Important periods of human discord are often illuminated through the medium of historical medals. The far-reaching consequences of the religious conflicts in 17th-century England are a case in point. The antagonism that existed between the minority Roman Catholics and majority Anglican Church resulted in the revolutionary deposition of the English monarchy by a Stadtholder from the Netherlands and the institution of laws forever forbidding the kingdom from falling under control of anyone other than Protestants. The epic battle of the two major Christian denominations unfolded as a struggle between supporters of the Catholic King James II and his Protestant rivals, culminating in an invasion of the island nation by William of Orange. This short discourse chronicles, through the lens of medals of the period, the causes and repercussions of this Glorious Revolution and supports the thesis that religious bigotry in England at that time was so fervent that the ruling classes opted to have as their sovereign a Protestant foreigner rather than an English Catholic.

Aftermath of Civil War: Rekindling of Catholic-Protestant Enmity

The English Civil War was over. Charles I (fig. 1) had not only lost his struggle for power with the English Parliament, but subsequently his head as well (fig. 2). Oliver Cromwell (fig. 3), who had taken over the reins of government as Lord Protector, establishing the English Commonwealth, was also dead. Charles II, the son of Charles I, had just returned from exile in Holland, commemorated by the issuance of a medal depicting his embarkation (fig. 4). Thereby was inaugurated the Restoration of the monarchy to the throne of England, an event also commemorated by a medal (fig. 5), suggesting, by way of the devices on the reverse, that the Restoration was heaven-sent, was effected by wisdom and fortitude, and that it produced justice, unanimity, plenty, and peace for Britain. Apparently, one of the most tumultuous periods in English history had ended and all was right with the world. Or was it?

There were two major issues confronting Charles II. One was the power of the monarchy relative to that of Parliament, and the other was the antagonism that existed between the ruling Protestant king and the Roman Catholics, who were being subjugated by the majority. This second-class citizenship was well established in the early part of the seventeenth century under James I and was codified into law by the institution of the Test Act (fig. 6), passed in 1673 and extended in 1678 during the reign of Charles II. It stipulated that Catholics, and to some extent nonconformists (those English subjects not conforming to the established Anglican Church of England, which included non-Christians, like Jews, or those belonging to any non-Anglican church, such as Presbyterians, Congregationalists, Baptists, and Quakers), were not allowed to hold any government position nor serve as officers in the military. The effect was to exclude Roman Catholics and nonconformists from both houses of Parliament, relegating them to subordinate status.¹

Over the years, Catholics protested this discrimination, sometimes violently as in the case of the failed Gunpowder Plot of 1605, when they tried to blow up the House of Lords and assassinate James I. This event was commemorated by the issuance of a medal (fig. 7), struck in Holland to commemorate the discovery of

¹ Previous work on medals related to these and other such discriminatory practices include Jones 1982; Jones 1983; Attwood, 2009; Attwood and Powell 2009; Harding 2011; Weiss 2011; Weiss 2012.
the Gunpowder Plot and the expulsion of the Jesuits from Holland, the snake depicted on the medal repre-
senting their intrigues. Other charges were trumped up
as in 1678, when Titus Oates falsely accused Catho-
lies of instigating the so-called Popish Plot, a supposed
Catholic conspiracy to massacre Protestants and as-
sassinate King Charles II. The medal issued to support
this fabricated calumny against Catholics shown here
(fig. 8) has five faces on the reverse alluding to the five
members of the king’s cabinet comprising the so-called
Cabal. These threats, real and contrived, provided
ample excuse for the Protestants to keep Catholics from
positions of power. Any attempts to give Catholics and
nonconformists more rights were met with strong op-
position, largely by important members of Parliament
and often by the clergy. One such cleric was William
Laud (fig. 9), Archbishop of Canterbury under Charles I,
who was a major opponent of Puritanism, one of the
nonconformist groups in England. Some years later,
as noted below, another Archbishop of Canterbury,
William Sancroft, was instrumental in opposing the
religious reforms initiated by James II.

A major fear of the Anglican Church was the possibility
of a Catholic takeover of the monarchy and the imposi-
tion of a Catholic liturgy on its English subjects. This
fear was increased by the possible abdication of Charles
I, who was a major opponent of Puritanism, one of the
nonconformist groups in England. Some years later,
as noted below, another Archbishop of Canterbury,
William Sancroft, was instrumental in opposing the
religious reforms initiated by James II.

James’ personal life also presented problems for him.
In 1659, James, as Duke of York, had married Anne
Hyde, a Protestant (fig. 15). Anne had two surviving
children by James, both of whom were female, Mary
and Anne, later to become monarchs in their own
right. Much to the disappointment of the future king’s
cabinet, no male heirs survived. When James’ wife
Anne died and James, who by now had secretly con-
verted to Catholicism, chose Mary Beatrice of Modena
as his second wife (fig. 16), the potential for a Catholic
dynasty increased. Mary was a devout Catholic who
attempted to impose her beliefs on those around her,
mostly Calvinist. An example of the latter shows on the
medal below (fig. 17), to install Catholics rather than Protestants into positions
of power. To add to the “problem”, Mary gave birth to a
son, James Francis Edward Stuart (fig. 18), who, accord-
ing to the prevailing laws of succession, would bypass
his Protestant sisters and be next in line to the throne.
Mary raised her son according to her own faith. This
created a predicament in which Protestant England
had a Catholic monarch who was married to a devout
Catholic woman and whose Catholic son could be the
future King of England, leading to the possibility of a
dynasty of Catholic sovereigns. This simply could not
be tolerated. Plots and plans to prevent this situation
had to be found.

Involvement of Continental Europe
Meanwhile, in continental Europe, Louis XIV of
France, the Sun King (fig. 19), was having his own
Catholic-Protestant issues. Louis XIV, the son of Louis
XIII and Anne of Austria and grandson of Henry IV
and Marie de’ Medici (fig. 20), was raised as a Catho-
lic. Spurred on by the clergy, Louis had revoked the
Edict of Nantes, which had been issued in 1598 dur-
ing the reign of Henry IV in his attempt at toleration
among the French Calvinist Protestants (Huguenots) in
Catholic France. This revocation encouraged the perse-
cution and even murder of thousands of individuals
in the Huguenot community. The oppression of the
Huguenots is illustrated by two medals issued during
this period which serve to demonstrate how the same
events can be portrayed very differently. One of them,
executed in Catholic Italy (fig. 21), appears to celebrate
rather than criticize the slaughter of the Huguenots. It
depicts on the reverse Louis XIV, as St George, a lion at

2. See Weiss 2011.

3. The reverse of this Dutch medal was based on the reverse
of George Bower’s medal, fig. 13, then circulating in England;
see Harding 2011, 7.

Fig. 1: England. AE medal of Charles I (1649)
by James and Norbert Roettiers. MI i, 346/200;
von Loos II, 320; Eimer 162a, Farquhar 1948/199,
Med. Hist. 50/7; Weiss BW412.

Fig. 2: Execution of Charles I (1649). Engraving.
On 30 January 1649, King Charles I was beheaded outside Banqueting House
in Whitehall. (© The British Library Board, Crach 1.Tab.4.c.1,18).
his feet, stomping on a Gorgon (Medusa), symbolizing the Huguenots, Medusa’s hair and fingers consisting of snakes. Hovering over the king is Religion, holding a chalice and host (symbols of Catholicism); angels and a rising sun are in the background. The Latin inscription on the reverse, QVIS CONTRA NOS (“Who is against us?”), is a partial quotation of a popular saying: (St. Deus nostriscum), quis contra nos (“If God is with us who is against us?”). From the allegorical invectives and inscription, one might reasonably conclude that Louis is fighting on the side of God against the Huguenots, with the Catholic religion in the background guiding the carnage.

The other medal, made in the Netherlands, a predominantly Protestant country, condemns the slaughter of the Protestants (fig. 22). The obverse of this medal depicts a pope holding the keys of St. Peter and a thunderbolt. Below him are a French dragoon, with sword and leg-irons, and a Jesuit priest, with dragon’s feet and tail. Between them is the Catholic host from which emerges a seven-headed Beast of the Apocalypse, which is attacking the Protestants below. The Latin inscription around may be translated as “God above, after the disaster”. The reverse of this medal shows a horned wolf with a sword, holding a rope attached to the necks of two men. In the foreground are naked persons being devoured by wild animals. In the background can be seen a man hanging from a gibbet, a destroyed Protestant church, and a Catholic procession celebrating the festival of Corpus Christi, seemingly oblivious to the carnage taking place. This medal shows the butchery of the French Protestants by the Catholics and was issued as a condemnation of Louis XIV’s revocation of the Edict of Nantes. The reverse legend suggests that it will be the Protestant martyrs who will be victorious. Mark Jones (1982, 121) further observes that “[s]uch medals, and the assertion by the theologian Pierre Jurieu that the persecution of the Huguenots was that described in Chapter 9 of the Apocalypse, so annoyed the Comte d’Avaux that he counter-attacked with a medal of 1687 that purported to prove that the beast was none other than Jurieu himself.” When Louis revoked the Edict of Nantes in 1685, many prominent Protestants emigrated from France to the new French colonies in North America and to nearby Protestant countries, including England, Germany, and the Netherlands, thereby losing much of France’s military and political support.

The Netherlands was at that time one of the major powers of Europe. During this period, the Dutch Republic was led by the stadtholder William III of Orange. William III was the son of William II, Prince of Orange, and Mary Stuart (fig. 23), the eldest daughter of Charles I of England. William III was Prince of Orange from birth as his father William II had died just days before William was born in 1650. The death of William II was commemorated by the issuance of a medal engraved by one of the most celebrated medallists of the seventeenth century, Sebastian Dadler. This medal (fig. 24), the obverse of which shows an unmounted horse being hit by Zeus’ lightning bolt, with a view of the funeral procession at the Hague below, an allegory that may refer to a failed attempt by William II to conquer Amsterdam.

William III, now the young sovereign Prince of Orange (fig. 25), received intensive instruction in Calvinism, a major branch of Protestantism, a background which would later play a particularly important role in his future. He rapidly rose to influence in the Dutch Republic, and after considerable opposition, had established himself as the most powerful ruler in the Netherlands, although he was not without political foes. Prominent among these adversaries were the brothers Johan and Cornelis de Witt. A group of followers of William’s House of Orange eliminated this threat in 1672 by instigating a massacre of the brothers, an event commemorated in different media, including medals (figs. 26–27) and painting (fig. 28), depicting their savage murder and gruesome dismemberment. Close examination of the inscriptions of the medal shown in fig. 26 tells the story from the standpoint of supporters of the two de Witt brothers. On the obverse, the Latin INTEGER VITAE SCELERIS QVE PURVS (“The man of integrity, of noble character”) emerges from the inscription, one might reasonably conclude that Louis XIV’s minister of finance, the most powerful and influential minister of the realm of his day, was Michelle of Orleans, who had, according to the decree of 1681, more than 200 French Protestants executed.

The line is from the Roman poet Horace, Odes I.22.1.
we recall the tremendous deeds of our consul; and the speeches of our minister of state made kingdoms tremble”6). On the scroll is written MENS AGITAT MOLEM ET MAGNO SE CORPORE MISCET (“One mind activates the whole mass and mingles with the vast body of the universe”6). Finally, the exergue summarizes the massacre: NOBILE PAR FRATRVM SAEO FVROR ORE TRVCIDAT XX AVGVSTI (“Rage with a savage countenance slaughtered the noble pair of brothers, 20 August”); the chronogram reads 1672.

During the reign of William, the Netherlands was at war with Louis XIV (Franco-Dutch War, 1672–78). To strengthen his position in this war, in 1677 William married Mary Stuart (fig. 29), his first cousin and daughter of James (later, King James II of England). This marriage not only solidified an alliance of the Netherlands with England but also provided a hereditary justification for William’s subsequent claim to the throne of England, since he was now not only the nephew but also the son-in-law of James II.

The Last Straw

The birth of a son to James II and Mary of Modena, James Francis Stuart, in 1688, suggested to many that “England would become merely a satellite state, under the control of an all-powerful Catholic monarch” (Vallance 2006), and provided the final stimulus for William to launch an invasion of England with the purpose of ultimately taking over the English monarchy. Indeed, William deposed James in 1688 at Torbay, a crucial chapter in English history, which was commemorated with paintings (fig. 30) and medals. One of these medals, made in the Netherlands (fig. 31), shows,
on the obverse, William III of Orange, as a Roman emperor, carrying the sword of Justice, is seen trampling on the serpent of Discord and joining hands, over a blazing altar (representing Religion), with Britannia, wearing the crowns of the three kingdoms (representing William's accession to the triple thrones of England, Scotland and Ireland). Beside her is the shield of Britain, containing the arms of Scotland, the shield being attached to an orange tree (symbol of William's House of Orange-Nassau) entwined with roses (symbol of the English Houses of Lancaster and York) and thistles (symbol of Scotland). At the foot of William are two fugitives fleeing; a Jesuit carrying a pyx (a container for carrying the consecrated host) and a monk carrying a cross. The fleeing Jesuit and monk represent Catholicism fleeing from the victorious Protestant William, who is greeted by Britannia. The rising sun suggests the hopeful state of England. On the reverse William can be seen on horseback leading his troops, with boats carrying additional forces near a fortified harbor, with a fleet in the distance. The reverse Latin inscription may be translated as "Against the Child of Perdition". The exergue legend summarizes the battle, "The Naval Expedition for the Liberty of England, 1688". As Mark Jones (1982, 120) has noted, this propaganda piece served to justify the invasion of England by William, who is portrayed as a liberator. Overall the medal indicates that with William's landing at Torbay, James was prevented from establishing Popery in England.

As a result of the landing at Torbay, James fled Ireland for France. A medal celebrating this action, again from the Netherlands (fig. 32), shows on the obverse James II, wearing a bag-wig, with the legend translated as "James II of Britain: the Runaway King". The device of James' hair confined in a bag occurs on satirical medals and refers to his flight. On the medal's reverse can be seen a stag with winged legs fleeing and looking back in terror. Behind is a broken tree and in the distance, a view of Waterford, Ireland. The legend provides this added insult: PEDIBUS TIMOR ADDIDIT ALAS. (“Fear added wings to his feet”), with the exergue explaining: "He fled from Ireland, 12 July 1690".

Shortly after James’ hasty departure, William claimed the throne of England (fig. 33), ruling jointly with his wife as William and Mary (King William III and Queen Mary II), an event commemorated in several portraits (fig. 34) and more than 30 medals, two of which are shown here (figs. 35–36), celebrating their coronation at Amsterdam in what has been called the Glorious Revolution. This revolution, also called the Revolution of 1688 and...
the Bloodless Revolution, though not nearly as bloody as most, was far from bloodless. Thousands perished in the ensuing battles, particularly afterwards as this assumption of the crown did not go unchallenged.

Major fighting continued between the forces of William III and those supporting James (the Jacobites) in a series of Jacobite Rebellions that occurred during the reign of William and Mary. Although James, as Duke of York, was a highly successful naval commander (fig. 10), a critical defeat of the Jacobites took place in 1690 in Ireland at the Battle of the Boyne when, under the leadership of Marshal Friedrich Hermann Schomberg, the army of William decisively defeated James and his forces. In a medal commemorating this event, the iconography of which depicts Schomberg as Hercules, who at the conclusion of his labors, planted his club and dedicated it to Mercury. The club was transformed by the gods into an olive tree, its branches being emblematic of a termination of warfare. The inscription engraved on the edge of this medal is particularly relevant to the religious nature of this particular period of history as it states: PRO RELIGIONE ET LIBERTATE MORI, VIVERE EST. (“To die for religion and liberty is to live”).

The Battle of the Boyne led to the end of the Williamite War (also called the Jacobite War) in Ireland, with the predictive issuance of several medals from the Netherlands commemorating the “Pacification of Ireland”. One of these, shown in fig. 38, alludes to the state of the Jacobites in England and Ireland. The reverse presents a raging lion, representing William, trampling on a prostrate Hydra, symbolizing popery, with a Jacobite spaniel fawning submissively at the feet of a lioness, representing Mary. The inscriptions on the reverse—PARCERE SVEBATIS, ET DEBELARE SVPERBOS (“To spare the humble and to subdue the proud”) and on the edge, ET REGNARE PARES, ET MIRE SE INTER AMARE (“Equal in governing and in the exceeding love they bear to each other”)—are gratuitous compliments to William and Mary.

The Jacobites persisted for many years thereafter in their quest to regain the crown, first supporting James Francis Stuart as James (III), the son of James II and Mary of Modena, who titled himself James III of England (hence, the Elder Pretender) and who spent a good deal of his life attempting to regain control of England

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8. Virgil, *Aeneid* 8.224. Harding (2011, 20) suggests that the stag “might also refer to a poem written by Dryden after turning Catholic in 1687 in which a hind represents the Church of Rome.”
9. Harris 2006; Miller 1999; for original documents related to this period, see Pincus 2005.
back to Catholic rulers from the Protestant and foreign Hanoverians (the Jacobite Revolts). Fig. 39 shows an example of a propaganda piece issued during this period. It depicts on the obverse James III (VNICA SALVS, “The only safeguard”), while on the reverse the Hanoverian Horse (representing the Hanoverian King George I) tramples upon the Scottish Unicorn and English Lion, a grieving Britannia seated nearby, with a view of the Thames and London in the distance. The legend is translated as, “What is more grievous than being in captivity?”10 Later his son, Charles Edward Stuart (Bonnie Prince Charlie, the Younger Pretender) (fig. 40) also made several attempts to restore the throne to the Stuarts. All these efforts were in vain as the Battle of the Boyne had firmly established William as the Protestant King of England, Scotland, and Ireland. This battle is of such historical importance to many Protestants that it is still celebrated by the Unionist community in Northern Ireland.12

Historical Consequences
The historical consequences of the Glorious Revolution were profound and long-lasting. With the death of Mary in 1694, William ruled by himself until his own death in 1702. During this time, he concluded the Treaty of Ryswick in 1697, which resolved the Nine Years’ War between France and the Grand Alliance, ushering in a period of relative peace for Britain. As with other important historical events, this treaty was commemorated by the issuance of medals (fig. 41) and other works of art (fig. 42). As part of this treaty, Louis XIV recognized William III as King of England and agreed to no longer assist James III. Absent French backing, the Jacobites posed no further serious threats to William’s reign. Further, it was during this period that the antagonisms that existed for centuries between the Church of England and those adhering to other religions were firmly codified into law. In 1701, as William and Mary were without heirs, Parliament, in order to ensure that the crown not fall into the hands of a Catholic, passed the Act of Settlement, which had the effect of assuring that only Protestants could succeed to the English throne. Following the death of Anne in 1714, in accordance with the Act of Settlement, the next Protestant in line to the throne of England was a German from Hanover, in the person of George I (fig. 43). This Hanoverian line continued for nearly two centuries until the death of Queen

11. Harding (2011, 62) suggests that this medal was “meant to be a more general indictment of the moral climate under the Hanoverians” following the economically disastrous collapse of the South Sea Company stock in 1720. For a treatise describing the medals of the Jacobite movement, see Woolf 1998. 12. See J. Kleeberg’s article, “Countermarks of the Troubles in Northern Ireland,” in this issue of ANS Magazine.
Medals of the Glorious Revolution

Victoria in 1901.

The Act of Settlement was later extended to Scotland as a result of a section of the Acts of Union between England and Scotland, passed in 1707, an historic event commemorated again in paintings and medallic art (figs. 44–45), and which, along with other bills, remains today one of the main constitutional laws governing the religious requirement to succession not only to the throne of the United Kingdom but, following British colonialism, also to those of the other Commonwealth realms. It may be noted in passing that this type of religious proscription also extended to Jews. Indeed, until late in the 19th century there were still laws preventing Jews from even serving in Parliament.

The passage of these acts and the final defeat of the Catholic Jacobites ended any chance of Catholicism becoming re-established in England. Indeed, it would be some time before Catholics and nonconformist Protestants had full political rights. This second-class citizenship encouraged the continued emigration and settlement of nonconformist Protestants, such as Quakers and Baptists, to the New World, expanding their colonies throughout the northern hemisphere. For Catholics, it was particularly disastrous, both socially and politically, for they were denied the right to vote and sit in Parliament for over 100 years thereafter. They were also denied commissions in the British army. Further, the monarch was not only forbidden to be Catholic, they were not even permitted to marry a Catholic, thus ensuring a perpetual Protestant succession to the British throne. This latter injunction exists to this day.

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Images for some of the medals were graciously provided by Christopher Eimer, Stephen Scher and Philip Attwood and the auction houses of Baldwin and Ira and Larry Goldberg. I greatly appreciate the expertise of my son Jeffrey Weiss and colleague Tony Lopez for helping me with the photographic images. Translations of the Latin inscriptions on the medals were provided by Guenther Brockmann and Martin Ostwald, to whom I am deeply indebted. I particularly thank my wife, Joyce, who has read and re-read the various drafts of this manuscript and has provided me not only with much needed encouragement but also has given me many extremely helpful suggestions and advice concerning the historical aspects of the period covered.

Fig. 39. England. AR medal commemorating James (III) Stuart, the Elder Pretender (1721) by Ottone Hamerani. MI ii, 454/63; Molinari 41/124; Eimer 493; Weiss BW148 (ANS 0000.999.37294) 50 mm.

Fig. 40. Portrait of Prince Charles Edward Stuart (1738) by Louis Gabriel Blanchet. Oil on canvas. (© National Portrait Gallery, London).

Fig. 38. Netherlands. AR medal commemorating the pacification of Ireland (1691) by D. Drappentier. MI ii, 38/220; van Loon IV, 57; Eimer 340 (ANS 0000.999.34609) 54 mm.

Fig. 37. Germany. AR medal commemorating the death of Marshal Schomberg in the Battle of the Boyne (1690) by Philipp Heinrich Müller. MI i, 717/139; van Loon IV, 9; Thuyras, VII, I, Eimer 329; Weiss BW179 (ANS 0000.999.34798) 49 mm.

Fig. 36. Netherlands. AR medal commemorating the coronation of William and Mary (1689) by Regnier Arondeaux. MI i, 668/39; van Loon III, 390 (0000.999.34777) 61 mm.

Fig. 35. Netherlands. AR cast medal commemorating the coronation of William and Mary at Amsterdam (1689) by unknown medallist. Eimer 309A; MI i, 678/54; van Loon III, 390 (Christopher Eimer) 62 mm.

Fig. 34. King William III and Queen Mary II celebrating their coronation (1689) by Romyn de Hoogh, published by Carel Allard. Etching with additional letterpress text. (© National Portrait Gallery, London).

Fig. 33. Portrait of King William III (c. 1677) published by Alexander Browne, after Sir Peter Lely. Messetint. (© National Portrait Gallery, London).

Fig. 41. Portrait of Prince Charles Edward Stuart (1738) by Louis Gabriel Blanchet. Oil on canvas. (© National Portrait Gallery, London).

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Charles I of England, as the embodiment of the union of England and Scotland, represents the young prince Charles Prince of Wales, later King Charles I. This is allegory of the Union of the Crowns by Peter Paul Rubens, The child (Fig. 44: England and Scotland with Minerva and Love (1633–34), an illustration from the Medals of the Glorious Revolution.

Fig. 44: England and Scotland with Minerva and Love (1633–34), an illustration from the Medals of the Glorious Revolution.

Fig. 45: England. AR medal commemorating the union of England and Scotland (1707) by John Croker. MI ii, 296/315; van Loon IV, 349; Thoyras I, 8; Eimer 423; Weiss, BWS584 (ANS 0000.999.37310). 70 mm.

Fig. 42: The Treaty Of Ryswick (1697) Line engraving. Representatives from France, Great Britain, Holland and Sweden at Ryswick, The Netherlands, that ended the Nine Years' War between France and the Grand Alliance.

Fig. 43: Germany. AR medal commemorating the accession of George I (1714) by Georg Wilhelm Vestner. George I is represented as St. George on horseback slaying a dragon (representing Catholicism) with Victory hovering above crowning him. Eimer 734/69, MI ii, 425/12; Forrer VI, 233, Brockmann, 145/817; Weiss BW569 (ANS 0000.999.37320). 45 mm.

Bibliography

Fig. 41: England. AR medal commemorating the Treaty of Ryswick (1697) by John Croker. MI ii, 192/499; van Loon IV, 230; Eimer 192/2423; Thoyras, XXI.; Weiss BW728 (ANS 0000.999.37133). 70 mm.