

SHORT ARTICLES AND NOTES

THE CASTOR HOARD OF MID-ELEVENTH-CENTURY PENCE

H.E. PAGAN

IN his selection of extracts from the diaries, correspondence and memoranda of William Stukeley,¹ the Rev. W. C. Lukis printed an entry from Stukeley's diary for the year 1759 which reads as follows:

18 June, 1759. 500 more Saxon coins, extremely fair as new minted, found at Castor by Peterborough, lately. Mr. John White has bought some, some halfpennys very rare.²

This diary entry was discussed many years ago by Michael Dolley,³ who concluded from the reference to 'halfpennys' that the hoard was likely to have contained coins of the fourth type of Edward the Confessor, struck on small flans and the only whole coins of the later Anglo-Saxon period for which the description 'halfpenny' would have seemed appropriate to an eighteenth-century antiquary. This was for him the clinching evidence that the hoard was likely to have been deposited somewhere in the late 1040s, and the hoard duly appears as one deposited c 1045 in his list of Anglo-Saxon coin hoards of the Viking period printed in his introduction to the *SCBI* volume on *The Hiberno-Norse Coins in the British Museum*.⁴

Dolley's interpretation of the word 'halfpenny' in Stukeley's diary may seem in retrospect somewhat adventurous, for the coins in question may not have been whole coin struck on small flans, but cut halves of Anglo-Saxon pence of normal dimension, allowing a wider range of possible content for the hoard; but Dolley's instincts on such matters were generally right, and the further evidence that can now be adduced vindicates that particular judgment.⁵

It does not vindicate his contention that the hoard was deposited in the 1040s, but that was merely a deduction from the amount of coins of early types of Edward the Confessor and of North-Eastern mints among the older holdings of the British Museum and in the Hunterian collection at Glasgow, and an alternative explanation for that is suggested below.

¹ *The family memoirs of the Rev. William Stukeley, M.D. and the antiquarian and other correspondence of William Stukeley, Roger & Samuel Gale, etc.* edited by Rev. W.C. Lukis, 3 vols, Surtees Society Publications vols. 73, 76, 80 (Durham, 1882-85).

² Lukis, III, 73.

³ R.H.M. Dolley, 'A note on some early sources for the coins of Edward the Confessor', *NCirc* 1960, 183-4, 211-2, subheading (c) on p. 211 dealing specifically with the Castor hoard.

⁴ Dolley, hoard no. 159 on p. 52.

⁵ The new evidence vindicates Dolley not merely in the

Curiously, the evidence has long been available, in the sense that an engraving captioned 'Saxon coins found in June 1759' was made roughly at the time of the discovery, and no doubt survives today in more than one copy.⁶ The engraving in question is arranged to provide space for ten coins, numbered 1-10, but on the example of it which the present writer has seen only the spaces 1-6 and 9-10 are filled, the spaces for coins 7 and 8 remaining blank. Seven of the coins illustrated are of Edward the Confessor, respectively of his *Radiate Head/Small Cross*, *Trefoil/Quadrilateral*, *Small Flan*, *Expanding Cross*, *Pointed Helmet*, *Facing Head/Small Cross* and *Pyramids* types (a span of types extending from the second type of the reign to the tenth and last type of the reign, skipping the seventh and eighth types), while the remaining coin is of the *Pax* type of his successor Harold II. The picture that this presents is of a multi-type hoard ending with coins of Harold II and therefore deposited in or just after the year 1066.

Identification of it with Stukeley's Castor hoard is straightforward, in that the caption to the engraving explicitly states that the coins were found in June 1759 and in that the engraving, although unsigned, is similar in style and layout to other engravings of coins which are known to have been produced by or for John White, the London collector/dealer who Stukeley records as purchasing some of the Castor coins.⁷ Additionally, six of the eight coins illustrated are of York moneyers and one is of a Lincoln moneyer, showing a homogeneity of geographical origin fully compatible with their having derived from one and the same hoard, and not incompatible with that hoard being one from the Soke of Peterborough.

That said, John White's reputation for veracity as to the sources from which he obtained coins is not above question, and the fact that the coins illustrated skip two consecutive types of Edward the Confessor might suggest either that the engraving runs together

sense that the engraving discussed below shows that the hoard contained a coin of *Small Flan* type, but also in that on the engraving the coin of *Small Flan* type is divided by two blank spaces from the other coins of Edward the Confessor chosen for illustration, showing that it was deemed to be distinct from them.

⁶ The copy seen by the present writer is in the possession of Mr C.E. Blunt to whom he is, as ever, grateful for enabling him to record it here.

⁷ Other engravings of this general character produced for White record coins of Offa, coins of Aethelred I and II, and coins of Edward the Elder and Edward the Confessor.

coins from two hoards, one deposited in the 1040s and one in 1066, or that White might have filled out his illustrations of coins really from the hoard with illustrations of one or two others not from it. The evidence is not sufficient absolutely to rule out these possibilities, but the present writer's view is that neither is probable: the predominance of York coins among those illustrated points to the bulk having reached White from a single source, and had White at that date been in the business of 'salting' hoards, he could readily have found coins from a wider range of mints and indeed have found enough of them to fill all the spaces on his plate.

The coins illustrated in the engraving may be listed as follows:

Edward the Confessor

1. *Radiate Head/Small Cross*. York, moneyer Othin. Same obverse die *SCBI Glasgow* 994, probably also same reverse die. (no. 1 on plate).
2. *Trefoil Quadrilateral*. Lincoln, moneyer Colgrim. (no. 4 on plate).
3. *Small Flan*. York, moneyer Elfwine. cf. *SCBI Merseyside* 739. (no. 9 on plate).
4. *Expanding Cross*. York, moneyer Arngrim. cf. *SCBI Merseyside* 770. (no. 2 on plate).
5. *Pointed Helmet*. York, moneyer Stircol. Same dies *SCBI Merseyside* 784/785. (no. 6 on plate).
6. *Facing Head/Small Cross*. York, moneyer Ulfctel. Same dies *SCBI Glasgow* 1165. (no. 5 on plate).
7. *Pyramids*. York, moneyer Scula. Same dies *SCBI Yorkshire Museums* 663. (no. 3 on plate).

Harold II

8. *Pax*. Oxford, moneyer Aelfwi. Same dies (? same coin) *SCBI Glasgow* 1205. (no. 10 on plate).
- The identification of these eight coins as being from

the Castor hoard leaves much about the hoard that is doubtful. It is useful, though, to tabulate the distribution between type of coins of York moneyers of Edward the Confessor and Harold II in two collections formed by English numismatists in the years following the Castor discovery: that formed by Edward Hodsoll (died 1796), purchased as a whole by Samuel Tyssen and acquired by the British Museum with Tyssen's other coins in 1802; and that formed by William Hunter (died 1783), which survives intact in the Hunterian Museum at Glasgow.

Types of Edward the Confessor											Harold II
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	1
Hodsoll	—	6	4	5	5	7	1	1	4	5	3
Hunter	1	6	14	3	8	8	4	5	12	6	— 2 mules — 6
	1	12	18	8	13	15	5	6	16	11	9

It is obvious from these figures that in both collections types 2–6, 9 and 10 were better represented than types 7 and 8, and it is improbable that it is mere coincidence that White's plate should illustrate examples of types 2–6, 9 and 10 and skip 7 and 8.

The Castor hoard may thus have combined a parcel essentially of recently minted coins of *Facing Head/Small Cross*, *Pyramids* and *Pax* types, with a parcel put together some years earlier spanning types of Edward the Confessor from *Radiate Head/Small Cross* to *Pointed Helmet*.

Castor itself lies on the line of Ermine Street, just on the northern side of the Roman river crossing from Huntingdonshire into the Soke of Peterborough, and the deposit there of a hoard ending with coins of Harold II can readily be associated with the movement of soldiers and others to and from York during the campaign of 1066. Stukeley makes no reference to any associated archaeological material, but it may be that there is more to be discovered on that front as well as on the purely numismatic one.

AN UNPUBLISHED PENNY OF HENRY I

ROBERT SEAMAN

As the result of an introduction by one of our members, Mr Ivan Buck, I was able to acquire, in the Spring of 1984 from the finder, a Henry I penny, *BMC* type viii, struck at the mint of Oxford. Type viii is probably the rarest of the fifteen types of Henry I and, until this coin came to light, there were only five specimens recorded, namely:

In British Museum

Southwark mint:	Sewine	<i>BMC</i> 50
Thetford(?) mint:	Stan . . .	<i>BMC</i> 51
Wallingford mint:	Osmund	Presented 1952 by Dr.H.A. Cahn
Winchester mint:	Wimund	<i>BMC</i> 52



Elsewhere

London mint: Blacaman *SCBI* Mack 1527

The Oxford coin was found in Bedfordshire within the last few years. It weighs 19.3 grains and reads:

Obv. (+) HENRIC RE

Rev. (+) AILNOD:ON:O(XEN)

There is just enough room for a final x on the obverse, but the snick which normally occurs on this

type obscures the part of the flan where the letter would be found. The moneyer is also known for type i (*BMC* 12) and, possibly, type xiv (*BMC* 160) but, until the discovery of this coin, the exact name was in doubt.

In the absence of Bedford coins, which are not known for this type, it is to be expected that Oxford would have been one of the mints in the area to have provided coinage for the region.

A STEPHEN 'STAR' VARIANT OF PEVENSEY

PETER SEABY

IN 1966¹ Commander Mack listed a previously unrecorded irregular Stephen *Cross Moline* type penny which has a star of six curved rays to the right of the king's sceptre (Mack 187 y), placing it under the heading 'Midland and South-Western Area' (Fig. 1). This coin, from the Museum of Fine Arts, Moscow, was published in detail by F. Elmore Jones and C.E. Blunt in 'A Remarkable Parcel of Norman Pennies in Moscow' in *BNJ* 36 (1967), 89, No. 21. The obverse inscription is '—IEFN' and the only letters clearly decypherable on the reverse are '—EV:ON:—', so it was impossible to ascribe it to a particular mint. The weight of the coin is 15.4 grains. Comparison was made to *BMC* 236, one of the *Cross Moline* variants with a large rosette of pellets to the right of the king's sceptre. This group of 'Rosette' pennies (Mack 184–5), together with the later *Cross-and-Mullets* variants which have a large rosette of pellets in place of the sceptre (Mack 181–3), appears to be restricted to mints in the Upper Thames area: Oxford, Cricklade, and other uncertain (Wiltshire?) mints.



In the summer of 1979 Mr Leslie Clayton, of Gillingham, discovered a Stephen penny between the roots at the base of a very old yew tree some twenty yards below the North Downs Way, an ancient trackway, on Boxley Hill near Maidstone, Kent (NGR TQ 779592). This was the subject of a treasure trove inquest held by Mr G.H. Coombe, H.M. Coroner for Maidstone District, on 23 November 1979. The coin was declared not to be treasure trove and was returned to its finder. Through the courtesy of Mr Clayton it was exhibited before the Society on 25 March 1980. The penny (Fig. 2), weighing 18.7 grains, is a *Cross Moline* coin of late style with the obverse inscription '—ENE' and it has a large eight-rayed pierced star between the final letter and the sceptre. The reverse clearly reads '+ALPINE:O[N:P]EVE'. Alwine is recorded as a Pevensey moneyer for the *Cross-and-Mullets* type (Mack 63, *BMC* 165–7) and for the *Double Cross Pommée* type (Mack 120 a).

In view of the fact that, with few exceptions, the different *Cross Moline* variants and the later local types of Stephen appear to be confined to one county or to one earldom comprising two or more counties, perhaps the Moscow 'Star' variant may tentatively be assigned to a Sussex mint, despite some difference in the form of the two stars. The moneyer '—EV' on the Moscow coin could conceivably be the Herrevi who is known for the substantive *Cross Moline* type at Lewes (Mack 20). However, a coin of Herrevi (or Hervei) is also known from the South Kyme hoard with the reading 'HER—EV', being listed as 'Pevensey?' as the letter before EV is indistinct.² So if the Moscow coin is a penny of Herrevi it could be of either Lewes or Pevensey.

Lewes and Pevensey were neighbouring mints and both boroughs were the principal towns of their

¹ R.P. Mack, 'Stephen and the Anarchy 1135–1154'. *BNJ* 35 (1966).

² L.A. Lawrence, 'On a Hoard of Coins chiefly of King Stephen', *NC* (1922), 58 and 75, no. 203. See also Ian

Stewart 'The Sussex Mints and their Moneyers', in *The South Saxons*, edited by P. Brandon (Chichester, 1978), pp. 89–137, at p. 125.

respective rapes. William d'Aubigny *pincerna* who married Queen Adeliza, the widow of Henry I, was created earl of Lincoln, probably in 1139, but before the end of 1141 he had been transferred to the earldom of Sussex. In charters of the period he is more frequently referred to as earl of Arundel or earl of Chichester, having become lord of the honor and castle of Arundel through the right of his wife. It seems then that his authority was exercised chiefly in West Sussex and that the more easterly rapes of Bramber, Lewes, Pevensey and Hastings remained under the control respectively of the house of Braiose, the earl de Warenne and the counts of Mortain and Eu. John count of Eu and lord of Hastings was the great-nephew of Stephen and fought at the king's side at the battle of Lincoln at a very early age. Stephen's younger son William married Isabel, the heiress of Earl William de Warenne, and thus acquired the earldom of Surrey, large estates in Norfolk and the rape of Lewes following earl de Warenne's death in 1148. Stephen had been created count of Mortain about 1113 and his elder son Eustace presumably acquired the English estates of the countship on coming of age in 1147 at the same

time that he was invested with the county of Boulogne. Eustace's control of the rape of Pevensey is confirmed by his donation of the fishery of Pevensey to the priory of St Pancras at Lewes, the first Cluniac house in Britain. His charter was witnessed by his younger brother in his capacity of earl de Warenne³ and Stephen's charter of confirmation, signed at Lewes, was witnessed by William de Braiose lord of Bramber.⁴

Though they might have served some other purpose it is conceivable that the two star devices on the coins were used as marks of difference to indicate the respective Sussex lordships of the two royal princes. Stars appear as emblems on a number of early regal seals and on seven of the coin types of the first three Norman kings, and an estoile with curved rays was to be used later on the Irish pence and farthings of King John, the younger of the two surviving sons of Henry II. If the marks do refer to Stephen's sons then it must have been in 1147 or later in the case of Pevensey and in 1148 or later in the case of Lewes. Such an explanation would accord with the proposition of Mr Seaman that the *Cross Moline* type remained in issue until the end of the 1140s.⁵

³ BL Cotton MS. Vesp. F.xv, f. 89^v.

⁴ PRO. *E.40/15389, given in *Reg. Reg. Ang. Norm* iii, no. 448.

⁵ R.J. Seaman, 'A re-examination of some Hoards containing Coins of Stephen', *BNJ* 48, (1978)

A STERLING IMITATION BY GAUCHER OF CHÂTILLON

N.J. MAYHEW

AN important new Edwardian imitation sterling has recently come to light.¹ It mules two hitherto separate types of imitation, having an obverse belonging to the EDWARRA group of Continental imitations with 'English' type legends, and a reverse attributable to the important imitative mint of Yves belonging to Gaucher of Châtillon, constable of France and count of Porcéin.²

The Coin which is illustrated has legends as follows:

Obv. +EDWARRANGLDNSHYB
Rev. MON ETN OVA YVE } Es round backed



¹ This coin has been most generously presented to the Heberden Coin Room by Mr David Sellwood. My thanks are also due to Mr Peter Woodhead who first recognised the significance of this piece.

² N.J. Mayhew, *Sterling Imitations of Edwardian Type* (RNS Special Publication no. 14, 1983), pp. 93-100, 137-8.

³ Mayhew.

The obverse corresponds to Mayhew type 337, the reverse most closely to M238.³ The open letter E is somewhat unusual in both series, but not unknown. Both dies are new to me. The coin weighs 0.90 g, and has seen a good deal of circulation.

On the basis of this coin it is now therefore possible to attribute the whole of the EDWARRA series and its related types⁴ to Gaucher of Châtillon and his mint at Yves. Gaucher has already been identified as the author of another series of imitations, an identification based on the recognition of common punches which has been supported by the discovery of a Gaucher-London mule.⁵ It can therefore come as no great surprise to identify Gaucher as the author of another large and plentiful imitative series with the help of this EDWARRA-Yves mule.⁶

On stylistic grounds the Yves mint signature seems to come near the beginning of that series. The Upper

⁴ Mayhew, nos. 377-9.

⁵ NC 141 (1981), 172-3 and Mayhew p. 94.

⁶ This is to take the reverse legend at face value. In the absence of a die-link a theoretical possibility remains that the EDWARRA mint imitated the Gaucher imitations, but there is as yet no evidence to support such a view.

Cullmore find c.1315 which contained an EDWARRA type but no other Gaucher type, confirms the impression that the EDWARRA series was produced immediately prior to the issues in Gaucher's own name and his later series of Edward copies. It will be interesting to see whether the two recent finds from the Isle of Man (Ballaslig and Kilkenny), probably from this decade, add to our knowledge on this point.

Gaucher worked the mints at Yves, Neufchateau

and Florennes by right of his wife Isabelle of Rumigny whom he married in 1313. Isabelle died in 1322, but it is not clear whether Gaucher actually struck in Florennes after 1318 when Ferry IV, duke of Lorraine imposed certain conditions on the operation of the Florennes mints. The EDWARRA type therefore falls within the dates 1313–1318/22, and may probably be placed early within that period.

NEW CHARLES I SHILLINGS OF CHESTER AND THE TOWER

MICHAEL SHARP

FURTHER to my notes on the Civil War coinage of Chester,¹ I have to report the discovery of a new type of shilling (Fig. 1). The obverse is from the same die as Lyall type e/vii.² The reverse has a square topped shield without cross contained by an inner circle and is similar to that of the threepence (Fig. 2). The reverse mint mark is impossible to determine because of the flatness at the top of the coin. Whilst there are traces of at least two pellets after REGNO, which could suggest a triangle of pellets as on the obverse, the apparent absence of a crown over the shield could afford speculation for the presence of a prostrate garb with pellets each side as on the threepence. This will have to remain a subject for conjecture until a better

specimen turns up. This coin, clipped, weighs 79.43 grains.

Two Tower shillings have come to light. The first is a coin of Group E, m.m. bell, obverse 1, the reverse as reverse 1, but with Welsh plumes above the shield (Fig. 3). The second is a coin of Briot's hammered issue, m.m. triangle (over anchor on obverse — a die duplicate of Brooker 738) and with lozenge stops both sides (Fig. 4). Its reverse, with the mint mark not over anchor, is new. This coin came from the Messing hoard. I am indebted to Colin de Roufignac and Ivan Buck for bringing these two coins to my notice.



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2



3



4



¹ *BNJ* 52 (1982), 245–6.

² R. Lyall, 'The Chester Mints and the Coins attributed to

that Mint', *N. Circ* 79 (1971), 98–99.