



NEWSLETTER

The Journal of the London Numismatic Club

Joint Honorary Editors of Newsletter

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EDITORIAL

This long delayed issue is at last about to "go to press". We have had more than the usual difficulties in obtaining texts of talks from speakers. Observant readers will notice that, for the first time during our editorship, there are no full length reports of talks - two were promised but never materialised. It can be difficult for our Programme Secretary to obtain speakers; for us to obtain a text from the speaker is like getting the proverbial blood from a stone. Does it matter if the Newsletter does not reproduce talks? Traditionally that has been its function, but we have always tried to include articles and news items as well. It would be good to have some response from our readers - a letter perhaps for publication, a review of a recent book or an article?

As compensation this issue has a wider variety of pieces than usual - 8 articles (one, sadly, an obituary of Philip Greenall, as promised in our last number) including 2 reports on numismatic events. One of the latter is written, as is all too often the case, by one of your editors, the other by our Madrid Correspondent. We also have the novelty of 2 letters, a trend we would like to continue. We can only apologise to our correspondents for taking so long to publish their communications and hope it won't put them, and others, off. Letters, especially critical ones, are always welcome. If you attend a numismatic event why not consider writing a report for us? It does not need to be long and we would prefer your impressions to a summary of the talks. Talks are often published after a congress, study day etc. either as a group or individually, but the day itself is forgotten. We would like to know whether you enjoyed it, learnt anything from it, met interesting numismatists, liked the food, thought the presentation of talks was good, have any advice for the organisers of future events of a similar sort - and would you go again? BANS Congresses are probably well known to most Members but what about reporting on the less well known goings on as well? *We* look forward to your contributions.

CLUB NEWS

We are sorry to have to record the deaths of 3 Members - L.B. Yates, Peter Seaby and Wilfred Slayter - and one Honorary Member - Maj. Gen. Eric Cole. *We* hope to print obituaries in our next issue.

New Members: Robert Hatch, Robert and Pamela Williams, Sandra Rueff, Stuart Williams, Frances Simmons, Robert Gough, Charles Riley.

Honorary Life Membership has been awarded to: Norman Sears. Resignations:

G.Padwick, C.Hanson, D.Huntingford, C.M.Sayers. Removals for non-payment:

S.Noyes, P.Vecchi, N.F.Weijer.

AUCTION RESULTS: 84th Club Auction held on 7th November 1991:

86 lots were offered for sale of which 72 were knocked down for £407.50. Club commission amounted to £40.75.

Results of the 85th Club Auction held on 9th June 1992:

103 lots were offered for sale, 33 failed to find a buyer. Total sales were £362.50 of which the Club received £67.30 in commissions and donations. Top price paid was £34 for Addison on Ancient Medals, 1769, a book kindly donated by a Member for Club funds.

Results of the 86th Club Auction held on 5th November 1992

91 lots were offered for sale of which 24 failed to sell. Total realised was £340.50 of which the Club received £34.05. Top price paid was £30 for a Constantius II siliqua of Arles.

As usual *we* would like to thank our sales room correspondent, Tony Gilbert, for his promptness in providing these figures.

THE COINAGE OF MEXICO A talk delivered to the club on 8 April 1992 by Professor Ted Buttrey.

Prof. Buttrey's talk, illustrated by excellent slides, was a general look at the coinage of Mexico and did not attempt to cover all its aspects. He began with a brief history of Mexico before going on to survey the coinage. The text which follows is not so much a summary of the talk as "edited highlights". The Editors are grateful to Tony Gilbert for his summary and to Prof. Buttrey for amending and correcting the text.

In 1821 Mexico successfully broke away from Spanish rule and after a brief time as an Empire the Republic was established in 1823. Mints continued to strike the same denominations, of the same gold and silver fineness, as they had under Colonial and Imperial rule but the designs were changed. Appropriate national symbols appeared of which the eagle with a snake in its beak and the cap of liberty in front of a sunburst are perhaps the best known. Legends were from now on in Spanish, not Latin. At this time Mexico was far larger than the modern state, extending further to the north, up into present day USA beyond San Francisco, and south almost as far as Panama. During the C19th up to 14 mints operated, though never more than 11 were striking in any one year.

Mint machinery varied considerably from place to place and this, along with inadequate central control, resulted in considerable variation in style, fabric and fineness. Flans were not always round, and one mint, San Luis Potosi, had no machinery for cutting blanks from rolled sheets of metal. Instead it had to cast them, the resulting coins being of poor quality when compared with the products of other mints. In

spite of an abundance of local bullion, purity of the silver was often poor either because of carelessness or dishonesty on the part of the mint lessee.

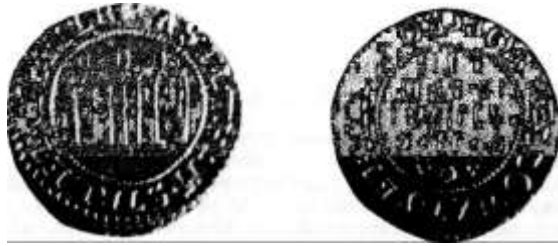
In the middle of the C19th the Mexican Republic, wanting to make the best impression abroad, especially in Europe, decided to go decimal. The process began with the issue of 1, 5 and 10 centavo coins in 1863. The Empire, under Maximilian introduced a complete decimal system. When the Republic was re-established it tried to continue the decimal coinage but ran into problems with one denomination - the 1 peso. This coin had exactly the same intrinsic value as the old 8 reals coin but was 2mm smaller. These 2mm, and the new type, counted against it in Mexico's trade with China, and since the export of coined silver was a significant part of Mexico's foreign trade the government was obliged to withdraw the new coin and replace it with an old fashioned "8R" to satisfy the Chinese. In Mexico it was regarded as 1 peso coin made up of 100 centavos.

During the first 40 years of the Republic one of the most pressing political problems was whether Mexico should be a Federal Republic (i.e. an association of free states) or a Central Republic (i.e. where the states were only departments of the central government). Mints were sometimes set up principally as a symbol of sovereignty, though they were often kept on if they were sufficiently profitable to help the local government get out of its normal state of bankruptcy.

Probably the most interesting period of Mexico's coinage is that of the Civil War. The revolutionary leader, Zapata, issued coins in 1914 and 1915. Some of his silver coins contained a very small proportion of gold and the amount of this gold is stated on the coin. For example the 2 pesos of 1914-15 have the inscription "ORO: 0,595" across the rays of the sun, though the actual weights of the coins vary enormously between 17gms and 30 gms. The 1 peso piece was inscribed 'ORO: 0.300". Lower value coins contained no gold. The state of Oaxaca, under the governorship of Jose Inez Davila, also indicated the gold content of some coins. The base gold 20, 10 and 5 pesos stated that they contained 0.175% gold, while a different issue of 5 pesos had the inscription "AG 0.902 AU 0.010".

Any study of Mexican coins should include the fascinating series of base metal hacienda tokens, often denominated in fractions of the real even after the introduction of decimal coinage, issued as local currency. As is often the case with such issues there are a wide variety of designs with the quality of striking varying from good to abysmal.

Prof. Buttrey delivered his talk with his usual enthusiasm and it was much enjoyed by the audience, none of whom seemed to notice that it went on for longer than the usual hour!



A BAYNARDS CASTLE TOKEN: PHILIP GREENALL'S SHORT TALK TO THE MEMBERS' EVENING 1990 summarised by Stella Greenall.

Philip Greenall opened the Members' Own Evening in August 1990 with a five minute talk, illustrated by two of his slides. The first shewed a section of what is known as the "Agas" map, compiled early in Elizabeth's reign, and published in 1979 by the London Topographical Society as "The A to Z of Elizabethan London". Philip's slide shewed a small stretch of the north bank of the Thames from Black Friars past Puddle Wharf to Paul's Wharf. In the centre was "Baynardes Castel", and he asked Members particularly to notice how Baynard's Castle was drawn - verticals, gables, windows, and so on.

The second slide shewed a C17th halfpenny token (No. London 3100A) issued by "ROB: HELLOW . AT . YE . BAYNORDS+// CASTEL: THAM . STREET . CHANLR++". The obverse depicted a rendering of Baynard's Castle which Philip hoped Members would agree was very similar to the map's picture of a hundred years earlier - and he wondered whether it might perhaps have been drawn from the map?

Philip hoped his talk would also serve to remind Members of the many happy evenings they had all spent in the Baynard's Castle pub in the old Bible House days.



REPORT ON THE LIBRARY EVENING 3rd July 1991

Members can have no excuse for not knowing that the Club has a magnificent library but few seem to make much use of it. Unfortunately housing the library and providing easy access to it has always been a problem and one that has again become acute. Owing to redevelopment at the Institute of Archaeology the library has been moved several times and is threatened with eviction. At present it is in two cupboards in an unused lecture room but how long it can remain there is uncertain. To add to the complications the key to one of the cupboards has vanished. On the bright side an up to date classified library list is now available to members.

The "Library Evening" which took place in the aforementioned lecture room was remarkably well attended and many members, physically confronted with the books, took advantage of the opportunity to borrow them. Peter Clayton, Marcus Phillips, Philip Rueff, Peter Kincaid, Tony Gilbert and David Sealy gave short, informal talks on the various categories of library holdings. A brief discussion of the library's future ended with the decision to await developments at the Institute and to try and find a more satisfactory location for our books in the light of the former. If any member has any new ideas or thoughts on the subject please get in touch with the Hon. Librarian, Philip Rueff.

THE 1991 AUGUST MEETING - a report by the Editors

Many clubs do not have meetings in the summer but it has always seemed to us worthwhile to keep some form of activity going during the interminable months when the academics are on holiday for the benefit of those members condemned to be in London. This year's meeting was better organised than the last with six speakers (too many) giving talks of consistently high quality - far better in our opinion than some full length talks we have heard by invited outsiders. The attendance - 12 - was pitiful in view of the work the speakers had done. We can only emphasise that the absentees missed a stimulating evening which, although it went on too long, did not seem like a long time to any one except the poor porter waiting to go home.

Susan Tyler-Smith discussed an altered Arab-Sasanian die which she attributed to Sasanian partisans rather than the devil worshippers preferred by Mochiri. Niall Fairhead discussed the Sbeitla (Tunisia) Hoard of small denomination Byzantine copper rearranging Hahn's order of the Carthage pentanummia of Justinian I. Tony Portner reviewed the Monte Judica Hoard and the finer points of mint identification of 6th century Byzantine gold, especially from the mint of Sicily.

David Rogers dealt with the last silver halfpennies and farthings in the English series and also his rearrangement of

Mark Blackburn's new ordering of the coins of Henry I. One fascinating suggestion was that Brooke Type 6 (King pointing to 3 stars) refers to extraordinary stella phenomena mentioned by several writers in 1106. He also shewed a new variety with 4 stars! Tony Holmes illustrated some rare Axumite coins in gold, silver and bronze and finally the President shewed some attractive, recent (and by English standards remarkably cheap) medals relating to Egyptian archaeology together with sides of the sites in question.

THE 1992 AUGUST MEETING - a report by the Editors

The organiser (ST-S) of this year's Members' Evening learned from her mistakes last year and asked only four Members to give short talks. One speaker, David Rogers, very obligingly offered to speak last and for as long or short as necessary, so in fact we were able to squeeze in an extra speaker, David Sealy, who because of a letter received the day before from J.S.Sainsbury was able to give us a five minute talk.

John Malcolm started off the evening with an introduction to POW tokens of the Boer War, WW1 and WW2. Gavin Scott in a talk titled "Cortini" discussed tokens used in magic shows and illustrated his points using an overhead projector (a first for the Club at the Institute of Archaeology?). Norman Clarkson told how he had at last managed to identify fully a Roman coin of Vespasian with the legend VICTORIA NAVILIS which he had had in his collection for 30 years. David Sealy had recently written to J.S.Sainsbury asking for information on one of their own tokens - fortunately their reply had arrived just in time for the Members' Evening. David Rogers finished the evening with "Bits" - a number of short snippets illustrated by his own (good) and the British Museum's (poor and expensive) slides.

There was a good and varied display of material for Members to look at afterwards. John Malcolm and Norman Clarkson had brought along tokens and coins to illustrate their talks Stella Greenall exhibited some photographs of our Members Evening two years ago and invited Members to take any they would like. She also shewed a cut d. David Sealy exhibited his token and the letter and information he had received from Sainsburys. David Rogers brought along a weight.

Attendance was up on last year in spite of problems getting into the Institute, which because it was the summer holidays had locked the front door at 6.00 pm. Various Members took it in turns to stand by the door and press the button to let people in and after 6.30pm MSP went to the door every 5 minutes to let in late comers. The evening finished in the Lord John Russell pub with a larger than usual attendance.

PHILIP DALTON GREENALL 25.4.1915 to 21.5.1991

As we reported briefly in the last issue Philip Greenall, our Past President, died in May. The funeral was attended by a large number of Club members as well as other friends from the numismatic world. We knew of course that Philip's interests and activities were wide ranging but we did not appreciate just how far these extended until we heard Marion Archibald's funeral address which we now reproduce with her and Stella's permission.

We have come together in great sadness to mourn with Stella the loss of her beloved husband, and to give thanks for the life of our relative, friend, and colleague Philip Greenall whose intellectual gifts and warm personality have so enriched our own lives.

All of us realised that Philip had very broad interests many of which lay outside those concerns which *we* shared with him. Few of us can have been aware of their full extent for Philip was a modest man who - while aware of his own ability and worth - felt no need or inclination to advertise his achievements. His high standing in an astonishingly large number of professional and voluntary activities became known to us, if at all, only gradually and incidentally. I am therefore heavily indebted to Stella who in spite of her distress, was able to provide details of what, to me, were several previously unsuspected aspects of Philip's multi-faceted life.

Philip Dalton Greenall was born at Mill Hill, North London, on the 25th of April 1915, but some of the happiest hours of his childhood were spent in Harrogate where he was sent to live with his grandmother to avoid the Zeppelin raids. Although he had latterly lived for many years in Hampstead, and had taken it and its people to his heart, he still retained a great affection for his old haunts in Mill Hill and Harrogate and for his friends there. Loyalty was ever one of the keys to Philip's character.

He enjoyed a sunny primary education at St. Antony's School, Mill Hill, going on to Christ's College, Finchley, where his gift for mathematics became increasingly apparent. When he reached the sixth form, however, he felt, like all too many clever young people in the Twenties and Thirties, that his duty required him to forgo any thoughts of further education, and to get a job to help the family finances. Fortunately, Philip was later able to win a scholarship to read mathematics at University College, London, but he never forgot the misery and frustration of copying out endless insurance claims by hand in the offices of the Yorkshire Insurance Company in Cornhill. This experience was one of the formative influences in Philip's life-long concern that every child should have the opportunity to reach its full potential.

His university career was crowned with success and after gaining his MSc he remained for a time as a Demonstrator at his college. Then, after a brief time tutoring Grand Duke Vladimir, the senior surviving heir of the Romanovs he taught mathematics at Irmstone Grammar School, Manchester and at Merchant Taylors, London.

When the Second World War began Philip joined the Royal Air Force and spent most of the war in RAF Training Command at Yatesbury where he attained the rank of Squadron Leader.

After the war he joined the Civil Service and had a distinguished career in various scientific departments, rising to become Head of the Grants Division of the Department of Scientific and Industrial Research from 1957-62. In this post he had the highly responsible job of administering government grants to science, first in the universities and colleges and latterly in industry. Among the scores of projects which landed on his desk was the Jodrell Bank Radio Telescope, the traumas of which, he used to joke, had caused him to go both grey and bald. Nonetheless, these were for Philip happy and fruitful years when his many talents were used to the full: his wide academic knowledge and statistical flair, his meticulous care to establish the facts of each case, his inventiveness in thinking out simple but effective solutions to complex problems and, not least, his diplomatic skills in reconciling the conflicting interests and personalities involved.

As a Civil Servant, Philip was respected by colleagues and clients alike for his intelligence, his fairness and sound judgement, and also for a complete lack of any self-seeking on his own part.

This time was made even more memorable for Philip since his work with post graduate awards led to his meeting the very clever and charming lady who was to become his wife. Philip and Stella had the same high ideals, shared many interests, and were to make each other wonderfully and enduringly happy.

In his retirement Philip managed to fit in an unbelievably wide range of interests and voluntary public service, without ever short changing any of them. His concern for education at all levels led him to serve as a governor of three local schools and of Westfield College in the University of London, as well as being chairman of the Camden Adult Education Institute for six years. His interest in the history of Hampstead and Highgate and his concern for local conservation issues were marked by service on no fewer than eight more local committees. He was, for example, chairman of the Church Row Association during the worrying and hectic "hole in the road" crisis. In recent years he took a leading part in the campaign to save the Church Row cottages from the threat of development, and it is particularly sad that its very recent successful outcome will now have to be celebrated without Philip. Another of his local

concerns was the Hampstead Community Centre on whose Management Committee he served; Philip was regularly to be found enjoying a coffee with his friends there on Saturday afternoons.

In retirement Philip could also resume an active role in the affairs of the Labour Party. He had been Chairman of the Mill Hill branch of the Hendon Labour Party as early as 1936-7, when he must have been all of 21 or 22 years old. He was also a former Chairman of the Camden Co-operative Society, and was currently a member of the general and the executive committees of the Hampstead and Highgate Labour Party. He was a leading member of the Central London Fabian Society, and was Chairman of its Schools' Committee. Throughout his membership of over 50 years in the Labour Party, Philip maintained his Attlee-style rational approach; his loyal and much-valued services were acknowledged in 1990 by the award of the Labour Party National Executive Committee's Award of Merit, an honour which Philip was very proud to receive. We shall not however *see* a photograph of the ceremony in the impressive and moving display of Philip's retirement activities which Stella has set up for us to look at downstairs. Although we all remember Philip as invariably armed with a camera, if not - characteristically - two in case one of them should fail, the award had been kept such a closely guarded secret that neither he nor Stella was carrying one on this occasion.

Photography was one of Philip's abiding interests, not to say passions. He was no mere happy snapper, but understood the optical principles involved which ensured that he achieved good results even under the most adverse conditions, such as taking stills from the moving images on a television screen. In Philip's massive archive of photographs are many now historic shots of leading Labour politicians in their salad days. His photographs have appeared in the biography of Hugh Dalton, the autobiography of Jim Callaghan, in the Fabian Society's Centenary Exhibition, and in the pages of one of the better Sunday supplements. A delightful photograph of Hugh Gaitskell mowing his lawn deserves equally wide circulation.

Philip's photographic talents were also used with innovative flair in his other major interest: numismatics. He formed an excellent collection of local seventeenth century trade tokens, and was proud that he had one piece which was not in the British Museum. His object however was not mere acquisition; he researched deeply into their social and historical context, and into the lives of the local people who had issued them. His second major numismatic interest was rather more exotic - the coins of the Republic of Venice which are both visually so attractive and historically so rewarding. Philip was frequently invited to lecture to numismatic and historical societies and found appreciative audiences for his carefully researched and well-presented papers characteristically enlivened by wryly humorous touches.

Philip, with Stella, was also a most active member and supporter of the Royal and British Numismatic Societies and of the congresses and courses arranged by the British Association of Numismatic Societies. It is, however, with the London Numismatic Club that Philip was most closely identified. He was its President from 1981-1983 during a rather difficult period when it had to find new premises, and he eventually saw it happily settled in its present home in the Institute of Archaeology.

As if all that were not enough, Philip was also a Fellow of the Royal Statistical Society and of the British Psychological Society. He had, in addition, a remarkable fund of knowledge on some surprising subjects. Few men, for example, could have put Ray Buckton right on the arcane point of the design of a steam locomotive's fire box.

Philip was a man of great intellect with wide interests, who enjoyed a successful career, cared deeply for the welfare of people and their environment, and worked loyally and effectively for the many causes he espoused. *We* honour his contribution in all these fields with admiration and gratitude but we shall remember Philip more than anything for his essential humanity, for his kindness, his sense of fair play, his lack of all pretense or side, his endearing and generally self-mocking humour. Our own sadness is heartfelt, but we think particularly at this moment of Stella and assure her of our love and our sympathy in her great loss.

ORIENTAL NUMSIMATIC SOCIETY. STUDY DAY ON ARAB BYZANTINE COINS BRITISH MUSEUM 4 APRIL 1992 by Marcus Phillips.

The idea was ours. Joe Cribb suggested the title "Study Day". The aim was to combine the informality of ONS meetings with a structure that would produce something of value and stop people getting bored.

The last may require explanation. In their heyday ONS meetings were well attended with masses of coins being exhibited, exchanged and sold. Somehow the collectors dropped out and the supply of coins dwindled - a universal complaint. People met and chatted, someone gave the odd talk, but after a while it began to flag. At the same time *we* eschewed "symposium", "colloquium" or, worst of all, the grotesquely pretentious "workshop", all reminiscent of lots of slides and talk but not a single coin in sight.

The theme of Arab-Byzantine suggested itself. It was a radical departure for a Society which seemed to be increasingly monopolised by Indian and Chinese specialists. More to the point it was a field deliberately avoided by specialists since it involves venturing onto each other's territories but where

local collectors (most of them LNC members who, in the event, numbered 9 out of 23 participants) have considerable expertise. We had *seen* enough unsorted Lebanese material in the last couple of years to become convinced that the Arab Byzantine series contained a higher percentage of unpublished coins than any other.

Selecting a date, even months in advance, proved to be tricky and, in the event, we not only clashed with the BANS Congress at Bournemouth but also the end of Ramadan. It proved less auspicious for me since I had a bad cold and for Joe Cribb who was unable to attend for family reasons. More fortunately all the invited speakers were able to perform, Steve Mansfield's article on a group of hitherto unknown Byzantine imitations appeared just in time to be available for inspection, and Henri Pottier was able to come over from Belgium with his valuable collection of Heraclius imitations.

The Study Day itself was held in the Students' Room in the Coin & Medal Department. This was rather cramped but it was secure and books from the departmental library could be fetched. The original idea was to have formal papers in the morning, a break for lunch and informal discussion in the afternoon. Subsequently it was thought better to hold one paper over to the afternoon as a means of getting discussion going. Andrew Oddy supplied hand outs in the form of a map and a comprehensive time chart which probably deserves to be published in its own right.

Two introductory lectures were given by STS and myself on the historical and numismatic background respectively. Tony Goodwin suggested a provisional arrangement for the imitations of Constans II, a vast series and almost wholly neglected on the grounds that, being "barbarous" it does not exist. Helen Brown discussed the Arabic (Pahlavi?) imitations of Sicilian folles of Constans II and Andrew Oddy charted his progress in studying the Gerash and Scythopolis imitations of Justin II.

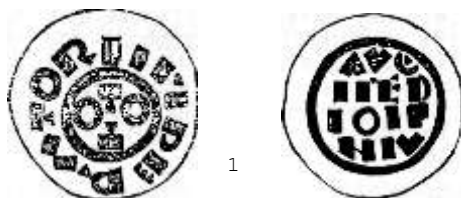
Although BM coins were excluded (they can after all be examined any time) collectors, although at first a little diffident, soon felt sufficiently secure to hand round coins and no losses were reported (though someone did set the Museum alarm off). There is no substitute for examining coins particularly countermarks which are very important in this series. People who had been working and collecting in isolation gained information and contacts if nothing else. The only, slight, disappointment was that too many people dropped out after lunch.

Goodwin's paper should appear as an ONS special publication while Oddy 's is booked for the Num. Chron. Quite when and if the other paper's will be published is uncertain. The day was generally held to be a success and it has been proposed to hold a follow up session early in July 1993.

ELEVENTH CENTURY COINS OF MILAN by Marcus Phillips

Cup shaped pennies of Milan, so called scodellati, issued in the name of an "Emperor Henry" are one of the more frequently encountered medieval coins. There is, unfortunately, no reliable work in English which the non-specialist can refer to should he encounter one. The purpose of this note is to give a guide to the chronology of the commoner types and also to discuss the metrology of the early issues in the light of a small (part) hoard.

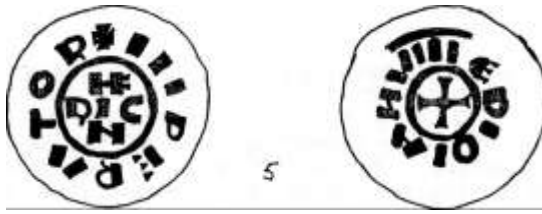
The current classification is that of Murari (1981) This is an improvement on the CNI (1914) but not without its problems. The issues of the German emperors begin with Otto I (967-73) whose coins can only be distinguished from those of Otto II and III (973-1002) by their respective weights. (fig 1) The earlier ones varying between 1.3gm and 1.7gm the later ones between 1 and 1.25gm. In between come joint issues of Otto I and II which can be distinguished by their different legends.



Leaving aside the rare issues of Arduin and Archbishop Arnolf (1002-4) we have the first issue of Henry II (1004-1024), also scarce which has the monogram as fig 2. His substantive type is as figure 3. Pennies of his successor Conrad (1026-39) vary only in their monogram. (fig 4.)

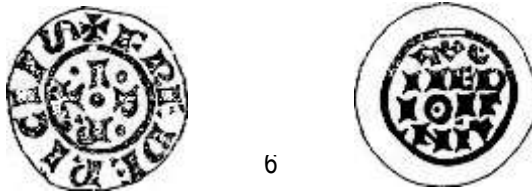


For its next type the mint adopted a circumscriptional legend around a cross on the reverse (fig 5). Quite when this issue started is uncertain but Murari plausibly rejects the idea that it was ever used by Henry II. He is unable, however, to be more precise than Henry III-V (1039-1125). He does, however, indicate the way the type evolved. By now the weights varied between 0.9gm and 1.00gm.



The most commonly encountered type which was hitherto given to Henry III-V, a much smaller coin with the same legends but obviously inferior alloy, was first struck according to Murari in the reigns of Lothar II and Conrad III (1125-1152), the name "Henry" being by now immobilised. Contemporaries knew this coin as the "terzolo" because its alloy was one third silver though the earliest known reference to it is 1158. There are suggestions that it may be the "new penny" referred to as being half the value of an old Milanese penny in a document of 1117.

In 1163, following the capture of Milan, Frederick Barbarossa issued a new coin called the "Imperiale" (fig. 6) which was twice the value of the existing Milanese coins, and did his best to enforce its circulation throughout northern Italy. The vast majority of surviving examples were struck by the Milanese themselves who subsequently copied the type but continued to issue *terzoli* as half pennies to the *Imperiale*. According to Murari the early *terzoli* can be distinguished by the absence of wedges in the field.



One snag with Murari's new arrangement is the presence of a *terzolo*, with wedges, in the Fjalkinge hoard apparently deposited in the late 11th century. (Malmer 1985: 65 #362) The piece may be intrusive but the hoard is normally regarded as being reliably recorded. If further *terzoli* appear in properly documented 11th century hoards that part of Murari's classification will have to be abandoned.

In the study of long sequences of immobilised types changes in weight and fineness become critical. They are particularly important in the study of medieval Italian coinage because so few hoards are recorded, but where there are a number of documentary references to the supposed value of currency. Most of the data on fineness comes from chemical analyses made in the 19th century. Scholars of the time were prepared to sacrifice surprising numbers of coins but they did not always

leave precise enough records of the coins thus destroyed. Murari (1981: 33) reproduces the following data on fineness with the comment that it requires confirmation.

Otto I	0.930
Henry II	0.770
Conrad II	0.700
Henry IV	0.520
Frederick I	0.500

The key contemporary source for Lombardic mint standards is the Honorantie Civitatis Papię (Bruhl & Violante 1985). The original was composed very early in the 11th century though the only text is a copy made about 1400. The document is an attempt to reassert regalian rights in Lombardy and may therefore be more of a list of imperialist desiderata rather than an accurate record of contemporary fact.

Paragraph 7 and 8 of the Honorantie describe a guild or corporation of master moneyers, 9 at Pavia, 4 at Milan, who exercised jurisdiction over other moneyers and ensured that they did not strike coins below the required standards of weight and fineness. At Pavia the latter being specified as 10d fine or 83% silver.

ut numquam faciant peiores denarios, quam semper fecerunt de pondere et argento de duodecim in decem (1)

this corresponds reasonably well with the data given by Brambilla (1884: 191,199) for the Pavia penny though again these are based on isolated specimens and need confirmation.

	weight (gm)	fineness
Otto I	1.34-1.24	0.850
Otto I & II	1.424-1.070	
Otto II	1.212-1.023	
Otto III	1.279-1.010	0.810
Henry II	1.359-1.300	0.780

The Honorantie also apparently specifies that coins Milan should be struck on the exactly the same standard as that of Pavia

et cum consilio camerarii Papiensis denarios Mediolanenses facere tam bonos de argento et pondere sicut denarii Papiensis, et cambiare eos per unum denarium solidos.

This last phrase which literally means "to exchange them (i.e.

1. I have followed the interpretation of Grierson (1957:463) and Cipolla (1975:39) against that of Bruhl & Violante (1983:50) who insist that there is unanimous agreement that the phrase refers to the moneyers' commission.

pennies of Milan) for one penny shillings" has been interpreted in various ways none of them satisfactory. If shilling is meant to be in the singular then it could mean that the money changers were to charge a penny in the shilling for changing coins which were of equivalent value. Alternatively there could be a number missing in front of "solidos", a two or a three perhaps, which would make the commission more reasonable. But under what circumstances would such exchanges be necessary ? Unfortunately the Honorantie says nothing about whether Milan pennies were to circulate in Pavia, or vice versa (there is no analogous exchange clause in the previous paragraph) or how they were supposed to circulate elsewhere in Lombardy. An imperial diploma of 1013 to the church of St. Abondius in Como specifies a payment of £10 in pennies of Pavia or £11 in pennies of Milan implying that the former were then worth more than the latter in a ratio of 260:240. The Latin of the Honorantie could be stretched to mean that for every pound of Pavia exchanged against Milan a penny in every shilling should be added which would tally with the Como document. (2) But how is this to be squared with the insistence that the two currencies were to be of the same weight and fineness? Yet another alternative is to dismiss "solidos" as a meaningless 15th century interpolation whereupon the sense is simply that the two currencies should be exchanged at par. Even if the currencies were of nominally equal value one can hardly expect the changers to have exchanged them for nothing (Bruhl & Violante 1983: 52).

The whole saga seems to be a cautionary tale of trying to extract too much from early medieval documents. The best evidence is the coins themselves though here again it is necessary not to expect too much from the evidence. As Cipolla (1975:39) puts it,

"Given the rudimentary methods of refining and alloying at this time which produced significant differences between one part of the alloy and the other, to establish that these coins have a fineness of 822 or 850 is to say that they are practically the same "

This may only be true to a point. Contemporaries who handled these coins in quantity were quickly aware if there had been a deliberate reduction in weight or fineness. When it came to fine silver the performance of mints like the Tower or that of Venice shew that despite the apparent primitiveness of medieval technology amazing degrees of consistency could be achieved. Another point that tends to be overlooked is that the output of all the North Italian mints increased dramatically around the millennium and this must have been due to the frequent imperial expeditions which would have brought German silver with them as well as stimulating the economy in other ways. How quickly this fell off in the eleventh century is unknown. There is no justification for assuming that Lombardic mint output was

consistent throughout the century or that weight and fineness declined at a uniform rate.

Only two hoards from the 11th century have been published. Murari (1981:37) mentions one in private hands which consists of 407 coins as follows:

Otto II-III	8	coins	ave wt.	1.025gm
Henry II	15	"	"	1.000gm
Conrad II	11	"	"	0.985gm
Henry III-V	379	"	"	0.95gm

The weights of the early coins may have been on the light side due to wear. Elsewhere Murari (1980:162) mentions that he had weighed c 150 Otto III pennies in various collections and that weights varied between 1.00gm and 1.25gm with an average weight of 1.12gm. Figures for 1000 Henry II coins from various collections varied between 1.00gm and 1.25gm with an average of 1.12gm.

In 1962 Metcalf (1984) analysed a parcel of 100 Milanese coins consisting of one of Otto III, one each of Henry II and Conrad and 97 of Henry III-V. In his opinion the hoard had been deposited in the last quarter of the 11th century. A weight histogram gave a modal value of 1.005gm but with a significant secondary peak of 0.855gm. There was nothing to distinguish the lighter coins which were presumably contemporary and Metcalf opined that the mint may have been operating on two weight standards. He also noted that one coin had the legend beginning at 6 o'clock and although it was of good weight speculated that it was a contemporary forgery or an early experimental issue. This seems to be unnecessarily suspicious. According to Murari (1980:162) the earlier pennies of Henry II are quite often found with legends beginning at 3, 6 and 9 o'clock as well as retrograde. A large enough sample would probably throw up similar variations in the later pennies.

Two years ago I acquired a parcel of 10 scodollati coins all of which were covered in green corrosion product and had all the appearance of being found together. As far as I could tell there was no sign of masses of other coins of that type on the Italian market at the time to indicate that a large hoard had recently been unearthed. The parcel could of course have been a stray from an older find. The description of the coins is thus:

Otto II or III (Murari, 5) 1.20gm, 1.16gm,
1.13gm, 1.10gm

Henry II (Murari, 10)

1.18gm, 1.16gm, 1.13gm, 1.08gm, 1.02gm, 0.88gm.

There seems to be an uncanny reflection of Metcalf's hoard since not only is one coin substantially underweight but otherwise indistinguishable from the others (except that it was

probably the best struck!) but another (wt: 1.13gm.) has the reverse inscription starting at 6 o'clock. I cannot believe that this has any particular significance. The coins had no signs of wear and the weight of the Ottos compared to those Murari's hoard suggests that they were deposited in the early decades of the 10th century. If that is so then this is the first published hoard of Milanese pennies from this time.

It would be interesting to measure the fineness of the coins and I hope this may be possible. There is certainly no apparent difference between them. The weights suggest that there was no official reduction between the reigns but that standards were beginning to slip, perhaps under pressure of work rather than deliberate fraud, under Henry II. (2) Alternatively there was a reduction sometime in the reign. I am sceptical of the idea that the Milan mint ever operated two weight standards in the 11th century, at least officially. (3)

2. To judge by surviving specimens (a unreliable guide!) Pavian coins were issued in greater quantities than those of Milan at this time as the Honorantie would indicate. Coins of Henry II, however, are the exception, those of Milan being commoner. Might the Milan mint have temporarily reduced the weight and/or fineness of its coins and been able to attract more silver? This would explain the divergent values in the Como document while the Honorantie should perhaps be seen as describing conditions under the Ottos. Until reliable metrological data is available for both mints such thoughts are pure speculation.

3. The same applies to the suggestion that Lucca operated two weight/fineness standards in the 12th century but this is not relevant to the present article.

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THE DISTRIBUTION BY DATE AND PLACE OF ODD-SHAPED 17th CENTURY TOKENS: HEARTS, SQUARES, OCTAGONALS AND OTHERS by Stella Greenall.

1. The odd-shaped tokens of the C17th are a very small group within the whole series. Using Michael Dickinson's (1) list, I reckon that they represent about 2% of the whole series of C17th token issues, and are very heavily concentrated at the end of the token-issuing period of 1648-72 in England and Wales; in Ireland all 5 odd-shaped tokens are undated pennies (2 hearts, a square, a rectangle and an octagon). In England and Wales, one (Warwicks 49) is dated 1666 - a square token issued at Brailes; one (London 2240) is dated 1657 - a rectangle issued in Piccadilly; and one (Lancs. 62) is dated 1672 - a heart-shaped penny issued in Liverpool by an issuer who also produced a round token dated 1671. With these exceptions, the odd-shaped dated tokens appeared over the five years 1667-1671 (see table 1).

2. About 70% of the odd-shaped tokens bear a date; undated ones occur more frequently in London and Southwark than elsewhere. Five maps shew the distribution year by year, and the different shapes.

3. The maps shew that there were areas of the country which had no odd-shapes. Throughout the whole of the south-west (with the single exception of Cornwall 33, an undated heart. at Liskeard) there are none; Somerset, Devon and Dorset have none. They also have no pennies - another group concentrated at the end of the period. These areas produced large numbers of farthings throughout the period, and a few halfpennies.

4. The same is true of Cambridgeshire and Norfolk - neither produced either pennies or odd-shapes and neither did Durham. However Cumberland (Cumb. 1 at Broughton) and Westmorland (Westm. 15, a heart at Kirby Stephen), both counties without a penny token, each produced one odd-shape, unfortunately both undated. And also the two Welsh octagonals were issued in central-southern Wales at Brecon (12) and Welshpool (76),

whilst large numbers of Wales pennies were all issued in North Wales. So the issues of pennies and odd-shapes, though concentrated in the same late period, were often but not always issued in the same areas.

5. There are some areas where it might be reasonable to guess at possible datings for the undated odd-shapes. For example, Essex has 4 hearts (55 Chelmsford, 168 Epping, 307B Stratford and 332 Waltham Abbey); 5 octagons (228 Leytonstone, 261A Romford, 306A Stratford, 338 West Ham - an italic token -341A West Ham and 342 West Ham), and one square token (262) issued at Romford. Seven of this group are dated 1668 and the remaining four which are all undated, might perhaps be reckoned probably 1668 also. Another instance might be Surrey - 39 Croydon, a heart-shape, and 143 Kingston-on-Thames, a square, are both dated 1668; perhaps 138 Kingston-on-Thames, also a square token and undated, might be assigned to 1668.

TABLE 1: NUMBERS OF ISSUES OF ODD-SHAPE TOKENS IN ENGLAND, WALES AND IRELAND YEAR BY YEAR AND UNDATED.

	1666	67	68	69	70	71	72	no date	Total
octagons		7	31	38	11	7		40	134
hearts		4	30	24	5	2	1	24	90
squares	1		5	7	3	1		9*	26*
diamonds			1					3	4
rectangle/ oblongs								2	2+
	1	11	67	69	19	10	1	78	256*

* includes Ireland 705

+ plus London 2240 dd 1657

Source: Michael Dickinson Seventeenth century tokens of the British Isles and their values, 1986.

6. The predominance of the octagonal shape is partly due to its popularity in London; of 44 London issues, 33 are octagons. Another 12 octagonals were issued in Southwark, though here it is less dominant - of the 25 Southwark odd-shape token issues barely half were octagonals.

7. Odd-shapes were, however, relatively scarce amongst London issues. 44 odd-shape issues among the 3,500-plus London issues represent only 1%, as against about 2% of issues over the whole area covered by the series.

8. Although 17 of the 44 London issues are undated - rather higher than the average for the whole country - this is a low number of undated issues by London standards; overall, over 2/3rds of London and Southwark C17th tokens are undated - as against about 1/3rd elsewhere. (2) It has been suggested that this is due simply to shortage of space as in London and Southwark the street name, or neighborhood, and address, often need two or more words - considerably longer than the 1 word naming the town or village which is all a token in the Provinces usually quotes (though in some areas it is quite common also to find the County name). But the date is sometimes omitted even from well-spaced out pieces; and about half the Dublin tokens - which frequently give streets and addresses - also carry a date. So other factors may be present - perhaps London issuers were more aware than those elsewhere of the danger that tokens would be outlawed, and so left them undated, particularly in 1671 and 1672 when official small change was increasingly likely to be issued; and in 1654 when the Protector issued a proclamation against tokens and 1660 to 1662 when the Royal Prerogative was re-established.

9. Another interesting point to notice is that there are several issues where the same token is issued both in round and odd-shape. Tokens appear round and octagonal at Northleach in Gloucester in 1669, (144 and 144A), at Tenterden in Kent in 1668 (550 and 551), at Bolton in Lancashire in 1669 (16 and 16A). In Liverpool (62) a round penny appears in 1671, and as a heart the following year; in 1667 at St. Martin's le Grand the King's Chairman issues both round and octagonal (2680 and 2681); in 1669 in Shrewsbury a penny appears as round and octagonal (69 and 69A); in Southwark (275 and 275A) the same issue appears both round and square in 1669; in Almondbury in Yorkshire (4 and 4A) in 1668 both round and heart-shaped; similarly in 1671 at Whitby (369 and 370) round and heart-shaped; at Ovenden undated (248 and 249) both round and octagonal; and at York in 1668 (401 and 401A) round and octagonal; and at Chepstow in Monmouthshire (10 and 10A) in 1670 both round and octagonal. Perhaps the maker ran out of odd-shaped blanks and made up the order with rounds, or perhaps the rounds are a second local striking, or perhaps the issuer was uncertain that his odd-shapes would pass as easily as the familiar rounds, so took some of each to be on the safe side.

10. It is obvious from the maps that the spread of these odd-shapes must have involved a good deal of travelling to and fro for travelers chasing orders, delivering tokens and dies, and perhaps calling again for their payment. For example, journeys by horse between London and North Yorkshire seem to have taken about eight days at the beginning of the seventeenth century (3) - not such an excessively long time by modern standards for the ordering and receipt of goods. Lady Hoby rode from Hackness via Linton, Barton - crossing the Humber by boat - Lincoln, Anchester, Stamford, Huntingdon, Buntingford to London between the 9th and 17th October 1600, and again in April 1603 at a

better time of year, did the same journey from the 11th to 17th April.

11. It is noticeable that the odd-shapes are rather unlikely to be issued in places with old established local issues, mainly of farthings. Salisbury, for example, has 65 token issues without a single odd-shape; Oxford with about 80, nearly all farthings, has not one odd-shape, and neither has Cambridge with about 70 farthings and 4 or 5 halfpennies. Norwich with about 120 farthings has none, neither has Great Yarmouth amongst its 70 or so issues. These places contrast sharply with, for example, Knutsford with 3 octagonals amongst its 5 token issues, Uttoxeter with 3 octagonals amongst 11 issues, Eccleshall in Staffordshire with 2 heart-shapes amongst its 3 issues, Bawtry with a heart and an octagonal amongst 4 issues or Bewdley with an octagonal, a square and 3 heart-shapes amongst its 11 issues. The maps attempt to shew up this very patchy distribution.

12. The maps skewing places of issue of the dated tokens shew odd-shapes appearing (1667) first in two distinct areas - the London area and Cheshire/Staffordshire - the north west midlands. By 1668 there was a substantial crop in the London area, and Southwark, Kent, Essex and Middlesex, reaching as far as Suffolk and Hampshire with two squares in Ipswich and two octagonals in Portsmouth. In the second north west area, 1668 saw a spread as far as Hereford and across to Lincolnshire and northward into Yorkshire. The 1669 issues are broadly in the same areas, with some far flung extensions up the Yorkshire coast, and into Gloucestershire, with one appearing in Brecon in mid Wales. In 1670 and 1671 the London area fades out almost completely, (of course tokens may have been issued undated), but there are still active places in the rest of the country, again most appearing in the north west midlands and along the Welsh border and with two in the far north of Yorkshire, including a heart-shape in the coastal town of Whitby. It is interesting that the latest issue, the only one dated 1672, is also a heart-shape, issued in the coastal town of Liverpool.

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2. Greenall, S.M., "The dates of English C17th tokens, Token Corresponding Society Bulletin, vol. 4, no. 7. pp.
3. Meads, Dorothy M. (ed), Diary of Lady Margaret Hoby, Routledge, 1930.

DISTRIBUTION BY PLACE OF ISSUE OF ODD-SHAPE TOKENS DATED 1667

Cheshire

58 - O: Knutsford

Derbyshire

86 - O: Derby

Kent

275 - O: Faversham

414 - H: Milton-next-Gravesend

585 - O: Wye

London

688 - H

2680 - O

Southwark

37 - O

227A - H

394 - H

Staffs

17 - O: Gnosall



1667

- Octagonals
- x Heats
- Squares
- ◇ Diamonds

DISTRIBUTION BY PLACE OF ISSUE OF ODD-SHAPE TOKENS DATED 1668

Cheshire

53 - H: Macclesfield

Derbyshire

2 - H: Alfreton

Essex

55 - H: Chelmsford

168 - H: Epping

261A - O: Romford

262 - S: Romford

332 - H: Waltham Abbey

338 - O: West Ham

324 - O: West Ham

Glos.

45 - H: Cirencester

Hants

142 - O: Portsmouth

143 - O: Portsmouth

Herefordshire

17 - H: Hereford

19 - H: Hereford

46 - S: Kington

Herts

77 - H: Cheshunt

126 - O: Hoddesdon

Kent

291 - O: Gravesend

313 - O: Greenwich

418 - H: Milton-next-Gravesend

550 - O: Tenterden

Leics

77 - H: Market Harbrough

Lincs

66 - H: W. Deeping

London

1540 - O

1560A - O

1609 - O

2444A - O

2604 - O

2685 - O

2692 - O

2799 - O

3288 - O

3310 - O

3375 - H

3449A - O

Middlesex

4 - O: Acton

105D - D: Hoxton

134 - O: Knightsbridge

211A - H: Stepney

Oxon

45 - H: Bicester

70 - H: Chipping Norton

Rutland

10 - H: Uppingham

Southwark

129 - O: Bankside

141 - H: Battle Bridge

200 - H: B'ge Foot

221 - H: Deadmans Place

342 - O: Pickle Hering Stairs

355 - O: St. George's

477 - H: Tooley Street

Staffs

25A - H: Leek

74 - O: Uttoxeter

76 - O: Uttoxeter

78 - O: Uttoxeter

Suffolk

114 - H: Debenham

174 - S: Ipswich

175 - S: Ipswich

Surrey

39 - H: Croydon

143 - S: Kingston on Thames

Sussex

4B - O: Ardingly

108 - H: Horstead Keynes

Worcs

4 - O: Bewdley

Yorks

4A - H: Almondbury

16 - H: Bawtry

22 - H: Bentham

176 - H: Leeds

324 - H: Sheffield

401A - O: York



1668

- Octagons
- x Hearts
- ◻ Squares
- ◊ Diamonds

DISTRIBUTION BY PLACE OF ISSUE OF ODD-SHAPE TOKENS DATED 1669

Berks

23 - H: Faringdon
 76 - H: Reading
 162 - H: Wantage
 170 - O: Windsor

Bucks

115 - S: P. Risbro

Cheshire

54 - S: Macclesfield
 58 - H: Middlewich
 64 - O: Nantwich

Derbyshire

21 - S: Bakewell
 103 - H: Higham

Glos

48 - O: Cirencester
 49 - O: Cirencester
 112 - O: Kempsford
 113 - O: Lechlade
 144 - O: Northleach

Hants

36 - H: Basingstoke

Herts

43 - O: Bishops Stortford
 68 - O: Buntingford
 71 - H: Buntingford
 155 - H: Redbourne

Huntingdonshire

72 - O: Stilton

Kent

16 - O: Ashford
 59 - O: Canterbury
 267 - S: Faversham
 396 - H: Maidstone
 488 - H: Sandhurst
 517 - O: Sevenoaks

Lancs

16A - O: Bolton

Leics

4A - H: Ashby-de-la-Zouche

Lincs

73 - H: Epworth
 138 - O: Lincoln

London

604A - O
 714A - S
 798 - H
 1541 - O
 2037 - O
 2197 - O
 2684 - O
 3192 - O

Middlesex

95A - O: Highgate
 97 - O: Highgate
 154 - H: Mimms

Northants

104 - O: Peterborough
 152 - H: Finedon
 174 - H: Welford

Oxon

43 - H: Bicester
 44 - O: Bicester

Shropshire

39 - O: Ludlow
 69 - O: Shrewsbury
 79 - O: Shrewsbury
 107 - O: Whitchurch

Southwark

43A - S
 77 - O
 217 - O: Counter
 275 - S: Jacob St.

Staffs

8 - H: Burton
 16A - H: Darlaston
 25B - O: Leek
 68 - O: Stone

Suffolk

172 - O: Ipswich

Sussex

1 - O: Aldingb'ne
 70 - H: Chichester

Warwicks

41 - O: Birmingham

Worcs

97 - O: Shipston-on-Stour

Yorkshire

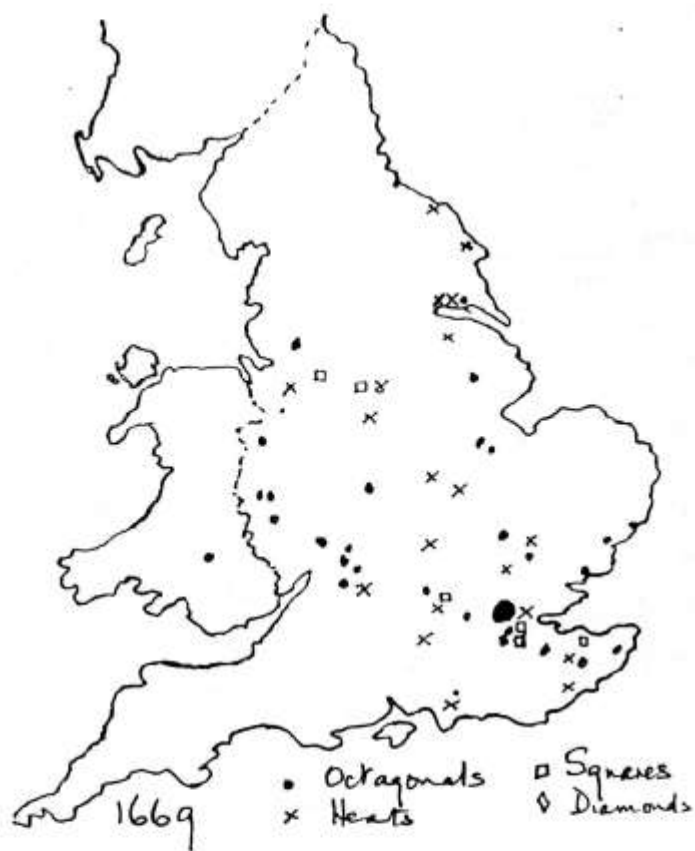
133 - H: Hull
 159 - O: Hull
 161 - H: Hull
 290 - H: Robin Hood's Bay
 295A - H: Scarborough

Wales

12 - O: Brecon

Uncertain localities

55 - D



DISTRIBUTION BY PLACE OF ISSUE OF ODD-SHAPE TOKENS DATED 1670

Bucks
 115A - O: Shenley

Cheshire
 15 - H: Chester

Derbyshire
 111 - S: Tideswell

Glos
 213 - O: Winchcombe

Hants
 151 - O: Portsmouth

Herefordshire
 29 - S: Hereford

Leics
 1 - O: Ashby-de-la-Zouche

London
 2459A- O

Northants
 106 - O: Peterborough
 107 - O: Peterborough

Oxon
 34 - H: Burford

Shropshire
 2 - S: Bishop's Castle
 4 - H: Bishop's Castle

Staffs
 27 - O: Lichfield

Suffolk
 315 - H: Stradbroke

Worcs
 9 - H: Bewdley

Wales
 76 - O: Welshpool

Monmouth
 10 - O: Chepstow

Uncertain
 10 - O: Yallop



1670

- Octagons
- x Hearts
- Squares
- ◆ Diamonds

DISTRIBUTION BY PLACE OF ISSUE OF ODD-SHAPE TOKENS DATED 1671

Herefordshire

24A - O: Hereford

Leics.

27 - O: Hinkley

Lincs.

181 - D: Louth

London

845 - O

1839 - O

Shropshire

67 - O: Shrewsbury

Staffs

16B - H: Darlaston

53A - S: Stafford

103 - O: Yoxall

Yorkshire

304 - O: Sedbergh

369 - H: Whitby

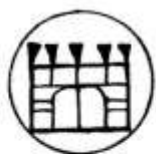


1671

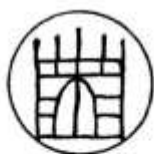
- Octagonals
- x Heats
- Squares
- ◆ Diamonds



5-10



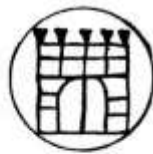
11



12-14



15



16



5



12



7-9



5-10



11



6,8,9



11



12



16



8



11



12, 14



15



7



11



14

Antiochene Anomalies part 2. Nos. refer to no. of coin in text

SPECIAL NOTICE

SATURDAY meeting of the LNC on June 5th
at the London Coin Fair
See page 32 for details

ANIOCHENE ANOMALIES - PART 2 by Marcus Phillips (see Newsletter) vol. vii, no. 16, p.22-35 for part 1)

The remainder of the parcel

The REX coin came in a parcel which also contained one coin of Antioch and sixteen of Tripoli. They had a similar tone and may well have come from the same site. The Tripoli coins in particular were coated with a thick sandy deposit, including the billon piece which was probably not recognised as being of different metal, and it seems safe to conclude that, if not part of a hoard, they were found in the vicinity of each other.

Refs:

S = Schlumberger, Numismatique de l'Orient Latin

M = Metcalf, Coinage of the Crusades and the Latin East in the Ashmolean Museum

P = Porteous, "Crusader coinage with Greek or Latin inscriptions" in Setton, K. (ed.), A History of the Crusades vol.6. Sab=Sabine, "Billon and Copper coinage of Tripoli" in NC,1980.

ANTIOCH.

1. Anonymous copper, wt.11.24gm, die axis 180 (regular?) S.III-15, M.338, P.29 (1140-1180)

The reverse inscription is retrograde as it is on the Ashmolean coin. There are 3 dots in the upper bars of the As. A well struck coin on a full (17mm) flan.

TRIPOLI.

2. Raymond III (1152-87) or earlier, billon penny 0.98gm, die axis 45 . S.IV-4 var M.365.

Star and crescent penny, Sab class 2 (pellets in 1st and 2nd angles of cross). Reverse legend starts at 12 o'clock. P. (p.376) attributes this type to Raymond III though Sab. and M. think it was introduced earlier. The dies are not the same as any illustrated by Sab.

3. Anon copper 0.92gm. S.IV-6 M.371.
Obv leg: $\overline{\text{CV}}\overline{\text{A}}(\tau)\overline{\text{R}}\overline{\text{I}}\overline{\text{P}}\overline{\text{O}}\overline{\text{L}}(\theta)\overline{\text{S}}$ = Sab. cl 3 (Raymond III)

The remaining Tripoli coins are all "castle coppers":

Obv. gateway or castle with 4 or 5 courses of masonry and 5 crenellations and a large divided doorway. Legend: CIVITAS. Rev. Ornate + with 4 crescents and pellets. Legend:TRIPOLIS.

In view of the difficulties posed by this abundant but poorly struck series we have tried to illustrate significant variations in detail.

4. AE "piedfort" (?) 2.61gm, 19mm cf. Sab no. 293.

Struck on an exceptional, thick flan with no trace of under-type. Broadly similar to the piece illustrated by Sabine which he attributes to his class 4. The obverse castle is crudely

drawn and the lettering small and clumsy. The reverse, in larger letters of different style, reads **TRAPICWIS**

5. 0.60 gm	9. 0.78 gm	13. 1.14 gm
6. 0.63 gm	10. 0.82 gm	14. 0.84 gm
7. 0.64 gm	11. 1.47 gm	15. 0.73 gm
8. 0.78 gm	12. 0.83 gm	16. 0.64 gm
		17. 0.88 gm

Commentary

5-10 are Sab class 1a, 12-14, class 1b, (1173-87); 15-16 class 2, (1187-90); 17 is corroded but certainly class 1. If Sabine's classification is correct chronologically this grouping suggests some sort of hoard context or at least a series of random losses over a relatively short period.

The spike above the middle crenellation and beneath the door (this last reminiscent of the Tower of David on coins of Jerusalem) (clear on 5 & 6 and probable on 7) does not seem to have been noted before.

A useful guide to distinguishing class 1 from classes 2 and 3 is the diameter of the inner circle on the castle side. In class 1 it is smaller (8.5mm) compared to 9.5mm on the later classes. No 16 has this larger inner circle and certainly appears to be class 2 but the two pairs of pellets on the doorway are absent and the R, although different from that of class 1, lacks the upturned tail characteristic of the class (cf M.388).

No. 11 is an anomaly. It is remarkably heavy. The castle has the divided doorway of class 1 but the diameter of the inner circle is 9.5mm. The A is rather square (cf. M.382). The reverse appears to be from the same die as no 4 the "piedfort"! It certainly has the same blundered legend. The castle is very squat and we can find nothing quite like it in Sabine's plates. For the time being we can only list it under "class 1 var" but if it is die linked with the "piedfort" it suggests that the latter does not belong to class 4.

A NEW SECOND HAND MONEYER OF AETHELRED II by Robert Grayburn

David Hill (1981 : 130) rates Chester as the fifth most prolific mint of Saxon England (after London, Lincoln, York and Winchester, these four mints producing about 1/3rd of the total coinage) but its coins are hard to find in the market. Two reasons for this spring to mind: firstly much of the mint's production must have left the country in trade with the Dublin Irish, Manxmen and other Scandinavians further north - as well as the Welsh - people who were pre-monetary until well into Aethelred II's reign at least, and who regarded coins as small pieces of bullion and therefore tended neither to retain them

as coins nor to circulate them in their original form. The second reason is the 70 year accumulation by Dr. Willoughby Gardner - 393 pre-conquest coins of the Chester mint, now in the Grosvenor Museum in that city (Pirie, 1965) - which must have swept the market clean of all but the commonest, and of those large quantities already in Scandinavian museums (see appendix).

It is therefore all the more pleasing to report a new moneyer for the mint for Aethelred II Second Hand type: WULLAF, purchased recently at a price within the range of the youthful collector. Wullaf is already known as a moneyer for Aethelred's First Hand and Benediction Hand types (Jonsson, 1986 : 65 & 101) so the present cut d neatly fills the gap in the series where this moneyer's activity was previously unattested for the type. That Wullaf was indeed working at Chester may be assumed because the name is not known at any other mint. For Chester, Jonsson (1986 : 65, 87, 101) records:

First Hand	16 coins	5 moneyers
Second Hand	5 coins	4 moneyers
Benediction Hand	3 coins	2 moneyers

Willoughby Gardner's 70 year quest yielded only 5 specimens of all 3 types, 2 of which are broken or fragmentary, so it is not at all surprising that a new specimen should fill a unique space in the series. Aethelred's Second Hand is notoriously scarce from the north east part of the country because the King's relations with his largely Danish subjects in these parts was so poor that his writ scarcely ran on either side of the Humber. Scandinavians of another sort comprised much of the population of the Chester area and their sympathies may go far to explain the paucity of surviving specimens of this type.

The present tally for the surviving specimens for the moneyer Wullaf now stands at:

- First Hand 1 Wisby - ex Karls (G.146) (Jonsson 1986: 65)
- Second Hand 1 Private collection UK (ex Phillips) cut ½d
- 1 KMK 1573 (ex Reslov D31) (Jonsson 1986:101)
- 1 Chester (Pirie 1965 # 113) (ex Spink ex
 P.W.P.Carlyon Britton, Sotheby 17-21 Nov.
 1913: lot 494 - £2 2s.)

Many other late Anglo-Saxon coins of equal scarcity may still await discovery by the eager collector of limited means.

APPENDIX
Chester coins of Aethelred II in some well-known collection

	Total for reign	The three "hand" types
Finland (Talvio 1978)	10	-
Copenhagen (1966 Galster)	35	2
Stockholm (1881 Hildebrand)	99*	10*
	144	12

Chester (Pirie 1965)

72**

5

BMC (1887)

11

This is the number of differing readings, the number of specimens is likely to be rather greater

**Including three long cross coins formerly thought to be Hiberno-Norse but now considered to be English.

BMC 1887 = Keary, C.F. and Grueber, H.A., Catalogue of Anglo-Saxon coins in the British Museum, London, 1887-93.

Galster 1966 = Glaster, G., Sylloge of Coins of the British Isles vol 7 Royal Collection, Copenhagen, part 2: Anglo-Saxon coins, Aethelred II, London, 1966.

Hildebrand 1881 = Hildebrand, B.E., Anglosachsiska mynt i Svenska Kongliga Myntkabinettet, funna i Sveriges ford. 2nd ed, Stockholm, 1881.

Hill 1981 = Hill, D., Atlas of Anglo-Saxon England, Oxford, 1981.

Jonsson 1986 = Jonsson, K., Viking Age coin hoards and late Anglo-Saxon coins, Stockholm, 1986.

Pirie 1965 = Pirie, E., Sylloge of Coins of the British Isles vol 5 The Willoughby Gardner Collection of Coins with the Chester Mint Signature, Grosvenor Museum Chester, London, 1965.

Talvio 1987 = Talvio, T., Sylloge of Coins of the British Isles vol 25 National Museum, Helsinki: Anglo-Saxon and Anglo-Norman coins, London, 1987.



HENRY VII OPEN CROWN HALF GROATS OF CANTERBURY by Robert Grayburn

No recent study of halfgroats of Archbishop Morton of Canterbury (1486-1500) of type I (issued Aug.1485-Feb 1488) seems to have been published. The writer therefore presents this limited study in the hope of eliciting further information. The coins, though scarce, are quite collectable since they are not accounted among the classic well known rarities.

Two obverse dies are known. These were *a* pair, not intended to be distinguished, and are most readily recognised by the point at which the trefoil to the right of the king touches his hair. On die 1 the trefoil touches the main lock of hair. On die 2 it touches the little lock below his crown. (see fig.2)

Each of these dies is found with each of the three reverses which shew greater variations:

- A. No trefoil. (2 dies noted: the entire POSUI quadrant being clipped away on the only specimen of the 2nd die known to the writer, this could conceivably be a 4th reverse reading POSVIA without A before TAS.
- B. Trefoil before TAS.
- C. Trefoil after POSUI and before TAS (2 dies noted).

This gives rise to the full range of combinations (all these references are to illustrations).

1A Delme-Radcliffe (1985) lot 406

1B Ashmolean Sylloge (= Metcalf 1976) #159

1C Potter & Winstanley (1961) pl. XXII.6 (2nd die Author's coll. ex Parsons, Potter, Rist)

2A Author's coll. - a poor specimen but no others noted.

2B Ashmolean Sylloge #158

2C Ashmolean Sylloge #157

The following mules have also been noted:

Die 1	/ Type	Iia reverse	Ashmolean Sylloge #522
2	/	Iia	" Potter & Winstanley(1961) pl.xxii.7
2	/	Iib	" Delme Radcliffe (1985) 406
Type Iia/Type	I Rev B	"	Potter & Winstanley (1961)
pl. xxii.8.,	Ashmolean		Sylloge #523

It seems likely that there are some additional mules which have not been seen by the present writer. There may even be further dies. No mules are known with Richard III or Edward V (as in the rare London halfgroats) either because Canterbury was inoperative in these short reigns or because Edward IV dies remained in use throughout them. Henry VII's open crown coinage was smaller than the later issues of his reign. For example in the year between Michelmas 1487 and Michelmas 1488 (which includes the termination of the Open Crown issues) only £4971 in silver was bought into the London mint - this figure about

average at the time should be compared with more typical figures averaging around 20,000 in the years around 1500.

Open Crown groats are often offered at high prices (eg Spink Feb 1992: #185 @ £350 in VF+). London half groats and Canterbury pennies are rarely seen so it is not likely that production of Morton's halfgroat was very large. Bullion records have not survived from the Archbishop's mint but we know from the researches of Metcalf and Stewart (Ashmolean Sylloge: xxiii,xxxvii) that Morton's open crown half groats were all produced between the summer of 1487 and the middle of February 1488. This was a shortish time in a period when silver supplies were not lavish. If Morton's mint produced as much as 250 worth of these halfgroats it certainly produced more coins of this denomination than the Tower at this time. Their survival rate compares favourably with that of the Canterbury half groats of Edward IV's 12 year second reign, nevertheless a small output is indeed demonstrated by the small number of dies involved (2 obverse and 5 reverse so far noted). Conventional estimates would assume a maximum of perhaps 30,000 coins in all - surely a small number to spread around at least 12 combinations and mules. Only an average of about 2000 could have been made in each of the carefully distinguished varieties.

Not enough is known about the internal workings of our late medieval mints (which were to reach their maximum complexity later in Henry's reign) to enable us to say why batches of coins, often quite small, were produced with such careful choice of die combinations. One thing is certain: that these combinations, sometimes involving the re-use of out of date dies, was deliberate, and not the result of carelessness, drunkenness or any Medieval Monday morning syndrome. It would be interesting to read the speculations of other collectors of this ever fascinating field.

Ashmolean Sylloge = *see* Metcalf 1976.

Delme-Radcliffe 1985 = Catalogue of a collection of hammered silver coins formed by Mrs. E. Delme-Radcliffe, Glendingings 17.Apr.1985.

Metcalf 1976 = Metcalf, D.M., Sylloge of Coins of the British Isles, 23, Ashmolean Museum Oxford, Part III: Coins of Henry VII. London, 1976

Potter & Winstanley 1961 = Potter, W.J.W. & Winstanley E.J., "The coinage of Henry VII" *BNJ* XXX, (1961) 262-301.

Spink 1992 = Spink Numismatic Circular, vol.C, no.1, Feb.1992

THE BRUSSELS CONGRESS by Michael Anderson

The XIth International Numismatic Congress took place in Brussels from 8th to 11th September 1991. This *was* the first International Congress since the one in London in 1986, which marked the sesquicentenary of the Royal Numismatic Society. Brussels was chosen for this occasion because it marked both the sesquicentenary of the Societe Royale de Numismatique de Belgique and the centenary of the first International Numismatic Congress held in Brussels in 1891.

The Congress was the largest ever held, with over 750 members (1000 including "accompanying persons") from some 46 countries. It was good to *see* so strong a representation from the Eastern Bloc countries, including Albania, newly independent Lithuania, and a delegation from the Chinese People's Republic, and that the troubles in Yugoslavia had not prevented the attendance of numismatists from Slovenia and Croatia as well as Serbia. It was surprising, considering they are generally such inveterate travelers, that there was not a single Japanese participant. It was also a little disappointing not to see more colleagues from the LNC, the Club being represented by two Americans, an Irishman and your Madrid correspondent.

Some 300 papers were presented. There were usually six sessions running simultaneously in different lecture theatres at any time. The exception to this was five plenary sessions, which were held in the largest lecture theatre and were free of competing attractions. In addition there were workshops and round tables (the programme apologised that they could not necessarily guarantee a round table) and a series of posters for papers which lent themselves to this form of presentation rather than oral delivery. Abstracts of all papers were printed and distributed at the time of registration, a useful innovation which not only enabled one to select in advance which papers to attend (or miss) but gave one a record of those papers one was unable to attend. The sessions were divided into thirty-nine study fields, including for the first time banknotes and American coins as separate fields. Of the other fields, sixteen were classical, five medieval and six oriental. The balance included modern, contemporary (separately!), primitive, technology, statistics, analysis, museumology, bibliography and information technology. As proceedings will be published, I will not attempt to summarise individual papers (although I did start with that intention). The official languages of the Congress were English, French, German, Dutch, Italian and Spanish, and Tony Hackens performed a remarkable tour de force in delivering his opening remarks in all of them. In fact approximately 45% of the papers were in English, 30% in French and 15% in German, with the other three languages making up the remaining 10% between them. There appeared to be some element of linguistic grouping within the sessions, so it was to some extent possible for monoglots to avoid sitting through papers they did not understand.

I did not go to any presentations on the application of information technology to numismatics, but I gather there are some impressive developments in that field, including computer identification of die links. Another technological advance which *was* new to me was the identification of mints and metal sources through the analysis of trace elements, iridium and palladium being the two which were dealt with in papers which I heard. It occurs to me that such analyses could also be useful in the identification of forgeries, since a forger would be unlikely to be able to reproduce the same analysis of trace elements as the original coin.

Although all the proceedings took place within the Palais des Congres, three of the lecture theatres were in a separate building at the other end of the Palais gardens which meant a certain amount of chasing around between sessions. Time keeping was a problem, which started to go astray right from the opening session. Fifteen minutes per paper plus five minutes for questions and discussion was cutting it short anyway, especially as the speaker had to assume that some of his listeners were not experts and could not begin a discussion without giving his audience some background. Even accepting that fifteen minutes was sufficient for the paper, time still had to be allowed for the speaker to leave the rostrum, possibly with *a* little polite applause, and for the next speaker to reach it and be introduced by the chairperson, as well *as* for the projector to be loaded with a fresh carousel. In the first session on Wednesday morning the largest lecture theatre had eight speakers in a session lasting 135 minutes. This meant that even if the speakers limited themselves to the prescribed fifteen minutes there was less than two minutes for introduction, discussion, applause and reloading the projector! Professor Grierson, who was chairing the following plenary session and found the preceding session still in progress, commented that he did not know where to lay the blame, but it was clearly with the programme organisers. Obviously if longer time is to be allowed per paper there will have to be either fewer papers or more sessions running simultaneously, but I think that is a difficulty which will have to be faced.

The procedure for placing slides into carousels and loading them into projectors was something that did not seem to have been thought out in advance. The original instruction was that the slides should be taken to the administration and loaded into carousels where they would be labelled and delivered to the appropriate lecture theatre. This did not happen, and it was then decided that speakers could collect empty carousels from the administration provided they deposited a passport or identity document as a guarantee that they would be returned. This did not seem very satisfactory either. The situation was not helped when one of the projectors in the largest lecture theatre went out of action and speakers were having to reload slides by hand before commencing their paper. Some of the lecture theatres did not have subsidiary lighting, so that when

the lights were dimmed to show slides the speaker could not see his notes. This was later solved by the introduction of angle poise lamps for the speaker's rostrum, but could have been foreseen earlier. Another problem, inevitable with such a large Congress, was that some of the smaller lecture theatres became uncomfortably crowded during the more popular papers, sometimes with nearly half the audience having to stand.

Lunches were provided in the Palais de Congres and were excellent quality and value at BF 2200 for the four days, including wine. Accommodation in the hotels was expensive, but that is no doubt normal for Brussels. Bed and breakfast or youth hostel accommodation was available for those who preferred it. The Ibis cost BF 3020 a night and the Royal Windsor BF 7500 (the rate was BF 59 = £1 when I changed my money). As registration was from 2.00 p.m. to 6.30 p.m. on the Sunday, I wonder if it was necessary to book accommodation from the Saturday night, especially as the following Friday night was not included despite full day excursions on the Friday. Also the hotel should have had instructions to book in delegates, such as those from Eastern Europe, who had had their accommodation guaranteed by the organisers, without insisting on seeing credit cards or taking deposits.

Entertainment was generous considering the numbers involved, but was detrimental to the evening sessions. Many participants preferred to eat rather than return to an 8.00 p.m. session direct from a reception having had nothing to eat since lunch time. The entertainment comprised a reception on the Monday evening for the opening of an exhibition "One money for Europe?" by the Credit Communal de Belgique, a sandwich bar on Tuesday given by the Societe Royale de Numismatique de Belgique, and a reception on Wednesday at the Banque Nationale de Belgique, with an exhibition of Belgian coins and banknotes. Thursday was the Congress Banquet, I felt expensive at BF 1825, but a memorable occasion to round off the Congress. There were two excursions arranged on Friday, to Antwerp or Mariemont, at BF 1350 which included lunch. I went to Antwerp, where we visited the Osterrieth House, the Rubens House, the Royal Museum for Fine Arts and the Cathedral of Notre Dame. The day was rounded off by a reception at the workshop of the sculptor of the Congres medal.

The Congres medal was available to participants at BF 1250. In addition there was the opportunity to purchase the two volumes of the Survey of Numismatic Research 1985-1990 at BF 1000 against the list price of 200 Swiss francs. Special ecu coins had been struck for internal use at the Congres, in denominations of 1, 2, 5 and 10 ecu, of which specimens of the 1, 2 and 5 ecu were given to participants on registration, and further specimens and the 10 ecu could be purchased at BF 42 - 1 ecu. These could be used for the purchase of drinks, eg. 1 ecu for coffee or beer or 3 ecu for whisky something which seems novel now but I expect will be normal by 1997. A 'liquid

ecu" was also available. Commemorative coins in denominations of 5 ecu in silver and 50 ecu in gold at BF 1050 and BF 11500 respectively had been struck for the sesquicentenary of the Societe Royale de Numismatique, the first time a numismatic society had been honoured by a coin issue. A history of the Societe was also given to participants, reminiscent of the one produced for the equivalent anniversary of our own Royal Numismatic Society.

An exhibition of books on the Tuesday and Wednesday was extremely interesting. Although I was a browser rather than a purchaser, I was very impressed by the high standards of scholarship and production that were in evidence. There seemed to be a lot of interest and I hope that those publishers who took the trouble to mount stands will have found it worthwhile.

Tony Hackens and Ghislaine Moucharte did a marvelous job of setting up such an excellent Congress. The organisation and administration were magnificent, and if I have mentioned a few minor irritations it is only in the hope that someone may bear them in mind for the future, and not to suggest that they in any way detracted from a really enjoyable week. I hope that more members of the LNC will make an effort to attend the next International Congress. It is a memorable experience to meet so many distinguished numismatists, many of whose names one has only known through publications. It can be quite inspiring to hear a real enthusiast expounding some new discovery or theory, especially in some series one had thought totally devoid of interest and it is heartwarming to witness the genuine camaraderie which exists between numismatists of diverse nationalities.

SPECIAL NOTICE

A special meeting of the London Numismatic Club will be held on Saturday June 5th 1993 in the Albany Room, Production Box Suite, at the Cumberland Hotel, London, W1 from 2.30 to 4.00pm, to coincide with the London Coin Fair. Our President, Peter Clayton will talk on

FINDERS KEEPERS

TREASURE TROVE AND THE LAW

We do hope that as many LNC Members (and their guests) will attend as possible. The Fair organisers have kindly agreed to a concessionary entry fee (on production of current Membership Card) for LNC Members who wish to attend the Fair. The LNC is very grateful to Frances and Howard Simmons for providing the meeting room.

LETTERS TO THE EDITORS

From Mr. Peter Mitchell of A.H. Baldwin and Sons. Dear Editors,

I would make two comments on "Then and now or coins as an investment?"
(Newsletter vii,16, p.35)

I write as someone who for many years sat next to Fred Willis at Glendinings. I do not doubt that he bought good coins at major sales in the early fifties - he could hardly avoid doing so! - but as a general rule he bought the cheaper, the less fine, or damaged, especially when not catalogued as such. But then the market was more conscious of rarity, rather than quality, as it is today, borne out by the prices for the better coins at the Willis sale.

And had Willis bought only 15 to 20 years ago, investment-wise it would have been a very different story!

Some of your advertisements need bringing up to date. I read it all, you see.

Yours sincerely,

Peter Mitchell

From Mr. R.H. Thompson Dear

Editors,

Greetings and thanks for the interesting report of "Pub currency", which I am glad you were able to confirm. The stones are what we called credit notes for the consumption of beer on a future occasion (BNJ 52, 1982, p.224) but they are to me a new form, as "in the stable" is a new term.

Yours sincerely, Robert

Thompson

Editorial note

When ST-S gave a brief talk on the subject to the Essex N.S., one member of the audience at least said he was familiar with the term "in the stable". Perhaps it is an East Anglian expression. A gentleman from Swindon has informed us that in his experience the term relates to shove halfpenny.