REVUE BELGE
DE
NUMISMATIQUE
ET DE SIGILLOGRAPHIE

PUBLIÉE
SOUS LE HAUT PATRONAGE
DE S. M. LE ROI
PAR LA
SOCIÉTÉ ROYALE
DE NUMISMATIQUE DE BELGIQUE
ET SUBSIDIÉE PAR LE
GOVERNEMENT

UITGEGEVEN
ONDER DE HOGE BESCHERMING
VAN Z. M. DE KONING
DOOR HET
KONINKLIJK BELGISCH
GENOOTSCHAP VOOR NUMISMATIEK
EN MET DE STEUN VAN DE
REGERING

DIRECTEURS:
PAUL NASTER, ÉMILE BROUETTE,
JEAN JADOT, TONY HACKENS

CXXI - 1975

BRUXELLES BRUSSEL
N. J. MAYHEW

GAUCHER DE CHÂTILLON
AND THE IMITATION OF STERLINGS
IN THE NAME OF EDWARD OF ENGLAND

(Plate XIII)

The classification of the sterlings of Edward I and II of England is complicated by the existence of a number of imitations with the correct « English » legends and types (1). The British Museum has a number of examples of such imitations which range from the crudest blundered forgery to coins with a standard of workmanship higher than that exhibited by genuine English coins. These coins are also present in almost every large hoard of the period. Very many of the crude copies may well be English forgeries which were undoubtedly being made in the later middle ages. There is documentary evidence of Englishmen who were accused of manufacturing home-made dies secretly at night (2). However many of the imitations are of continental origin. Moreover in the majority of cases the quantity and quality of these pieces suggest that they may have emanated from seigniorial mints as well as from the furtive and nocturnal labours of lesser men.

(1) I am grateful to Mr. Christopher Wood, who drew my attention to Gaucher and showed me one or two crucial coins in his collection; he has very kindly permitted me to reproduce them here. I am also grateful to Miss M. Archibald of the British Museum, to M. W. Vanderpilpen and Mlle J. Lallemand of the Bibliothèque Royale Albert I in Brussels, to Dr. H. Enno van Gelder of the Koninklijk Kabinet van Munten, Penningen en Gesneden Stenen at the Hague, and to M. R. Weiller of the Musée de l’État in Luxembourg. Mr. J. S. Jensen from Copenhagen has sent me an extensive series of photographs of coins from the Kirial hoard, without which comparison with that hoard would have been impossible.

Suspicion naturally centres on the Low Countries where England had close trading links. The rulers of this wealthy industrial district are known to have struck sterlings, more or less honestly, in their own names, to pay for the huge quantities of raw English wool which they imported. There is the strongest evidence that Long Cross sterlings, struck in the name of Henry III but certainly without his authority, were made near Alost in Flanders, where 67 light weight coins, all from the same pair of dies, were found in 1879 (3). Such imitations also appeared in the Edwardian period. Hartrad of Schönecken (1316-1351) was careless enough with his dies to mule a reverse die of one of the imitations in his own name with an obverse die of one of his less honest productions thus:

O.  +EDWAR ANGL DNS HYB
R.  MONETA DE LISE

[Bernays and Vannérus (4) — Schönecken No. 1.]

Jean de Flandre (1311-1325) produced a similar coin reading

O.  +EDWARD ANGL DNS HYB
R.  MONETA ARLEUS  [Brussels]

One John the Blind coin [B & V 57] probably has a sufficiently English obverse to justify regarding it as an anonymous imitation muled with a Lushbourne, and the « English » halfpennies made at Marche confirm suspicions about John the Blind. The bishop of Toul is similarly exposed by his sterling [Chautard 555] (5) from Liverdun (6). Such irregular activity may well be revealed by two interesting mules from Hainaut. Chautard 74 has a standard Jean d’Avesnes II obverse with a reverse reading CIVITAS LONDON. No. 85 was not connected to No. 74 by Chautard but the comparison is interesting. It reads

O.  +EDWR AGNL HYN (sic)
R.  MONETA MONTES

---

(4) E. Bernays and J. Vannérus, Histoire numismatique du... Luxembourg et de ses fiefs, Brussels, 1910 ; Supplement, 1934.
(5) J. Chautard, Imitations des monnaies au type esterlin, Nancy, 1871.
(6) M. Christian Meert was kind enough to bring me up to date with knowledge on the Continent of these European sterlings with Edwardian legends.
It thus seems probable that a number of anonymous imitations originated in the Low Countries. In certain cases particular rulers have come under suspicion. However, one count who has hitherto not been suspected of forgery may now join the ranks of those already indicted. Gaucher de Châtillon, justly famous for the imitative series of sterlings in his own name, was also responsible for the production of what is probably the largest and best produced series of imitation Edwardian sterlings. By the simple expedient of ensuring that the sterlings in his own name were not muled with those in the name of Edward, king of England, Gaucher has until now escaped detection. However, a comparison between his own coins and some anonymous coins leaves me in no doubt that many of the forged sterlings regularly found in English hoards can be attributed to Gaucher's mint at Yves.

In the following arrangement the Edward coins are classified alongside the Gaucher coins to which they are similar. The Edward type is grouped a, b, c, and d, while the Gaucher type is arranged in groups I to VII. Types I, II, III and a, b, c, relate to one another. It would appear, however, that from group IV onwards the Gaucher coins are of a different type from the earlier Gaucher and Edward coins. These later, different Gaucher coins are easily distinguishable from the earlier types, as they bear privy marks by the H of GALCHS on the obverse and by the Y of YVE on the reverse. Since those groups with privy marks IV-VII are connected to groups I-III only by the legend, it is possible that the privy mark series should be dated before groups I-III. However, it is more normal practice in a medieval mint to begin a series without privy marks and only to add them later as the issue grew to a size which necessitated additional checks and controls. For this reason it has been assumed that the Gaucher series begins with those coins without privy marks. There is one other possibility, and that is that the Gaucher coins without privy marks are not official issues, but imitations just like the parallel series in Edward's name. However, in the absence of further evidence to support this thesis, it can probably be discounted since it is unlikely that a forger who could imitate the good sterlings of Edward of England with such success would choose to imitate imitations.
Tentative Arrangement of Imitations in Edward's and Gaucher's Name
Arabic numerals in parenthesis refer to plate XIII.

Edward type

a) Large nose, ungainly coins. Possibly early experimental stages of imitation. Usually read EDWR, but one (1) reads EDWAR. Two (1, 2) read CANTOR, with distinctive short limbed R (fig. 1a). The rest read London. (1) has different hair from the others, cf. type I.

b) Distinctive neat face, (5). Trifoliate crown. Distinctive h (fig. 1b).

c) New face, (7, 8). Some of this type have new G (fig. 1c) with split end, (7), which becomes the norm. Trifoliate crown. Usually wedge R (fig. 1d) but some, (8 rev.) have stub R (fig. 1e). Usually LONDON but also CANTON, WATERFOR, CANTOR. Usually EDWR, but also EDWAR.

d) Usually split end G (fig. 1c) and stub R (fig. 1e), (11, 12), though wedge G (fig. 1f) and R (fig. 1d) do occur. Face as c, but very clear bifoliate crown. Still using special h (fig. 1b) common to types b, c, d, and I, II, III.

Gaucher type

I. Drapery, face and crown as type (a) — hair as (1). R (fig. 1a) in PORC similar to R CANTOR on (1, 2). h (fig. 1b) of distinctive type, which appears on types I, II, and III, and on b, c, d.

II. With face of b (6).

III. With face as c (9, 10). Small neat initial cross wedge R (fig. 1d). Trifoliate crown.
Gaucher

IV. a) Pellet privy mark.
Open G.
Bi- and trifoliate crown, usually with distinctive face and hair, (13), but other later face and hair do occur, (14).

b) Pellet privy mark.
Closed G (fig. 19), (15). None with face and hair as (13).

V. Annulet privy mark - rare.
Closed G, (16).

VI. Crescent privy mark (17).
Closed G. Frequently muled with star reverse (18).

VII. Star privy mark (19), rare on obverse.

This arrangement of these two series suggests that for much of the time when Gaucher was producing his own sterling at Yves (?) he was also using the same punches to produce dies for counterfeit English coins. It appears that the two issues were struck side by side until the end of classes III and c. Class d marks a new departure in anonymous imitations in that it does not have a counterpart in the Gaucher series using the same punches; Class d does, however, follow closely from c. Gaucher types IV-VII also mark a fresh approach; these coins are all privy marked, generally on the obverse and reverse, and bear no resemblance to the Edward series. It seems to me possible that at the beginning of classes d and IV the Gaucher series was moved to a new workshop and set

(7) R. CHALON, Monnaies belges trouvées en Irlande, in RBN, 2nd ser., VI, 1856, p. 283-287. In this article Chalon locates Yves. Writing of the Gaucher coins reading MONET NOVA YVE on the reverse, he used words which are now applicable to the series of imitations in Edward's name with which we have been dealing. »Ces esterlins sont, bel et bien, des monnaies belges, des monnaies d'Yves, petit village près de Florennes et faisant partie des domaines d'Isabelle de Rumigny...«.
up with new punches of its own, while the Edward type continued with the production of class d with the familiar punches. This is no more than a hypothesis, but it derives some support from an analysis of the weights of the coins.

Fig. 2

Fig. 3
Figures 2 and 3 show histograms of the weights of 217 Gaucher and the Edward coins. It comes as no surprise that Gaucher seems to have struck his own coins to a better weight standard than the Edward pieces. However, further analysis of the Edward coins shows that the earlier Edward pieces (Figure 4) seem to have a higher weight standard than the later ones (Figure 5). Indeed it is not impossible that the Edward pieces a-c were struck to the same standard as the Gaucher coins, but that the weight for class d — the only Edward type which appears to have been struck apart from the Gaucher coins — was reduced.

Gaucher is believed to have struck his own sterling at Yves between 1314 and 1322 (8), and it seems that these imitations were produced at the same time. Unfortunately a more detailed chronology is not possible on the basis of evidence collected so far.

Hopefully the discovery of hoards or documentary evidence may change this. In the meantime it can only be said that the hoard provenances of the coins studied so far are not incompatible with a period of issue between 1314 and 1322.

KEY TO PLATE XIII

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Provenance</th>
<th>Weight</th>
<th>Type</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td>Aberdeen hoard</td>
<td>1.345</td>
<td>a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td>Aberdeen hoard</td>
<td>1.390</td>
<td>a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.</td>
<td>Koninklijke Bibliotheek, Brussels</td>
<td>1.26</td>
<td>I</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.</td>
<td>Ashmolean Museum</td>
<td>1.272</td>
<td>I</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.</td>
<td>Aberdeen hoard</td>
<td>1.412</td>
<td>b</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.</td>
<td>Wood Collection</td>
<td>1.534</td>
<td>II</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7.</td>
<td>Wood Collection</td>
<td>1.282</td>
<td>c</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8.</td>
<td>Kirial hoard</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>c</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9.</td>
<td>Ashmolean Museum</td>
<td>1.343</td>
<td>III</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10.</td>
<td>British Museum, Boyton hoard</td>
<td>1.330</td>
<td>III</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11.</td>
<td>British Museum</td>
<td>1.174</td>
<td>d</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12.</td>
<td>British Museum, Blackhills hoard</td>
<td>1.191</td>
<td>d</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13.</td>
<td>British Museum, Boyton hoard</td>
<td>1.315</td>
<td>IVa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14.</td>
<td>British Museum</td>
<td>1.293</td>
<td>IVa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15.</td>
<td>British Museum, Tutbury hoard</td>
<td>1.350</td>
<td>IVb</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16.</td>
<td>British Museum</td>
<td>1.286</td>
<td>V?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17.</td>
<td>Brussels</td>
<td>1.23</td>
<td>VI</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18.</td>
<td>British Museum, Boyton hoard</td>
<td>1.342</td>
<td>VI/VII</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Imitations d'esterlins au nom d'Édouard d'Angleterre par Gautier de Châtillon