NOTES ON THE GOLD COINAGE OF ELIZABETH I

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I. Introduction

THE gold coinage of Elizabeth I is a much neglected series. The account given by Kenyon in 1884 even with Montagu's additions of 1895 is incomplete and contains confusing errors. More recent listings in the standard works of Brooke, North, and Seaby are more accurate but rather brief. The latter two further suffer from inappropriate attempts to divide the series into different issues. Whitton gave the most accurate and well referenced check list of the known coins. The milled gold coins have been described by Borden and Brown. Only Kenyon and Brooke attempted to set the coinage in the context of the documented history of the mint which has been the subject of works by Ruding, Symonds, Craig, and Challis. In view of the increase in our understanding of the workings of the Elizabethan mint in recent years a review of this coinage is overdue.

II. Numismatic History

The coinage has been divided into three issues in accordance with the scheme proposed by one of us in an earlier article.⁶

First (Tentative) Issue (1558–1572)

On 31 December 1558 Elizabeth I issued a commission to Sir Edmund Peckham authorising him to strike sovereigns (30/-), angels (10/-) and half-angels in fine gold (995 fine) and pounds (20/-), half-pounds, crowns (5/-) and half-crowns in crown gold (917 fine). Mary had struck only fine gold. Crown gold, which was a product of Henry VIII's debasement, had last been issued by Edward VI. Initially very little crown gold was struck but within four years it had entirely displaced fine gold in the mint output presumably because its better wearing qualities commended it to the merchants. An indenture was signed on 8 November 1560 with Thomas Stanley establishing the terms of the silver recoinage. This indenture also authorised Stanley to strike sovereigns (30/-), ryals (15/-), angels (10/-) and half-angels in fine gold and pounds (20/-), half-pounds, crowns (5/-) and half-crowns in crown gold but no ryals or pounds (apart from some rare pattern pounds with privy mark rose) were apparently struck during the term of this indenture.

On 24 October 1561 Stanley's fine and crown gold were pyxed along with the recoinage silver. Subsequently new denominations were issued in silver according to a proclamation dated 15 November 1561 (the commission authorising the change is now lost) and they bore the privy mark broad arrow head (pheon). Since no gold coins are known with this

⁴ R. L. Kenyon, Gold Coins of England (London, 1884), pp. 121–135; H. Montagu, 'Unpublished gold coins of Elizabeth', NC 3rd Ser. 15 (1895), 165–166.

² G. C. Brooke, English Coins (London, 1932); J. J. North, English Hammered Coinage, Vol. 2 (London, 1960); Seaby's Standard Catalogue of British Coins, 24th Edition (London, 1989).

³ C. A. Whitton, 'Elizabeth's hammered gold', NCirc 55, (1949), 58.

⁴ D. G. Borden and I. D. Brown, 'Milled coinage of Elizabeth I', BNJ, 53 (1983), 108–132.

⁵ R. Ruding, Annals of the Comage of Britain and its Dependencies (London, 1817); H. Symonds, 'The mint of queen Elizabeth and those who worked there', NC, 4th scr. 16 (1916), 61–105; J. Craig, The Mint (Cambridge 1953); C. E. Challis, The Tudor Coinage (Manchester, 1978).

^{61.} D. Brown, 'A classification of the coinage of Elizabeth Γ, NGre 92, (1984), 116.

⁵ Tudor Royal Proclamations. Edited by P. L. Hughes and J. F. Larkin (New Haven and London, 1964-9) Vol. 2, Proclamation 487.

mark it had previously been assumed that no gold was struck between October 1561 and October 1565, the period when this mark was in use on the silver. However, the mint records show that £112,466 was struck in crown gold and £686 in fine gold during this period. This large issue must have been marked with either a cross crosslet or a rose (the mark which directly follows cross crosslet on the gold and which was introduced on the silver in October 1565). Although the pyxing of cross crosslet gold in October 1561 suggests that the mark should have been changed at that time, no fine gold coins are known with the mark rose and the cross crosslet crown gold coins are themselves so common that they must represent an issue much larger than the £3812 struck before October 1561. Furthermore the bust punch used on the half-pound undergoes a deterioration during this period which allows an approximate dating of individual dies. Examination of the coins suggests that the bulk of the cross crosslet half-pounds were struck after the last cross crosslet shillings were produced in the early summer of 1561. The only reasonable conclusion is that the cross crosslet mark was used on the gold for some years after it had been superseded on the silver. This conclusion is supported by the analysis of sales records described below and the existence of several dies with the privy mark rose stamped over cross crosslet. The proclamation of 15 November 1561 did not mention any changes in the gold and subsequent issues were almost entirely restricted to crown gold in the previously authorised denominations. There was, however, an issue of fine gold struck between July 1567 and February 1570 that probably included the quarter-angel which had not previously been authorised. It might therefore have been the subject of a special commission that is now lost. The comparative scarcity of surviving coins from what was a relatively large issue of fine gold suggests that these coins may have been struck for some special purpose and that most were subsequently melted down or exported to pay a foreign debt.

Between 1561 and 1568 Eloye Mestrelle operated a mint in the Tower which produced gold (and silver) coins by machinery. These coins are differentiated from the regular issues not only by their superior quality but by the use of different mint marks (star and lis) and a design which omits the inner beaded circle. All of the lis gold coins have serrated edges, one of the first attempts to produce a security edge on coins. Mestrelle's coinage and the events surrounding his time at the Tower mint have been described by Borden and Brown.

Second (Restoration) Issue (1572–1593)

Stanley's death on 15 December 1571 provided an opportunity to restructure the administration of the mint and to make changes in the gold coinage in order to restore it to the pre-1524 standard as had been done in 1561 with the silver. An indenture was signed on 19 April 1572 with John Lonison for the issue of angels, angelets (half-angels) and quarter-angels in fine gold. With the reintroduction of these denominations in the gold, the coins being produced at the mint were identical in weight and fineness with the predebasement coins of Henry VIII. Only their valuations in money of account was different (they were valued at 50 per cent above their original values). On 1 November 1577 Lonison was also commissioned to produce sovereigns of 30/- and ryals of 15/- in fine gold but none appear to have been struck. The commission expired on 15 September 1578 when a slightly debased fineness (992) was introduced in an attempt to improve mint efficiency. This reduction in standard was effected by a series of short term commissions which are summarized by Challis. The changes are small and are not indicated by visible changes in either the fabric or design of the coins themselves. Opportunity was taken in

1583 to rationalise the silver denominations when a new indenture was signed with Richard Martin on 30 January 1583 but the gold coinage remained unchanged in this indenture except that the traditional 995 fine standard was once again restored.

In order to finance the expedition of the earl of Leicester to the Netherlands in 1585, the Government issued a privy seal warrant on 20 April 1584, authorizing the striking of nobles (15/- = ryal) and double nobles (30/- = sovereign). English nobles had long been widely accepted as a standard currency in the Netherlands and were subject to extensive copying there. They therefore provided the natural medium for financing the British expedition. Between 3 May 1584 and 31 January 1587 the sum of £27936 was struck in these two denominations, a small issue consisting of about 3,000 nobles and 15,000 double nobles (compare these figures with the issue of about 100,000 angels during the same period). Leicester also apparently struck some of these coins in Amsterdam using the regular London dies but unofficial imitations with irregular legends were also produced in the low countries. This coinage and its background was described in detail by Thompson, and Ives gave an interesting account of the Dutch imitation nobles. The treatment of the throne decoration on the double nobles was the subject of a paper by Whicher.

Third (Rationalised) Issue (1593-1603)

The third issue was initiated by a new indenture with Richard Martin signed on 10 June 1593 which authorised the issue of crown gold coins in the denominations of 20/- (pound), 10/-, 5/- (crown) and 2/6. Since the silver continued to be struck under the terms of the old indenture we may assume that this was also his authority to continue striking fine gold, a view confirmed by the woolpack pyx which mentions all the five previously authorised fine gold denominations although only the angel and its fractions appear to have been struck after the end of the tun mark. The reason for the reintroduction of the crown gold standard is not known but we may surmise that it was demand from the merchant community requiring a better wearing coin.

In 1601 a new indenture was signed with Sir Thomas Knyvet which reduced the weights of all denominations. Authority was given to strike angels, half-angels and quarter-angels in fine gold and pounds, half-pounds, crowns and half-crowns in crown gold. The half and quarter-angels are not known and the smaller crown gold denominations are rare.

III. Analysis

Challis summarises the various indentures and commissions which authorised the striking of the coins and he gives a detailed breakdown of the quantities of gold coined at different periods during the reign. ¹² From this it is usually possible to estimate the size of the issue bearing a given privy mark. However there are ambiguities and these have been resolved in two ways. The first involves reference to the records of the pyx trials published by Symonds. ¹³ About one coin in every 300 struck was set aside in the pyx and was later tested to ensure that it met the required standards of weight and fineness. A knowledge of the size of the pyx can thus be used to estimate the size of the coinage from which it was drawn. The second method involves the use of records of coins offered for sale. A detailed analysis of Seaby's *Coin and Medal Bulletin* from 1937–1983 and Spink's *Numismatic Circular* from

New York, 1941).

Although these denominations continued to be minted until at least 1592, the majority of the coins were struck before 1587.

⁴⁰ J. D. A. Thompson, 'Elizabethan ryals and their dutch imitations', NC, 6th ser. 1 (1941), 139–168; H. E. Ives, Foreign Imitations of the English Noble, NNM 93 (ANS.

¹¹ S. Whicher, 'Types of throne treatment on the 'fine' sovereigns of Elizabeth during the period 1584 to 1597', NCirc (April 1938).

C. E. Challis, p. 307-8.

¹² H. Symonds, p. 61-105.

1948–1983 revealed that between them they have offered for sale a total 1369 Elizabethan gold coins. The summary given of this record in table I should, of course, be used with considerable care when estimating the sizes of issues of coins with different privy marks. There are many examples of the same coin being offered on two or three occasions over a period of several months and even a unique coin could pass through the sales rooms several times during a fifty year period. Nevertheless, for most issues there is a good correlation between the sales record and the mint records. Coins with a face value of about £1 appear in the sales record for every £2000 worth of coin issued. The exceptions to this are the crown gold coins of the third issue and the sovereigns and nobles which, because of their greater desirability, appear in the sales record at the rate of about £5 for every £2000 issued. Assuming that the same ratio applies to the mill coins which are also much sought after by collectors, we have estimated that about £16000 was struck in milled gold coin. Table 1 lists all known denominations and privy marks together with the sales record and, where available, the mint record of the size of the issue. Where the mint records are incomplete we have attempted to estimate the issue size using the sales and pyx records. Estimated issues are given in parentheses. We have provided extensive notes to table 1 which provide a chronological commentary on the coinage. Details of the mint indentures and commissions are taken from Challis. Most of the pyx records are taken from Symonds but we are indebted to C. E. Challis for supplying information on the pyxes for the tun, woolpack and key marks from the Goldsmiths Company of London minute book N.

Table 2 gives a listing of the known coins and major varieties by denomination. It is based on the examination of coins in the major collections and photographs appearing in sales lists. We have accepted attributions only where the piece is accessible to public scrutiny i.e. it exists in a public collection or a photograph is available either in sales catalogues or in the plates accompanying this paper.

TABLE 1

Denominations and privy marks of Elizabeth I gold

This table should be read in conjunction with the notes. The first column gives the privy mark and dates between which the coins with this mark were struck. The second column shows the face value struck in each metal during the privy mark period. Values in parentheses are estimates (see text). The remaining columns indicate the number of specimens in the sales record for each denomination and privy mark. A blank or a dash indicates that the particular combination is unknown. Although the sales record is an indication of rarity, particularly desirable coins tend to be over-represented.

First (Tentative) Issue

				Fine Al	Ŭ.		(rown A	U	
31 Dec. 1558	Denominations authorized		30/- (Sovereign)		10/- (Angel)	5(-	201- (pound)	100-	(crown)	3.0
Lis 1 Jan. 1559-	Fine AU	£23 685	(2)		(31)	(12)	1			
31 July 1560	Crown AU	£1 951 –					=	(0)	(0)	(0)
8 Nov 1560	Denominations authorized		30/-	15/-	10)-	5/-	20%	10/-	5/-	2/6
Cross Crosslet 1 Jan. 1561–	Fine AU (-31 Oct 1562)	£7 145	(15)	=	(14)	(4)				
31 Aug. 1565	Crown AU	(£106.278)				=	(88)	(25)	(6)
Star (mill coin) 1 Jan. 1561– c. 1564	Crown AU	(£10 000)					(51)	(8)	(0)

31 Dec. 1558	Denominations authorized		30/- (Sovereign)	Fine AU	101- (Angel)	51-	20i- (pound)	rown . 10:-	AU 5/- (crowi	2/6
Rose 1 Oct. 1565– 31 Mar. 1566	Crown AU	£32 634					Pattern	(17)	(7)	(10)
Portcullis 1 May 1566- 31 Jan. 1567	Crown AU	£15.373						(8)	(0)	(2)
Lion 1 Feb. 1567- -30 June 1567	Crown AU	£6 850						(11)	(1)	(3)
1567 (2)	(Authorisation no	t known)		10/-	5/-	2/6				
Coronet 1 July 1567– 28 Feb. 1570	Fine AU (-30 Sept 1569) Crown AU	£12 026 (£42 671)		(3)	(0)	(2)	-	(22)	(10)	(17)
Lis (mill coin) 14 Feb. 1567– 1 Sept. 1568	Crown AU	(£ 6 000)						(32)	(3)	(1)
Castle 1 Mar. 1570– 15 Dec. 1571	Crown AU	(£14 200)						(7)	(3)	(3)
		Sec	ond (Restor	ation) Is	sue	Ē				
19 April 1572	Denon authori	unations ized					10t- (Ange	t)	5/-	2/6
Ermine 19 April 1572– 30 Oct. 1573	Fine A	U		£21	022		(19)	h	(8)	(3)
Acom 1 Nov. 1573– 25 May 1574	Fine A	U		£8	143		(9)		(4)	(11)
Eglantine 29 May 1574– 30 July 1578	Fine A	U		£14.	525		(7)		(20)	(17)
Cross 1 Oct. 1578– 17 May 1580	Fine A	U		£20	261		(16)		(5)	(11)
Long Cross 1 June 1580– 31 Dec. 1581	Fine A	U		£33	517		(18)		(0)	(6)
Sword 23 July 1582– 31 Jan. 1583	Fine A	U		£35	697		(18)		(6)	(5)
Bell 1 Feb. 1583– 29 Nov. 1583	Fine A	U		(£34	977)		(20)		(8)	(8)

311	OOLD	Commo	LOILL	IZADI		F. F.			
20 April 1584	Additional der authorized	nomination.		30/- double noble	(11)	15)- oble)	10/- (angel)	5/-	2/6
A 1 Dec. 1583– 13 Feb. 1585	Fine AU	(£44 558)		(3)		(3)	(48)	(12)	(9)
Scallop 14 Feb. 1585– 30 May 1587	Fine AU	£56 562		(74)		(12)	(19)	(8)	(16)
<i>Crescent</i> 1 June 1587+ 31 Jan. 1590(?)	Fine AU	£46 973		(7)		(0)	(34)	(2)	(12)
Hand 1 Feb. 1590(?)– 31 Jan. 1592(?)	Fine AU	£40 778		(1)		(0)	(24)	(7)	(3)
Tun 1 Feb. 1592(?)–	Fine AU	(£12 000)		(41)		-	(12)	(0)	(10)
		Third (Res	toration)	Issue					
10 June 1593	Additional denominations authorized	(30/- 15/-	Fine AU 10/- (angel)	5/-	2/6)	20/- (pound)	Crown A 10/-	U 5/- (crown)	2/6
<i>Tun</i> 10 June 1593– 8 May 1594	Fine AU (see above Crown AU (£28 009)) (see above	.)		(42)	(56)	(12)	(7)
Woolpack 9 May 1594–	Fine AU (£2 652)		947	-	-				
13 Feb. 1596 <i>Key</i> 14 Feb. 1596–	Crown AU (£42 739) Fine AU (£14 167)		(0)	(0)	(0)	(65)	(32)	(4)	(15)
7 Feb. 1599	Crown AU (£13 981)					(25)	(5)	(2)	(2)
Anchor 8 Feb. 1599– 30 April 1600	Fine AU (£3 067) Crown AU (£14 098)		(0)	(0)	(0)	(4)	(0)	15-	_
Cypher	Fine AU (£5 000)		(11)		_	4.1	No.Y		
1 May 1600– 20 May 1601	Crown AU (£26 477)					(34)	(1)	(2)	(1)
29 July 1601	Denominations Authorized	=1 :=	10/- (angel)	5/-	2/6	20/- (pound)	10/-	5/- (crown)	2/6
One 29 July 1601–	Fine AU (£292)		(1)	×					
14 May 1602	Crown AU (£14 737)					(27)	(3)	(0)	(1)
Two 15 May 1602-	Fine AU (£1 000)		(5)	:=:	-	23110	27734	(p)	yss.
24 Mar. 1603	Crown AU (£7 000)					(14)	(0)	(0)	(0)

IV. Notes to Table 1

Lis (Hammered). Gold coins were struck with this mark until 31 July 1560 and six of the seven authorised denominations are known, the exception being the pound. Only a few thousand pieces of the crown gold were struck, the bulk of the issue being of fine gold angels. Two varieties of the angels are known, those having only a wire line inner circle and those having the beaded inner circle that was standard for the rest of the reign. No record remains of the pyx of these coins which was presumably held in August 1560. No gold coins with the lis mark were struck after this date and no gold coins of this mark were included in the pyx of 24 October 1561 which did include lis mark silver coins struck between August and October 1560. In an earlier paper one of us suggested that the silver coins from this second pyx were those bearing the inner beaded circle and that the coins from the presumed pyx of August 1560 were those without the beaded inner circle. Since no lis marked gold coins were included in the later pyx but the majority have the beaded inner circle, this theory is no longer tenable. The inclusion of coins with the same mark in two pyxes held at different times is unusual but appears also to have occurred with the gold cross crosslet coins (see above) and with the silver mill coins with the star mark, though unfortunately in none of these cases are both pyxes documented. The beaded inner circle was probably added early in 1560, consistent with the observation that the silver lis coins with the beaded inner circle are more common than those with only the wire line circle.

Cross Crosslet. The mintage accounts for the cross crosslet mark are divided into three periods as follows:

	Fine AU	Crown AU
l Dec. 1560-31 Oct. 1561	£6469	£3812
I Nov. 1561-31 Oct. 1562	686	75133
l Jan. 1563-31 Aug. 1565		37333

This sum presumably also includes the mill coin with privy mark star and this has been allowed for in estimating the size of the cross crosslet issue. The pyx of 24 October 1561 contained £19.15.0 in fine gold in pieces of 30/- and 15/- (sic) and £10.10.0 in crown gold in pieces of 20/-, 10/-, 5/- and 2/6. The mention of 15/- and 20/- means only that these denominations were authorised, not that they were necessarily represented in the pyx, but the pyx must also have included angels and half-angels since the sum of £19.15.0 cannot be made up only of pieces of 30/-. A second pyx must have been held later in 1565 since cross crosslet coins were not mentioned in the pyx that included the broad arrow head silver (13 February 1567).

Star (Mill). Coins with this mark were struck by Eloye Mestrelle using machinery. They are round and well struck and lack the inner beaded circle found on the regular coinage. There is no record of the indenture with Mestrelle, nor of the pyx which may have taken place in 1565 at the same time as the presumed second cross crosslet pyx. The estimate of the size of this issue is based on the sales record on the assumption that £2,000 was issued for every £5 in the sales record.

Rose and Portcullis. These coins were pyxed on 13 February 1567.

Lion. These coins were pyxed with those of privy mark coronet on 13 February 1571.

Coronet. ¹⁵ The estimated crown gold issue of £42,671 is based on the known combined issue of £62,871 for the coronet, castle and lis (mill) marks and the relative frequency of the coins in the sales record. Coronet coins were pyxed on 13 February 1571 together with those of lion and lis (mill). The total value of all gold coins in this pyx was £172.

Lis (Mill). Gold coins bearing this mark were machine struck by Eloye Mestrelle until his apprehension on 1 September 1568 on charges of complicity in forgery. After his subsequent reinstatement in the mint the mark continued to be used on silver coins until 1570 but no further gold was struck. Gold coins with the lis mark have serrated edges, an early form of 'milling', but otherwise they are similar in appearance to the star coins. The

The term coronel is used here to avoid confusion with the crown gold standard and the crown denomination.

¹⁴ I. D. Brown, 'A new mintmark for Elizabeth I', NCirc 80 (1972), 59–60.

¹⁵ In contemporary documents this mark is called a crown.

estimate of the size of the issue is based on the sales record (see star). Lis coins were pyxed on 13 February 1571 with those of coronet and lion.

Castle. For the estimate of the size of this issue see coronet. The pyx was held on 7 May 1572. No details are given.

Ermine. Coins to the value of £57.10.0 were pyxed on 30 October 1573.

Acorn. Coins to the value of £32.2.6 were pyxed on 25 May 1574.

Eglantine. Coins to the value of £59.2.6 were pyxed on 17 May 1580.

(*Greek or Plain*) *Cross*. These coins were struck under a new commission at slightly reduced fineness (992 rather than 995). The sales reports given in the table are approximate since the distinction between the mark 'cross' (all limbs equal) and 'long cross' (extended lower limb) was not always made in the earlier dealer's lists. Coins to the value of £48.10.0 were pyxed on 17 May 1580.

(Latin or) Long Cross. Struck at the lower standard. It is possible that no coins were struck before 28 November 1580, the date of the first commission that fell within the long cross period. Coins to the value of £64.0.0 were pyxed on 5 July 1582.

Sword. These coins were also struck at the lower standard and coins to the value of £80.12.6 were pyxed on 29 November 1583.

Bell. The amount of the issue has been estimated from the sales records, the sizes of the pyx and the mint records which show that £79,535 was issued during the period of the bell and A marks. Bell coins to the value of £72.2,6 were pyxed on 29 November 1583.

A. See bell for the method of estimating the size of this issue. Coins to the value of £106.17.6 were pyxed on 13 February 1585.

Scallop. The size of the issue is estimated from mint records but some coins included under crescent may have been struck with the scallop mark. This mark saw the largest issue of 30/- and 15/- in the reign, about half of all the gold being struck in these denominations, but the issue was still small, the frequency of these pieces in the sales record reflecting more their desirability than their abundance. Coins with the scallop mark were pyxed on 30 May 1587.

Crescent. See scallop regarding the size of the issue. The records of the pyx are missing.

Hand. There is no record of the pyx trial.

Tun. Fine gold to the value of £23.5.0 in pieces of 10/-, 5/- and 2/6 and crown gold to the value of £34.7.6 in pieces of 20/-, 10/-, 5/- and 2/6 were pyxed on 8 May 1594. Although the fine sovereign of 30/- is not mentioned in this pyx it is a relatively common coin. Records for the tun, woolpack and key marks are not complete and the issue sizes have had to be reconstructed. The total issue for these three marks has been estimated at £73.195 by Challis. ¹⁶ Craig provides a breakdown for this period and arrives at a similar total. ¹⁷ The estimates given in the table have been based on these figures, the sales record and the size of the pyxes. The indenture that initiated the third issue was signed during the course of the tun mark. Fine gold coins have been assigned to the second issue although some may have been struck during the period of the third issue. New designs were introduced for the third issue crown gold and patterns of the half-pound are known. The pound coins are fairly rare and some have lions at the end of their obverse legend which may relate to the legislation of 1575 which introduced the lion passant guardant as a mark for 22 ct gold. This was the first issue of crown gold since the legislation was passed.

Woolpack. In the pyx of 13 February 1596, £10.10.0 was included in fine gold in denominations of 30/-, 15/-, 10/-, 5/- and 2/6 and £83.2.6 in crown gold in denominations of 20/-, 10/-, 5/- and 2/6. Probably not all the fine gold denominations were struck with this mark and in any case none are now known though some key quarter-angels have the privy mark struck over woolpack. See tun for a discussion of the estimates of the sizes of the issues.

Key. Fine gold to the value of £52.7.6 in pieces of 10/-, 5/- and 2/6 and crown gold to the value of £50.12.6 in pieces of 20/-, 10/-, 5/- and 2/6 were pyxed on 7 February 1599. In spite of the large pyx size the three angel denominations are rare as are the 5/- and 2/6 in crown gold. The estimates for the issue size are based on the figure given by Craig but there is a serious discrepancy between the figures given by Craig and those given by Challis for the crown gold struck during the marks key and anchor.

Anchor. The estimates of the issue size are based on the mint records as given by Craig (but see above under key). The coins were pixed on 30 April 1600.

Cypher. The estimate of the size of the issue are based on the figures given by Challis and the sales record. The coins were pyxed on 20 May 1601.

One. The sizes of the issues have been estimated from the mint records for the combined periods of marks one and two (£1,292 in fine gold and £21,739 in crown gold), the pyx records (for mark 2) and the sales record. The pyx records for one are missing but the trial was held on 14 May 1602.

Two. See privy mark one for the method of estimating the sizes of this issue. Coins to the value of £3.12.6 in fine gold and £24.10.0 in crown gold were pyxed on 7 June 1603.

TABLE 2

Listing of Varieties

Table 2 is arranged by denomination and within each denomination chronologically. Variations in busis and legend readings are noted. In all cases the provenance given refers to a public collection, to an illustration (e.g. in a sales catalogue) or to one of the plates. Where none of these is available citations are given to places where the piece has been referred to, but these should not be taken as evidence that such a piece exists. The bust numbering is taken from Brown and Comber for the hammered coins and from reference in Borden and Brown for the milled. ¹⁸

Abbreviations used for Provenances

AM Ashmolean Museum, Oxford Barnes J. H. Barnes, Sotheby, 26 June 1974

BM British Museum, London.
CHC C. H. Comber, Private Collection

Clont Clonterbrook Trust (Lockett coins), Glendining/Baldwin, 7 June 1974

Doubleday Gordon V. Doubleday, Glendining, 20 November 1961

FM Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge

Glen Glendining's Auction (date) – lot number Graham K. V. Graham, Glendining, 12 June 1963

H Hunterian Cabinet, Glasgow

Hird Alderman H. Hird, Glendining, 30 May 1961

LM City and County Museum, Lincoln

Lockett R. C. Lockett, English sales, Glendining, 1955–1961 – lot number

(Plate numbers refer to the photographs of coins not illustrated in the catalogues. These can be viewed at the British Museum.)

Murdoch J. G. Murdoch, Sotheby, 31 March 1903

Noble Mr & Mrs B. R. Noble, Glendining/Spink, 11 December 1975

Raynes W. L. Raynes, Glendining, 15 February 1950 Ryan V. J. E. Ryan, Glendining, 28 June 1950

Spink Spinks Auction Catalogues (Sale number) – lot number SCMB Seaby's Coin and Medal Bulletin – (date) – coin number NCirc Spinks Numismatic Circular – (date) – coin number TBCT T. Bryan Clarke Thornbill. Glendining, 24 May 1937

Although many coins from the V. J. E. Ryan (Glendining 28 June 1950) and R. C. Lockett (11 Oct. 1956, 4 Nov. 1958; 26 Apr. 1960 and 17 Nov. 1961) collections have subsequently reappeared on the market, we have retained the original reference unless the coin is now in a museum collection.

⁴⁸ I. D. Brown and C. H. Comber, "Portrait Punches used on the Hammered Comage of Queen Clizabeth I", BNJ 58
(1988), 90–6; D. G. Borden and I. D. Brown, p. 108–132

100		COLD CONTROL				
100		GOLD COINAGE				
SOVEREIGN OF 30 SHILLINGS						
		First	Issue			
Obverse ELIZABETH: D?G?ANG?FRA?ET*HIBE?REGINA:. [Oueen seated on throne, portcullis below]						
Reverse	Reverse A:DNO?FACTV?EST-ISTVD:ET-EST-MIRAB?IN:OCVLIS:NRIS? [Royal arms on Tudor Rose]					
Throne Pill	ars	Five large pellets	each side.			
Throne Bac	ck	Pellets in lozenge	hatching.			
		Vari	eties			
Number	Obverse	Reverse	Remarks	Provenance		
AI	Lis. Z:HB? no chains on portcullis	Lis. Z for et istv mira ocvl		AM. Lockett-1948 (pl. 8)		
A2	Lis, Z:HIB? no chains on portcullis	Lis, z for et mirabi ocv		Ryan-268. Glen (3 Oct. 1963)-136		
A3	Lis, z:HiB? no chains on portcullis	Lis. z for et mirabi ocv nri		ВМ		
A4	Cross Crosslet	Cross Crosslet/ lis ISTV MIRA OCVL ET OVER Z	Same R die as A1	BM, SCMB (Dec. 1983)– EG95, Lockett–1949, Raynes–115, Glen (28 Nov. 1974)–558 (pl. 8)		
A5	Cross Crosslet	Cross Crosslet		BM, SCMB (Dec.1965)-G2441A		
		Second	ł Issue			
		Double Noble	e – Sovereign			
Obverse		portcullis below. I pattern containing (a) plain or decora	The back of the throne (i) pellets or (ii) annul ated with (b) single pellets of and double pellets of the control of the cont	[Queen seated on throne is decorated with cross hatched ets. The pillars of the throne are llets or (c) lis and quatrefoils of or (c) annulet and single pellet or		

A:DNO?FACTV?EST:ISTVD:ET:EST:MIRAB? IN:OCVLIS:NRS [Royal arms on Tudor rose]

Reverse

Number	Obverse	Reverse	Remarks	Provenance
A6	A/Cross Crosslet i b, HIBE?	A/Crosslet NRIS		Lockett-3273
A7	A ii c	A/Cross Crosslet NRIS		Lockett-1950 (pl. 8)
A8	A i b	A		ВМ
	Note: From	n now on tressure is b	proken by Queen's h	ead only
A9	A i b	A		Lockett-4088, Glen (26 Nov. 1980)-24
A 10	Scallop/A i b	Scallop/A		BM, Lockett-4382
All	Scallop i d	Scallop/A		Lockett-1951
A12	Scallop i d	Scallop NRIS		BM, Lockett-3274
A13	Scallop ii d	Scallop NRIS		Lockett-4383
A14	Scallop ii d	Scallop/A		Glen (26 Nov. 1980)-26
AlS	Scallop ii f	Scallop		BM, Spink(16)-28
A16	Scallop ii f	Scallop OCVL		Lockett-3275
A17	Scallop i e	Scallop		BM, Glen (4 Mar. 1981)-30
A18	Scallop i b	Scallop		Lockett-4384, Spink (9)-367
A19	Crescent/Scallop ii d	Crescent/Scallop		Lockett-1952
A20	Crescent/Scallop ii d	Crescent/Scallop OCVL		BM, Lockett-4089
A21	Crescent/Scallop ii f	Crescent/Scallop		ВМ
A22	Crescent i a	Crescent/Scallop		Lockett-3276
A23	Hand(?/Crescent) i b	Hand/Crescent		BM, Graham-25 (pl. 8)

102		GOLD COI	NAGE OF E	LIZABETII I	
Number	Obverse	Reverse	Re	marks	Provenance
S	Hand/Crescent/ Scallop b	Hand/Cres Scallop	scent		Ryan-273 (not illustrated)]
[A25]	Hand	Hand			Mentioned by Whicher ¹¹
A26	Γun	Tun			BM. Spink (32)–316. Spink
ji	b	OCVL			(9)–368
		NOBLE (R	(YAL) OF 15	SHILLINGS	
			Second Issue	2	
Obverse			G?ANG?FR?ET anding in a co	HIB:REGINA:. ntemporary saili	ng ship]
Reverse		1HS?AVT?T	RANSIENS PER	MEDIV'II.LORVM	1-IBAT [Geometric design]
Note		Prow of sh reverse, so	metimes prop	in legend as inc er, sometimes in	licated below. Crowned lions on saltire. Differing number of sail ie numbering of Thompson (T) is
			Varieties		
Number	Privy Mark (reverse only)	HIB	Sail Furls	Rev. Lions	Provenance
B1 T(02/R1) B2 T(01/R1) B3 T(02/R1) B4 B5 B6 T(01/R2,R3 B7 T(05/R3*) B8 B9 T(05/R5)	·A· ·A· Escallop/·A· Escallop/·A· Escallop Crescent Crescent Hand	HI/B H/IB HI/B H/IB H/IB H/IB HI/B HI/B	2 left, 3 rig 2 left, 3 rig 3 left, 3 rig 2 left, 4 rig 3 left, 2 rig	nt Proper nt Proper nt Proper nt Saltire nt Proper nt Proper nt Proper	Spink (9)–369 Lockett-3277 BM Ryan-275 Graham-26, TBCT-108 BM, Lockett-1954 BM Ryan-276, (pl. 8) BM – only known specimen with this privy mark. (pl. 8)

NB: The Hand piece has a lion each side of the rose on the obverse as do the Continental imitations; these latter pieces (normally of privy mark A) are not included in this study (see Thompson and Ives). ¹⁰ Some of the earlier regular issue ryals also have two obverse lions.

ANGELS OF 10 SHILLINGS

First Issue

Obverse	ELIZABETH D?G?ANG?FRA?ET HIB?REGINA? [St. Michael slaying the dragon, beaded inner circles (except as noted)]
Reverse	A:DNO-FACTVM EST-ISTVD ET EST-MIRABL. [Medieval ship facing right with crowned wooden cross instead of mast, beaded inner circles (except as noted)]

Number	Obverse	Reverse	Remarks	Provenance
C1	Lis Wire line circle FRAN REGI. Z for ET	Lis Wire line circle z for ET, MIRABILE		BM. Lockett-1956 (pl. 9)
C2	Lis Wire line circle FRAN REGI. Z for ET	Lis Wire line circle z for ET		Raynes-123
C3	Lis Wire line circle REG. Z for ET	Lis Wire line circle z for ET	ž	BM
C4	Lis REGI. Z for ET	Lis Wire line circle z for E1		ВМ
C5	Lis REGI. Z for ET	Lis z for et E/Rose, Rose/E		Ryan-279
C6	Lis REGI. Z for ET	Lis z for et mirab		Lockett-3278
C7	Cross Crosslet	Cross Crosslet E/Rose, Rose/E		BM SCMB (Dec.1956) -G1717 (pl. 9)
C8	Cross Crosslet FR	Cross Crosslet E/Rose, Rose/E		SCMB (May 1973)-G2466
C9	Coronet	Coronet	Now very rare	BM. Lockett-4090
		Second	Issue	
Obverse		ELIZABETH D'G'AN [St. Michael slaying	G'FRA'EFIII?REGINA' g the dragon]	
Reverse			ISTVD:ET EST MIRABI ng right (except as no	ted) with crowned wooden cross

104 GOLD COINAGE OF ELIZABETH I									
	Varieties								
Number	Obverse	Reverse	Remarks	Provenance					
C10	3 ptd. Ermine	3 ptd. Ermine	Ship faces left	BM. SCMB (Dec. 1969)-G2761					
CII	Bulb. Ermine	Bulb. Ermine	Ship faces left	BM. SCMB (Jan. 1962)–G19,					
Clla			(C'mkd. with Dutch arms on obv	Lockett-1959 .)					
C12	Acorn/Ermine	Acorn/Ermine	Ship faces left	BM. Lockett-4091 (pl. 9)					
C13	Acorn	Acorn	Ship faces left (C'mkd, with Dutch arms on rev.	BM)					
C14	Eglantine	Eglantine	Ship faces left	BM, Lockett-3279					
C15	Eglantine	Eglantine		Lockett-1960					
C16	Cross/Eglantine	Cross/Eglantine		Lockett-4385					
C17	Cross	Cross		BM, Glen (28 Nov.1974)-561					
C18	Long Cross/Cross	Long Cross		SCMB (Jan. 1962)-G20					
C19	Long Cross	Long Cross		BM, 11, SCMB (May 1973)-G2465					
C20	Sword	Sword		BM, SCMB (Aug. 1966)-G1772					
C21	Bell/Sword (?)	Bell/Sword		ВМ					
C22	Bell/Sword	Bell		Ryan-288					
C23	Bell/Sword	Bell	No bowsprit to ship	Ryan-289					
C24	Bell	Bell		Lockett-4386					
C25	Bell	Bell	No bowsprit to ship	Lockett-1963					
C26	A/Bell	A/Bell		Glen (12 May 1982)-25					
C27	A/Bell	A		BM. Glen (10 Mar. 1982)-174					
C28	A	A/Bell	No bowsprit to ship	Lockett-3280					
C29	A	A		BM, Lockett-1964					
C30	Scallop/A	Scallop/A		Spink (11)-953					

		17.40.70		
Number	Obverse	Reverse	Remarks	Provenance
C31	Scallop/A	Scallop		BM
C32	Scallop	Scallop/A		NCirc (June 1976)-4647
C33	Scallop	Scallop		BM, Lockett-1965
C34	Crescent/Scallop	Crescent	(A variety has T in second EST overstruck)	SCMB (May 1972)-G691. NCirc (Sept. 1983)-5560
C35	Crescent	Crescent	(A variety has letter A in ELIZABETH over B	BM. Spink (32)–318. SCMB (1986) EG 29
C36	Hand/Crescent	Hand/Crescent		SCMB (June 1974)-G431
C37	Hand/Crescent	Hand		BM? Glen (9 Dec.1981)-397
C38	Hand	Hand/Crescent	(may be same as C39)	Spink (16)-29
C39	Hand	Hand		BM, Lockett-1966
C40	Tun	Tun/Hand	B of mirabi looks like R	SCMB (June 1960)-G794
C41	Tun	Tun		BM, Glen (3 Oct1963)-151
C42	Tun	Tun MIRARI		BM, Ryan-293
		Third I	ssue	
Number	Obverse	Reverse	Remarks	Provenance
[C43	Woolpack	Woolpack	not known but pyxe	d]
C44	Large Key (R)	Medium Key (L)		ВМ
C45	Large Key (R)/?	Medium Key (L)/?		ВМ
C46	Anchor/Key	Anchor	No Bowsprit to ship	Lockett-1967 (pl. 9)
C47	Anchor HB	Anchor		ВМ
C48	Cypher IIIB	Cypher		BM, Lockett-1968
C49	One	One	Probably less than 6 now known	Ryan-295. Doubleday-123 (pl. 9)
C50	Two HIB	Two		BM. Lockett-3282

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GOLD COINAGE OF ELIZABETH I

HALF-ANGEL OF 5 SHILLINGS

First Issue

Obverse FLIZ	ABETH-D?G?ANG?FRA?ET HIB?REGINA
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[St. Michael slaying the dragon, beaded inner circles]

Reverse A:DNO?FACTVM:EST-ISTVD:ET-EST-MIRA?

[Medieval ship facing right with crowned wooden cross instead of mast,

beaded inner circles]

Varieties

Number	Obverse	Reverse	Remarks	Provenance
DI	Lis z for et No regina	Lis Z for ET. M for MIRA		BM, Ryan-297, Lockett-1969
D2	Cross Crosslet	Cross Crosslet E/Rose and Rose/E		Lockett-3283
D3	Coronet FR. HI	Coronet	Now an extremely rare coin	Ryan-298 (pl. 9)

Second Issue

Obverse ELIZABETH: D:G:ANG:FR ET:HI:REGINA [St. Michael slaying the dragon]

Reverse A:DNO;FACTVM:EST ISTVD ET-EST:MIRA

[Medieval ship facing right with crowned wooden cross instead of mast]

Number	Obverse	Reverse	Remarks	Provenance
D4	3 ptd Ermine	3 ptd Ermine		Lockett-1970
D5	3 ptd Ermine an	3 ptd Ermine		BM, Lockett-4094 (pl. 9)
D6	Acorn	Acorn		BM, Lockett-4388
D7	Eglantine	Eglantine		BM, Lockett-1971
D8	Cross	Cross		BM, Lockett-1972
Da	Long Cross	Long Cross E and rose by cross omitted	Very rare	Ryan-302, <i>SCMB</i> (July/ Aug. 1984) EG53 (pl. 9)
D10	Sword	Sword		BM, Lockett-1973
D11	Bell/Sword	Bell		Clont-176
D12	Bell	Bell/Sword		BM
D13	Bell	Bell		BM, Lockett-4389

Varieties

Number	Obverse	Reverse	Remarks	Provenance
D14	A/BelI	A/Bell		BM, Lockett-1974
D15	Scallop/A	Scallop/A		BM. SCMB (Aug. 1961)G-1366
D16	Scallop FLIZAB HIB REGI	Scallop/A		Ryan-305
D17	Crescent/Scallop	Crescent Scallop		BM, Lockett-4095
D18	Crescent/Scallop	Crescent		BM
D19	Hand/Crescent	Hand FACTV MIRAB		ВМ, Н
D20	Hand IIIB	Hand		Clont-177
D21	Hand IIIB	Hand FACTV MIRAB		ВМ
D22	Key	Key/Woolpack	Described as Key over woolpack in catalogue – not visible on illustration but reverse privy mark is overstamped	

QUARTER-ANGELS

First Issue

Type and legends presumably similar to second issue

Reverse

Number

Obverse

Remarks

Provenance

(E)	Coronet	Coronet	Reported but not illustrated. May not exist.	NCirc ₁ (Apr.1971)-4175] as a query – weak privy mark NCirc ₁ (Nov. 1972)-10428 NCirc ₁ (Aug.1899) and NCirc ₁ (March 1902)- these 2 coins are undoubtedly the same. None of the above coins is illustrated	
		Second	Issue		
Obverse		LLIZABETH D'GJANG'FRANCIE: [St. Michael slaying the dragon]			
Reverse		ET HIBERNIE-REGINA FIDE: [Medieval ship facing right with crowned wooden cross instead of mast]			
Number	Obverse	Reverse	Remarks	Provenance	
E2	3 ptd Ermine	3 ptd Ermine		BM, Lockett-1976(P1.60)	
E3	Acorn	Acorn/Ermine		BM. Lockett-3286	

108		GOLD COINAGE (OF ELIZABETH I	
Number	Obverse	Reverse	Remarks	Provenance
[E4	Acorn	Acorn		SCMB (June 1971)-G722] not illustrated
E5	Eglantine	Eglantine	A variety may occur with mark over acorn either sic	BM, SCMB (April 1976)–G405 de
E6	Cross	Cross		BM, (pl. 9)
E7	Long Cross/Cross	Long Cross		SCMB (Sept.1955)-G1309
E8	Long Cross	Long Cross		BM, Lockett-4096
E9	Sword	Sword		BM
E10	Bell	Bell/Sword		BM
EII	Bell	Bell		BM, Lockett-1979
E12	A/Bell	A		BM
EI3	A	A	Probably same as E12. Illustration poor	SCMB (Aug.1957)-G1158
E14	Scallop	Scallop		BM. Ryan-310
[E15	Crescent/Scallop	Crescent/Scallop		SCMB (Oct.1958)-G1447] (Not illustrated)
[E16	Crescent/Scallop	Crescent		SCMB (Oct.1959)–G1635] (Not illustrated)
E17	Crescent	Crescent		BM, Lockett-1980 (May be E16)
E18	Hand	Hand		BM, Lockett-4391, Ryan-311
E19	Tun	Tun		BM, Lockett-4097
		Third I	ssue	
		Type and legend sam	e as Second Issue	
E20	Key/Woolpack FRAN	Key/Woolpack FIDE		Lockett-3288 (pl. 9)
E21	Key FRAN	Key FIDE		ВМ
E22	Anchor	None		BM

CROWN GOLD

POUND OF TWENTY SHILLINGS

First Issue

Privy Mark - Rose

Number	Obverse Legend	Reverse Legend	Provenance
F1	ELIZABETH.D?G?ANG?FRAN?ET:	IHS?AVTEM.TRANS?PER:	AM
	HIB?REGINA1	MEDIVALLORABAT	(pl. 9)
Note:	faces left, and features a ruff a The reverse shield is of fine wo wireline circles are evident on Both known examples are in t	nd ermine mantle. rk and slightly garnished. The both sides, probably to serv the Ashmolean Museum, an are pattern pieces probably	there are no beaded circles, but faint we as register marks for the legend, and although showing some signs of a struck in 1565, as suggested by the d Sutherland.

POUNDS OF TWENTY SHILLINGS

Third Issue

			intra issue				
Obverse		[Large elaborat	ELIZABETH:D?G°ANG°FRA°ET·HIB°REGINA° [Large elaborately decorated bust with crown penetrating inner circle Privy mark at beginning of legend. Stops in legend are pellets except a noted]				
Reverse		Stops in legend		d Royal Arms flanked by ER. (b) double pellets or (c) single			
Number	Obverse	Reverse	Remarks	Provenance			
F2	Lion and Tun Bust 7A Annulet stops	Tun b		Barnes-137			
F3	Lion and Tun Bust 7A Annulet stops	Tun d		BM, Lockett-198) (pl. 9)			
F4	Tun Bust 7A	Tun d	N.B. Some examples of F4 may have the lion erased from the obverse die – cf. SCMB (Apr.1973) –G2378	Lockett-4098			
F5	Woolpack Bust 8A Annulet stops	Woolpack b		SCMB (May 1968)-G688			
			L	ad at 1565' MC 5th age 15 (1021)			

¹⁹ A. Mallison, 'A rose-marked pound of queen Elizabeth', NC 5th ser, 14 (1934), 8-14, C. H. V. Sutherland, 'A 136-137.

110		GOLD COINAGE O	F ELIZABETH I	
Number	Obverse	Reverse	Remarks	Provenance
F6	Woolpack Bust 8A Annulet stops	Woolpack c		BM, Lockett-1982
F7	Woolpack Bust 8A Annulet stops	Woolpack d		BM, Noble-573
F8	Woolpack Bust 8A	Woolpack c		BM. Spink (16)-525
F9	Woolpack Bust 8A	Woolpack d		BM. Spink (16)-524
F10	Woolpack (at end of legend). Bust 8A HI Bust	Woolpack c		BM (pt. 9)
F11	Key/Woolpack Bust 8A	Key/Woolpack a		Lockett-1983
F12	Key/Woolpack Bust 8A	Key/Woolpack c		BM. SCMB (Sept.1980) -A710
F13	Key/Woolpack Bust 8A	Long Key a		BM. Ryan-315
F14	Key/Woolpack at end of legend) Bust 8A HIBER	Key/Woolpack a		Spink (9)–370. Lockett–3289
FI5	Key/Woolpack (at end of legend) Bust 8A HIBER	Key/Woolpack c		ВМ
F16	Key/Woolpack (at end of legend) Bust 8A HIBER	Long Key		ВМ
F17	same as F16	Medium Key a		Glen(22 Sept.1982) -18
F18	Long Key Bust 8A FR	Key/Woolpack a		Glen (4 Mar, 1981)-31
F19	Small Key Bust 8A	Long Key a		ВМ
F20	Anchor/Key Bust 8A	Anchor/Key a		BM, Ryan-316

		GOLD COINAG	E OF ELIZABETH I	111
Number	Obverse	Reverse	Remarks	Provenance
F21	Anchor/Key Bust 8A	Anchor/Key b	N.B. Anchor over Key over Woolpack is noted by H. A. Seaby but not verified by us	Lockett-3290
F22	Cypher Bust 8A	Cypher a		BM. Spink (32)-376
F23	One: Bust 8A	One: a		BM, Lockett-3291 (P1.60)
F24	Two: Bust 8A	Two:		BM, SCMB (Feb 1983)-EG10, Glen (4 March 1981)-32
		HALF-POUND (OF TEN SHILLINGS	
		Fire	et Issue	

F24 Two: Two: BM.	
Bust 8A a SCMB (Feb	1983)-EG10. rch 1981)-32
HALF-POUND OF TEN SHILLINGS	
First Issue	
Obverse ELIZABETH: D?G?ANG?FR?ET HI?REGINA [Portrait of queen, beaded inner circle (except where	noted)]
Reverse SCVTVM:FIDEL:PROTEGET-EAM [Royal arms flanked by ER, beaded inner circle (exce	pt where noted)]
Number Obverse Reverse Remarks Provenance	
G1 Lis, Bust IB Wire line inner Possibly unique CHC circle Large crown with frosted interior FRA?Z-HIB?REGINA CHC	
G2 Lis, Bust 1B Wire line inner circle circle PROTEGE? FRA?Z:HIB?REGIN?	
G3 Lis, Bust 1B Wire Lis, Wireline inner BM line inner circle circle FRA7Z 111B7REGIN?	
G4 Lis, Bust 1B Wire Lis, Wireline inner BM. line inner circle. circle PROTEGE? (pl. 9, 10)	
G5 Cross Crosslet Cross Crosslet Deterioration of BM. Bust 3C PROTEGT the jewels on the Graham-29 crown arch provide a means of finding the relative date of coins with bust 3C	
G6 Cross Crosslet Cross Crosslet BM. Bust 3C SCMB (Dec	c.1983)-1:G95

112		GOLD COINAGE	OF ELIZABETH I	
Number	Obverse	Reverse	Remarks	Provenance
G7	Cross Crosslet Bust 3C	Cross Crosslet		BM, Spink (32)–313; Ryan–321. (pl. 10)
[G7 ^A	Rose/Cross Crosslet FRA Bust 3C	Rose/Cross Crosslet	Specific reference to over-marking on both sides – unconfirmed.	NCirc (Jan.1968)–78 (not illustrated)
G8	Rose Bust 3C FRA	Rose/Cross ²⁰ Crosslet		BM. Spink (24)-216
G9	Rose Bust 3C FRA	Rose		BM, Lockett-3292
G10	Portcullis Bust 3C FRA	Portcullis		BM, SCMB (Jan.1967)-G32
G11	Portcullis Bust 3C	Portcullis	Erroneously described NCirc (Sept.1974) a reading SCVIVM. – i reads normally but the T is weak	
G12	Portcullis Bust 3C HIB	Portcullis PROTEGE:TEAM		ВМ
G13	Portcullis Bust 3C AN. HIB	Portcullis PROTEGE: TEAM		BM
G14	Lion Bust 3E	Lion	Very rare	BM, H, Lockett-1988 (pl. 10)
G15	Lion Bust 4A	Lion	Three known	Ryan-325, LM, CHC (pl. 10)
G16	Coronet Bust 4A	Coronet		BM, Spink (16)-520
G17	Coronet Bust 4A	Coronet SCVTV?		SCMB (Mar.1964)-G509
G18	Castle Bust 4A	Castle		BM, Lockett-4099, Spink (16)-521
		HALF-P	OUNDS	
		Third	Issue	
Obverse			FRA?ET-HIB?REGINA t of Queen with crown	penetrating inner circle]

²⁹ The present paper owes its existence to a comment about these coins by H. Schneider in 'Lot 216', *NCirc* 91 (1983), 221–2 and the response by C. H. Comber in *NCirc* 91 (1983), 341.

Reverse		SCVTVM:FIDEI.PROTEGET:EAM [Royal arms flanked by ER]			
Number	Obverse	Reverse	Remarks	Provenance	
G19	Tun Bust P2 ELIZABETH HI		No inner circles, undoubtedly a pattern. Probably unique	BM (pl. 10)	
G20	Tun Bust P3 ELIZABETH HI		Bust wholly within inner circle, usually described as a pattern. Extremely rare	BM, AM (pl. 10)	
G21	Tun Bust 7B	Tun (single pellet stops)		Spink (16)–526	
G22	Tun Bust 7B	Tun (double pellet stops)	Ryan-329 (pl. 10)	
G23	Tun Bust 7B REGIN	Tun (single pellet stops)		Spink (6)-593	
G24	Tun Bust 7B REGIN	Tun (double pellet stops	,	Lockett-1989	
G25	Tun Bust 7B REGI	Tun (single pellet stops)		ВМ	
G26	Woolpack Bust 8B ELIZABETH HI	Woolpack	R of REGINA over B of HIB?	BM, Lockett-4394, SCMB (Dec.1971)-G1736 (pl. 10)	
G27	Woolpack Bust 8B ELIZABETH HIB	Woolpack	Larger shield on some reverse dies see (pl. 10)	BM. Noble-574	
G28	Key Bust 8B	Key		BM, Ryan-331, Lockett-1990	
G29	Anchor/Key Bust 8B ELIZABETH ANG FRA HI	Anchor/Key		BM, Lockett-3293	
G30	Cypher Bust 8B ang Fra Hib	Cypher		BM, Ryan-332 (pl. 10)	
G31	One Bust 8B ANG FRA HIB	One:		BM, Lockett-1991	
G32	Two: Bust 8B ANG FRA HIB	Two:		BM, Lockett-4100	

114		GOLD COINAGE C	F ELIZABETH I	
		CROWN OF FIV	E SHILLINGS	
Obverse			G?FR?ET·HIB?REGINA beaded inner circles (except where noted)]
Reverse		SCVTVM:FIDEI:PROTI [Royal arms flanked		er circles (except where noted)]
Number	Obverse	Reverse	Remarks	Provenance
ні	Lis No inner circles. Bust 1E with pearls between straps. FRA'Z HIB!REGI	Lis Wireline inner circles	Excessively rare the obverse die is used on one groat (possibly unique) which R. Carlyon– Britton had in his 1949 collection	BM, CHC (pl. 10)
H2:	Cross Crosslet Bust 1F AN HI	Cross Crosslet prob, over lis	Same reverse die as H1 with beaded inne circles added	SCMB (Oct. 1978)–A962
Н3	Cross Crosslet Bust 1F HI	Cross Crosslet		BM. SCMB (Jan.1971)-G20
H4	Cross Crosslet Bust 1F	Cross Crosslet		BM. Lockett-1992
H5	Cross Crosslet Bust 1F AN HI	Cross Crosslet		ВМ
H6	Rose/Cross Crosslet Bust 1F	Rose		ВМ
H7	Rose/Cross Crosslet Bust 1F	Rose (Inverted A's for V's in SCVTVM)		Noble-566
[H7A	Rose Bust 1F	Rose		Ryan-336, SCMB (Jan.1958)] -G19(neither illustrated)
H8	Portcullis Bust 1F AN	Portcullis		BM. Ryan~337 (pl. 10)
H9	Lion Bust 4C	Lion PRTEGET		ВМ
H10	Coronet Bust 4C	Coronet		BM, Lockett-1993
H11	Coronet Bust 4C AN	Coronet		BM (pl. 10)
H12	Castle Bust 4C	Castle	Extremely rare	Lockett-3294, CHC (pl. 10)

Third Issue

Obverse		ELIZAB?D?G?ANG?FRA?ET·IIIB?REGI? [Elaborate portrait of queen, privy mark at beginning of legend]			
Reverse		SCVTVM-FIDE:PROTEGET-EAM- [Royal arms flanked by ER]			
Number	Obverse	Reverse	Remarks	Provenance	
H13	Tun Bust 7C	Tun		BM. Lockett-3295	
H14	Woolpack Bust 7C	Woolpack		Lockett-1994; SCMB (Feb.1969)-G122	
H15	Woolpack (at end of legend) Bust 7C	Woolpack		Ryan-34()	
H16	Woolpack (at end of legend) Bust 7C	Woolpack EA?		BM, SCMB (Dec.1978) -A1216	
H17	Woolpack (at end of legend) Bust 7C FR?	Woolpack		ВМ	
H18	Woolpack	Woolpack		SCMB (July.1984)-EG55	
	(at end of legend) Bust 7C FR?	EA?	*		
H19	Key/Woolpack (at end of legend) Bust 7C FR?	Key EA?		CHC ex Ryan-341 (pl. 11)	
H20	Key (at end of legend) Bust 7C FR?	Key EA?		NCire (Oct.1976) -8242	
[H21	Anchor	Anchor		Untraced – this probably does not exist]	
1122	Cypher Bust 8C FR?HI?	Cypher EA?		BM. Lockett-4101	
H23	One: Bust 8C	One: EA?	Possibly unique: Noted by Baldwin and re-purchased by Baldwin ex Lockett ²	Lockett-1995	
H24	Two: Bust 8C	Two: EA?		BM. Lockett-3296, NCirc (Oct.1986)-6845 (pl. 11)	

²¹ Exhibited at the British Numismatic Society by A. H. F. Baldwin, BNJ 20 (1931), 213.

				28 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1		
1	116	GOLD COINAGE OF ELIZABETH I				
		HALF-CR		LLINGS AND SIX I	PENCE	
			First Is	sue		
	Obverse	ELIZABETH: D?G?ANG?FRA?Z:HIB?RE? [Portrait of queen, wireline inner circles (except where noted)]				
	Reverse		[Royal arms on small shield (7.5 × 7mm) flanked by ER, wireline inner circles (except where noted)]			
	Number	Obverse	Reverse	Remarks	Provenance	
	11	Lis Bust 1G with pearls between straps. Dover G	Lis	One of the half- groat dies was used for the half-crown with pearls added to punch.	BM [Ex Carlyon-Britton]. The only other known specimen was noted in NCirc Jan. 1902 and later illustrated in Murdoch–599, now in CHC. (pl. 11)	
	J2:	Cross Crosslet over lis Beaded inner Circles Bust 1G ELIZBETH: ET	Cross Crosslet over lis Beaded inner circles	Lis not visible either side. Reverse die of J1 used with beaded inner circle added	CHC	
	Obverse		ELIZABETH: D?G?AN?FR?ET·HI?REGINA [Portrait of queen, beaded inner circles]			
	Reverse		SCVTVM:FIDEI:PROTEGET:EAM [Royal arms on shield 9.25×8 mm flanked by ER, beaded inner circles]			
	Number	Obverse	Reverse	Remarks	Provenance	
	J3	Cross Crosslet Bust 1G	Cross Crosslet Second V in SCVTVM inverted	1	Hird 58 (pl. 11)	
	J4	Cross Crosslet Bust 1G	Cross Crosslet		AM. SCMB (May 1972)–G693	
	J5	Cross Crosslet Bust 3F	Cross Crosslet	J5 is the common variety	BM. Lockett-1996. Ryan-344 (pl. 11)	
	J6	Rose Bust 3F	Rose		ВМ	
	J7	Rose Bust 1G	Rose		BM, SCMB (Aug. 1977) -A1311	
	18	Portcullis Bust 1G ANG?	Portcullis		BM, SCMB (Feb.1967)-G263	
	19	Lion Bust 4D	Lion		BM, Noble-567 (pl. 11)	
	J10	Coronet Bust 4D ANG?	Coronet		ВМ	

GOLD COINAGE OF ELIZABETH I					
Number	Obverse	Reverse	Remarks	Provenance	
J11	Castle Bust 4D ANG?	Castle		ВМ	
J12	Castle Bust 4D ANG?	Castle PROTEET		Ryan-347, <i>SCMB</i> (Aug.1983) EG72, Spink (29)-68, <i>SCMB</i> (May 1986)-EG28	
		Third I	ssue		
Obverse		ELIZAB?D?G?ANG?FI [Elaborate portrait	RPET HIBPREGI of queen, privy mark	at start of legend	
Reverse		SCVTVM:FIDEI:PROTEGET EAM [Royal arms on shield 7.5×7.25 mm. flanked by ER]			
Number	Obverse	Reverse	Remarks	Provenance	
J13	Tun Bust 7D	Tun		BM, Lockett-4395	
J14	None Bust 7D	Tun		BM, Lockett-1997	
J15	Woolpack Bust 7D	Woolpack		BM, Lockett-1998	
J16	Woolpack (at end of legend) Bust 7D	Woolpack	Woolpack over Tun is listed SCMB (Nov.1950)–G957 Not illustrated and unconfirmed	SCMB (Sept/Oct.1964)-G20 CHC	
:J17	Key/Woolpack (at end of legend) Bust 7D	Key/Woolpack		Lockett-3297, CHC (pl. 11)	
J18	Key (at end of legend) Bust 7D	Key/Woolpack		ВМ	
119	None Bust 7D HPREGIN2	Key/Woolpack		BM	
J20	Anchor Bust 7D	Anchor	Probably unique	CHC ex Ryan-350 (pl. 11)	
J21	Cypher Bust 7D HI?	Cypher		BM. NCirc (Dec.1989)-6477	
[J22	One: Bust 7D	One:		NCirc (Dec. 1898)–50157] NCirc (Jan. 1900)–59202. NCirc (Jan. 1902)–68963. NCirc (Mar. 1902)–81274. All 4 references are to the same coin. No illustration traced. All say 'Rare Date. Unpublished RR F £2/5/-	
J23	Two: Bust 7D	Two: FA		BM. Lockett-4102	

GOLD COINAGE OF ELIZABETH I MILL COINAGE IN CROWN GOLD

First Issue

(reference is given to the numbering of Borden and Brown (BB))

POUND OF TWENTY SHILLINGS

K1 Pattern privy mark star.

There exists in the British Museum a unique gilded uniface pattern in base metal. Reference is made to it by Helen Farquhar.²² The portrait shows the queen apparently dressed in plain armour with a lion's head device on

the shoulder (pl. 11).

Obverse Legend ELIZABETH-DEFGRA?ANG?FRAN?ET-HI?REGINA

The z is curly, suggestive of a date between late 1562 and 1564.

HALFPOUND OF TEN SHILLINGS

Obverse ELIZABETH D'G ANG FRA ET HIB REGINA

[Portrait of queen, no inner circle, toothed outer border]

Reverse SCVTVM.FIDELPROTEGET-EAM

[Crowned royal arms flanked by ER]

Number Obverse Reverse Remarks Provenance

L1(BB1) Star Star Possibly unique; Lockett=2038
Bust BB=A undoubtedly a

undoubtedly a pattern bearing intermediate size shilling bust BB16-03.

L2(BB2) Star Star BM, AM, FM

Bust BB-C FR

Bust BB-E

L3(BB3) Star Star BM. AM.
Bust BB-D Lockett-4396

L4 Star Star BM

(BB4.5) Bust BB-D pellet outer circle pellet outer circle

L5(BB6) Lis Lis edge serrated BM, AM, FM

CROWN OF FIVE SHILLINGS

Obverse ELIZABETH D G ANG FRA ET HIB REGINA

[Portrait of queen, no inner circles, toothed outer border]

Reverse SCVTVM:FIDEI:PROTEGET EAM

[Crowned royal arms flanked by ER]

²² H. Farquhar, 'Portraiture of our Tudor monarchs on their coins and medals', *BNJ*, 4, 316 (1908), 140.

Number Obverse Reverse Remarks Provenance MI(BB7) Star Star BM, FM, Lockett-2040 Bust BB-A Star Star BM M2(BB8) Bust BB-D Pellet outer circle Pellet outer circle Lis edge serrated BM, FM, Lockett-3307 M3 (BB9) Lis Bust BB-E FIDI:E1

HALFCROWN OF TWO SHILLINGS AND SIX PENCE

Obverse ELIZABETH D G ANG FRA ET HIB REGINA

[Portrait of queen, no inner circle, toothed outer border]

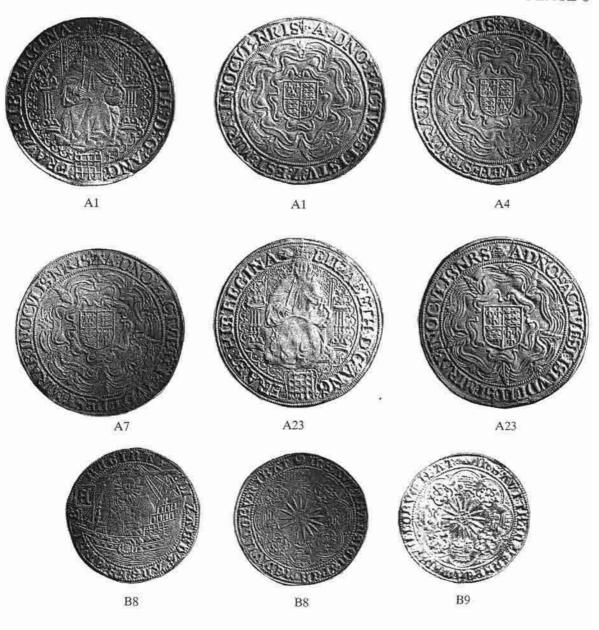
Reverse SCVTVM:FIDEI:PROTEGET:EAM

[Crowned royal arms flanked by ER]

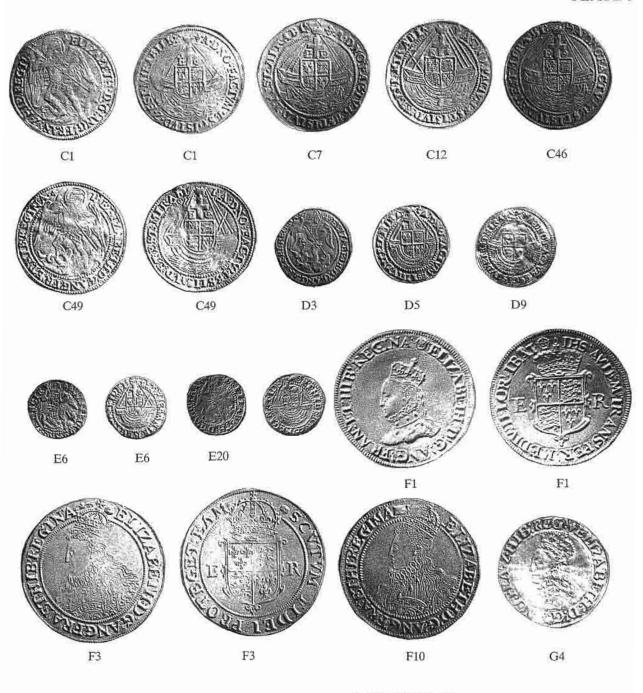
Number Obverse Reverse Remarks Provenance

N1 Star Star Bust BB-D Pellet outer circle
Pellet outer circle

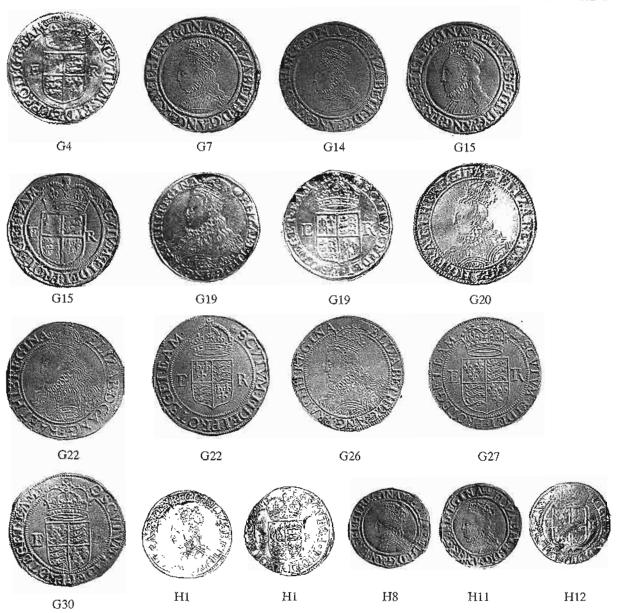
N2 Lis Lis edge serrated BM, Lockett 2041 (BB11) Bust BB-E



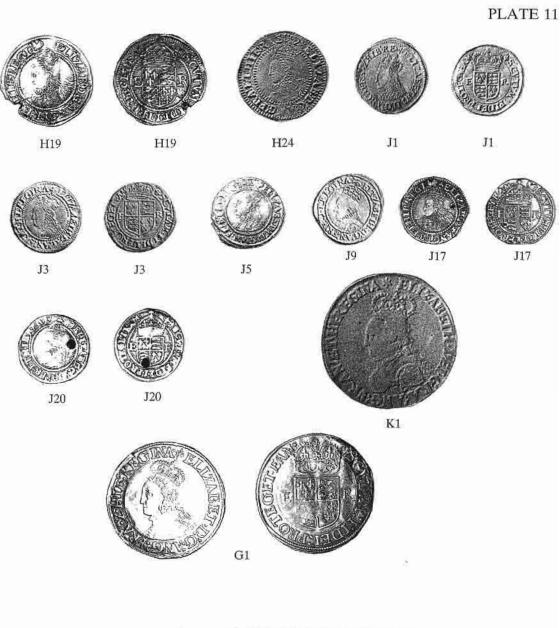
BROWN AND COMBER: ELIZABETH I (1)



BROWN AND COMBER: ELIZABETH I (2)



BROWN AND COMBER: ELIZABETH I (3)



BROWN AND COMBER: ELIZABETH I (4)