

THE RIPON HOARD, 1695:
CONTEMPORARY AND CURRENT INTEREST

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June 1695

17. Morning, writing to Mr Gibson with catalogue of my manuscripts; then read. All day writing and accounting, and poring upon some old Saxon coins lately found at Ripon.

20. Poring on the Saxon coins sent me by the Archbishop to unriddle.

21. Forenoon, writing to our learned and ingenious Dr Sharp, about the coins he sent me.

Ralph Thoresby¹

The exact day of discovery of the Ripon hoard in 1695 does not seem to have been recorded. Thoresby may have been working on the coins for some time before the first reference in the diary or, perhaps, they may only just then have reached him in Leeds. Certainly, he had at least had news of the find some time before, as is indicated by part of a letter to him written by William Nicolson, Archdeacon of Carlisle, on June 15:

You have mightily raised my fancy with your postscript; and I cannot but long to hear further from you, about the great discovery of the Saxon coins you mention. If you secure any duplicates among them, I hope you will let me come in for a sharer with you; at least, if any of them relate to the kingdom of Northumberland, you will not fail of imparting your observations. Since the study of Antiquities comes so much in vogue, I suspect we shall shortly begin to counterfeit old coins as readily as we now do the more current money of England.²

An undated letter from Dr Thomas Gale, afterwards Dean of York, has a more terse reference to the discovery:

Your account of the Ripon coins is more particular than what I had received, with some old pieces brought me thence. I expect yet from thence a further account.³

The next letter from Nicolson (undated) begins:

Your last came soon after I had returned some few of the Saxon coins, which were sent to me by the post, from Bishop-thorp;⁴ I was troubled that I had not kept them longer, or received your letter sooner. The kind account you gave me of the rest, might have enabled me to make better guesses, than, I doubt, it will be thought I have done. I suppose them all to have been named anciently *stycas* and eight of them (as now the Liards de France) to have made a penny. This conjecture I ground upon our Saxon version of Mark xii.42. But, truly, to what king any of the five that were sent me are to be attributed, I know not. I am still more greedily desirous to see more of them, since you tell me they are mostly coins of our Northumbrian monarchs.

The same letter ends:

As duplicates of the Saxon pieces (*stycas*) come to your hand, remember your promise...⁵

On 25 November, Nicolson wrote again:

Half a score coins of our old Northumbrian kings are a treasure, which (as soon as ever I came to myself) I could not but esteem above all the riches of the French monarch... Without compliment, and by all the faith of my masters, the Antiquaries, I am proud of your token. I have not yet had leisure to consider the several pieces, but, as soon as it is possible for me, I shall gratefully impart my conjectures upon them. I doubt not but you are right in your reading of such inscriptions as your's brings me. I think I told you that these pieces... I look upon as those which our ancestors called *stycas*, two whereof made a farthing; like the widow's mite in the Gospel, where we meet with this word.⁶ You cannot more oblige me than by communicating your observations on such others of them as relate to the kingdom of Northumberland, which, perhaps, they all do.⁷

On 1 August 1696, while he thought that Thoresby was still unriddling the coins,⁸ Nicolson made another plea:

If you have observed any more, in your late discovered brass coins, that relates to my Northumberland,⁹ you will continue your kindness in imparting it.¹⁰

The exact number of coins recovered in the 1695 find is not recorded, nor are details of their eventual dispersal. Thoresby's own parcel was small. The *Ducatus* lists thirty-nine *stycas* not all of which, apparently, were from the hoard¹¹ (One of them, Eanred/Herred, only appears in the Appendix and is believed to have been acquired after 1709).¹²

As part of the annotation for the first which he registered in the main text Thoresby commented: 'This and most of the same Metal that follow, were of those found at Rippon, An. 1695'. His use of the word *most* raises the tantalizing question of there having been specimens in his collection from another find. Careful scrutiny of his museum accession register has failed to trace any record of *stycas* from another place,¹³ although there is the possibility that an undated gift which included '4 Saxon Coyns found at Rippon' may have been of *stycas* found there in some year other than 1695, perhaps even before 1678.¹⁴

Thoresby's published list does not include all the *stycas* in his possession from the 1695 discovery; he sighed openly over the identity of two whose legends were incomprehensible: 'such were the intollerable Bunglers of that Age'. More than a dozen must have remained too much of a mystery to mention in his printed account.¹⁵ The *Ducatus*, after all, was not a vehicle for hoard reports. Since Thoresby had already helped his friend Sir Andrew Fountaine by lending coins, including a number of the Ripon *stycas*, for illustration in the latter's work,¹⁶ he did not represent them again on his own plates. He did, however, provide a comment on the site:

The Name of the particular Place where these venerable, tho' obscure, Remains of the old *Northumbrian* kings were digged up, is now called *Allice-Hill*, no doubt from *Alla's-Hill*. He was slain, *An.Dom.* 867 as the *Saxon Chronicle* affirms; not 926 as *Speed* and from him *Isaacson*, mistake. *Camden* says this Hill was called *Hillshaw*, and Tradition will have it to be thrown up by the *Danes*; it is full of humane Bones a Foot beneath the present Surface.¹⁷

Thoresby published the *Ducatus Leodiensis* in 1715, after some thirty-five years of antiquarian studies and collecting material for his museum. His father, who died in 1679, had also been interested in antiquities and had bought a collection of coins and medals from Lord Fairfax's executors; this formed the nucleus of Thoresby's own coin collection.¹⁸ His son, Ralph, inherited both museum and library in 1725, when the elder Ralph died at the age of sixty-seven; the material remained in the Thoresby family till 1764 when, at the end of the third generation of interest in antiquities, the collections were sent for auction in London.¹⁹ Sixty-seven Northumbrian pieces - a sceat and sixty-six stycas, were dispersed in six lots, realising £10.7s.0d.

John Sharp, who was born in Bradford in 1645, became Archbishop of York forty-six years later. He was to remain at York for twenty-three years, until his death in 1714. His association with the hoard discovered at Ripon in 1695 has at least been recorded by Thoresby, but is still somewhat ill-defined. Although the clergyman had started collecting coins in 1687,²⁰ one suspects that it was his ecclesiastical position rather than his numismatic reputation which may have earned him from the Dean and Chapter of Ripon early news of a find in the cathedral city and initial custody of the coins. It was he who gave his friend in Leeds the opportunity of studying, perhaps for several months, most of the material which had come to him first. One begins to wonder if he did receive all the coins which had been recovered: the lack of record of the total number involved²¹ suggests that Sharp and Thoresby may have seen only a small part of the entire find, yet the complete absence of any comment in the Thoresby papers about locating other specimens for study may be more re-assuring. If Sharp did obtain possession of them all, it may have been he who, after giving some to Thoresby, eventually dispersed other parcels. Gale and Sir Roger Beckwith may have acquired their specimens from the archbishop, in which case others in outstanding positions may also have been the recipients of souvenir selections, made according to the identifications of that time.

It does not seem to have been appreciated that, like Thoresby, Sharp lent some of the stycas he retained for himself to Fountaine for illustration in the work published in 1705.²² This perhaps underlines Sharp's real interest in recording such material, which would have ensured that the find was studied before most of the coins were dispersed.

There has been a *canard* recorded²³ to the effect that Sharp left his coin collection to his friend Thoresby; this is not true. It is only in recent years that some part of the total collection has left family possession;²⁴ the archbishop's early Northumbrian coins are still the property of his descendants.

The group of seventy-six coins listed here includes three sceattas which are obviously not from the hoard and have no recorded provenance. Sharp's long residence at Bishopthorpe, York, compels one to admit the possibility of his having acquired stycas which were local finds. Inspection of the Sharp specimens has, however, not led to recognition of any with patination clearly distinct from that of the rest which would imply a source other than the Ripon hoard for some one or two pieces in the group. There are certainly no coins of moneyers who occur rarely in the hoards of York and district although they may be represented in site finds from the area.

Although the exact size of the Ripon hoard of 1695 is in doubt, its composition seems to have been what one might expect in the southern part of Northumbria. It is perhaps surprising that Redvvlf cannot be recognized

in the Thoresby parcel or found in that of Sharp; Eanbald can only be recorded by a single irregular issue, but the scarcity of that archbishop's coins is a feature of the southern hoards.

It is no part of the present intention to spell out other characteristics of the hoard, such as the absence of the early silver issues of Eanred, the presence of coins of Osberht and the inclusion of a considerable number of imitations from the group which for a quarter of a century now has been identified as derivative and late; all these features certainly relate the Ripon discovery to the various hoards of York and Bolton Percy rather than to that of the earlier deposit further north at Hexham. In the situation where preparation for publication of the massive collection of stycas in the Yorkshire Museum, York, is still far from complete, it is as yet much too early to offer any new discussion of the full significance of the known hoards, their content and dates of deposition. One of the preparatory projects is the compilation of an inventory of styca finds and it is as a step in this direction that the Thoresby records have been sifted at length to dredge up the likely identity of coins one might associate with the occurrence of a minor (stray) find in the area, before the discovery of the 1695 hoard itself. That the exercise has brought a number of early publications into line for relevant bibliographic entries is incidental. Apart from this, the Sharp parcel from Ripon affords some forty items which fill gaps in the representation of the coinage in the York cabinets. Reference to these coins will be essential in the eventual ordering of the York material.

At this stage, pending the illustrations of the York stycas in *Sylloge* format (when it is hoped that they will demonstrate the relationships of individual coins to others through die-links, particularly in the various divisions of irregular coins), it remains difficult to list clearly small parcels of coins which may contain no more than one or two specimens from a particular group. Allowing that the main purpose of this present note is to illustrate the Sharp stycas, the Thoresby and Sharp coins can only be listed in summary form. Detail of the former has been derived mainly from the register in the *Ducatus* and illustrations on Fountaine's Plate X.²⁵ The accompanying chart (Fig.1) is the key to the notation used for the motif combinations: 5/5, for example, indicates that the motif is a small cross on both obverse and reverse. There is still no exact chronological significance in the grouping within a reign.

Ripon 1695: The Thoresby parcel

Motifs can be recorded only for specimens illustrated in 1705. (It is the *Ducatus* numbers which are cited in the Appendix and notes.) In this listing D = *Ducatus*, F = Fountaine Plate X, and C = W.Camden, *Brittania*, edited by Edmund Gibson (1722), Plate V.

i. *Regular issues*

EANRED c.810-41

1. Brodr. 3/4; +EANREDREX, retrograde; +BRODR; same dies as Sharp 4. (D 31; F 2; C 8)
2. Fordred. 5/5; +EANREDRE; +FORDRED (D 32; F 3; C 6)
3. Monne. 2/4; +EANRED; +MONNE, retrograde (D 33; F 5; C 7)
4. Vvlfred. 5/5; +EANREDREX; +VVLFRED (D 30; F 1; C 5)

AETHELRED c.841-44; 844-49

(Asterisks denote that the L of EDILRED is inverted)

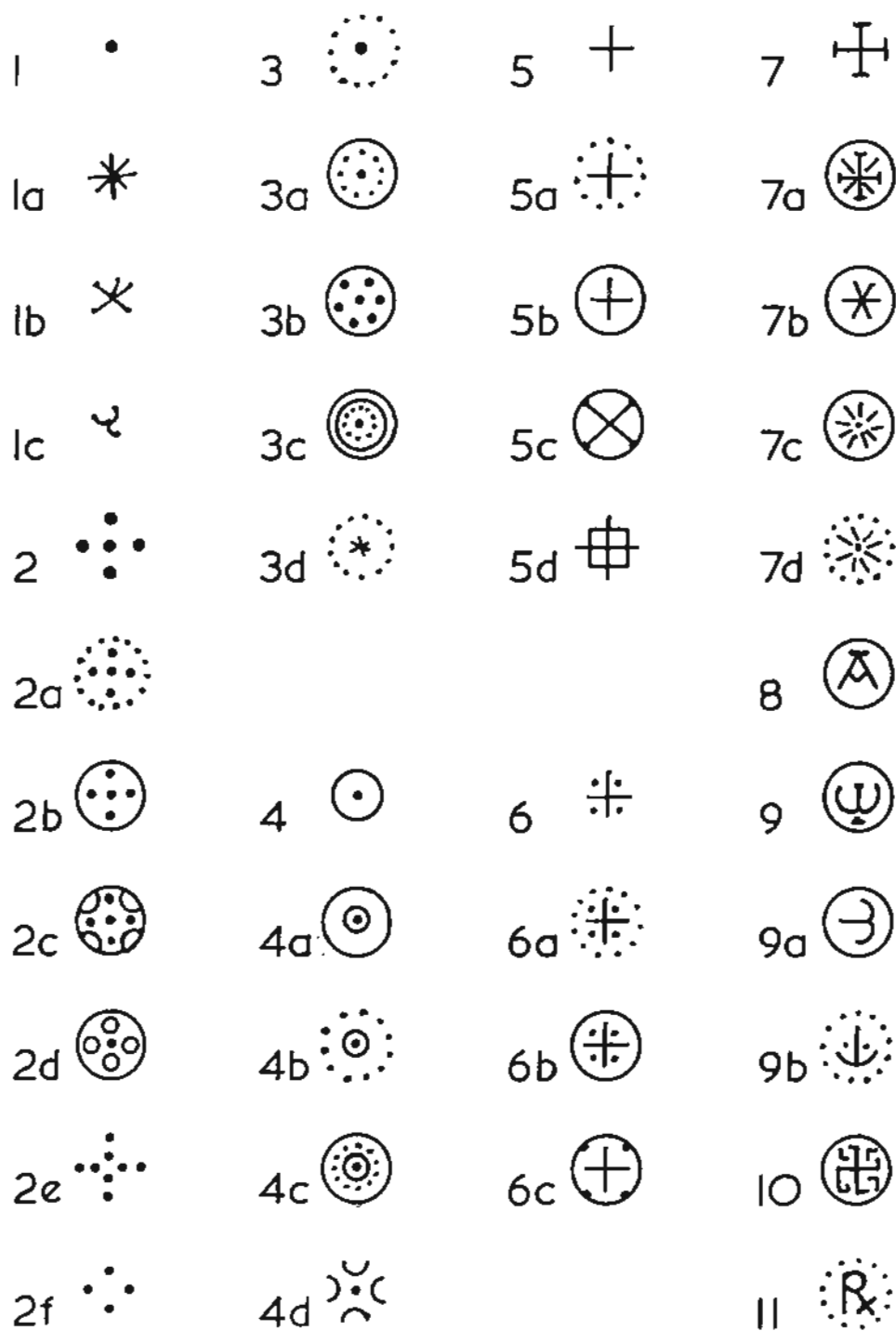


Fig.1. Motifs on Northumbrian sceattas and stycas.

a) Moneyers attributed to first reign.

5. Eanred. 5/6; +EDILREDREX*; +ANRED (D 39; F 3; C 10)
6. Monne. The reverse, retrograde (D 44)
7. Leofthegn. Obv. legend, EDELRED (D 42)
8. Vendelberht. 5/5. +EDILRED RE; VENDELBERHT, (no initial cross?)
(D 40; F 4; C 12)
9. Vendelberht. 'somewhat different' (D 41)

b) Moneyer attributed to second reign.

10. Eardvulf. Obv.: +EDILRED REX* (D 45)
11. Eardvulf. ?/4 (?); +EDILRED RE; +EARDVULF (D 35)
12. Eardvulf. ?/1a; +EDILRED; +EARDVULF (D 34)
13. Eardvulf. No further detail (D 36)
14. Eardvulf. +EDILRED R; +EARDVULF, retrograde (D 37)
15. Eardvulf. +EDILREDREX*; +EARDVULF, retrograde (D 38)
16. Eardvulf. 5a/2b; +EDILRED REX; +EARDVULF; (? another specimen, noted
in MS; cf. Sharp 24)

OSBERHT c.849-67

17. Eanvulf. 1/5; +OSBERHT; +EANVULF (D 59; F 2; C 20; cf. Sharp 32)
18. Eanvulf. 'different only in the Central Points'. (D 60)
19. Monne. 3/5; +OSBVCHT REX; +MONNE, retrograde (D 61; F 1; C 18)
20. Monne. 'Form of the Letters and Points so different as evidence another
Mint' (D 62)
21. Viniberht. 5a/3. +OSBLRCHT; IVNIBERHT (D 63; F 4; C 19; cf. Sharp
33)
22. Viniberht. No further detail (D 64)
23. Vulfisixt. 5/5. BOSB.LERHT; +VULFSIXT (D 65; F 3; C 22) It should be
noted that this reverse is known to be a dominant die - that is,
it was used with a variety of obverses; since the latter are
aberrant in detail, the coins can hardly be accepted as wholly
regular (cf. Sharp 74).

ii. *Irregular issues*

a) temp. EANRED.

24. Vilheah. 6/3; Obv. uncertain; +VILHEAH, retrograde; same rev. as 25?
(D 68; F Alla 1)
25. Vilheah. ?/3; Obv. uncertain; +VILHEAH, retrograde; same rev. as 24?
(D 69; ?F Alla 2; C 23)

b) early AETHELRED?

26. Brother. 5/4; EDELRETRE; +VBRODER; same dies as Sharp 40 (D 26; F
Ethelbert 1; C 1)
This now BMC Northumbria 281, ex Tyssen, 1802?

c) AETHELRED - OSBERHT

Representatives of a massive die-linked chain.

27. Roen. 6/5. +EDELREV; +ROEN, retrograde. (D 47; F 7; C 14)
28. Wihfred. +EDILREVD+; +PINTRED; ? both legends retrograde. (D 53)
29. Wihfred. 'somewhat different' (D 54)
30. Odilo. 1/5; +EILREDRE; +DDILD; both legends retrograde (D 28; F Alred 4; C 2)
31. Eardvvlf. 5a/5; Obv. uncertain; +EARDVVF; both legends retrograde (D 48; F Eardvvlf 4)
32. Uncertain. +EDILRED; +IEDM.... (D 46)
d) MISCELLANEOUS
33. Brother. 5a/5 ?; Obv. uncertain; +BRODER; both legends retrograde (D 49; F Eardvvlf 5; C 16)
34. Brother/Edihelm (sic). No further details: a double reverse for these two moneys is not otherwise recorded; possibly the same as Sharp 58. (D 50)
35. Vvlfred/Coenred. 2/5. +VVLFRD; +COENRE; both legends retrograde. (D 67; F Wulfred 2)
36. 'Vvlfred'. 5/2; +EDREDILL; +VIVRED; both legends retrograde. (D 27; F Alred 3; C 3; same dies as Sharp 69)
37. Uncertain. Rev. : LNAMR, trefoil of pellets in place of initial cross. (D 66)
38. Uncertain. 5b/5; legends uncertain. (D 29; F Alred 2; C 4)
39. Uncertain. Mis-struck and incomprehensible (F Alla 3 - not certainly Thoresby's)

There are no details of further stycas of Thoresby's. In view of the fact that the stycas of Vigmund/Edelhelm (Sharp 30) illustrated in Fountaine was not there recognized for what it was, it may be unwise to assume that Thoresby had no such episcopal issues in his parcel. Rather, one could accept that such pieces may have remained unidentified, as may also have been the case with stycas of Redvvlf.

Register of the Sharp Collection of early Northumbrian coins

What follows is only the very briefest of records of the seventy-six eighth- and ninth-century coins in the collection formed by John Sharp, Archbishop of York, 1691-1714. The specimens were seen by the present writer for only a few hours and the first priority was to photograph them all; there was no opportunity for recording either weights or die-axes. All the specimens are illustrated. Abbreviations are as in the Thoresby list above.

A. *Eighth-century sceattas: unprovenanced*

EADBERHT, c.737-58

1. EOTBEREHTVS, 5; animal to left.
ECGBERHT, Archbishop of York and EADBERHT, c.737-58
2. ECGBERHT: archbishop, at left, with two crosses; EOTBEREHTVS, 5.
3. ECGBERT: archbishop, at left, with cross; OTBEREHTVS, 6a.

B. *Ninth-century stycas: believed to be from the Ripon hoard, 1695*i. *Regular issues*

EANRED, c.808-41

4. Brodr. 3/4; +EANREDREX, retrograde; +BRODR; same dies as Thoresby 1.

5. Folcnod. 5/5; +EANREDREX; +FOLCNO DM; both legends retrograde. (F 4)

AETHELRED II, c.841-44; c.844-49

Asterisks denote that the L of EDILRED is inverted.

a) *Moneys attributed to first reign.*

6. Brother. 5/5; +EDILREDREX; +BRODER.

7. Cunemund. 5/5; +EDILREDREX*; +CVNEMVXD (X as runic N)

8. Eanred. 2/2; +EDILREDREX*; +EANRED.

9. Eanred. 5/5; +EDFLREDREX; +EANRED (F 2)

10. Eanred. 5/4; +EDILREDREX; +EANRED; same obv. as 11.

11. Eanred. 5/4; +EDILREDREX; +EANRED; same obv. as 10.

12. Fordred. 5/5; +EDILREDRI; +FORDRED.

13. Fordred. 5/2; +EDLIRE DRE; +EORDRED.

14. Leofthegn. 5/5; +EDILRED REX*; +LEOFDEGN (F 5; C 13)

15. Monne. 5 ?/1; Obv. uncleaned; +MONNE.

16. Monne. 5/5; +EDLIRE DRE; +MONNE.

17. Monne. 5a/3; +EDILREDREX; +MONNE; same obv. as 20, Vvlfred.

18. Vendelberht. 5/5; +EDILREDRE; +VENDELBERHT.

19. Vendelberht. 5/5; +EDILREDRE, retrograde and the letters reversed; +VENDELBERHT.

20. Vvlfred. 5a/2b; +EDILREDREX; +VVLFRED, mis-struck; same obv. as 17, Monne.

b) *Moneys attributed to second reign.*

21. Eardvulf. 4/2a; +EDILREDRX, retrograde; +EARDVVLF.

22. Eardvulf. 5/1b; +EDILREDREX; +EARDVVLF.

23. Eardvulf. 5a/1b; +EDILREDREX; +EARDVVLF.

24. Eardvulf. 5a/2b; +EDILREDREX; +EARDVVLF. (F 1; C 9; cf. Thoresby 16a)

25. Eardvulf. 5b/2; +EDILREDREX; +EARDVVLF; same obv. as 26.

26. Eardvulf. 5b/2b; +EDILREDREX; +EARDVVLF; same obv. as 25.

27. Eardvulf. 5b/4; +EDILREDRE; +EARDVVLF.

28. Eardvulf. 4/5; +EDILREDRE; +EARDVVLF.

29. Eardvulf. 5b/6; +EDILREDREX; +EARDVVLF.

VIGMVND, Archbishop of York, c.837-54.

30. Edelhelm. 5/5. +VIGMVND; +EDELHELM (F Ethelhelm 1).

31. Hunlaf. 3/3. +VIGMVND; +HVNLA F (F Anlaf 2).

OSBERHT, c.849-67.

32. Eanvulf. 1/5. +OSBERCHTR; +EANVVLF (F 2; C 20; cf. Thoresby 17)
 33. Viniberht. 5a/2; +OSBCRCHE; IVNIBEIRHT, no initial cross; same obv.
 as 34. (F 4; C 19)
 34. Viniberht. 5a/5b; +OSBCRCHE; VINIBERHT, no initial cross; same obv.
 as 33.

VVLFHERE, Archbishop of York, c.854-900.

35. Vulfred. 5b/5; VVLFHERABED; no initial cross; +VVLFRED, retrograde.
 ii. *Irregular issues*

Late EANRED?

36-37: imitations of irregulars known in the Hexham hoard?

36. Nonsense. 2/2; +IERIEV; +VDRV; (the same dies as Bolton Percy, 1847,
 461)²⁶
 37. Nonsense. 5/1; +EVNVNV; +DVEVV, retrograde.
 38. Eadvulf. 5/5; ENA+BAR; +EAOVVLV (F Eadvulf 3); now identified as
 an imitation of a coin of Archbishop Eanbald.

Late EANRED - early AETHELRED

a) *Pellet-in-annulet* group

39. 'Wernuth'. 2/4; +ANTEDI, retrograde; +PERNVB; the Wernuth die is also
 known in combination with two others (Bamburgh, 1971, unpub-
 lished)
 40. Brother. 5/4; +EDELRETRT; VBRODER; same dies as Thoresby 26.
 b) 'Hvaetred' group (so-called, because the coins represent a
 series in which, at York, the early moneyer Hvaetred is reflected)
 41. Eadvulf. 6/7d. +EDILRED; +EARD....; both legends retrograde.
 42. Nonsense. 5/5; +EEIVVNI; ... EVR.; both legends retrograde.
 43. Nonsense. 5/5; +EANA; +... RVT.

c) 'Hexham - included'.

44. Nonsense. 3/3 ?; +VVIIRV, retrograde (the die known in Hexham hoard);
 +E...B, retrograde.

AETHELRED - OSBERHT

Specimens reflect a massive die-linked chain of issues.

45. Nonsense. 6/3; AEDILRE+ED, retrograde; +EDEV+VV; same obv. as 46,
 same rev. as 47.
 46. Nonsense. 6/3; AEDILRE+ED; +E...VV; both legends retrograde; same
 obv. as 45.
 47. Nonsense. 3/3; +EDILREDRE, retrograde; +EDEV+VV; same rev. as 45.
 48. Edelhelm. 6/4?; +EDILRE; EDELH...
 49. Odilo. 6/3; +EDELREV; +ODILO; retrograde; same obv. as Thoresby 27.
 50. 'Ediluth'. 7d/5; +EV+DDVLE, retrograde; +EDILVB.
 51. Vulfred. 5/5; +EDILREVD+, retrograde (cf. Thoresby 28-29); +VVLFRED
 (F Wulfred 1)

52. Nonsense. 5/5; +EDILREVD+; +EDIIRIX; both legends retrograde.
 53. Nonsense. 2/2; +EDILRED, retrograde; +IIIVVV..; same obv. as 54.
 54. Nonsense. 2/2; +EDILRED, retrograde; IVIIVIVI; same obv. as 53.
 55. Nonsense. 5a/5; +EDILREDR; +VVNDAE; both legends retrograde.
 56. Nonsense. 3/5; +EDVIIIIIIE, retrograde; +NVDEII.
 57. Double obverse. 5/5; AEDILRED; +EDILREDRI; both legends retrograde.
 58. Edelhelm. 1/4; BOSBERH, retrograde (trefoil of pellets in place of initial cross); +EDELHELM; same dies as 59. (F Ethelhelm 2; C 17)
 59. Edelhelm. 1/4; BOSBERH, retrograde; +EDELHELM; same dies as 58.

Other AETHELRED

a) Representatives of a die-linked chain.

60. Eadvini. 4d/5; +EILREDRE; +EADVINI; both legends retrograde. (F Alred 1)
 61. Nonsense. 6/2; +EDILREDX; +INVVED, retrograde.
 62. Eardvulf. 5b/5; +EDILREDREX; +EARDVVLF, retrograde.
 63. Eardvulf. 5a/3; +EDLI...VE, retrograde; +EARDVVLF.
 64. Eardvulf. 6/5; obv. uncertain; +EAEDVVLF.
 65. Odilo. 6/5; +EARDVVC; +ODILO; both legends retrograde.

b) Miscellaneous.

66. Nonsense. 5a/1; +EDED..IIILI; +.EVVIDVI; both legends retrograde.
 67. Eardvulf. 6/5; +ILREDRE, retrograde; +EARDVXI.
 68. Eardvulf. ?2/1; +EDREILRDE, retrograde; +EARDVVF.
 69. 'Vulfred'. 5/2; +EDREDILL; +VIVRED; both legends retrograde. (F Alred 3; same dies as Thoresby, 36)
 70. Monne. 2/2; +EDLIREDR; +MONNE, retrograde; same dies as 71. The obverse, aberrant, is known for Fordred (Eordred).
 71. Monne. 2/2; +EDLIREDR; +MONNE, retrograde; same dies as 70.
 72. Uncertain. 5a/?; +EDILREDE; retrograde; rev. uncertain.
 73. Uncertain. ?3/?5; +VIDEV; +IVENO.

OSBERHT

74. Vvlfisixt. 5/5; BOSBERHT, no initial cross; +VVLFISIXT. (see note to Thoresby 23)
 75. Viniberht? 5/5; legends uncertain.
 76. Monne. ?/5; obv. obscured; +MONNE, retrograde.

The hoard can now be summed up by the following synopsis in Inventory format:²⁷

RIPON, Yorkshire, 1695

'A considerable number' (total uncertain) of AE Northumbrian stycas, found at Ailcey Hill, near the Cathedral; about 137 recorded in varying detail.

Deposit: temp. Osberht.

Original disposition:

- (1) Sharp of York, 73: Eanred, 2; Aethelred, 24; Osberht, 3; Abp. Vigmund, 2; Abp. Vulfhere, 1; Irregular, 41.
- (2) Thoresby of Leeds, ?64: Eanred, 4; Aethelred, 12; Osberht, 7; Irregular, 16; Unpublished, ?25. Dispersed at auction, 5-7 March 1764.
- (3) Nicolson of Carlisle: 10.
- (4) Gale and others: unknown.

Publication

Fountaine (1705), illustrations on *Tab.X*; Thoresby (1715), p.341 ff. and (1816) *Antiquities*, p.53 ff; Camden (1722, 1753 and 1806) *Tab.V*; *Archaeological Journal*, 3 (1846), 73; Walbran (1874), p.7; Surtees Society, LXXX (1885), 361; N.Heywood, 'The Stycas of North Humbria', *Trans. of the Lancs. and Cheshire Antiquarian Society*, 15 (1897), 83. Reprinted as a separate booklet in 1899, p.4; C.Hallet, *Ripon - The Cathedral and See* (1901), p.9; *Victoria County History, Yorks.* II (1912 and 1974 reprint), 103; J.D.A.Thompson, *Inventory of Coin Hoards of the British Isles, AD 600-1500* (1956), no.317; Metcalf (1960), no.43; W.MacKay, 'The Development of Medieval Ripon', *Yorks. Archaeological Journal*, 54 (1982), 76.

APPENDIX A. Northumbrian coins in Thoresby's early collection

An attempt to establish how many stycas Thoresby had before the discovery of the Ripon hoard and, more particularly, their source, involves first taking account of illustrations in two seventeenth-century publications for which plates were compiled by Obadiah Walker of Oxford. Walker borrowed from various sources material for reproduction in *Aelfredi Magni Vita*, the Latin edition, by Christopher Wase, of Sir John Spelman's *Life of Alfred the Great* (Oxford, 1678). Thoresby - father John, perhaps, rather than Ralph himself - contributed specimens for inclusion, although there was at the time no printed acknowledgement of this help.²⁸ In his introductory notes to the register of his Anglo-Saxon coins in the *Ducatus*, where he distinguished issues in silver and in brass, Thoresby claimed to have had three specimens of the latter metal recorded in the 1678 Spelman plates. It may be thought that, at that date, copper stycas in the Thoresby cabinet could only have come from the Fairfax collection which was bought by John Thoresby. Be that as it may, for the Gibson edition of Camden's *Britannia* in 1695, Walker derived some illustrations from both his own earlier work for the Spelman volume and John Speed's *Historie of Great Britaine* (1614). By 1693 Walker and Thoresby were in direct contact over the matter of numismatic illustrations for the new edition of *Britannia*. It would seem from the *Diary* (15-19 August 1693) that the initial request for assistance with specimens came to Thoresby from the editors and that he subsequently corresponded with Walker.

There is, in Leeds Grammar School, an undated Thoresby manuscript headed 'Additional Notes upon the Saxon Coins for a designed new Edition of the *Britannia* at Dr Gibson's request', which may relate to this period. Some might think that it is a copy of a memorandum composed as a commentary on the 1695 plates while Thoresby was helping with the preparation of the 1722 edition (certainly Gibson had no doctorate as early as 1693-95). The document seems, however, to be quite distinct from another which is clearly relevant to 1722; one may then dispute its later attribution on the

grounds that the list includes no more than four, possibly five, items which can be accepted as ninth-century Northumbrian. Those seem to be noted with a sense of unfamiliarity which one would not expect from Thoresby after his work on the Ripon hoard; the absence of the word *styca*, a term Thoresby did not adopt until 1695, seems to confirm early composition. The document may perhaps be seen as a list of the items he proposed to contribute from his own collection for Gibson's first edition.

One must not dismiss the possibility that these five pieces in Thoresby's cabinet may be given a Ripon provenance, having come to light as a stray find at some stage before the hoard was discovered: his museum register notes an undated gift of coins from a Mr John Knaresborough which included '4 Saxon Coyns found at Rippon' (? was a fifth at first not recognized for what it was).²⁹

If, indeed, Thoresby had five *stycas* in his collection before 1695, only the Aethelred/Monne seems to have remained to be recorded in the *Ducatus* in 1715. Perhaps other specimens were in poor condition and Thoresby was quite ready to part with them once he had better pieces from the hoard.

The following are schedules of the relevant coins:

- i) Spelman, *Aelfredi, Tabula VI*, compiled by Obadiah Walker.
 2. Worn; obv.: central A; rev.: ...GŃ, retrograde.
 21. Edilred/Monne.
 22. Eanred/Fordred.
 23. Osberht/Eanvulf: the obverse and aberrant reverse are transposed.
 24. Heareth/Herreth: double reverse of Eanred's moneyer Herred.
 25. Irregular: +*A PNAD/+ADV....
(N is reversed, third A un-barred)
- ii) Camden, *Britannia* (1695), *Tabula V*, (p.cxxxv), compiled by Obadiah Walker. (Copied as *Tab.1* in 1722, with notes by Walker and Thoresby.)

Eighth-century sceattas

5. Eadberht/fantastic animal, left: illustration adapted from Speed (1614 edition, p.329) - the reverse has been touched up; specimen attributed to Thoresby (*Ducatus*, 1715, p.341, 25 which cites this publication).³⁰
6. Ecgberht/Eadberht: source unacknowledged; the illustration cannot now be matched with the Cotton specimen³¹ (*BMC Northumbria* 4), or with either of those in the Sharp collection.

Ninth-century stycas

8. Uncertain/Eadvini (labelled as silver but AE, possibly irregular): illustration adapted from Speed (1614 edition, p.305); specimen not attributed to Thoresby but perhaps from his collection.
9. Eanred/Eadvini: illustration derived from Speed (1614 edition, p.332) - the original Cotton example³² now thought to be *BMC Northumbria* 92; specimen not attributed to Thoresby but perhaps from his collection. The piece seems to have been re-drawn for Fountaine, X, Eanred 6.
11. Aethelred/Monne: labelled as silver; Spelman VI, 21; source unacknowledged; copied in Fountaine, X, Ethelred 6 (AE) and with the latter publication cited by Thoresby for his specimen (*Ducatus*, 1715, p.342, 43).

12. Eanred/Fordred: labelled as silver; Spelman VI, 22; source unacknowledged but perhaps from Thoresby's collection.
29. A worn specimen (labelled as silver) for which the textual comment is: 'The twenty-ninth I do not understand'. The obverse motif is A and, if silver, the coin could be one of Eanred's Eadvini but since, like Monne and Fordred, it is more likely to have been copper," the *Alpha* issue of Aethelred's Leofthegn can be suggested as its identity. Spelman, VI, 2; source unacknowledged; it was perhaps from Thoresby's collection.
31. Osberht/Eanvulf: Spelman, VI, 23; source unacknowledged; copied in Fountaine, X, Osbright 5; concerning this specimen, Thoresby commented (*Ducatus*, 1715, p.343): 'W[alker] had somewhere met with an Osbright'.
32. Irregular (*temp.* Eanred), double reverse of Herred: Spelman, VI, 24; source unacknowledged; copied in Fountaine, X, *Incertum* 2. Not Thoresby's?
33. Irregular ('Hexham' style): Spelman, VI, 25, source unacknowledged; copied in Fountaine, X, *Incertum* 1. Not Thoresby's?
- iii) Thoresby MS (coins in his collection, c.1693?)
8. EALRED REX (Nr) Rev. EADVINE [sic]
9. EANRED REX (North) EADVINI [sic]
10. ?
11. EDILRED Rev. MONNE
12. EANRED REX FORDRED

It is suggested that for the 1695 publication, 8 and 9 were not drawn directly but illustrations from Speed were used, the first (No.8) being amended to allow of the obverse legend relating to Thoresby's reading EALRED. It is suggested, too, that the unidentified No.10 in Thoresby's list was reproduced as No.29, No.11 as No.11 and No.12 as No.12. (No.10 - a London monogram penny of Aelfred - would surely have been identified by Thoresby as one of Aelfred.)

APPENDIX B. Concordance of Fountaine with the Thoresby and Sharp Collections

Fountaine	Thoresby	Sharp	Uncertain	Derived ³⁴	Copied ³⁵
Alla	1 <i>Ducatus</i> , 68				(6)
	2 ? 69 ³⁶				23
	3 ? 37				
Alred	1	60			
	2 29				4
	3 27				3
	4 28				2
Anlaf	1		-		
	2	31			
Cuthred	1	52			

<i>Fountaine</i>	<i>Thoresby</i>	<i>Sharp</i>	<i>Uncertain</i>	<i>Derived</i>	<i>Copied</i>
Eanred	1	30			5 (3)
	2	31	(Another: 4)		8
	3	32			6
	4		5		
	5	33			7
	6			-	
Eardvulf	1		65		(2)
	2		63		
	3		38		
	4	48			15
	5	49			16
Ethelbert	1	26	(Another: 40)		1 (1)
Ethelhelm	1		30		
	2		58		17
Ethelred	1	(Another: MS 15)	24		9 (4)
	2		9		
	3	39			10
	4	40			12
	5		14		13
	6	43 ³⁸		11 (<i>ar - sic</i>)	11
	7	MS 28/47 ³⁶			14
Osbright	1	61			18 (5)
	2	(Another: 60)	?32		20
	3	(Another: 65)	74		22
	4	(Another: 63)	33		19
	5			31	21
Wulfred	1		51		
	2	MS 47/67 ³⁶			
<i>Incertum</i>	1			33	
	2			32	

NOTES

It is very pleasant to record thanks to Mr Owen Parsons, of Gloucester, and Mr Peter Mitchell of Messrs Baldwin, both of whom very kindly arranged for me to see the Northumbrian material in the Sharp cabinet, during my quest for die combinations absent from the Yorkshire Collections. I am grateful to them both and to Mr E. Daniels, of the Department of Photography at the University of Leeds, who later helped me with the negatives made in London.

I am indebted to Mrs S. Thomas, Archivist of the Yorkshire Archaeological Society and to Mr J. H. Brown, Librarian of Leeds Grammar School, both of whom allowed me access to Thoresby manuscripts in their care. I have received endless help from my colleagues in Leeds City Reference Library; I record my thanks to them as I do to Mrs Irene Rhodes who, on this and other occasions, has transformed manuscript into typescript for me.

1. *The Diary of Ralph Thoresby*, edited by Joseph Hunter, 2 vols. (1830), I, 306.

2. *Letters of Eminent Men addressed to Ralph Thoresby*, 2 vols. (1832), 1, 207. The published letters include none from Archbishop Sharp about the Ripon hoard. The archives of the Yorkshire Archaeological Society, in Leeds, contain many Thoresby manuscripts, including the accession register for the collection in his museum (MS 27). Among the drafts of letters which Thoresby sent to his friends, it has not been possible to discover any which include observations on the Ripon stycas.
3. *Letters to Thoresby*, 1, 208.
4. Bishopthorpe, York, was and is the Archbishop's palace: Nicolson had been corresponding with Dr Sharp.
5. *Letters to Thoresby*, 1, 218-19.
6. Nicolson obviously knew the Lindisfarne Gospels, at that time still in the possession of Sir Robert Cotton's family. Folio 121, on which is transcribed the passage from St Mark's Gospel (xii, 42), recording the story of the widow's mites, has the tenth-century gloss, *stycas*, in relation to the Latin *minuta*. It must be noted that the words are equivalent; *stycas* meant no more than 'little things' and, of itself, the term had no monetary connotation.
7. *Letters to Thoresby*, 1, 220.
8. Among the Thoresby manuscripts at Leeds Grammar School is the draft of a letter to Dr Gale, dated March 1696, in which Thoresby says he had returned 'ye Saxon Coyns found at Rippon of which I wrote you before'. His immediate labours on the hoard must have by then been over.
9. William Nicolson, Archdeacon of Carlisle from 1682 till 1702 and then Bishop there until 1718, when he was translated to Derry in Ireland, published the *Historical Library* in five parts between 1696 and 1724. Although he made an intensive historical study of the northern counties of England, of Northumberland in particular, he never managed to fulfil his long-standing intention of publishing his records of Northumberland. As a contributor to Edmund Gibson's editions of Camden's *Britannia* in 1695 and 1722 he used part, at least, of the material and, in the later edition, stated that his Northumberland manuscripts had been lodged with the Carlisle Chapter (*DNB*).
10. *Letters to Thoresby*, 1, 244.
11. R. Thoresby, *Ducatus Leodiensis or the Topography of the Ancient and Populous Town and Parish of Leeds*, (1715). A second edition, by T.D. Whitaker, issued in 1816, has the 'Catalogue of Antiquities' as a section with separate pagination.
12. It is not clearly listed with the other *stycas* in the manuscript catalogue of his Saxon coin collection which was compiled in December 1709. This volume is now in the Leeds Grammar School.
13. As is acknowledged in the *Ducatus*, (1715, p.341) Thoresby's *stycas* from the hoard were obtained not only from Archbishop Sharp but also from Sir Roger Beckwith. His museum accession register records without date an unspecified number of them received from 'His Grace the most Reverend Dr John Sharp Lord Archbishop of Yorke'. The coins are noted as: 'EDILRED King of Northumberland and others of the small brass Saxon *stycas* (of wch vide Mr Archdeacon Nicolson's Letter) found at Rippon 1695'. Another entry credits 'Sr Roger Beckwith High Sherrif [of Yorkshire] - this present year 1707' with the gift of '7 of the Saxon

Brass coyns found at Alla's hil Rippon'. A note which accompanied the coins is printed in *Letters addressed to Ralph Thoresby FRS*, edited by W.T.Lancaster. *Thoresby Society*, XXI (Leeds, 1912), p.143.

14. See Appendix A, for discussion of coins perhaps found at Ripon before 1693.
15. Thoresby's MSS catalogue of 1709 quotes references to the Fountaine plate, but does not always tally with these illustrations or with his own publication; the material must have been checked and revised before 1715. The list, however, includes the comment: 'above a dozen more of these brass coins found at Rippon An^o 1695, but no distinct Names that I am able to make out'.
16. See Appendix B. Of the illustrations of his coins Thoresby, in the preface to the *Ducatus* (1715, p.xv), comments: 'many of the Saxon and Danish Coins are well engraved in the last Edition of the *Britannia*... but best of all in *Sir Andrew Fountain's Numismata*, which is the most correct and judicious of any relating to those Times'.

The styca illustrations which were made specially for the 1705 work are, in contrast to those borrowed from Camden, 1695, so little stylized that it is now possible to recognize the dies from which many of the coins were struck. Indeed, until the specimen can be traced in a modern collection, the present writer is prepared to accept one of the Thoresby coins (47) as a missing-link between two otherwise separate groups in the Yorkshire Museum's cabinet.

17. *Ducatus* (1715), p.343. The site (a natural mound?) has never been excavated; it is now covered with trees and undergrowth which would make investigation difficult.
18. The purchase of the collection built up by Thomas, Lord Fairfax, is recorded briefly in the *Ducatus* (1715, p.495). Only in one instance, however, does Thoresby acknowledge the Fairfax pedigree for an Anglo-Saxon coin; this is in the discussion of a penny of Edward the Confessor (*Ducatus*, 1715, p.348, no.107).

In view of the fact that the Fairfax family had strong connections with York and with Bolton Percy, one might have expected that cabinet to be full of early Northumbrian coins. It is perhaps not impossible that the sceat of Eadberht (*Ducatus*, 1715, p.341, no.25) was in the collection when it was bought by John Thoresby (see Appendix A).

19. A comment on the sale appears in *Archaeological Journal*, 3 (1846), 73. A marked copy of the original sale-catalogue, now preserved in the Bodleian Library, Oxford, has been published by S.Piggott, *Sale Catalogues of Libraries of Eminent Persons, 10: Antiquaries* (1974), p.181. The auction was held by Whiston Bristow, Charing Cross, London, on 5-7 March 1764. The Northumbrian coins came up as six lots (140-45) on the second day and were bought by White (140), Sn[elling] (141-24), Barclay (143) and Brander (144-45).

Snelling (see *DNB*) is known to have supplied William Hunter with coins; White did also. Comparison of Fountaine, Plate X, with the Hunter stycas now suggests that three of the coins came from Thoresby's 1695 Ripon parcel: *SCBI Glasgow* I, 151 (= Th.32), 181 (= Th.39) and 277 (= Th.40).

If Tyssen was a client of White, it can also be suggested that the Thoresby sceat (Th.25) and his odd styca of Edelretrt/Vbroder (Th.26) are now in the British Museum as *BMC Northumbria* 5 and 281 (for the

Tyssen pedigree, see R.H.M.Dolley and J.S.Strudwick, 'The Provenances of the Anglo-Saxon Coins Recorded in the Two Volumes of the British Museum Catalogue', *BNJ* 28 (1955-56), 26-59.

William Eyre, whose cabinet is now the Winchester component of the collection in the University of Leeds, died in 1764. The three stycas in his collection have been checked against the Fountaine plate; although one, of Eanred/Fordred, may be from the same dies as Thoresby's (Th.32), it is almost certainly not the latter's specimen.

It might perhaps be said that although the presence of stycas in the Cotton collection reflects discovery long before 1695, so that items from other sources were available, the Ripon hoard of 1695 may have contributed considerably to eighteenth-century coin collections.

20. The immediate reference is the Introduction to the Sharp sale catalogue, 1977.
21. Thoresby's MSS notes (in Leeds Grammar School) for his coins in the 1722 edition of the *Britannia* refer to the stycas as follows: 'a considerable Number of which were found near Rippon An^o 1695'.
22. See Appendix B.
23. *DNB* (Sharp) and A.Tindal Hart, *The Life and Times of John Sharp, Archbishop of York* (1949), 308. The assumption must have been based on a misunderstanding: gifts of some coins during his life-time and perhaps of some also by bequest did not imply the entire collection becoming Thoresby's property. Here, it can be admitted that the present writer has not checked some Thoresby papers which Tindal Hart (p.340) records briefly in the Sharp archive, but Mr Parsons gives the assurance that they contain nothing relevant to the coinage of Northumbria.
24. The Continental coins were sold at Sotheby's on 14 March 1966; numismatic books from the Sharp library were auctioned by the same firm on 21 May 1969. English coins and medals (Charles I - Anne) and Colonial coins were auctioned at Glendining's on 5 October 1977.
25. Sir Andrew Fountaine, *Numismata Anglo-Saxonia et Anglo-Danica Breviter Illustrata* (1705).
26. E.Pirie, 'Early Northumbrian Coins at Auction, 1981', *BNJ* 51 (1981), pp.32-51.
27. Attention must be drawn to the Ripon hoard of 1846, also from Ailcey Hill, D.M.Metcalf, 'Some Finds of Medieval Coins from Scotland and the North of England', *BNJ* 30 (1960), no.43; J.R.Walbran, *A Guide to Ripon, Fountains Abbey etc.*, eleventh edition, revised by Canon Raine and W.F.Stephenson (1874), p.7. Walbran (pp.23-24), cited by MacKay (p.76), records, too, what must be stray finds of stycas from an area north of the hill. No exact date of discovery is recorded, although one may assume them to have come to light in the late 1860s or early 1870s (the reference does not appear in earlier editions of his guide). The site is thought to have been that of the ninth-century 'Scots Monastery', but the coins can hardly be termed site-finds since there is no excavation context for them.

It must also be recorded that in the publications of the Surtees Society, 80 (1885), p.361, a footnote tells of stycas having been found on Ripon Common by Sir Edward Blacket. No certain date can be assigned to this last discovery; three men, each Sir Edward Blacket, were in turn owners

of the Newby Hall estate, Ripon, from 1670. Had these coins been found before 1695, or even before 1715, one would have thought Thoresby himself would have been more specific in relating the first hoard from Ailcey Hill to the discovery of similar coins in the Ripon area.

28. Hunter, in editing Ralph's *Diary* records some bitterness (I, 152) roused by lack of any acknowledgement to the Thoresbys whose coins were not distinguished from those lent for the occasion by the antiquary Dr Nathaniel Johnston, of Pontefract.
29. Since there were many specimens in the whole gift, (including Roman from Aldborough) they were not listed individually. The very fact that Thoresby does not use the term *styca* or relate Ripon coins, even pennies, to the find of 1695 indicates that the gift must have been received before the hoard was discovered.
30. The acquisition details of his single sceat have not been traced in Thoresby's museum register (which seems to be only of donations and not also of purchases).
31. R.H.M. Dolley and J.S. Strudwick, 'An Early Seventeenth Century Collection of Anglo-Saxon Coins', *BNJ* 27 (1952-54), 309.
32. Dolley and Strudwick, 'An Early Seventeenth Century Collection', p.311.
33. It is perhaps worth commenting that early cleaning efforts might have left the *stycas* with a somewhat grey appearance, so that copper was mistaken for silver. Although some specimens in the Sharp collection have been well cleaned and are as crisp as when they were new, one or two others have been only partially cleaned and can now only be described as looking grey.
34. Derived: Camden's *Britannia* (1695), *Tabula V*.
35. Copied: by Gibson in the 1722 edition of Camden's *Britannia*, *Tabula V*; text by Thoresby on pp.cci, f. The items in brackets are those which appear in Richard Gough's 1806 edition: text on p.clxxxvi.
36. The Fountaine reference is not cited in the *Ducatus*.
37. Not listed in the *Ducatus*.
38. Not from the 1695 hoard.

PLATE 1

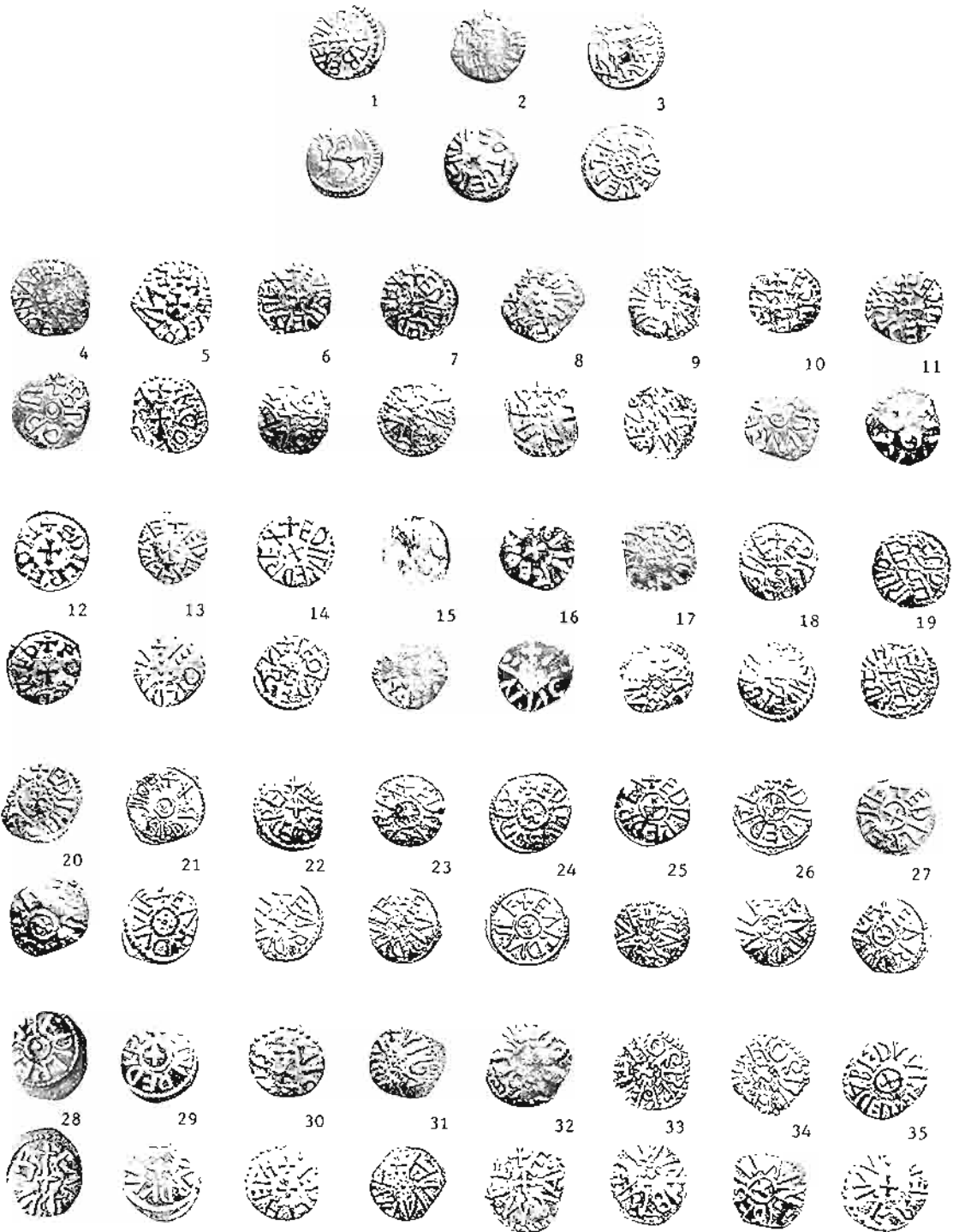


PLATE 2

