RECENT TUDOR HOARDS

B.J. COOK

The following reports all cover material which has passed through the treasure trove system in England in the course of the last few years and which thus came in some way to the British Museum for examination. By no means all were in the event declared treasure trove, and several were accessible for identification only very briefly or though photographs. Thus it was not always possible to obtain complete information, or make a full record of weights and legends. However, given the relative scarcity of sixteenth-century hoards, it has seemed desirable to record and publish what evidence is available, particularly as it seems more than likely that a reasonable number of hoards of similar scale and nature to those described below do not enter the treasure trove system and receive no record of any sort.

1. Mendlesham Green, Suffolk

These twenty-eight silver coins were found at High House Farm, Mendlesham Green, Suffolk, between 14 September and 3 October 1992. The find was reported to the coroner by Mr Gary Garnham. Along with his father Mr Ray Garnham, and Mr Robert Gibson, he had been using a metal-detector with the permission of the landowner. The coins were found in the same field, within an area of forty square feet.

Ms Judith Plouviez, of Suffolk County Council Planning Department’s Archaeological Section, reported on the site at the request of the coroner. According to her report:

"The findspot lay about 80m to the south of the road which marks the southern edge of Mendlesham Green. . . . Medieval greens such as this commonly had house sites round the edge, and there are still houses along much of the southern edge. Fieldwalking evidence had shown thirteenth and fourteenth-century activity in currently uninhabited areas along the east and south edges of Mendlesham Green. The context of the coins found is therefore close to domestic properties of this date."

The coins consist of fifteen groats, eight half-groats and one penny of English money, along with four foreign coins. The earliest coin dates to 1351-2 and the latest to 1500-4. However only two pieces pre-date Edward IV’s reduction of the weight standard of the silver coinage in 1464/5. Whilst this removed much earlier coin from currency, the survival of a proportion of older material is well attested from hoards. In this case, as might be expected, the survivals represent very large issues: a half-groat of Edward III’s fourth coinage, pre-Treaty period, Series C, and a groat of Henry VI’s Annulet issue from the Calais mint. The remaining English pieces are all of the twelve grain penny standard: nine of Edward IV’s first reign, two of Henry VI restored, three (possibly four) of Edward’s second reign and nine of Henry VII. The latest coins present have the initial mark greyhound’s head, in use 1500-4. This, and the absence of profile portrait coins, may suggest a deposit date of somewhere around 1504.

Acknowledgements. I am very grateful to all the finders, coroners, coroner’s officers, local museum curators and archaeologists whose work and co-operation ensured that the coins considered here were all reported and recorded.

I am grateful to Judith Plouviez for permission to quote from her report.

When deposited the English coins had a face value of 7s. 6d. The four foreign coins consist of two double patards of Charles the Bold of Burgundy (1467-77) and two chinfraos, or half-reals, of Alfonso V of Portugal (1438-81). As is well known, the double patards were legal tender as groats, following the monetary convention of 1469 between Edward IV and Charles the Bold.\(^3\)

The Portuguese chinfrao’s distinctive appearance included a crowned A as the obverse design with the legend a version of ALFONSVS QVINTI REGIS PORT, and on the reverse the Portuguese cross of five shields with the legend an abbreviated form of ADIVTORIVM NOSTRVM IN NOMINE DOMINI.\(^4\)

Chinfraos seem to have had a not insignificant currency in early Tudor England, as a number of finds attest. The large Hartford hoard (also deposited around 1504) included just two specimens of the coin, to its eighty-three double patards.\(^5\) This does not look particularly impressive, but small (perhaps ‘purse’) hoards (like Mendlesham Green itself) together with numbers of single finds, suggest a rather larger role for them in daily use, and it may be that the Hartford hoard discriminated against them.

Apart from the Mendlesham Green hoard itself, there is a small hoard of thirteen coins found at Downham in Lancashire in 1992 which included one double patard and one chinfrao along with eight coins of Edward IV and three of Henry VII. Among these last were two York groats of Archbishop Christopher Bainbridge (1508-14), suggesting a deposit date for the group of the end of Henry VII’s reign or the early years of Henry VIII, say 1508-10.\(^6\) A small hoard found in Leighton Buzzard in 1881 seems to have included one chinfrao together with ten English coins.\(^7\) The latest hoard (of unknown provenance) to include a chinfrao is one of 322 coins deposited during Henry VIII’s second coinage, with the latest initial mark arrow (1532-42); it had one, along with eleven double patards.\(^8\)

Single finds shown at the British Museum include a chinfrao from Yorkshire, recorded in 1977, and more recently, a specimen from Binstead near Arundel, West Sussex in 1992, and another shown in 1993 among an obvious mixed bag of fifteenth to sixteenth-century single finds from an unspecified site.\(^9\) Yet another was recently found in central Norfolk.\(^10\) There are occasional finds of other fifteenth-century Portuguese coins: a half-real of Joao I, a real of the same ruler and a copper ceitil of Alfonso V (the last two both found in South Devon) have


\(^4\) Older Portuguese texts use the term chimfram, although chinfrao appears to be the preferred term in recent publications. The use of the ordinal alongside the king’s name in the obverse legend is a notable feature of Alfonso’s later coinage, unusual for the 1470s. It was retained by his successor in the forms IOHANNES SECUNDI REGIS and IOHANNES II. Within a generation Henry VII adopted the same usage in England, at first spelling out the number SEPTIMO VS. The Portuguese example was, if not the only, at least the most accessible precedent for this.


\(^6\) Unpublished report by Adrian Lewis of Blackburn Museum and Art Galleries. I am grateful to Mr Lewis for permission to refer to this hoard. The coins were acquired by the Blackburn Museum and, it is hoped, will soon be published in this journal.

\(^7\) This hoard of eleven coins was discovered in 1881 by workmen digging in the foundations of a house in the High Street, Leighton Buzzard, noted in the Leighton Buzzard Observer. They were identified as ‘one groat of ... Edward IV, two of ... Henry VII, four Edward III groats, three silver pennies of ... Edward III., and one other small piece of unknown date and value’ (i.e. the chinfrao). Coins which may well be this hoard are still retained by the Leighton Buzzard branch of Barclays Bank, though these consist of issues of Edward IV, Henry VII and Henry VIII, and include half-groats, not pennies. I am grateful to Mr J.J. Strawbridge of Stoneleigh House, Newton Abbot, for bringing this find to my attention recently. A modern publication of this hoard by Stephen Doolan of the Fitzwilliam Museum is forthcoming.


\(^9\) Most of these and subsequently mentioned single coins were noted by the author when presented at the British Museum for identification. In comparison, over the same period just two double patards were recorded, but fifteen Venetian soldini – the latter, as halfpenny equivalents were clearly going to be lost in much greater quantities than groats or half-groat equivalents. Of these fifteen, ten were of late fifteenth to early sixteenth-century vintage (one of Niccolo Tron (1471-3), two of Agostino Barbarigo (1486-1501) and seven of Leonardo Loredano (1501-21)).

\(^10\) I am grateful to John Davies of Norwich Castle Museum for permission to refer to this coin, which is published in the Coin Register, 1994, no. 354 (this volume, p.162).
also been shown recently at the British Museum for identification. A hoard of eleven coins found at Deeping St James, Lincolnshire, included an espadim (a coin of about 25 per cent silver) of Alfonso V with a groat, half-groat and two pennies of Edward IV's second reign, and six half-groats of Henry VII.\textsuperscript{11} A ½-real of Manuel I (1495-1521) has also been recorded at the British Museum. During the first half of the sixteenth century Portuguese gold coin was to become relatively common.\textsuperscript{12} There is also an unpublished hoard of thirty-six Portuguese coppers found in Oxford in 1931 and now in the Ashmolean Museum - though this was presumably material never used in English currency.\textsuperscript{13}

Chinfras of Alfonso V do seem, therefore, to have had a particular and quite substantial role in English currency for a period, comparable to, if not quite as significant as, double patards and Venetian solidini. No other Portuguese coin of the time appears with anything like such frequency, and the presence in England of the full real, of which the chinfrao was the half, is nowhere attested. Yet to judge from the sites of hoards and single finds, chinfras could be encountered across the country, from Lancashire and Yorkshire, though the Midlands and East Anglia down to Sussex. Given their fineness of 91.6 per cent silver, and their weight of usually between about 19 and 22 grains, they are likely to have passed muster in currency as half-groats.

One needs to look at the hoard evidence to assess their period of currency. Although Alfonso V reigned from 1433 to 1481, the chinfrao was only introduced in 1472. The coin was subsequently formally demonetised in a decree of Joao II of 1485.\textsuperscript{14} Chinfras do not appear in late fifteenth-century hoards, whether of the Yorkists or of Henry VII.\textsuperscript{15} Most of the hoards which do contain them appear to be a fairly tight-knit group, chronologically speaking, as Hartford, Mendlesham Green, Downham and Leighton Buzzard all seem to date from in or just after 1504. Apart from Mendlesham Green itself, all included profile portrait coins. (Leighton Buzzard was the latest, with one groat of Henry VIII's first coinage.) Other recorded hoards from Henry VII's reign do not seem to have included chinfras, but of these the Clay Cotton, Norham, Hounslow and Wallingford hoards were all confined to groats (with some double patards in the last two), that is, without the half-groat element one might expect the chinfras to accompany.\textsuperscript{16}

Hoards with the deposit date and content to match the 'chinfrao group' include the small Fonthill Gifford hoard, with its nine coins similar in scale to the Mendlesham Green, Downham and Leighton Buzzard finds. It did indeed include a foreign coin, but this was a soldino. The Bury St Edmunds hoard included a substantial number of half-groats among its around 380 coins. A significant component of this find was not recorded in detail, and this included 'considerable numbers of foreign groats, mostly of Charles the Bold', i.e. double patards.\textsuperscript{17} Whilst it is not impossible that this reference might have encompassed chinfras,

\textsuperscript{11} Lincolnshire Architectural and Archaeological Society Reports and Papers, vol 7 part 1 (1957), n. 33, and vol. 9 part 1 (1961), n. 47. These coins were originally identified by Michael Dolley and John Kent. The hoard is now in the Lincoln Museum.


\textsuperscript{14} A.C. Teixeira de Aragao, Descripção geral e historica das moedas cozinadas em nome dos reis, regentes e governadores de Portugal, vol. 1 (Lisbon, 1874), pp. 232-5; for the demonetisation of chinfras, see also the 'Documentos comprovativos', no. 42 (p. 393). I am very grateful to Barry Taylor of the British Library's Hispanic Section for help with these references and other matters requiring knowledge of Portuguese.

\textsuperscript{15} It has to be admitted that there are not vast numbers of relevant hoards to be considered for the Yorkists (i.e. later than 1472, with denominations below the groat), but see J.D.A. Thompson, Inventory of British Coin Hoards (London, 1956), nos 20, 309 (these both Scottish), 371, and 384. For the early years of Henry VII, there are no chinfras in even the recent Ryther hoard, deposited around 1487 and including a fairly mixed bag of material in terms of denominations and condition, plus seven double patards and some counterfeit (see Craig Barclay, 'The Ryther Treasure Trove', BNJ forthcoming). I am grateful to Craig Barclay for this information, prior to the hoard's publication.

\textsuperscript{16} For Hounslow (which had one half-groat, with its 375 groats), see J.B. Bergne, 'On a hoard of coins discovered at Hounslow', NC 2nd ser. 1 (1861), 140-3; for the other hoards, see the references in Brown and Dolley, p. 21.

\textsuperscript{17} For Fonthill Gifford, see Coin Hoards V (1929), no. 294. For Bury St Edmunds, see J. Warren, 'A find of coins near Bury St Edmunds', NC 2nd ser. 2 (1862), 148-51.
they are unlikely to have been classed as groats and probably would have been specifically distinguished had they been present. The hoard did include at least two profile portrait groats, and so matches the 'chinfrao group' in date. As was suggested earlier for the Hartford hoard, there may have been discrimination against chinfraos in the larger accumulations of coin like Bury St Edmunds, in contrast to the other, much smaller (?'purse') hoards, if, unlike the double patards, they were not, or were not then, known to be legal tender. The unprovenanced hoard of Henry VIII's second coinage demonstrates that chinfraos were still available during the 1530s.

Trade and diplomatic contacts with Portugal were frequent enough in the fifteenth century (one need only think of the career of the Lisbon-born 'Sir Edward Brampton', trusted servant of Edward IV in the 1470s and 80s), but there is the odd situation of the hoard evidence suggesting a period of currency for the chinfraos of some twenty-five to thirty years after they had ceased to be produced, even after they had been actively withdrawn from Portuguese currency, and then for at least another thirty years or so after that.

It is quite tempting to see a specific link with Henry VII's relations with Portugal. In August 1489 he renewed the old Anglo-Portuguese treaty of alliance dating back to 1387, which in December was then ratified by King Joao II (1481–95), who was also made a knight of the Garter at some date in 1490–1. However, coins of Joao II himself do not appear to have been found in England, and, as already mentioned, in 1485 he reformed the Portuguese coinage, introducing new, lighter weight standards for the real and half-real, replacing those used for the chinfrao.  

It may be of course that the chinfraos found in England all arrived in the decade or so after 1472, and thereafter remained in currency, and that it is purely fortuitous that they have so far been found only in hoards of around 1505–15 or later. Half-reals of Joao II, generally weighing between 12 and 15 grains, would not have been tolerable as half-groat equivalents, and thus found no place in currency. This means also that substantial quantities of chinfraos would have had to survive Henry VII's 1490 demonetisation of all foreign plucks, other than Carolus placks (double patards), as well as other drives against foreign coin, specified in 1498 as 'diverse counterfeit and new-forged strange coin, especially groats called Roman groats, and pence of 2d., called Roman pence of 2d.' It is noteworthy that, in contrast to the chinfraos, no coins corresponding to 'Roman' groats and half-groats appear to have been found in England.

The alternative scenario is to allow for the importation of the coin to England after its demonetisation in Portugal. This is perhaps not inconceivable. One might speculate whether, following the Portuguese reform of 1485, some enterprising souls may have calculated on getting better value for their old chinfraos by importing them to England in the late 1480s or 1490s to serve as half-groats, than by exchanging them for new coin in Portugal, a scheme encouraged by the then improving Anglo-Portuguese contacts and relations symbolised by the 1489 treaty.

A question may remain about why there appears to have been so little official cognisance taken of the chinfraos, in contrast to the attention paid to both double patards and Venetian soldini, and, indeed, the elusive 'Roman' groats. The double patards were legally current and

---

18 For Sir Edward Brampton, see C. Roth, 'Sir Edward Brampton alias Duarte Brandao', La Societe guernesaise (Guernsey, 1957), p. 163.
19 See, for instance, C.M. Almeida do Amaral, Catdlogo descriptivo das moedas Portuguesas (Lisbon, 1977), vol. 1, 397. There has in fact been one recorded find of a coin of Joao II in England, but this, a real or vintem, was in the Civil War hoard found at Ashdon, Essex, along with a half-real of Ferdinand and Isabella. The hoard was probably deposited around 1644–5 and there is no telling when or in what circumstances this Portuguese coin arrived in England. See E. Besly, English Civil War Coin Hoards (London, 1987), p. 13.
20 See C.E. Challin, The Tudor Coinage (Manchester, 1978), pp. 54–5. Perhaps the most likely candidates to be these 'Roman' groats and half-groats are the 5th issue double patards and patards in the names of Emperor Maximilian I and his son Philip the Fair in the latter's inheritance of Flanders and Brabant. These were struck in 1489–92 to standards of about 80 per cent and 50 per cent silver respectively, and have the Rex Romanorum title on the obverse.
specified as such by name in a succession of royal proclamations of the early Tudor period.  
21 The use of soldini became a propaganda weapon in the frequent protests about the limited provision of small change by the English mint.  
22 This situation did not apply to the chinfrao, the role of which may simply have been to top up a common enough denomination. Yet, given its apparent availability, it is odd that there was never a specific condemnation of it.  

In fact, there is the possibility of some degree of formal recognition, or at least notice, of the chinfrao. In a series of royal proclamations relating to the coinage issued between 1522 and 1539, legal tender status was acknowledged for 'groats and half-groats not being of the King's coin, having course and being current within this his realm'.  
23 The groats must have been double patards, but what were the half-groats? Technically single patards, as well as the whole range of Burgundian issues, had been made current in the 1469 treaty. However, none of these have been recovered in England, as a single find or in a hoard, whereas chinfraos had a long record of use and were patently still available in the 1530s. Perhaps Alfonso V's chinfraos had, in some unrecorded way, been given a legal or tolerated status.  

There is also the possibility of a link with the mysterious dandyprat, a term used in the early decades of the sixteenth century apparently to define coins of inferior weight or fineness to half-groats but also current at 2d, which were also, from most of their contexts, of foreign origin. These were criteria which the chinfrao matched in every respect.  
24 In his discussion of the various references to dandyprats, Grierson identifies them with different coins at different times, including Irish half-harps and Burgundian patards. He was unable to pin down a candidate for the reference in a letter of 1525 which placed them in the context of Henry VII's Boulogne expedition of 1492, the earliest date to be associated with them.  

The implication of the reference was that the king had a large stock of half-groats of inferior standards. Could a recent influx of Portuguese half-reals have provided this resource, perhaps rounded up in the 1490 attack on foreign coin, or even deliberately acquired for the purpose? This is at least a possibility. If the king had paid his own troops or suppliers with such coin, it would have been introduced (or reintroduced) to currency at a time which would certainly suit the hoard evidence, and in such a circumstance the government could hardly balk at its continuance in use thereafter. Portuguese could even provide a derivation for the name 'dandyprat' itself, with de prata meaning 'of silver', and dinheiro de prata being an acceptable term for silver coin generally.  

CATALOGUE

Edward III


Henry VI, first reign (1422-61)

2. Groat, Annulet issue (1422-7), Calais mint.

---

24 Surviving proclamations by no means make up a complete record, for instance in 1530 the Venetian ambassador reported to his government a decree about Venetian soldini which has not survived (see Spufford, 'Continental coins in late medieval England', p. 137).
26 See for instance, A.C. Teixeira de Aragao, Descripcao geral e historica das moedas cunhadas em nome dos reis, regentes e governadores de Portugal, vol. I, Documentos comprovativos no. 10, p. 360. Barry Taylor of the British Library advises me that syllables are readily omitted in spoken Portuguese, and dinheiro de prata could easily be pronounced in just three or four syllables.
Recent Tudor Hoards

Edward IV, first reign (1461–70)

Light coinage (1464/5–70)

7. Groat, type VIII, im crown/crown, Bristol mint.

Henry VI, restored (Oct. 1470–April 1471)


Edward IV, second reign (1471–83)


Edward IV, light coinage, first or second reign


Henry VII (1485–1709)

17. Groat, class IIIc, im lis issuant from rose (1490–1504), London mint.
18. Groat, class IIIc, im anchor (1490–1504), London mint.
19. Groat, class IIIc, im greyhound’s head (1500–4), London mint.
24. Half-groat, class IIIb, im tun/lis, Canterbury mint.

Charles the Bold, Duke of Burgundy (1467–7)

25–6 Double patards as duke of Brabant.

Alfonso V, King of Portugal (1438–81)


2. Monkton Deverill, Wiltshire

These three silver coins were discovered on 29 August 1990 by Mr K.D. Burton while metal-detecting on pasture land in his own property, Burton Farm, near the village of Monkton Deverill. The coins were found about twelve inches below the surface. Following a report from the British Museum, the local coroner decided no inquest was required and the coins were returned to the finder.

The coins consisted of a light coinage groat of Edward IV and two profile issue groats of Henry VII, in total representing a shilling in value. The coins would have circulated together and are likely to represent a single deposit made after 1507 and probably before the new weight standard of 1526. The three coins are of good weight, having an average of over 95 per cent of the 12 grain penny standard, and the Henry VII coins in particular are in excellent condition.
Edward IV, first reign

Light coinage (1464/5–70)

1. Groat, type VI, im sun (1465–6), York mint, wt: 45.7/2.96

Henry VII (1485–1509)

3. Groat, Profile issue, ‘Regular’ style, im pheon (1507–9), London mint, wt: 46.1/2.99

3. Peckleton, Leicestershire

This hoard of eighteen coins was discovered at Tooley Park Farm, Peckleton, near Earl Shilton, Leicester, on 17, 18 and 20 April 1994, by Mr R.J. Ward, who was using a metal-detector there with permission of the owner, Mr Roger Draycott. The coins were handed in by Mr Ward at Braunston Police Station. By request of the coroner, a report was prepared on them at the British Museum, and they were declared to be Treasure Trove at an inquest held at Loughborough on 26 October 1994. Seven coins (indicated by asterisks in the catalogue below) were acquired for Leicestershire Museums, and the remainder were returned to the finder.

The hoard consisted of two ryals of Edward IV, both of type VI (1465–6); four groats of Henry VII; and twelve coins of Henry VIII’s second coinage (1526–44), specifically one gold piece (a crown of the double rose), eight groats, one half-groat, one penny and one halfpenny. This would appear to be a slightly odd collection of material, but presumably one should look on the lesser denominations (totalling 3½d) as minor makeweights in a hoard of gold and groats.

Chronologically the hoard’s content appears to fall into two main groups. The coins of Edward IV and Henry VII are of the standards introduced in 1464/5 and which lasted until 1526, based on the 12 grain penny and gold of 23 carats 3.5 grains. The remaining coins are of Henry VIII’s second coinage and fit the new standards of 1526, based on the penny of 10% grains and crown gold of 22 carats.

The main question posed by the hoard is whether one postulates two distinct collections of material, broken by the 1526 change in standards, or whether the hoard can be regarded as reflecting in some degree the currency of the 1530s–40s. The presence of the gold ryals is not a major problem. These were formally revalued at the time of the reform to be worth 11s. 3d. instead of 10s. However, if a post-1526 deposit date is accepted, the Peckleton find would seem to be the first actual demonstration from hoards that the revaluation was indeed followed by their continuance in currency, as the two substantial gold hoards recorded for Henry VIII’s reign both appear to be first coinage hoards, containing only angel gold.27

27 See John Evans, ‘A hoard of English gold coins found at Park Street, near St Albans’ MC 3rd ser., 6 (1886), 173–204; the nature of the 54 gold coins found at Westminster in 1871 is less definite, but it is probable that this was also a first coinage hoard. The account quoted in C.R. Beard, The Romance of Treasure Trove (London, 1933), pp. 271–2, describes the coins as ‘forty-one rose-nobles and thirteen marks... The marks were of the reign of Henry VII, and VII.’ ‘Mark’ may well refer to the half-mark angel, so valued up to 1526. Older gold does, of course, reappear in a few hoards from much later in the century, after the debasement period, for instance the Houghton hoard (see n. 35 below).
The four groats of Henry VII have a mean weight of 42.9 grains, a little over the formal 1526 weight of 42.64 grains, with two of them underweight and two overweight. The absence of first coinage pieces of Henry VIII is not crucial, considering the small number of coins in the hoard, and the general level of scarcity of silver of this issue. The mean weight of the Henry VIII groats is 40.3 grains. Obviously, only a small number of coins is here involved and any number of deposition scenarios are conceivable, but it may seem most probable that the hoard was indeed withdrawn from currency on a single occasion.

This probability is confirmed by one of the few other hoards of the period to be recorded, which clearly shows the survival of earlier material beyond 1526. This substantial find of unknown provenance contained 322 silver coins including sixteen Edward IV and Henry VI (restored) light coinage issues, sixty-two coins of Henry VII, just six of Henry VIII’s first coinage (confirming the minor contribution of this issue to the silver currency), plus 242 groats and halffroats of Henry VIII’s second coinage. It had a face value of just under £5.28 Interestingly, like Peckleton this hoard also appears to close with arrow as its latest initial mark, though the significance of this cannot be pressed too hard considering the length of time this mark was employed.

Assuming the Peckleton coins to form a single deposit, they would have had a total face value, according to the valuations in force from 1526, of £1 1s. 9½d. Presumably the date of deposit was before 1544 and the beginnings of debasement, whilst being no earlier than 1538, from the form of the lis initial mark on one of the groats (no. 10). Considering the five groats of the initial mark arrow (1532–42) present, perhaps the suggestion of a date of about 1540 is not unreasonable, despite the absence of any coins of the sunburst initial mark (1537–8).39

Hoard deposited during Henry VIII’s reign are rare, perhaps giving the Peckleton find a degree of significance somewhat beyond its size. It appears especially noteworthy through its likely status as a second coinage hoard, as these seem to be particularly scarce.30 The unprovenanced silver hoard already mentioned was one other, and the only other definite example was the very unusual Sherborne hoard of 1970: 121 second coinage halfpennies accompanying nine Portuguese gold cruzados and a Spanish excelente.31

---

29 Sunburst coins are much scarcer, naturally so considering their shorter period of issue.
30 Brown and Dolley list ten hoards of English coins for the period 1509–44, plus two others which probably had no real existence (EL13 and EL19). Five of these are gold hoards; the two listed in n. 27; another with only five identified gold coins, plus an indeterminate number of silver (EL7); an unrecorded “large” hoard (EL18); and one of nine coins from Wales (EL16). Of the five silver hoards, one has just two coins (EL6); another is of indeterminate size and unrecorded content (EL10); an unpublished hoard from Cornwall contained seventeen coins (EL20); plus there is the hoard published by Lawrence (see n. 27 above). Then there is Brown and Dolley EL8, described as containing 500 coins. In fact the original Gentleman’s Magazine reference says “400 to 500 silver coins, chiefly groats and demigroats of Henry VIII, with some of Edward IV”. This is an odd-looking hoard, as one would expect some Henry VII coins with any Edward IV issues, and one may perhaps wonder whether the hoard was either earlier in date, from Henry VII’s reign, or was from the debasement period and included Edward VI’s coins not Edward IV’s. To these Brown added a further gold hoard, 40 coins, found in 1832 (see I.D. Brown, “First addendum to the Bibliography of Coin Hoards of Great Britain and Ireland 1500–1967”, NCirc 81 (1973), 148). A substantial Cornish hoard reported found in the Gentleman’s Magazine for 1832 may well be a second coinage hoard (see H.E. Marville, “Additions and corrections to Thompson’s Inventory and Brown and Dolley’s Coin Hoards – part 1”, BNI 63 (1994), 104). Marville includes it among hoards of 1544–61 and the report he quotes describes it as including coins “none later than 1545”, however the coins as described include issues of the ecclesiastical mints, but not of the debasement mints.
31 See BNI 39 (1970), 210 and J.P.C. Kent, “The circulation of Portuguese coins in Great Britain” in Actas do III Congresso Nacional de Numismatica (Lisbon, 1985), pp. 392–3. I am grateful to Marion Archibald for further information on this hoard, which was acquired by the British Museum.
Edward IV, first reign, light coinage (1464/5–70)

1.* Ryal, initial mark sun/sun, type VI (1465–6), London mint.
Obv.: (sun)E/DWARD’A  DI’GRA’REXIANGLAZAFRANC’A/ADNSAIB’
Rev.: (sun) IlcA AVT’T/ANSIENSA/PERMEDIVMA/ILLORVMBAT
Wt: 117gr/7.58g.

2.* Ryal, im none/sun, type VI, Coventry mint.
Obv.: ED/WARD’A  DI’GRA’REXIANGLAZAFRANC’A/DNSIB’
Rev.: (sun) IhC’AVT’T/ANSIENSA/PERMEDIVMA/ILLORVMBAT
Wt: 116.4gr/7.54g.

Henry VII

3.* Groat, type IIIc, im pansy (1490–1504), wt: 40.3/2.61.
4. Groat, type IIIc, im anchor (upright both sides) (1490–1504), wt: 39.2/2.54.
5. Groat, type IIIc, im greyhound’s head (1500–7), wt: 45.8/2.97.
6.* Groat, type IIIc, im crosslet/greyhound’s head (1504–7), wt: 46.4/3.01.

Henry VIII, second coinage (1526–4)

7.* Crown of the double rose, im arrow (1532–42), initials HK (1532–3)
Obv.: (arrow)hENRIC’$VIIRVTILANS$ROSA$SIE$SPIA’
Rev.: (arrow) DEIXG’$AGLIE’$Z$FRANC’$DNS$’hIBERIE’
Wt: 57.1gr/3.7g.
8. Groat, im lis (1, 1529–32) (F?, M2), wt: 38.9/2.52.
9.* Groat, im lis (2 or 3, 1529–32 or 1538–41) (F?, M1), wt: 41.2/2.67.
10. Groat, im lis (3, 1538–41) (F4, M2), wt: 41.3/2.68.
11. Groat, im arrow (1532–42), wt: 41.1/2.66.
12. Groat, im arrow, wt: 41.2/2.67.
13. Groat, im arrow, wt: 40.3/2.61.
14. Groat, im arrow, wt: 36.5/2.37.
15. Groat, im arrow, wt: 41.6/2.7.
17.* Penny, im trefoil (1526–9), Durham mint, Thomas Wolsey, wt: 9.7/0.63.

4. Stratford St Andrew, Suffolk
(by B.J. Cook and John Newman)

A site at Stratford St Andrew produced two gold angels of Henry VIII during metal-detecting by Mr P. Bradley. One was found in January 1990 and the other in March 1991, at spots approximately eight metres apart. A report on them was prepared for the coroner by J. Newman, and further advice taken from the British Museum. The finder continued to examine the site, and formal proceedings were delayed to accommodate this in case of further finds. However, nothing else was recovered, and the coins were declared not to be treasure trove at an inquest held in April 1992.32

The two coins may represent separate deposits, although it does seem unlikely that two high value coins of the same issue would have been lost in such relatively close proximity, especially given the apparent absence of any other numismatic material in the vicinity. The

32 The find was dealt with in concert with the Little Glemham find recorded below pp. 79.
two coins are angels of Henry VIII’s first coinage, with initial marks castle (weight 79.1/5.12) and portcullis crowned (weight 78.5/5.09), both marks dating to 1509–26. The latter piece was found folded in half. Their weights are respectively about 99 and 98 per cent of the official standard. Assuming a common deposit, this could have occurred at any time between around 1509 and, presumably, the onset of the debasement coinage of 1544. At the time of issue the two coins together would have been worth 13s. 4d., i.e. one mark. In 1526 their face value was enhanced from 6s. 8d. each to 7s. 8d., giving a face value of 15s. 4d.

5. Bowley Park, Lichfield, Staffordshire

In February 1986 a gold coin was discovered on a building site in Bowley Park, Lichfield, by Mr M. Styles, who was using a metal-detector. The coin lay about two inches below the surface. Following a report from the British Museum, no inquest was held and the coin returned to the finder.

The coin was a gold half-sovereign of Edward VI in the name of Henry VIII, initial mark E/E (1547–9), with E below shield on the reverse, from the Southwark mint. It was identified from photographs and no weight was recorded.

6. Little Glemham, Suffolk
(by B.J. Cook and John Newman)

Seven silver coins were found between November 1989 and July 1991, in an area of a few square metres in Little Glemham, by Mr D. Fulcher and Mr P. Bradley, who were using metal-detectors with the landowner’s permission. A report was prepared for the coroner by John Newman of Suffolk Archaeological Unit, who identified the findspot as close to a medieval moated farm site (Little Glemham, GLL001) which has seen occupation up to the present day. Further advice was then taken from the British Museum. Following a delay for further examination of the site, the find was declared not to be treasure trove at an inquest in April 1992 and was then returned to the finders.

The coins consist of five sixpences and two groats of Mary I and Elizabeth I, with a collective face value of 3s. 2d. The latest date represented is 1573. The hoard demonstrates yet again the important contribution of fine silver issues of Mary to late sixteenth-century currency. They appear almost constantly in the mostly small hoards which survive from the period, particularly in those where denominations below the shilling are dominant. Of the fourteen silver hoards listed in Brown and Dolley as of the period 1561–1603 for which details are clear, eight include issues of Mary, as do three of the four Elizabethan hoards recorded in this report. The exceptions include Mickle Trafford, a late hoard of sixpences and one shilling; the Cheadle hoard (or hoards) of sixpences and shillings, which nevertheless included issues of Edward VI; and a ten coin hoard from Wales of three shillings, six sixpences and a makeweight penny. All three of these are from the end of Elizabeth’s reign, but the relevant factor seems to be the denominations represented.

Specifically Mary’s issues dominated the groat coinage, certainly if hoards are anything to go by. Of 190 post-debasement groats recorded in late Tudor hoards, 117 are of Mary: 62 per cent

---

33 See Brown and Dolley, pp. 22–3, nos EN1 to EN18. EN1 and EN4 are gold hoards, and EN5 was unpublished. EN3, from the Thames at Blackfriars Bridge, is noted in the Gentleman’s Magazine as consisting of about 200 silver coins of Elizabeth ‘dated 1564’, plus ‘several’ gold and silver coins of Edward VI.

34 For Mickle Trafford, see BNJ 27 (1952-4), 93; for the Cheadle hoard, see BNJ 23 (1938-41), 286, and additionally, for the suggestion that it might comprise two batches of material, I.D. Brown, ‘Some notes on the coinage of Elizabeth I with special reference to her hammered silver’, BNJ 28 (1955-7), 580-1; for the Welsh hoard, see C.E. Blunt, ‘An Elizabethan find from North Wales’, BNJ 35 (1966), 200.
Recent Tudor Hoards

cent of the total. Even if the anomalous Houghton hoard is excluded, this still leaves 70 Mary groats out of a total of 120: 58 per cent. As late as the Tatenhill hoard (see below), there are still plenty of Mary’s groat issues: eight to the twelve of Elizabeth. There seems no obvious reason why the increasingly worn Mary groats should have been given any precedence among hoarders. One commentator did suggest that devotion to the old religion might account for the large proportion of Mary’s coins in the New Barnet hoard. Yet the actual ratio in that small, groat-dominated hoard was nothing out of the ordinary (ten groats of Mary to seven of Elizabeth, with five other Elizabethan coins).

This role for Mary’s groats seems to have persisted well into the seventeenth century, as most recent hoards which include denominations below the sixpence attest. The Barrow Gurney hoard, deposited under James I, had ten groats of Mary to seven of Elizabeth, with thirteen lesser coins of Elizabeth. Civil War hoards show no change in this pattern: the Breckenbrough hoard included sixty-four groats of Mary to twenty-eight of Elizabeth (with no later groats or smaller denominations); the Ashdon hoard had twenty-five groats of Mary to ten of Elizabeth (a solitary half-groat of Charles I representing later, low denominations); Wyke had ninety-seven groats of Mary to forty-one of Elizabeth, with no later groats, but sixty lesser denominations of James I and Charles I; the Soham hoard included thirty groats, of which nineteen (perhaps twenty) were of Mary, and the rest of Elizabeth (its only later low denominations were two half-groats of Charles I); the Caunton hoard had four groats of each queen, with no later denominations below the sixpence present; Pontypridd had eight groats of Mary to four of Elizabeth, again with no later low denominations.

If an Elizabethan or Stuart hoard contains groats, these will almost invariably include groats of Mary, and usually as a majority.

One must not overstress the significance of Mary’s groat issues. From one point of view the later prominence of her issues simply helps to reveal the decline of the groat from its previous position as the principal silver coin, as reflected by the diminishment in the proportion of silver turned into the denomination. This was even despite the dominance of silver in the mint’s output during Elizabeth’s reign. The groat was simply being replaced as the leading silver piece by the sixpence and shilling.

Yet it does show Mary’s groat issues must have been substantial. The only mint output figures for her reign which survive cover December 1553–December 1554, and December 1554–December 1555. In both of these years her silver output was very respectable, at £79,199 and £76,349 respectively, and it seems likely that a large proportion of this was turned into groats. In 1554 especially, before the Spanish marriage, the only silver coins produced were groats, half-groats and pennies, and, whereas examples of the groats are plentiful, the other denominations are very rare. This remains the case even after the sixpence and shilling were added to her issues. Either the groat was overwhelmingly the most copiously struck coin, or else (which may seem extremely unlikely) there was a systematic withdrawal of her other fine silver of both lower and higher denominations.

---

35 “The Houghton find”, NC 2nd ser. 17 (1877), 163–4. This hoard included pre-debasement coins (gold and silver of Edward IV, Henry VII, and Henry VIII), some debasement issues (including a portcullis countermarked shilling of Edward VI), plus post-debasement silver of Edward VI, Mary and Elizabeth up to 1579. It included 48 groats of Mary, and 16 sixpences, 20 groats, 25 half-groats and 47 lesser denominations of Elizabeth.
38 See below, p. 82.
40 For Barrow Gurney and Caunton, see B.J. Cook, ‘Four seventeenth century Treasure Troves’, BNJ 60 (1990), 87–8, 92–3; for details of the other hoards quoted, see E. Bestly, A New History of the Royal Mint (London, 1992), pp. 686–7. This output level seems to have equaled or exceeded that of Elizabeth in most years of her reign outside the recoinage years of 1560–2.
41 This would appear to contradict, at least implicitly, H. Symonds’ suggestion that little small denomination coin was struck after 1554 and that the mint practically closed down from November 1555 (H. Symonds, The coinage of Queen Mary Tudor, 1553–1558, BNJ 8 (1911), 189); a point already questioned by Challis (Tudor Coinage, pp. 115–16).
Mary and Philip (1554–8)
1. Groat, im lis.

Elizabeth I (1558–1603)
2. Sixpence, im coronet (1567–70), dated 1569.
5. Sixpence, im acorn (1573–4), dated 1573.
6. Sixpence, uncertain initial mark, c. 1570.
7. Groat, im martlet (1560–1).

7. Hoxne, Suffolk

These fourteen silver coins were found on 4 September 1986 by Mr C.B. Marshall while using a metal-detector near Abbey Farm, Hoxne, Suffolk. The coins were found in an area of twenty-five square yards at depths of between one and six inches. They were declared not to be treasure trove at an inquest on 13 November 1986 and returned to the finder.

The coins consisted of groats, threepences, half-groats and pennies of Mary I and Elizabeth I, all of the restored fine standards, with the latest piece a penny issued between c. 1591 and 1594. Their face value in the sixteenth century was 3s. 1d. In condition they were for the most part significantly worn and had presumably spent considerable time in currency. They are on average about 80 per cent of their notional weight. They were probably deposited as a group, perhaps in the late 1590s, though, as in several of these reports, the probability of them representing an accidental loss encouraged a verdict of not treasure trove.

The only mildly untoward feature of the hoard would seem to be the presence of the two pennies. Recorded Elizabethan hoards seem to fall into two categories: predominantly shilling and sixpence hoards, like Cheadle, Whaplode, Kingsley, Mickleton Trafford and Penrhyndeudraeth; and hoards covering the denominational range of half-groat to sixpence, like Little Glemham, Tatenhill and Hooe in this report, and Holy Island, Buttington, March, Alciston and Thornton Abbey.43 Holy Island in fact had a solitary three-halfpence with its groats, sixpences and shillings, but otherwise the only other ‘hoards’ to have some of the lowest denominations present were the Barnet hoard, which included, with its one sixpence and seventeen groats, single examples of the half-groat, three-halfpence and penny; and the eleven coins found at Old Dalby: a groat, two half-groats, seven three-halfpences and a halfpenny.44 There is nothing enormously significant about this, though it may suggest that in most circumstances an individual would keep his or her smallest coins separately, and perhaps more accessibly.45

43 For bibliographic details of these hoards, see Brown and Dolley, p. 23.
44 Askew, ‘A hoard of Tudor silver coins found at New Barnet’, p. 73, and, for Old Dalby, Coin Hoards V (1979), 108.
45 An example of this practice in action was revealed by a grave excavation carried out by the Museum of London. The grave was identified as that of a victim of the Black Death, and, unusually, there were a considerable number of coins with the remains. These were concentrated into two groups, pennies around the armpit and farthings at the waist, this presumably marking the location of two pouches, one hidden away and the other more accessible.
Mary I (1553–4)

Mary and Philip (1554–8)
3. Groat, im lis. wt: 27.4/1.78.

Elizabeth I (1558–1603)
5. Threepence, im pheon (1561–5), dated 1563, wt: 22.1/1.43.
6. Threepence, im illegible, date 156–. wt: 12.9/0.84.
12. Half-groat, im tun (1591/2–94), wt: 15.6/1.01.
13. Penny, im cross crosslet (1560–1), wt: 7.4/0.48.
14. Penny, im A (1583–84/5), wt: 5.2/0.34.

8. Tatenhill, Burton-on-Trent, Staffordshire
This hoard of twenty-six silver coins was discovered at Postern House Farm, near Tatenhill, in August 1984. The finder, Mr R.B. Johnson, was using a metal-detector with the permission of the landowner. He reported that the coins were found between three and fourteen inches below the soil in no set pattern. Photographs of the coins were sent to the British Museum for identification and a report provided for the coroner. The latter decided no inquest to be necessary, and the coins were returned to the finder.

The coins are all good silver issues of Mary I and Elizabeth I, and consist of one shilling, three sixpences, twenty groats, one threepence and one halfgroat. The face value was thus 9s. 3d. The latest coin present has the initial mark key (1595/6–97/8). All the coins show signs of currency, and the group is likely to have been deposited at the very end of Elizabeth’s reign, or early in the reign of her successor.

CATALOGUE

Mary I (1553–34)
1–5. Groats, im pomegranate.

Mary and Philip (1554–8)

As this hoard was identified from photographs, it was not possible to record the weights of the coins.
Elizabeth I (1558–1603)

10. Sixpence, im eglantine (1574–8), dated 1575.
11. Sixpence, im escallop (1584/5–87), dated 1585.
12. Sixpence, im key (1595/6–97/8), dated 1597.
25. Threepence, im illegible, issued 1561–82.

9. Hooe, East Sussex

These four coins were among a group of material discovered by metal-detecting in the course of 1991–2 by Mr L. Drake in a field at Hooe in East Sussex. The particular field lay adjacent to Hooe Church. The material was found at varying depths across the 9½-acre field. The same site produced a variety of other objects, including Georgian copper coins, a Roman base coin, buckles, lead tokens and weights, though none of these entered the treasure trove process. However, there were eight other silver coins which were examined – a groat of Edward III, six groats of Henry VI and a grosso of Bologna – which may have formed a single deposit.

The four Elizabethan coins from the site were in poor condition to the point that on only one was the initial mark legible. They are now barely 60 per cent of their notional weight. There must be a question whether they formed a single deposit (to the value of 1s. 2d.), or else were individual losses. The former is, perhaps, more probable on balance, but, whatever the case, the illegibility of all but one, together with the small number of coins, makes it impossible to suggest a deposit date other than some time after about 1573.

CATALOGUE

Elizabeth I (1558–1603)

1. Sixpence (very worn and clipped), wt: 28.1/1.82.
2. Threepence, im ermine (1572–3), dated 1573, wt: 20.3/1.32.
3. Threepence (very worn), wt: 12.1/0.78.
4. Half-groat (fragment, very worn), wt: 5.5/0.36.