THE 1962 LLANTRITHYD TREASURE TROVE AND 
SOME THOUGHTS ON THE FIRST NORMAN 
COINAGE OF WALES 

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(Pl. IV)

A recent excavation conducted by the Cardiff Archaeological Society and directed by Mr. T. F. R. Jones at the site of a medieval manor at Llantrithyd some ten miles west of Cardiff has thrown up no fewer than seven pennies of Henry I, type xi, the only coins, incidentally, that have come to light in the course of the investigation of a substantial proportion of the enclosure. It is worth noting, too, that the excavators' attention was drawn to the site by Dr. H. N. Savory of the National Museum of Wales as a result of his examination of air-photographs of the whole district. In October 1962 an inquest was held at Cowbridge, and a verdict of treasure trove recorded, the coins being acquired by the National Museum of Wales, and a very substantial reward paid to the actual finders. As already remarked, the seven coins are all of one type, and just how remarkable is the incidence of discovery can be gauged from the fact that the English National Collection still cannot muster more than half a dozen coins of this issue, and it may also be remarked that collectors of the calibre of William Hunter and R. C. Lockett each could boast of no more than two, while V. J. Ryan had to be content with only one. In his 1916 British Museum Catalogue G. C. Brooke gave references to precisely thirteen specimens and one mule—this last in Hunter—and Mr. J. J. North has recently published a fourteenth, a penny of Dover by the moneyer Manwine, while Mr. J. D. A. Thompson has been good enough to draw the attention of the writer to a fifteenth, a penny of Sandwich by a moneyer Wul(f)stan, which has been acquired by the Heberden Coin Room of the Ashmolean Museum at Oxford.

The seven coins from Llantrithyd represent, therefore, a very substantial accession of new material. In this paper they will be discussed only from the point of view of the numismatist, and no attempt will be made to indicate the exact circumstances of their discovery—they were found not together but in a scatter—nor of their concealment. The first would necessitate consideration of the stratification of much of the site, and the second a discussion of almost the whole of the structure of the English coinage under Henry I. It must suffice to say that it is the opinion of the writer that the coins recovered are strays from a much larger hoard which came to light when the wall collapsed later in the twelfth century, and his impression is that the hoard was concealed within a year or two of 1125, from which it will be gathered that he is not satisfied that the last word has been said on the subject of the ordering of the Brooke types.

The seven coins may be listed as follows:

(a) Obv. hEN —— R
Rev. Outer: —— | | | INC | ON
Inner: + B — STO:
Die-axis 270°. Weight 21·3 gr. (Pl. IV. 1)
Bristol, (Herd)inc.
(b) Obv. HENR—RE
Rev. Outer: +PA|LTE|RV|S.O
Inner: +NCARDII:
Die-axis 330°. Weight 19.9 gr. (Pl. IV. 2)
Cardiff, Walterus.

(c) Obv. HENR——R
Rev. Outer: +NCARDII:
Inner: +NGEFE
Die-axis 0°. Weight 18.9 gr. (chipped). (Pl. IV. 3)
Shaftesbury, Aldwine.

(d) Obv. HEN——R
Rev. Outer: +T|VR
Inner: +HPILT
Die-axis 270°. Weight 20.8 gr. (Pl. IV. 4)
Wilton, Tur . . .

(e) Obv. —N R——
Rev. Outer: +A|LD|PI|NE
Inner: +NGEFE
Die-axis 180°. Weight 19.6 gr. (Pl. IV. 5)
Winchester, Ailwine.

(f) Obv. HEH R
Rev. Outer: +HPILT
Inner: +NGEFE
Die-axis 270° (?). Weight 17.3 gr. (Pl. IV. 6)
Winchester, Ailwine?

(g) Obv. —-R——
Rev. Outer: +E|DO
Inner: +NGEFE
Die-axis 180°. Fragments. (Pl. IV. 7)
Uncertain mint, E. . . .d.

Clearly the seven coins emanate from at least five mints, Cardiff, a new mint for the reign, Bristol, Shaftesbury, and Wilton which are not previously recorded as mints for the type, and Winchester which is given as a mint for the type in Norman Kings, but with a query. The moneyer of the coin of Wilton must be uncertain—see the discussion below—and there is possibly room for doubt concerning the name that appears on the penny of Bristol, though the probability that it is Herdine (Harding) amounts almost to certainty. The moneyer of the coin of Shaftesbury is indisputably Aldwine who is known for the mint in BMC type xiii, while the name that appears on one at least of the two Winchester pennies is unquestionably Ailwine. In the opinion of the writer this Ailwine may be identified with the Alvinus of BMC 78A—in type xi, it will be recalled, moneyers’ names are given quite capriciously in their Latin and/or English forms. On the second of the two coins of Winchester, the moneyer’s name is far from certain, but it could very well be Ailwine again even though there is no die-link either with the previous coin or with BMC 78A. In Norman Kings, by the way, Brooke would appear to postulate an identity of name between this Alvinus and the Ælfwine who had struck at the mint early in the reign of William I. Granted the plausibility of the disappearance by dissimulation of medial ‘f’ at this period, the present writer feels that Alvinus could just as well be a latinization of Ailwine, and this last must surely be OE Æthelwine, and not
Ælfwine, by way of such numismatically well-attested intermediate forms as Ægelwine and Ælwine.

Beyond doubt the most significant of the seven coins from Llantrithyd is the superb penny of the Cardiff mint by a moneyer Walterus. It prompts reconsideration of the whole pattern of the Norman coinage of Wales. The picture that Brooke has left in English Coins may be summarized as follows:

**Mint of Cardiff**
A few coarse coins of the *Paxs* type of William the Conqueror with equivocal mint-signatures CAIRDI, CARITI, &c.

**Mint of Pembroke**
Unique dies of Henry I, type xiv, and of Stephen, type i, by a moneyer Gillepatric who is known from a documentary source.

**Mint of Rhuddlan**
A few very rare coins of the *Paxs* type of William the Conqueror, and perhaps one blundered coin of William Rufus.

**Mint of St. Davids**
A few coarse coins of the *Paxs* type of William the Conqueror with equivocal mint-signatures DEVITVN, &c.

There are marked affinities between the alleged Cardiff coins of William I and those of the mint of ‘Devitun’ identified by Carlyon-Britton as St. Davids. There is, too, as Carlyon-Britton showed, a die-link between ‘Devitun’ and Shrewsbury. Even if, then, the present writer had not long ago sensed grave doubts among historians as to the plausibility of there being William I mints at Cardiff and St. Davids, he would have been inclined to seek the mint or mints of the *Paxs* coins of ‘Cardiff’ and of ‘St. Davids’ considerably nearer the modern border of Wales and of England. In this connexion it should be stressed that of their very nature ‘caer’ and ‘Dewi’ are among the most common place-name elements from Wales, and there are the most formidable historical objections to there being a Norman mint at Cardiff before the reign of William II. Even if CAIRDI (‘caer Dewi’ or ‘David’s fort’ ?) is not the same as DEVITUN (‘David’s town’ ?), the turres concerned are surely to be located somewhere not too remote from Bristol and Shrewsbury, and the first coin that can be given with confidence to Cardiff, the ‘caer on the Taff’, must be the Walterus coin of Henry I found at Llantrithyd in 1962.

The mint-signature on the new coin of Cardiff is CARDII, and this prompts the reflection that there may be other coins of the Cardiff mint that have not been recognized. It is the opinion of the writer that there are three such coins, *BMC* 19 in Stephen, type i, and two die-duplicates in other cabinets. Here the reverse legend reads clearly and unequivocally +PILLEM:ON:CARDI:. Brooke gave the coin to Carlisle, and Willem undoubtedly is a Carlisle moneyer at this period. However, on a regular coin CARDI is impossible for Carlisle, despite forms such as ‘Cardeol’ and ‘Carduil’ which are represented on local dies by such spellings as CARD, and especial emphasis must be laid on the form CARLI which appears on the earliest of all the Carlisle coins, *BMC* 116 of Henry I, a type xiv penny by the moneyer Durant which, like *BMC* 19 of Stephen, is
from dies of impeccable ‘London’ work. There is reason to think, too, that no Stephen type i dies of regular work reached Carlisle before David I seized the city immediately after the death of Henry I, and on any telling BMC 19 stands out from the rest of the Carlisle coinage in being of regular work. On the evidence of the Watford and South Kyme hoards, moreover, one suspects that the Willem who strikes Carlisle coins from local dies was not operating at the inception of the type, i.e. in the weeks between Henry’s death and David’s capture of the city. The whole question of the coinage of Carlisle, however, is in the melting-pot, and the more so because of the writer’s recent discovery of a Stephen coin of Eden(burh) which may indicate that David’s ‘Edinburgh’ coins were struck on English soil, but on any telling BMC 19 is an interloper at Carlisle, and little importance can be attached to the coincidence of the moneyer’s name which is one of the most common on English coins at the period. Provisionally, therefore, the Llantrithyd hoard of coins of Henry I may be said to have added Carlisle to the canon of Stephen’s mints as well.

There remains to be discussed the question of the identity of the Wilton moneyer who struck the fourth of the seven coins from Llantrithyd. His name appears to begin with the by no means uncommon prototheme Tur-, representing OSScand Thor-, the only letter in any way doubtful being the third. To the student of Norman Kings this suggests at once the possibility that the Tur . . . of the new coin is the Turchil who is given in that work as a Wilton moneyer in Stephen, type i (BMC 116 and 117). However, it is now some years since Mr. F. Elmore Jones made some very significant discoveries which he noted at the time on the tickets in the British Museum trays but never published. It is by his kind permission that reference is made to them here. To take first BMC 117 of Stephen (Pl. IV. 8), a glance should be sufficient to establish that it is from the same dies as one in Mr. Elmore Jones’s cabinet (Pl. IV. 9). A scrutiny of the two coins in combination further establishes that the reverse legend in fact reads +TVRCHIL:ON:BRIC, and Turchil is, of course, a well-attested Bristol moneyer in the immediately preceding issues. In the same way, a dispassionate scrutiny of the reverse legend of BMC 116 in the same type (Pl. IV. 10) suggests that the real reading is in fact +TVMAS:ON:PILT, which, though there is as yet no die-link, prompts comparison with a British Museum acquisition subsequent to Norman Kings (BM 1921, 5-13-147), a coin from the South Kyme hoard (NC 1922, p. 77, no. 234) with incomplete legend TMYAS:ON:PILT (Pl. IV. 11). On the basis of a die-duplicate in Mr. Elmore Jones’s cabinet (Pl. IV. 12), this legend can now be restored with absolute confidence as +TVMASHIL:ON:PILT. In other words, the Turchil of the Wilton mint number no more than two, Falche and Tomas, the latter’s name normally appearing on his coins as Tomas (cf. NC 1922, p. 77, nos. 230–3—though here Lawrence’s running number is in error, no more than three coins in fact being involved) but occasionally as Tumas (cf. the two coins just cited). It is surely suggestive, too, that the Wilton coins in the great Watford and South Kyme hoards should be of these two moneyers and no others, and the suggestion of this note is that Turchil as a Stephen moneyer of the Wilton mint can safely be dismissed as mythical.

Even if, though, Turchil had been acceptable as a Wilton moneyer of Stephen, it would not have followed that the Llantrithyd coin on which the moneyer’s name begins Tur- was even plausibly his. It is remarkable how few of the type xi moneyers of Henry I are known in Stephen, type i, and this despite the circumstance that coins of the later issue are relatively common. The same argument, too, can be adduced against any
suggestion that the third letter of the moneyer’s name is only apparently ‘R’ and in reality a mis-struck ‘M’, so that the name is in fact Tomas with the Tumas spelling. It is true that Tomas appears as a Henry I moneyer of Wilton in the earliest extant Pipe Roll, but it is notable that no coin of his is known in BMC type xiv, and this despite the fact that the type is unusually well represented in modern cabinets as a consequence of at least one major hoard which evaded the treasure-trove regulations (Inventory 71 and BNJ xix (1927/8), pp. 93–107 where the hoard is listed). Moreover, the disposition of the letters that are visible on the Llantrithyd penny is such that we would have to postulate a most improbable dittography TVMMAS, and this when the variant and irregular spelling with ‘u’ for ‘o’ is one that is otherwise known only from coins of a whole decade later when a very different epigraphy obtains. To pile improbability upon improbability, and then to appeal to a lectio inferior such as TVM, where TVR is almost certain, must be considered unscientific, and it is almost impossible to reject the apparent reading which coincides so neatly with a well-attested prototheme. Nevertheless the name of the moneyer for the moment remains in doubt. There are at least three recorded names of Norman moneyers with which TVR- would be consistent, namely Thurbein (TVRBEN), Thurcil or Turchil (TVRCIL), and Thurstan (TURSTAN), and there seems little to choose between them. If, however, prosopographical patterns may be thought to possess any validity, Thurcil or Turchil may be said to have one argument still in its favour inasmuch as a moneyer of that name had struck at Wilton some seventy years earlier in the reign of Edward the Confessor. It would indeed be ironic, though, if another specimen of the Llantrithyd coin were to come to light and establish Turchil as an undoubted Henry I moneyer of Wilton, since if this publication of the new hoard has any merit beyond novelty it is because it puts on record Mr. Elmore Jones’s exposure of Turchil as a myth where the Wilton mint under Stephen is concerned.

Of necessity this paper has had to range rather widely, and accordingly there is now offered a summary of the new find in slightly modified Inventory format:

Llantrithyd, Glamorganshire, spring/summer, 1962.
7 /R Norman pennies. Deposit: c. 1125.
R. H. M. Dolley in BNJ xxxi (1962), pp. 74–79. The coins, discovered in the course of an archaeological excavation, may well be the scatter from a major hoard.

In conclusion it may be found useful to summarize the additions and corrections which, if the arguments set out above are accepted, are now necessary in the case of the sources most likely to be consulted by students of the Norman coinage of the various mints concerned.

G. C. Brooke, Norman Kings:

p. cci, Bristol
Add to the Henry I moneyers (Herd)ing (xi).
Add to the Stephen moneyers Turchil (i).

p. cciv, Cardiff?
The attribution to this mint of type viii pennies of William I seems unlikely.
Add under Henry I Walterus (xi).
Add under Stephen Willem (i).

p. cccxxii, St. Davids
The attribution is most improbable.

p. cccxxv, Shaftesbury
Add under Henry I, type xi (Aldwine).
Add to moneyers Tur . . . (Henry I, xi).

p. ccxivii, Wilton
Delete from moneyers Turchil (Stephen, i).
p. 335, BRISTOL  Add after BMC 2 Turchil (BMC 117).
p. 337, CARLISLE  The mint of BMC 19 is probably Cardiff.
p. 353, WILTON  The moneyer of BMC 116 is Tumas.
               The mint of BMC 117 is Bristol.

G. C. Brooke, *English Coins*:
p. 83, CARDIFF  The attribution is very doubtful.
p. 85, ST. DAVIDS  The attribution is very doubtful.
p. 89, Add to mints CARDIFF, Walterus.
p. 90, WILTON  Add to moneyers Tur . . .
p. 97, BRISTOL  Add to moneyers Turchil (cf. also Supplement, p. 256).
               Add to mints CARDIFF, Willem.
p. 98, WILTON  Delete from moneyers Turchil.

     Stephen  Delete Turchil.

Consequential emendations follow in the case of the tables opposite p. 176.