ives, *Foreign Imitations of the English Noble*, Amer. Num. Soc., *Num. Notes and Mon.*, no. 93 (1941).



bishop Nevill (?), who acted as guardian to Henry VI during the Restoration of 1470-1.<sup>1</sup> It is true that the cross does look rather like a slipped trefoil, but if we look closely at it there is no doubt that it is meant to be a cross pattée. Its foot is too long and square to be heraldically correct, and its other extremities are weakly struck; but these are details which the artist could hardly be expected to engrave accurately on so small a scale.

Rentzman<sup>2</sup> gives the arms of Riga as a cross pattée over crossed keys (Fig. 4). Here the limbs are correctly expanded.

Archbishop George Nevill is an unlikely person to have used a countermark, although it would have been just possible for him to do so as a temporary measure before new dies were ready for Henry's coinage.<sup>3</sup> As far as I can ascertain, he never used keys or a cross of any sort; his arms as Archbishop of York were the Salisbury (Nevill) saltire combined with a label.<sup>4</sup>

Finally, the style of the sun-marked coins (already shown to be a foreign issue) suggests a date later than Edward IV's reign, and is much more in accord with the countermark being sixteenth century, and put on the trade currency of Riga.

## GROUP II

### (Pl. B, 4-7)

The next group of rose nobles is difficult to arrange in its proper sequence, though its subdivisions are easily identifiable by style and lettering. A close analysis of details shows: (a) that the group can be divided into three classes; (b) that the lettering of each class merges into the next; (c) that we shall find it less confusing not to rely too much upon other details, because so many different punches are used on dies which look identical.

*Class I* (Pl. B, 4-6) consists of three coins, all from the same obverse and reverse dies (O 1 and R 1). Its main characteristic is its portrait, the head no. 2 already described. The rose on the ship is a modification of no. 1 with a tendency to flatness. The coin no. 3 is in poor condition and coarser than the others. It weighs 115 grains as against 116, so it may be a derivative of class 1. The privy mark on all three coins is a crown.

*Class II* (Pl. B, 7 and Pl. C, 1 and 2). The style of these coins is similar, but the head is thinner. We might call it 2 a. The rose is flatter than before. Nos. 2, 3, and 4 are remarkable in that they indicate their place of origin, and so give us a clue to the whole group. Nos. 2 and 3 have a shield in the middle of the forecastle instead of a quatrefoil. This shield bears two fesses counter-embattled (Fig. 7). No. 4 goes farther, for not only does the "king" carry the same shield,

<sup>1</sup> Cassal Sale Cat. (Sotheby, 3 Dec. 1924), lot 209.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid., Pl. 6, 232.

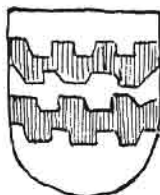
<sup>3</sup> For an account of George Nevill's part in Henry VI's restoration, see Walters in *Num. Chron.* 4 x (1910), pp. 118 ff.

<sup>4</sup> So given in Bedford's *Blazon of Episcopacy*, Pl. LXVIII, no. 28.

but the inscription betrays that the coin is not English. Mixed with the Edwardian titles we get the abbreviations **AV** (*Ad valorem*) and **DNV AR** (*Domini Arkellensis*), indicating that this rose noble was struck on the standard (*Ad valorem*) of Edward for the Lord of Arkel.

In class II there are three obverses (O 2 to 4), and two reverses (R 2 and 3), both with the crown mark.

On all coins of classes I and II the king's sword-arm is thin and weak, with pointed armour at the elbow and wrist. This form appears to be characteristic of the earlier dies of the Flemish rose nobles.



7

*Class III* (Pl. C, nos. 3–6). This is the largest of the group, its main characteristic being the oval head with pellets for eyes, already described as no. 3. On the coins of class III *a* (Pl. C, 3) the rose has developed fully into no. 2, while the king's sword-arm (one of the main guides to the chronology of the group) is thick without a point to the armour at the elbow. Class III *a* has one obverse (O 5) and two reverses (R 4 and 5), accompanied by the foregoing details. Classes III *b* and *c* (Pl. C, nos. 4–6) are varied by the arm having a point of armour at the elbow; individual punches for the head, body, shield, sword, and ship are identical in both classes, though sometimes differently placed on the flan. The rose no. 2 is always used, a conspicuous detail being the arrangement of the pellets in rows of two, four, four, two, generally inserted at an angle.

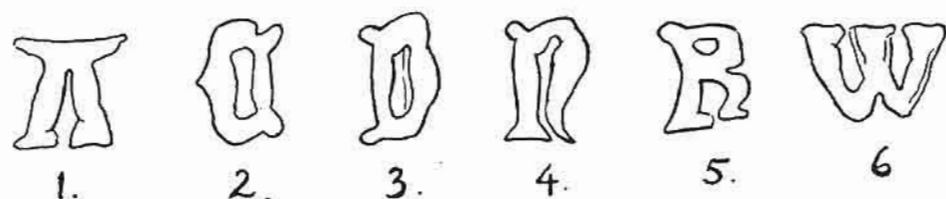
Broadly speaking, there appear to be only two obverses in classes III *b* and *c*, distinguished by the omitting of the trefoil after **DNV** (no. 4 = O 6) and its insertion (no. 5 = O 7). Reverses are probably identical, though there may be slight differences in the placing of details (no. 6 = R 6). Class III *d* has one obverse (O 8 with a new portrait) and one reverse (O 7) (see cat. of dies, no. 12).

Finally, the lettering. From this it is possible to suggest a plan for the sequence of the group. On class I, punches on both sides are short and thick with curved limbs, e.g. the **A** (Fig. 1 = A 1). The **C**, on the other hand, is large (Fig. 3 = C 1). **R** has a thick tail (Fig. 5 = R 1) and the **W** is weak in its left-hand limb (Fig. 8 = W 1). Most of these letters continue on class II, though the **R** becomes rounder (Fig. 6 = R 2), and the **W** thick (Fig. 9 = W 2). **C** is sometimes reversed (Fig. 3). On the earliest coins of class III *a* (= O 5) these letters are still present, but the **A** is smaller and thinner. In later coins, and in III *b*, we get a new punch, much larger, and with widely curved limbs

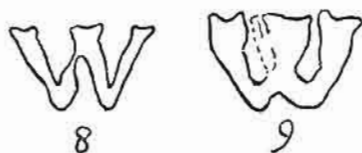
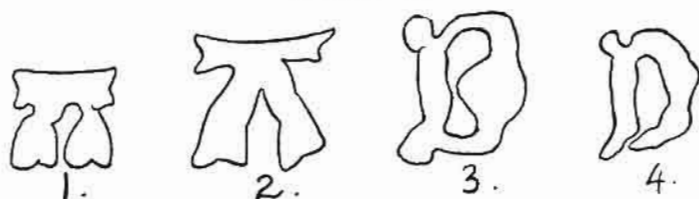
(Fig. 2 = A 2). **Ń** no. 2 and **R** (Fig. 7) are very conspicuous on classes III *b* and *c*, while the **Q** (Fig. 1) of the earlier classes is generally present, accompanied by a smaller punch with its lower extremity first cracked, then broken (Fig. 4 = C 2).

Other letters, including a thick **T**, can be used to check the die-sequence, but they are less important.

## GROUP I



## GROUP II



In class III *d* (O 8 and R 7) we get an entirely new lettering mixed with old punches (e.g. **Q**, **Ń**, and **S**). **Ń**s are now very small and thin and of a form resembling A 2 (= Fig. 2). In one case (R 7) there is a small spur clearly visible on the right-hand limb of a very thin, straight **Ń**, making it look like **7E**; this strongly recalls a letter-punch on the Gorinchem rose noble of Marie de Brimeu, engraved for Cuypers in 1851 (see *Num. Chron.*<sup>6</sup> (III-iv), 1941, Pl. VIII, 8), and also connects R 7 with certain Elizabethan ryals struck at Gorinchem about 1585-6.

We can now summarize the chronology:

*Class I.* O 1, with head 2, rose 1 variety (a), and arm 1 (thin). = R 1. Crown.

*Class II.* O 2 to 4, with head 2 a, rose 1 variety (a), and arm 2 = R 2 and 3. Crown. (thick, no point at elbow).

*Class III (a).* O 5, with head 3, rose 2, and arm 2 (thick, with- = R 4 and 5. Crown. out point).

*Class III (b).* O 6, with head 3, rose 2, and arm 3 (thick, with = R 6. Crown. point). No trefoil after **DRS**.

*Class III (c).* O 7, only differing in having the trefoil after **DRS** = R 6.

*Class III (d).* O 8. A new portrait. = R 7. Crown. New lettering mixed with old punches.

The series of rose nobles includes some other dies which cannot be fitted into the grouping; one of them bears the privy mark cross-fitchy (**Pl. A, 9**) and the other a boar's head. This cannot have been struck earlier than *c.* 1483-5, and its style makes it likely to be much later (**Pl. A, 10**). Full details of all these individual styles will be found in the catalogue of dies (nos. 16-20).

There are a few more points in connexion with group 2.

(a) A pellet on each side of the king's shoulder on a coin of class I (**Pl. B, 6**). This can be explained as being a merchant's mark, put on to distinguish the coin either as being of less intrinsic value than the original or as being in circulation as bullion only. There are plenty of analogies in the Greek coinage—for instance, the coins of Lydia and Aegina and Persian sigloi which were so stamped in Egypt under the early Ptolemys.<sup>1</sup>

(b) If we look closely at the rose nobles we find that on some, especially those of group II, there are indications of ridges thrown up round letters and parts of the design which are not altogether due to wear or buckling, or double-striking. The surface, particularly on the reverses, is full of minute striations (*cf.* **Pl. A, 4**).

These curious features may possibly be the result of a system of "hubbing". The hub or master die in relief was used to impress an *incuse* design upon a heated blank, which, when hardened, was used to strike coins from, the design coming out *positive* or in relief as on the original hub.<sup>2</sup> I do not know exactly what marks would be caused in this process of reproduction, but it has been noted in connexion with Greek coins that, when the hub had become worn, the engraver was in the habit of deepening letters or parts of the design with a graving-tool, by cutting round them a shallow depression, which, of course, comes out as a "bank" in relief on the coin.<sup>3</sup>

This system of hubbing is particularly suitable for a hasty coinage—large numbers of pieces can be produced quickly, and time is saved by not having to engrave new dies at short intervals. Inscriptions and supplementary pieces of the design can be inserted at will; hence the need for a stock of individual punches—a phenomenon which we get in this series.

<sup>1</sup> J. G. Milne, *Greek and Roman Coins*, p. 77 f., and Pl. xvi, nos. 2, 3, and 6.

<sup>2</sup> Hill, "Ancient Methods of Coining", in *Num. Chron.*<sup>5</sup> ii (1922), p. 19 f.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, Pl. i, nos. 10 and 11.

Group III is completely different. It is adapted from class I of group II, having bad copies of head 2 and rose 1. The inscription resembles only superficially that of Edward IV. It reads in abbreviated form **MO ORD FRISIÆ AD LEGEM EDWARD RÆ AN**, i.e. the coin was struck for the province of Friesland on the "Edward" or English standard of gold. To make the attribution more certain, we have the initial **F** (= Frisia) on the flag of one (Pl. C, 7). Schulman<sup>1</sup> has already established that these coins were a semi-official issue, struck for the Ommelanden (that part of Friesland afterwards united with Groningen), and produced at Culemborg in Utrecht province between 1589 and 1591.

The three pieces illustrated are all in the Dutch Royal Coin Cabinet at The Hague, and I have to thank Mr. Enno Van Gelder for his kindness in sending me casts of them as well as notes on their weights.

We have now to find a date for the three groups.

Group I would appear to be earliest in style, and superficially it fulfils the conditions required of an emergency coinage for Edward IV. Weights (117 grains) and privy marks (crown and sun) are correct for the period, but I do not believe that the coins are fifteenth century. The **R** punch connects them with two other pieces whose style is markedly "late" in some respects (nos. 18 and 19 in the catalogue of dies). If these sun and crown-marked coins are to be classed as part of the same series as group II, then it is obvious that so large a coinage could not have been issued in a short period of seven months.

Group II can be dated very closely. The development of the lettering, with its recurring punches, indicates the employment of a single mint, and it is fairly certain that this mint was Gorinchem in Holland. The coins of class II bearing the arms and title of Arkel are the principal evidence for this attribution, for it is known that the municipal authorities of Gorinchem owned the estate of Arkel in the late sixteenth century. The Seigneurs of Arkel, once an important family in the Netherlands, possessed a right of coinage in medieval times. This had lapsed in the fifteenth century with the death of John XIII, the last direct representative. His daughter, Marie (who died in 1415), married into the family of Egmont, later Dukes of Gueldres, and by the sixteenth century the family of Arkel was only represented by a branch, the Seigneurs of Heukelom. There is no evidence that they ever possessed the original estate, lying close to Gorinchem, or that they claimed a right of coinage under that title. The best explanation of the coins is that the municipal authorities of Gorinchem revived this right of coinage for their own profit between the years 1583 and 1589.<sup>2</sup> Their mint, under the direction of Henry van Velthuysen and his female successor, Anne van Wissell, acquired an evil reputation for issuing light-weight pieces, mostly *contrefaçons*,

<sup>1</sup> "De Munten der Ommelanden, 1579-1591", in *Jaarboek Van Munt- en Penningkunde*, ii (1915), pp. 129 ff.

<sup>2</sup> Schulman in *Congrès Internationale de Numismatique* (Brussels, 1891), p. 580, and Serrure in *Rev. Belge de Num.*, t. iii (1847), pp. 255 ff.



amongst which the rose noble was prominent. The history of these dubious activities has been described elsewhere,<sup>1</sup> and it is sufficient to say that after a long struggle against frequent proclamations by the Dutch Government, the mint was forcibly closed in 1589.

As the shield of Arkel occurs on a silver *piedfort* for a sovereign known to have been designed at Gorinchem during these years,<sup>2</sup> it is reasonable to assume that the rose nobles date from the same period. We might carry the argument a stage farther and say that the coins were produced between 1585 and 1587, when the English army under the Earl of Leicester was establishing itself in Holland. It is well known that Leicester imported a large coinage of rose nobles (Elizabethan) for the use of his troops, and this may have caused a revival in the issues of rose noble *contrefaçons* of the older type, for both military and economic purposes.

We may now summarize the dating as

*Group I*, c. 1585 or after? Mint?

*Group II*. 1585–87. Gorinchem.

*Group III*. 1589–91. Culemborg.

As we are not going to regard group I as fifteenth century, there is an awkward gap to fill between 1470 and 1585. We know that rose nobles did circulate in considerable numbers, but we have yet to find a style early enough to suggest a date contemporary with Edward IV. The number of genuine pieces in circulation during the sixteenth century cannot have been very large, and it is just possible that the rose noble was regarded more as a coin of account—a substitute for the mark—than as a current coin, and that the English angel was more used until the Dutch Wars of Independence began (c. 1569–75). It may be objected that the great number of varieties of rose nobles known indicates a more continuous series than this theory provides for. If so, a diligent search of continental museums and private collections may produce coins more in keeping with an earlier date.<sup>3</sup>

Without such evidence, the earliest date for the beginning of the *contrefaçons* of rose nobles is hard to fix, but it is not unlikely to be a few years before 1526, a period in which the rising price of gold abroad and the consequent export of English coins made the issue of *contrefaçons* a profitable business (see p. 188).

In 1585, when Elizabeth decided to intervene officially on the side of the United Provinces, and sent Leicester over with an army, there was doubtless a revival in the rose noble currency, leading to more *contrefaçons*.

I do not see why all these coins (with the exception of group III at Culemborg) should not have been issued concurrently from one mint on the principle of the Roman *officinae* or mint workshops. This

<sup>1</sup> Cuypers, *op. cit.* i (1851), pp. 187 ff. and *Num. Chron.*<sup>6</sup> (iii–iv), 1941, pp. 139 ff.

<sup>2</sup> Serrure, *Rev. Belge de Num.*, t. iii (1847), pp. 255 ff.

<sup>3</sup> During the discussion after I read my paper to the Society both Mr. Blunt and Mr. Allen expressed the opinion that my date for the introduction of the *contrefaçons* was too late. I agree with them and have modified my views accordingly.

would account for a number of identical punches being used on coins of completely different style, and also for the system of privy marking on groups I and II, which would in that case indicate either the workshop or the coins of an individual workman.

Looking at the map (see p. 198) it is obvious why the magistrates of Gorinchem decided to issue rose nobles. The town is an ideal centre of distribution, for it lies close to the borders of three Dutch provinces (Holland, Utrecht, and Gelderland) and on the river Waal, directly on the trade route from the sea to the German border near Cleves, and thence up the Rhine to Cologne (the distributing centre for a large part of the German Empire). Moreover, the Maas, just opposite to Gorinchem, flows into the southern provinces of the Netherlands, providing a good outlet for the illegal trade with the cities of Flanders, which Leicester tried in vain to stop.<sup>1</sup> Leicester's placard of 4 August 1586 prohibited the export to the Spanish Netherlands of all grain and provisions on pain of death. From a purely military point of view this was good policy, but it was bitterly resented by Holland and Zeeland, the two provinces which contributed most towards the financial conduct of the war; their trade with Flanders was essential for this purpose. Lastly, Gorinchem was a frontier town and a bulwark of the Dutch line of defence along the Waal; consequently it had to be adequately garrisoned, and the soldiers had to be paid, preferably in rose nobles, the normal gold currency of the provinces.

Culemborg, lying just north of Gorinchem, was also in a good position to catch the trade going up the Rhine into Germany. It is worth noting that the protection of these trade routes was a fundamental part of Leicester's strategy in resisting the Prince of Parma's incursions into the northern provinces. The capture in 1586 by Parma of the important fortresses of Grave and Venlo exposed the Rhine traffic to attack, and produced a financial crisis. Merchants would not make payments or engage in a trade liable to be interrupted at any moment by a Spanish invasion. Burghley persuaded them to do so with some difficulty.<sup>2</sup>

In view of the geographical advantages possessed by these two unauthorized mints, it is hardly surprising to find the Dutch authorities complaining about the number of *contrefaçons* in circulation.<sup>3</sup>

At this point let me repeat what I said earlier (on p. 189) about the dual standard of currency in the Netherlands. These two gold standards were (a) the "Edward" or English rose noble standard (= *Ad valorem Edwardi*, average weight 116 grains and comprising coins of "Angel" gold, i.e. 23 carat  $3\frac{1}{2}$  grains fine), (b) the "Henry" or Flanders standard (= *Val. Flan.*, 108 grains and under, comprising all coins of noble type, or others, of  $23\frac{1}{2}$  carats fine).

<sup>1</sup> *Cambridge Modern History*, vol. iii, p. 620 f.

<sup>2</sup> See letters from Burghley to Leicester dated 10 June and 21 July 1586, printed in *Leicester Correspondence* (Camden Soc., London, 1844), nos. cxiv; Cotton MS. Galba c. IX, fol. 267 (p. 307 f.) and cxxxiv, Cotton MS., Galba c. IX, fol. 313 (p. 354 f.).

<sup>3</sup> e.g. the Zeeland resolution of 13 August 1585 and Leicester's placard of 4 August 1586; see *Num. Chron.*<sup>6</sup> (iii-iv), 1941, p. 140 f.

The northern provinces (i.e. Holland, Zeeland, Utrecht, Gelderland, and Friesland) usually preferred the Edward standard, while the Catholic provinces (Flanders, Brabant, Limburg, and Hainaut) mostly used the lighter currency. It can be seen from the map that these two currencies tend to fall into groups, the southern one comprising the Flemish trading communities with their centre at Antwerp and the northern group owing allegiance to Amsterdam. The map does not, how-



ever, present an entirely fair picture, because wherever the Spaniards were in a majority they were likely to use the Flanders standard.

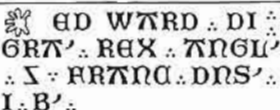
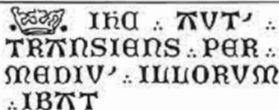
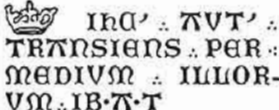
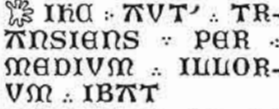
The catalogue of dies which follows is not complete; there are doubtless other pieces of varying styles which I have missed or which may be found in continental cabinets, and this being so, the catalogue is only intended as the basis of a classification, to be revised later on if necessary.

The punches for privy marks have been imitated as closely as possible, but in the case of the crown used on group II I have not thought it worth while to make separate drawings of every punch used, and have contented myself by reproducing the one most repre-

sentative of the general style. Fortunately there is little variation. These crown-punches for groups 1-3 are numbered 1, 2, 3, and 4. The dies are numbered by obverse and reverse, so that they can be distinguished at a glance, and all the coins illustrated are starred.

## CATALOGUE OF DIES


## GROUP I. [Early Style]

No.	Die	Obverse	Reverse	Die
1	O 1 (Pl. A, 5)	 <p>Head 1; rose 1 (copy). Privy mark: sun of eight rays, one broken (as shown). Legend reads clockwise, starting below the sail on the right of the coin. Stops: trefoils of pellets.</p> <p>*a = British Museum. <i>Weight</i>: 117.2 grs. (? = Durlacher Sale (Sotheby, 2 March 1899, lot 71). <i>Weight</i>: not given.)</p>	 <p>Privy mark: crown with a pellet each side (punch no. 1; as shown). Pellet above h Trefoil stops.</p>	R 1 (Pl. A, 6)
2	O 1	<p>Same die, but counter-marked with a cross over keys, for Riga (see Fig. 3).</p>	 <p>Privy mark: crown without pellets (punch no. 1); pellets between letters of IBTT. None above h [?].</p>	R 2 (Pl. A, 7)
3	O 1	<p>Same die, but without the countermark.</p>	 <p>Privy mark: sun (as shown) punched over a crown (?). Pellet above h; trefoil stops.</p>	R 3 (Pl. A, 8)
		<p>*a = Schulman Cat. 1932, Pl. VII, 904 = Ives, Pl. II, 17 (Ives Coll., New York). <i>Weight</i>: not given.</p>		
		<p>*a = Ives Collection, New York (formerly in the possession of Mr. A. H. F. Baldwin). <i>Weight</i>: 117.9 grs.</p>		
		<p>The following examples of this group are recorded but have not been illustrated; they may perhaps be identical with the coins described above: b = Sotheby, Ready Sale, 1920, lot 55. c = Spink, <i>Num. Circ.</i>, Jan.-Feb. 1924, lot 27051, p. 47.</p>		



## GROUP II. c. 1585-7

## GORINCHEM MINT

## CLASS I


No.	Die	Obverse	Reverse	Die
4	O 1 (Pl. B, 4)	<p>ED . . W[TRD]DI' .            GRN . REX . ANGL .            S . FRAT[?] . DNS' .            IB' .</p> <p>Head 2; rose 1 (var. a);            arm 1. Trefoil stops.            Countermarked on the            ship's hull with a shield            containing the arms of            Groningen (a double-            headed eagle; see Fig. 5            on p. 190). A long, nar-            row punch-mark on the            right-hand side of the            field is probably a slip            by the engraver.</p> <p>Both sides of this coin are slightly worn.            *a = British Museum. Weight: 119.2 grs.            *b = " " " 117.4 "            *c = " " " 116.8 "            (A pellet each side of the king's shoulders.)            d = Cambridge. A worn piece. Weight: 107.7 grs.            e = Schulman Sale Cat., Feb. 1939, Pl. vi, 301.            (Reads 'a after FRAT[?], and IHΘ ..... ILLOR-            RVN . on rev). Weight: not given.            (None of these coins (b-e) are countermarked.)</p>	 <p>IHD . AVT' .            TRANSIENS . PER .            MEDIVM' . ILLORV'            . IBAT' .</p> <p>Privy mark: crown            (punch no. 2, as shown).            Trefoil stops.</p>	R 1 (Pl. B, 4)
	(Pl. B, 5) (Pl. B, 6)			(Pl. B, 5) (Pl. B, 6)

## CLASS II


5	O 2 (Pl. B, 7)	<p>ED . . WARD' . DI' .            GRN . REX . ANGL .            S . FRAT' . . DNS' .            IB' .</p> <p>Head 2 a; rose 1 (var. b);            arm 1. Trefoil stops.</p> <p>* = Mr. A. H. F. Baldwin (1945). Weight: 117.3 grs.</p>	 <p>IHD . AVT' .            TRANSIENS . PER .            . MEDIVM' . ILLORV'            . IBAT' .</p> <p>Privy mark: crown            (punch no. 2).</p>	R 2 (Pl. B, 7)
6	O 3 (Pl. C, 1)	<p>ED . . WARD' . DI' .            GRN . REX . ANGL .            S . FRAT' . . DNS' .            IB' .</p> <p>Head 2 a; rose 1 (var. b);            arm 1. Trefoil stops.            This die only varies from            O 2 in having a shield of            the arms of Arkel (see            Fig. 7, p. 192) instead of            a quatrefoil as the cen-            tral decoration on the</p>	 <p>IHD . AVT' .            TRANSIENS . PER .            . MEDIVM' . ILLORV'            . IBAT' .</p> <p>The reverse design is            coarser in execution            than R 2 (crown-punch            no. 2).</p>	R 3 (Pl. C, 1)




## CLASS II—continued

No.	Die	Obverse	Reverse	Die
7	O 4 (Pl. C, 2)	<p>forecastle. There are also slight differences in the placing on the flan.</p> <p>*a = British Museum. <i>Weight</i>: 116.9 grs.  b = Ashmolean Museum. " 116 "  c = Cambridge. " 115.7 "</p> <p>ÐÐ : WTRD : D : G :  RΘG · TNG · M · DNI ·  TR · T · V · Θ' : DNS · I ·  D :</p> <p>A slightly wider and rounder head. The king's shield carries the arms of France and Arkel (quarterly 1st and 3rd, three lys; 2nd and 3rd, two fesses counter-embattled). All Θs and Ūs are reversed, and stops are trefoils and pellets mixed. Arm 1; rose 1 (var. b).</p> <p>*a = The Hague. <i>Weight</i>: 115.7 grs. See Schulman in <i>Congrès Internationale de Numismatique</i>, Brussels, 1891, pp. 580-1 (illustrated).</p>	 , same die (Crown-punch no. 2.)	R 3 (Pl. C, 2)

## CLASS III a

8	O 5 (Pl. C, 3)	<p>ÐÐ : : WTRD' : DI' :  GR · REX · TNGU' :  Σ : RRTN' : DNS' :  IB' :</p> <p>Head 3; rose 2; arm 2.  Trefoil stops. Small As (= T 1).</p> <p>*a = British Museum (= Montagu, <i>Num. Chron.</i> 1893, Pl. III, 1; Montagu Collection).  <i>Weight</i>: 117.4 grains.</p>	 IHD : TVT' : TR · NSIENS · PAR · MEDIUM' : ILLORV' : IBTT : <p>(Crown punch no. 2 as shown.) Neat work; small As (= T 1).</p>	R 4 (Pl. C, 3)
9	O 5	<p>Same die.</p> <p>a = Mr. A. H. F. Baldwin (1945). <i>Weight</i>: 117.3 grs.  b = Ratto (Paris), <i>Sale Cat.</i>, 1939, p. 8, 212 (Pl. VII, 212). <i>Weight</i>: not given.</p>	<p>Same die, but large As (= A 2).</p>	R 4 (var.)

## CLASS III b

10	O 6 (Pl. C, 4)	<p>ÐÐ : : WTRD' : DI' :  GR · REX · TNGU' :  Σ : RRTN · DNS IB' :  Head 3; Rose 2; Arm 3.  Trefoil stops.</p> <p>*a = Cambridge. <i>Weight</i>: 116.7 grs.</p>	 IHD : TVT' : TR · NSIENS · PAR · MEDIUM · ILLORV' : IBTT <p>(Crown punch no. 2 as shown.) Large Ts.</p>	R 5 (Pl. C, 6)
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CLASS III *b*—continued

No.	Die	Obverse	Reverse	Die
10	O 6	<i>b</i> = British Museum. <i>Weight</i> : 115 grs. ( <i>Ex</i> Clarke Thornhill (lot 6416) and Hilton Price collections; found in Paris.) <i>c</i> = Montagu, <i>Num. Chron.</i> , 1893, Pl. III, 2. <i>Weight</i> : 117.5 grs. <i>d</i> = British Museum. <i>Weight</i> : 117.4 grs.		R 5

CLASS III *c*

11	O 7	Same die, but reads <b>DN S' .°. IB' .°.</b>	Same die.	R 5
	(Pl. C, 5)	<i>a</i> = British Museum. <i>Weight</i> : 116.6 grs. <i>*b</i> = Ashmolean. Taken from James II's pocket, 1688. (Obv. only illustrated.) <i>Weight</i> : 117.6 grs. <i>c</i> = Ashmolean. <i>Weight</i> : 117.6 grs. <i>*d</i> = Ashmolean (Christ Church, Wake Bequest, 1737). <i>Weight</i> : 116 grs. <i>e</i> = Ashmolean (Keble College). <i>Weight</i> : 141.2 grs. (This coin has an ornamental rim and a loop for suspension, which accounts for its abnormal weight.) <i>f</i> = Cambridge. <i>Weight</i> : 116 grs.		(Pl. A, 4)

CLASS III *d*




12	O 8	<p><b>EDW/ARD[? : ?] DI .</b>  <b>GRAT . REX . ANGL .</b>  <b>Σ . FRANC . DNS . IB .</b></p> <p>A small square head, unlike anything else in the series. Rose 2; arm 3. Thin lettering. Stops are not clear, but appear to be trefoils all through. No trefoil between <b>ED</b> and <b>W</b>. Very large module. Very small, thin <b>As</b> with tapering limbs.</p>	<p> <b>INΘ' ZEVT'</b>  <b>TRANSIENS PER :</b>  <b>MEDIUM' ILLORV'</b>  <b>IBAT</b></p> <p>(Crown punch no. 2.) The stops are not clearly shown in the photograph, but appear to be present only in one part of the legend—a colon after <b>PER</b>. Abbreviation marks appear after most of the words. Note the form of the <b>π</b> in <b>πVT</b>; it is rather like the <b>ZE</b> in certain Gorinchem issues of the Princess of Chimay.</p>	R 6
		<p><i>a</i> = Montagu, <i>Num. Chron.</i>, 1893, Pl. III, 3. <i>Weight</i>: 117 grs.</p> <p>There are in addition to the coins of group III recorded here many others whose description is too vague to be included; see Sotheby and Glendining, <i>Sale Catalogues</i>, Spink's <i>Numismatic Circular</i>, and a number of doubtfully accurate illustrations in old works such as Bishop Fleetwood's <i>Chronicon Preciosum</i> (1754 ed.), the plates of coins illustrated in the <i>Universal Magazine</i> (1749), and the <i>Pembroke Catalogue</i> (1746).</p>		

## GROUP III

c. 1589-91

## MINT OF CULEMBORG

(Coins Struck for the Ommelanden)

No.	Die	Obverse	Reverse	Die
13	O 1 (Pl. C, 7)	<p>ED . WARD . RÆ .            AN' . MO . ORD . FR-            ISITÆ . TD . . LÆGÆM</p> <p>Large oval head (cf. head 2), small rose (cf. Rose 1); arm resembles no. 2.  (= R) on banner. The arms on the shield are, quarterly, 1st and 4th, three billets, 2nd and 3rd, two lions.</p> <p>*a = The Hague. <i>Weight</i>: 117 grs.</p> <p><i>Note</i>: The obverse legend must be read from left to right, starting near the bottom of the coin in order to get its real meaning—MO ORD FRISITÆ &amp;c.</p>	<p> IHD ANT' . TR-            ANSIONS . POR .            MODIVM ILLORV' .            IBAT</p> <p>(Crown punch no. 3 as shown.)            As are As reversed. Ab-            breviation marks are  <i>below</i> the trefoils.</p>	R 1 (Pl. C, 7)
14	O 2 (Pl. C, 8)	<p>ED WARD . RÆ .            AN' . MO . ORD .            FRISITÆ . TD . .            LÆGÆM .</p> <p>A rougher and squarer head (cf. the Henry noble). Small rose (cf. no. 1). Arm resembles no. 2.  on banner. Arms on the shield: three hearts instead of billets, in the 1st and 4th quarters.</p> <p>*a = The Hague. <i>Weight</i>: 117 grs.</p>	Same die.	R 1 (Pl. C, 8)
15	O 2	<p>Same die, slightly more worn.</p> <p>a = The Hague. <i>Weight</i>: 117 grs.</p>	<p>Similar, but reading IHD,            TRANSSIONS &amp;c.</p>	R 2

The following coins cannot be attributed positively to any one of the groups; their characteristics are in the main "early" for nos. 16 and 17 and "late" for nos. 18-20.


No.	Die	Obverse	Reverse	Die
16		<p>ED WARD' : DI' : GRW' : REX : ANGL' : S : RRRQ : : DNS' : HIB' :</p> <p>Long, oval head with wide, low crown. Rose resembles no. 1. Sword-arm is thick with a point of armour, resembling no. 3, but has an annulet at the wrist (cf. nobles of Henry VI). Lettering is irregular in size, some letters being large, others small. As are fish-tailed. <b>W</b>. Abbreviation marks are large and curved.</p> <p><i>a</i> = British Museum. <i>Weight</i>:<sup>1</sup> 123.4 grs.</p>	<p>✠ INQ' : AVT' : TR- NSIENS' : PAR MADIVM : ILLORV' : I : BTT</p> <p>Privy mark, a small, thick sun (?), double-struck. (as shown). Same characteristic lettering as the obv. Fleurs in the spandrils of the tressure.</p>	
17		<p>ED : : WARD' : DI : GRW' : REX : ANGL' : S : RBTNR : DNS : I' : Oval face (different to 16) with a crown with tall fleurs. Rose resembles no. 1; sword-arm thin (cf. no. 2). Lettering is more widely spaced than on no. 16, and of plainer execution, though a number of the same punches (e.g. <b>Q</b>, <b>W</b>, <b>R</b>) are used. The <b>R</b> of <b>RRNRQ</b> appears to be intended for an <b>R</b>-punch. [Note: this resembles a <b>B</b>.]</p> <p>*<i>a</i> = British Museum. <i>Weight</i>: 116 grs. <i>Note</i>: This coin is much closer to the original English dies than most other foreign pieces.</p>	<p>✠ INQ' : AVT' : TBT- NSIENS : PAR : MA- DIVM : ILLORVM : I : BTT</p> <p>Privy mark: a badly executed cross-fitchy (as shown). Lettering is similar to the obv. Trefoils in spandrils of tressure.</p>	(Pl. A, 8)
18		<p>ED : : WARD : : DI : : GRW' : REX : : ANGL' : : : RBTNR : : DNS' : IB' The style of the head is reminiscent of group I, but the nose is a variant of no. 2, and the arm of no. 3. The initial on the banner is of the form <b>G</b>. Trefoil stops. Thin <b>W</b>s with tapering limbs.</p> <p><i>a</i>: British Museum. <i>Weight</i>: 118.1 grs.</p>	<p>✠ INQ' : AVT' : TR- NSIENS : : PAR : : MADIVM : : ILLOR- VM : : IBTT</p> <p>Privy mark, crown (punch no. 4 as shown). (Style of group I.) Trefoils instead of fleurs in the spandrils of the tressure. Same lettering as obv.</p>	

<sup>1</sup> This unusually heavy piece shows no signs of having been in circulation. It may be a pattern.

## UNCLASSIFIED—continued

No.	Die	Obverse	Reverse	Die
19		<p>..ED WARD' .. DI' ..          GRN' .. RDX' .. AN-          GL J' .. RRND' ..          DNS' .. IB'</p> <p>A small, thin, pointed face, with wide, low crown. The rose resembles no. 2, and the arm no. 1. The royal initial is identical with that on no. 18. The lettering and punctuation are as no. 18, but the R-punch is apparently identical with that on group I (nos. 1-3).</p> <p>*a = British Museum. Weight: 117.1 grs.</p>	 <p>INQ' .. AVT' ..          TRONS' .. PAR' ..          MEDIVM' .. ILLOR-          VM' .. IBTT'</p> <p>Privy mark: boar's head (punched over a crown?) as shown. Lettering and punctuation very like no. 16.</p>	(Pl. A, 9)

The following coin stands by itself in the series. It is certainly late in date.

No.	Die	Obverse	Reverse	Die
20	(Pl. C, 9)	<p>ED WARD' .. DI' ..          GRN' .. RDX' .. ANGL'          .. RRN' .. DNS' ..          IB[...?]</p> <p>A very wide head with a low crown and a pointed chin. Rose resembles no. 2 and arm no. 2. The execution of this coin is very bad.</p> <p>The obverse design appears to have been damaged while being impressed upon the blank, as the edges and the tops of the letters have disappeared.</p> <p>*a = The Hague. Weight: 115.7 grs. (obv. only illustrated).</p>	 <p>INQ' .. AVT' .. TR-          ANSIENS' .. PAR' ..          MEDIVM' .. ILLOR' ..          IBTT'</p> <p>Privy mark, Crown (punch no. 3 as shown). Small, poorly executed lettering as on the obverse. The reverse design is badly drawn and cramped—the sun being very small. Small fleurs in the spandrils of the tressure, and pellets at the corresponding points inside the tressure.</p>	

## OTHER COINS ILLUSTRATED

## PLATE A

1. Noble de Bourgogne ("Flanders noble") of Philippe le Bon (1419-67). [Ashmolean Museum; weight: 103.4 grs.]
2. Contrefaçon of a Henry VI noble ("The Henry noble"). [Ashmolean Museum, Christ Church Collection (Wake Bequest, 1737); weight: 103 grs.]
3. Bristol rose noble of Edward IV, privy mark, crown. [Ashmolean Museum, Christ Church Collection (A. T. Carter donation, 1946); weight: 118.1 grs.]



## PLATE B

1. London rose noble of Edward IV, privy mark, a rose, countermarked for Dantzig. [British Museum.]
2. London rose noble, privy mark, a crown, countermarked for Riga. [British Museum; *ex* Cassal Sale, 1924.]
3. Calais noble of Henry VI, countermarked for Ypres. [Mr. A. H. F. Baldwin, 1945; now in the Ives Collection at New York.]

The history of the rose noble does not end with the sixteenth century, for it continued in circulation for some time afterwards. It has already been said that rose nobles were prohibited in Scotland in 1598; this edict seems to have been ineffective, because rose nobles, together with Henry nobles and nobles of the Dutch provinces, were still circulating in 1612 and 1613.<sup>1</sup> In the latter year the "old" rose noble (by which I understand the proclamation to mean "Edward" rose nobles of any kind) was again prohibited, but afterwards we hear very little of the rose noble in the British Isles. Isolated specimens were probably still to be seen, and were certainly hoarded in England, for one occurs in the Chesham (Bucks.) find, dating from about 1637;<sup>2</sup> a Scottish Act of Parliament of 7 August 1645 rated the rose noble at "eleven punds"<sup>3</sup>.

Abroad, both currencies continued to flourish. The prevalence of the Henry noble in Germany has been shown by the composition of the Fischenich hoard, but there are other finds which indicate that the Netherlands was still the centre of distribution. At Haynk (North Brabant) there was one Henry noble associated with six rose nobles (of which one was certainly a *contrefaçon*), and some angels.<sup>4</sup> The date of this hoard is about 1619-20, and its composition is similar to earlier hoards.

Another find of the same class at Rotterdam included a number of rose nobles, many of them Dutch provincial issues.<sup>5</sup> Two other hoards, contemporary with Fischenich (*c.* 1624-6), contained rose nobles, Monnikendam (Holland)<sup>6</sup> and Neeritter (Limburg).<sup>7</sup> The latter also included Henry VI nobles.

There is no doubt that the circulation of the rose noble was widespread in central and northern Europe at this time; a letter to the Augsburg banker Count Philip Fugger describing the confiscation of the property of the Jew Meisel at Prague in April 1602 lists amongst his money "15,000 pure golden Rosenobles of 4 Florins 5 Kreutzers apiece, making 61,250 florins".<sup>8</sup> From this passage we may conjecture that the rose noble was not regarded as more than a current coin, the florin being the "coin of account" in central Europe.

The extent of the trade currency of rose nobles and Henry nobles is confirmed by the large number of weights issued from Antwerp and Amsterdam in the seventeenth century. At the former city they were

<sup>1</sup> Cochran-Patrick, *op. cit.*, p. 231.

<sup>2</sup> *Num. Chron.*,<sup>3</sup> x (1890), p. 48 f.

<sup>3</sup> Lindsay, *Coinage of Scotland*, 1845, p. 251.

<sup>4</sup> Schulman, *Catalogue*, Amsterdam, Mai 1912.

<sup>5</sup> *Bulletin Mensuel* (Brussels, 1882-3), p. 57.

<sup>7</sup> *Revue Numismatique*, 1908, p. 567.

<sup>6</sup> *Tijdschrift* (iv), 1896, pp. 66 and 96.

<sup>8</sup> *Fugger News Letters*, vol. i, p. 239.

still being made in 1648, and weights for both standards occur in Dutch boxes of scales as late as 1690-1701.<sup>1</sup>

In France the rose noble probably soon fell into disuse, but in the Netherlands and farther north it must have retained its influence for many years. In Denmark it was rated at 4 *Rigsdalers* in 1619 and 1622,<sup>2</sup> and in 1639 Danish mint records speak of Elizabethan and Edward rose nobles as well as the Flemish "Henricus Nobel";<sup>3</sup> the latter was rated at 3 *Rigsdalers*.

It must have been soon after 1650 that the rose noble began to drop out of the European currency, for we find no mention of it in the records after this date; as far as England is concerned this was no doubt due to an almost total disappearance of English hammered gold as a result of the recoinage under William III<sup>4</sup>, and to a complete absence of any hoard material.

The only glimpse of the rose noble which we catch is an unusual one. On 16 December 1688 King James II attempted to leave England. He was stopped at Faversham by some fishermen, who took from his pocket several medals, amongst them a rose noble of group III (Pl. C, 5) which eventually found its way into the Bodleian Library and thence to the Ashmolean Museum. Did James regard this coin merely as a "pocket-piece"—an amulet, medal, or touchpiece—or had it a purchasing power abroad? We may doubt whether it was still in general currency, but undoubtedly it would have been taken by its weight.

There is reason to believe that the life of the rose noble was prolonged further in certain parts of Europe; a French author, Abot de Bazinghen, writing in 1764, gives the following interesting information under the headings of *Noble à la Rose*, *Rose-Noble* (i.e. the Dutch *Rozenoble*), and *Noble Henry*.<sup>5</sup>

"NOBLES à la rose, ancienne monnoie d'or d'Angleterre, qui à present n'y a presque plus de cours . . . on en voit encore en Hollande, ou ils sont reçut pur le pied de 11 florins."

"NOBLE HENRY, autre monnoie d'or d'Angleterre de 14 grains moins pésent que le nobles à la rose, & seulement de fin à 23 karats & demi" [the rose noble was 23 carats  $3\frac{3}{4}$  grains fine]. And again:

"ROSE NOBLE. Monnaie d'or que se fabrique en Hollande, & qui y a cours pour onze florins."

Evidently rose nobles were taken by weight in the Netherlands; Abot implies that those rated at 11 florins were English, but it is likely that they included the old "Edward" *contrefaçons*, of whose continental origin Abot was unaware.

<sup>1</sup> e.g. the box illustrated in *Brit. Num. Journ.* vi (1909), p. 292, and in Sheppard and Musham, *Money Scales and Weights*, p. 15, Fig. 12. I have seen another in which both rose noble and guinea weights are included. There is no proof that both currencies were used at the same time.

<sup>2</sup> *Beskrivelse over Danske Mynter og Medailler* (Copenhagen, 1791), p. xxvi.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, p. xxxv; a list dated 8 June 1639.

<sup>4</sup> Loundes, *A Report containing an Essay for the Amendment of the Silver Coins*, 1695, p. 99.

<sup>5</sup> *Traité des Monnoies et de la Jurisdiction de la Cour des Monnoies, en Forme de Dictionnaire* (Paris, 1764), t. ii, under the letters N (p. 322), and R (p. 581).

Stray specimens of rose nobles and their copies may still have been taken at bullion value in England as late as 1732; a proclamation of that year mentioned that a number of old gold issues, notably those of Edward VI, Elizabeth, and James I, were still being taken by weight, and ordered all coins of "Angel gold" to be brought to the mint for recoining into current coin as soon as possible.<sup>1</sup>

After this the rose noble entirely disappears, except as a curiosity. Snelling does not mention it in his work on the European coinage of his own time,<sup>2</sup> but he does give a picture of a Flanders noble (The "Old Flemish noble") and a Dutch rose noble at the end of his tables of the quantity of standard gold.<sup>3</sup> These are merely illustrations taken from much earlier placards and are not evidence for their circulation in Snelling's time.

In its last stages the rose noble presents a curious parallel to the late Roman gold issues which were considered obsolete in early Saxon times and became jewellery, being mounted and looped. This is surely the case with a coin of group III in the Ashmolean which has an ornamental rim and a loop for suspension (see catalogue no. 11 e).

#### NOTE

Since I wrote this paper Dr. Herbert Ives of the American Numismatic Society has published more information about countermarked nobles (Amer. Num. Soc., *Museum Notes*, ii, 1947, pp. 53 ff.).

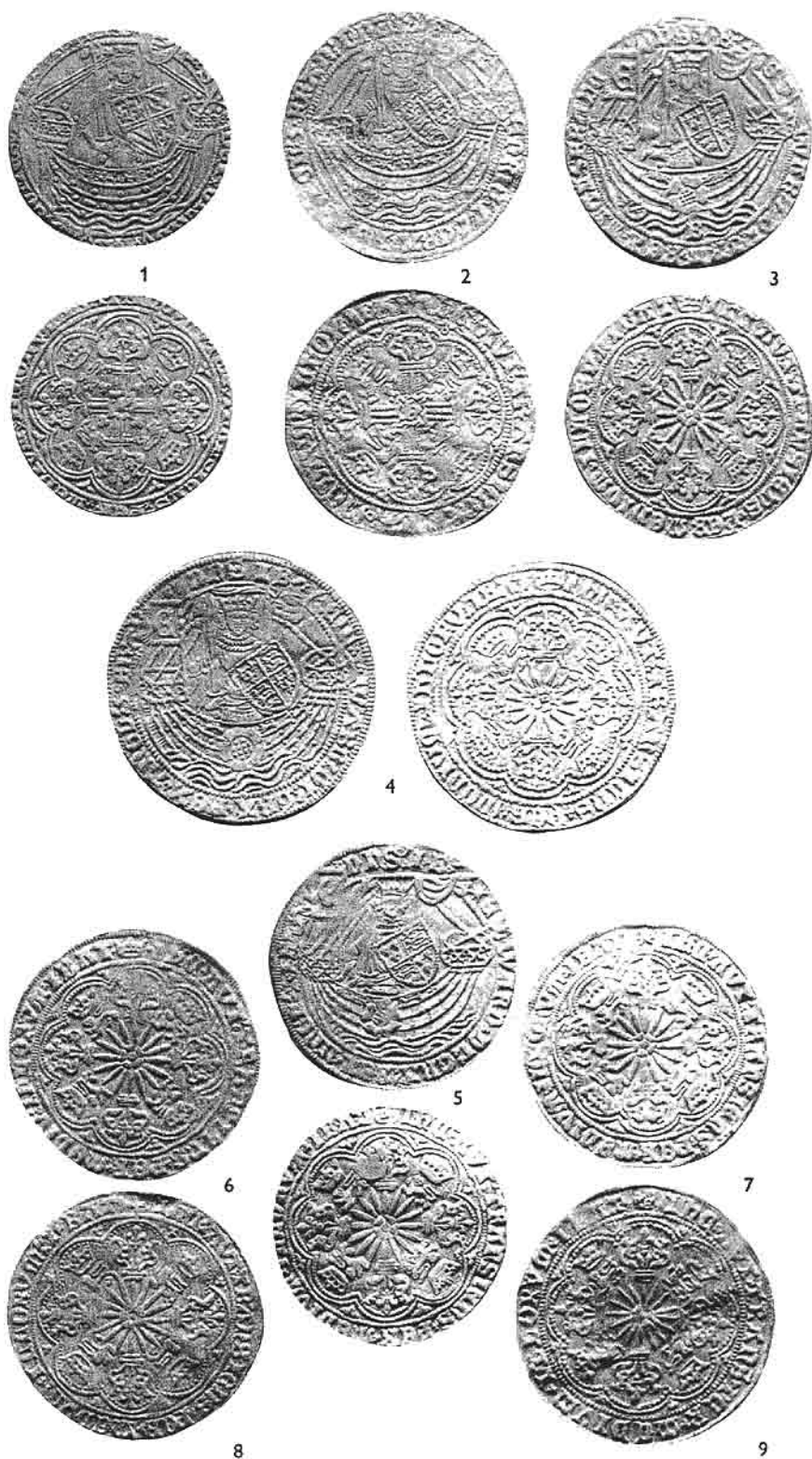
In this exceedingly useful monograph Dr. Ives has summarized the information at present known about all the counter-stamps so far recorded, and he has been able to illustrate several new specimens. In the course of these notes he tentatively attributes the Riga stamp to the siege of that city by Gustavus Adolphus in 1621; this is considerably later than I put it, and although Dr. Ives has not been able to support his idea with any evidence, I agree with him that 1621 is as likely a date as any other for the stamp, and accordingly wish to modify my statement (p. 190 above).

*Museum Notes* has reached me too late for two of the pieces described there to be included in my illustrations and catalogue of dies. The first is a new specimen of the Arkel rose noble of group II, class II (no. 7 in my catalogue; O 4/R 3; see **Pl. III, 2**). It is from the same dies as The Hague coin, but is counterstamped for Riga. It figured in the Preiss Collection (*Egger Sale Cat.*, 16 Nov. 1874) as lot 4584. The second coin is also a new variety; it is a rose noble of Gorinchem, group II, class I, slightly varied from those described in my catalogue, and counterstamped for the town of Bommel in Gelderland (siege of 1599). This stamp is a shield bearing the municipal arms of two roses, with a rampant lion in the upper left-hand canton (*Museum Notes*, p. 57; **Pl. x, 7**).

<sup>1</sup> Proclamation of 21 Feb. 1732; summarized by Ruding, *Annals* (ii), p. 74, footnote 3.

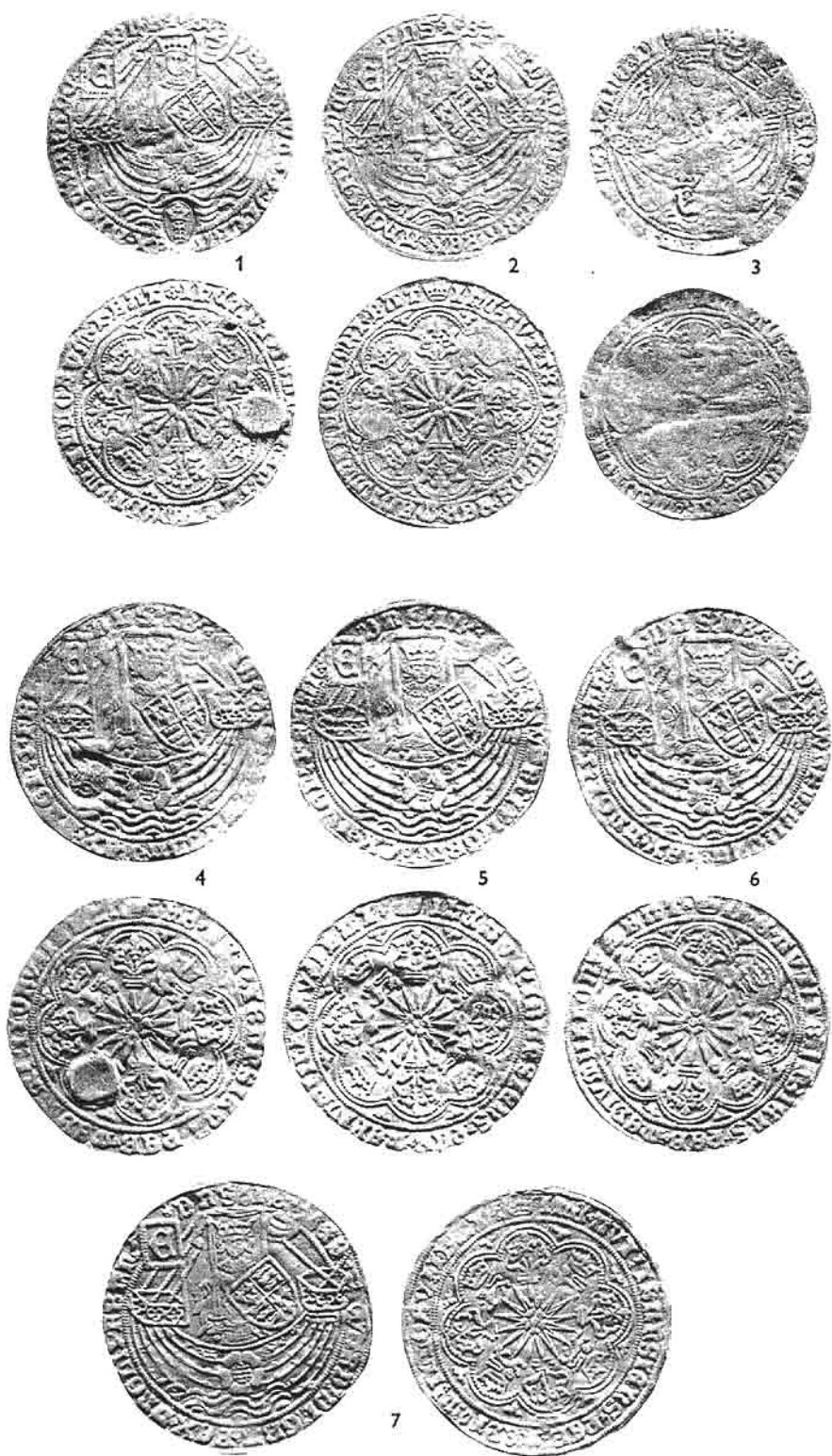
<sup>2</sup> *A View of the Coins at this time Current throughout Europe* (London, 1766).

<sup>3</sup> *Doctrine of Gold and Silver Computations* (London, 1766).



ROSE NOBLE IMITATIONS





ROSE NOBLE IMITATIONS







1



2



3



4



5



7



6



8



7



9



8

ROSE NOBLE IMITATIONS

