

The proposed Irish coins of Edward V may now be enumerated as: the suns and roses groats and pennies of Drogheda in his name; the four roses pennies of Drogheda; and the pennies of Dublin with pellets by neck or no obverse marks from the punch identified by Burns, illustrated by this specimen.

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## A 'SET' OF NUREMBERG COUNTERS AND OTHER MEDIEVAL AND POST-MEDIEVAL COINS AND JETTONS FROM DENBIGH CASTLE, CLWYD

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LYING just eight miles south of Rhuddlan in the heart of the former Welsh kingdom or principality of Gwynedd, Denbigh Castle is one of the five great English baronial castles built in Wales during the course of the Edwardian Conquest (1277–1283), and possesses a history of elite occupancy and administrative function extending until the end of the English Civil War in the seventeenth century. By the end of the 1970s successive programmes of archaeological excavation at the site had yielded an assemblage of sixty-one medieval and post-medieval coins and jettons, whose examination was tasked to Stuart Rigold, former Inspector of Monuments for England. Work was cut short by Rigold's death in July 1980, and the assemblage has since been held at the British Museum's Department of Coins and Medals.<sup>1</sup> This short note brings the group to publication, discussing the coins and jettons in their archaeological and historical contexts.

### The coins

A total of fifteen coins of medieval to post-medieval date were recovered during excavations at the site, consisting exclusively of 'single finds' lost or otherwise deposited individually. The restricted locational emphasis of excavation trenches in accessible areas in and around the moat and inner bailey has a biasing effect on the chronological distribution of coin finds, which relate exclusively to on-site activity postdating the two primary phases of castle building in 1282–c.1294, at which point the town walls and south-western perimeter wall were erected as a continuous circuit,<sup>2</sup> and in c.1295–c.1311, when the castle perimeter was completed and augmented by the great gatehouse.<sup>3</sup> As such, the medieval coin series commences somewhat later than anticipated in the early- to mid-fourteenth century. Finds from this period comprise an Edward I–III penny of an uncertain class (no. 1), a London penny of Edward III's third 'Florin' coinage (no. 2), and a continental sterling imitation of the *EC MONETA NOSTRA* type (no. 14) struck in north-eastern France.<sup>4</sup> These last two coins are slightly worn, and are unlikely to have been deposited much later than the 1350s or 1360s; the first, however, is extremely worn and of low weight, potentially reflecting a late fourteenth- or fifteenth-century loss. A Pre-Treaty Series D halfgroat of Edward III from the triangle pit

<sup>1</sup> I am grateful to Dr Barrie Cook for granting me permission to examine and publish these finds, and to an anonymous reviewer for providing helpful comments on earlier drafts.

<sup>2</sup> Smith 1988, 108–10.

<sup>3</sup> Butler 1976, 11–12.

<sup>4</sup> Mayhew 1983, 119–21.

(no. 3), clipped and moderately worn, may have had a similarly prolonged circulation into the fifteenth century.

Excavations in the Postern Tower additionally yielded an anomalous fourteenth-century piece in the form of a silver *gros compaignon* of Louis II de Mâle, Count of Flanders (1346–84) (no. 15), struck in 1346–64.<sup>5</sup> Non-imitative silver and billon coins of Louis de Mâle and his predecessor, Louis I (1322–46), are uncommon finds in English and Welsh contexts, with just twenty specimens – eight *gros*, two *quart de gros*, and ten *mites* – known from excavated and metal-detected single find and hoard assemblages; a recent survey suggests that these coins relate to a single phase of import and circulation dated to c. 1350–1390/1400, when they found limited use as broadly isomorphic equivalents of English coins – in this case groats – during a period of domestic silver shortage.<sup>6</sup> The Denbigh Castle coin is doubly unusual, however, in possessing a findspot far removed from the core distribution of recorded specimens, which otherwise centres on eastern and south-eastern England.<sup>7</sup> Its presence may therefore reflect site-specific peculiarities of circumstance – successive fourteenth-century occupancies by the Earls of Winchester, Salisbury, and March, for example, may have tied the castle into long-distance elite exchange and provisioning networks, by means of which coins circulating in the east might have flowed towards the west – but could equally reflect constraints on modern understanding pursuant on a small comparative dataset. It may be necessary, therefore, to re-evaluate the significance of this coin as new specimens come to light.

The English series resumes in the fifteenth century with a Pinecone-Mascle penny of Henry VI (no. 4), and continues into the sixteenth century with a Southwark halfgroat of Edward VI struck in the name of Henry VIII (no. 5). There is a subsequent gap in the sequence until the eighteenth century, which is represented by a penny, six halfpennies, and a farthing of George I–III (nos 6–13); the latest securely-dated specimen is a Soho halfpenny of George III's third issue (no. 12), struck in 1799. These last coins significantly postdate the castle's Restoration-era abandonment,<sup>8</sup> and presumably reflect accidental losses accrued by later eighteenth- and nineteenth-century visitors; a renewed interest in the site during this period is reflected by the decision to host the first Royal Eisteddfod in September 1828 within the castle walls,<sup>9</sup> and by the mid-nineteenth-century foundation of a 'Castle Committee' to care for the ruins.<sup>10</sup>

### The jettons

In addition to the coins, a total of forty-six copper alloy jettons were discovered during excavations, the earliest of which are Flemish and French products of the mid- to late fourteenth century (nos 17–18). As in comparable jetton assemblages from Dryslwyn Castle, Dyfed,<sup>11</sup> and, to a lesser extent, the River Thames,<sup>12</sup> most fifteenth-century jettons from Denbigh Castle are of French manufacture (nos 19–24), although individual examples of Anglo-Gallic (no. 16) and Nuremberg (no. 25) jettons are also represented. In the sixteenth to seventeenth centuries, however, there is a shift in source patterning in favour of Nuremberg products (nos 26–61), and in particular those of the Schultes and Krauwinkel families of jetton manufacturers, a phenomenon replicated in the River Thames assemblage and at sites like Launceston Castle, Cornwall.<sup>13</sup>

Unusually, all thirty-six of the sixteenth- and seventeenth-century Nuremberg jettons – all but one of which (no. 26) are of the ubiquitous 'Rose/Orb' type – were recovered from excavations in the castle drawbridge pit, and are plausibly interpreted as an accidentally-lost 'set' containing enough counters to permit three simultaneous duodecimal calculations; the latest

<sup>5</sup> Elsen 1995, 81.

<sup>6</sup> Andrews 2018, 256–7.

<sup>7</sup> Andrews 2018, 253.

<sup>8</sup> Butler 1976, 14.

<sup>9</sup> Price 1855, 139.

<sup>10</sup> Butler 1976, 14.

<sup>11</sup> Besly 2007, 246.

<sup>12</sup> Mitchiner 1988, 30.

<sup>13</sup> Davies 2006, 298–9.

jettions in this set were issued by Hans Schultes III (1608–12), and provide a *terminus post quem* for the deposit as a whole. Jetton sets are uncommon finds, although some comparable examples are known from archaeological excavations and chance or metal-detected finds.<sup>14</sup> A set of eighteen Nuremberg jettions from Stoke upon Tern, Shropshire (PAS LVPL-6D3326), exactly half as many as contained in the Denbigh Castle set, provides a particularly close parallel, comprising seventeen Rose/Orb type Krauwinckel and Schultes jettions and, as here, a single Lion of St Mark type (cf. no. 26); at the smaller end of the scale, other comparanda include the six Rose/Orb type Krauwinckel and Schultes jettions found in a probable silk purse at Norwich Castle Mall, Norfolk,<sup>15</sup> and a set of five Rose/Orb type jettions deposited in a joint in the roofing of a seventeenth-century building at West Bromwich, West Midlands.<sup>16</sup>

## Discussion

As a discrete site assemblage, the coins and jettions from Denbigh Castle provide a welcome contribution to the Welsh numismatic corpus, a body of material that is otherwise rather modest in all post-Roman periods.<sup>17</sup> Intrinsic issues, however, constrain their interpretative potential; in particular, the small size of the single find assemblage – just sixteen coins and ten jettions – raises concerns over sample bias, and the situation of excavation trenches may similarly skew the sample's chronological coverage. As such, it is difficult to determine the extent to which observed patterns in the temporal incidence of coins and jettions reflect meaningful deviations from background patterns of supply or merely inadequacies in the available dataset; this issue is of special concern in the case of the coin finds, where it is difficult to judge whether the absence of otherwise common Elizabethan and Stuart issues reflects regional fluctuations in coin supply, a site-specific phenomenon associated with substantial late sixteenth and early seventeenth century dereliction,<sup>18</sup> or a simple fluke of excavation and sampling bias. Nonetheless, the coins and jettions from the site can be considered as broadly illustrative of the everyday significance of monetary and para-monetary instruments in medieval and early post-medieval elite residences and administrative centres, where coins and jettions would have respectively served important roles as payment media associated with household expenditure and as practical tools for conducting the economic calculations necessary for effective financial management.

## CATALOGUE

The coins and jettions were identified by the author.

*Catalogue references:* M = Mitchiner 1988; N = North 1991; S = Stalzer 1989.

Wear (A) and corrosion (K) codes after Dubuis *et al.* 1995; these measure use-wear and corrosion on a defined scale from A1/K1 (unworn or minor wear/non-corroded or minor corrosion) to A5/K5 (extreme wear or worn flat/extremely or entirely corroded).

### Coins

No.	Identification	Weight (g)	Wear	Corrosion	Context
1	Edward I–III penny, classes 1–15 (1279–1343), uncertain mint	0.71	A4/A4	K1/K1	South wall, 'levelling on tip'
2	Edward III penny, 'Florin' coinage (1344–51), London, N. 1116	0.96	A2/A2	K1/K1	Great Hall at 0.76 m depth
3	Edward III halfgroat, Fourth coinage, Pre-Treaty Series D (c.1352–53), London, N. 1154	1.38	A3/A3	K2/K2	Triangle pit at 5.18 m depth

<sup>14</sup> Holmes 2002, 103.

<sup>15</sup> Popescu 2009, 884.

<sup>16</sup> Symons 1988, 112–14.

<sup>17</sup> Besly 2005, 714.

<sup>18</sup> Butler 1976, 13.

No.	Identification	Weight (g)	Wear	Corrosion	Context
4	Henry VI penny, Pinecone-Mascle issue (c. 1431–32), Durham, N. 1467	0.94	A2/A2	K1/K1	South wall, 'levelling on tip'
5	Edward VI, coinage in name of Henry VIII (1547–51), Southwark, N. 1878, broken	0.62	A3/A2	K1/K1	South curtain wall at 0.76 m depth
6	George I halfpenny, uncertain issue (1717–24)	6.64	A3/A4	K1/K1	South moat at 1.22 m depth
7	George I halfpenny, uncertain issue (1717–24)	3.81	A4/A4	K1/K1	Triangle pit at 5.18 m depth
8	George I farthing, uncertain issue (1717–24)	4.01	A3/A3	K1/K1	As above
9	George I–III halfpenny, uncertain issue (1717–1807)	7.34	A3/A3	K1/K1	West bank, 'old tip'
10	George III penny, Second 'Cartwheel' issue (1797), Soho	27.11	A3/A4	K1/K1	South moat at 1.22 m depth
11	George III halfpenny, uncertain issue (1770–1807), copy?	7.55	A4/A4	K1/K1	Drawbridge pit, main entrance
12	George III halfpenny, Third issue (1799), Soho	11.29	A2/A4	K1/K1	Triangle pit at 5.18 m depth
13	George III halfpenny, Third or Fourth issue (1799–1807), pierced	8.08	A4/A4	K1/K1	As above
14	Imitation sterling, EC MONETA NOSTRA (c. 1320s?), Mayhew 311	1.01	A2/A2	K1/K1	South of lawns at 0.61 m depth
15	Louis II de Mâle, Count of Flanders, <i>gros compagnon</i> (1346–64), Gaillard 219	3.17	A3/A2	K1/K1	Postern tower at 4.57 m depth

**Jettons**

No.	Identification	Weight (g)	Wear	Corrosion	Context
16	<i>Anglo-Gallic</i> cf. M. 327 (1415–53)	1.44	A2/A2	K2/K1	South wall, 'levelling on tip'

**Flanders**

17	Louis II de Mâle, Count of Flanders, M. 785 (1346–84)	4.08	A2/A2	K1/K1	Context unknown
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**France**

18	Dauphins of Viennois, cf. M. 492var (1373–1415)	1.97	A2/A2	K1/K1	Context unknown
19	Louis XI–Charles VIII, M. 588/594var (1461–97)	7.48	A2/A2	K1/K1	South curtain wall at 1.22 m depth
20	Tournai, cf. M. 634–45 (1415–97)	7.75	A4/A3	K1/K1	As above
21	Tournai, M. 663var (1478–97)	5.37	A3/A3	K1/K1	As above
22	Tournai, M. 760 (1497–1521)	3.22	A2/A2	K1/K1	South wall, 'levelling on tip'
23	Tournai, M. 764–81 (1497–1521)	4.89	A2/A2	K1/K1	South moat at 0.76 m depth
24	Tournai, cf. M. 470var (1400–1500)	2.79	A2/A1	K1/K1	West bank, 'old tip'

**Nuremberg**

25	Period of Sigismund, M. 980var (1415–37)	0.97	A2/A2	K1/K1	Context unknown
26	Anonymous, cf. M. 1097–1101 (1500–70)	3.62	A2/A2	K3/K2	Drawbridge pit, main entrance, 2.51–3.81 m depth
27	Hans Schultes I, cf. PAS LIN-DE51F3 (1553–84)	1.40	A1/A1	K2/K2	As above
28	Hans Schultes I, S. 554 (1553–84)	1.85	A3/A3	K2/K3	As above
29	Hans Schultes I, S. 568var (1553–84)	1.50	A2/A3	K2/K2	As above
30	Hans Schultes I, cf. PAS CAM-11F6D2 (1553–84)	1.41	A2/A3	K2/K2	As above

<i>No.</i>	<i>Identification</i>	<i>Weight (g)</i>	<i>Wear</i>	<i>Corrosion</i>	<i>Context</i>
31	Hans Schultes I, cf. S. 535/566 (1553–84)	1.30	A2/A2	K2/K3	As above
32	Hans Schultes I, cf. Neumann 32159 (1553–84)	1.51	A2/A1	K1/K3	As above
33	Hans Schultes I, cf. S. 500–16 (1553–84)	2.01	A1/A1	K1/K2	As above
34	Hans Schultes I, cf. S. 554–59 (1553–84)	1.31	A2/A2	K2/K2	As above
35	Hans Schultes I, cf. M. 1371 (1553–84)	1.48	A2/A2	K1/K1	As above
36	Hans Schultes I, cf. S. 566var (1553–84)	1.34	A2/A2	K1/K1	As above
37	Hans Schultes I, cf. S. 504var (1553–84), rev. die slip	1.02	A2/A2	K2/K3	As above
38	Hans Schultes I, cf. M. 1375a (1553–84)	1.65	A3/A3	K3/K3	As above
39	Hans Schultes I, cf. M. 1373 (1553–84)	1.32	A2/A2	K2/K3	As above
40	Hans Schultes I, cf. M. 1365-69 (1553–84)	1.22	A2/A2	K2/K2	As above
41	Hans Schultes I, cf. S. 564–71 (1553–84), pierced	1.62	A3/A3	K2/K2	As above
42	Hans Schultes I, cf. S. 566 (1553–84)	1.08	A2/A2	K2/K2	As above
43	Hans Schultes I, cf. S. 574 (1553–84), broken	1.32	A1/A2	K2/K2	As above
44	Hans Schultes II, S. 516 (1586–1603)	1.57	A2/A2	K2/K2	As above
45	Hans Schultes III, S. 454 (1608–12)	1.48	A2/A2	K2/K3	As above
46	Hans Schultes III, S. 454 (1608–12)	1.13	A2/A2	K2/K2	As above
47	Hans Schultes III, S. 469var (1608–12)	2.46	A2/A2	K3/K2	As above
48	Hans Schultes III, S. 469var (1608–12)	2.24	A2/A2	K2/K2	As above
49	Hans Schultes III, M. 1403 (1608–12)	1.20	A3/A2	K2/K2	As above
50	Hans Krauwinckel II, S. 372 (1586–1635)	1.69	A2/A2	K2/K3	As above
51	Hans Krauwinckel II, S. 377 (1586–1635)	1.51	A2/A2	K3/K2	As above
52	Hans Krauwinckel II, S. 389 (1586–1635)	1.14	A2/A2	K3/K3	As above
53	Hans Krauwinckel II, S. 390 (1586–1635)	1.51	A2/A2	K4/K3	As above
54	Hans Krauwinckel II, S. 405 (1586–1635)	1.15	A1/A2	K2/K2	As above
55	Hans Krauwinckel II, S. 405 (1586–1635)	1.30	A2/A2	K2/K2	As above
56	Hans Krauwinckel II, S. 406 (1586–1635)	1.11	A1/A1	K2/K2	As above
57	Hans Krauwinckel II, S. 467 (1586–1635)	1.56	A1/A1	K1/K2	As above
58	Hans Krauwinckel II, S. 469 (1586–1635)	1.97	A1/A1	K1/K1	As above
59	Hans Krauwinckel II, M. 1568 (1586–1635)	1.77	A2/A1	K1/K1	Drawbridge pit, main entrance
60	Uncertain Nuremberg, Rose/Orb (1500–1635)	0.53	A1/A1	K1/K1	Drawbridge pit, main entrance, 2.51–3.81 m depth
61	Uncertain Nuremberg, Rose/Orb (1500–1635)	0.50	A2/A2	K2/K2	As above

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