

# DIE LINKS FOR THE LONDON MINT IN SHORT CROSS CLASSES IVC AND VA1

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IN 1989 Martin Allen published his ground-breaking study of the dies of Short Cross Class V.<sup>1</sup> Among the many points that he made, probably the most significant had to do with the Recoinage of 1204/05: though marked by a shift of style from classes IV to V on the coins, the Recoinage, as Allen explained, was not the total break that students had long assumed. Specifically, he identified separate links involving two moneys of Canterbury, in which obverses of IVC and Va1 were paired, respectively, with an identical reverse. In other words, the moneys G/COLDWINE and ROBERD used dies that linked the two halves of the Short Cross series (pl. 18, 1–4).<sup>2</sup>

Of course logic itself might have suggested the possibility of such connections. Since G/COLDWINE and ROBERD were active in classes IV and V, the chance of continuity in the usage of dies was always present. However, complicating such a conjecture was a misunderstanding that stemmed from Lawrence's original arrangement of the classes. In his conception, the reverses of Class Va, with their pommée-style initial cross, preceded those of Class Va/Vb, with their cross-pattée design.<sup>3</sup> In other words, Lawrence interpreted the pattée style as something 'new', which then became the basis of his Class Va/Vb. But in fact the pattée design looked backward, not forward; it derived from the standard pattern in classes I–IV and thus marked a continuation, not an interruption, of style. As a consequence, the mules of Class Va/Vb were not mules at all but simply the opening phase of Short Cross Class V proper. Allen labelled these coins as belonging to Class Va1, in contradistinction to those with cross-pommée reverses, which he called Class Va2.<sup>4</sup>

Having targeted the right group of reverses to search for links, Allen now found his first examples in the aforementioned coins of G/COLDWINE and ROBERD. But that, in the late 1980s, was unfortunately all; he was unable to identify other moneys that were similarly linked, and the mint of London was still, frustratingly, extrinsic to the equation. Though the suspicion was strong that such links ought to exist, the evidence – in the form of coins – was not yet available.

In the spring of 1995, I obtained a coin of WILLEM of London with a clear IVC obverse, but the reverse of which was the same as that of a Va1 in Allen's Plates, coin no. 11. The two coins, which read WILLEM.ONLV, appear here as pl. 18, 5 and 6, and they prove, beyond question, that the pattern for Canterbury was duplicated for London. In short, the two mints that produced coins in the Class Va1 style can now both be die-linked with coins of Class IVC.

The links in the case of London, in fact, may be even more extensive, since the obverse of the new coin of Class IVC was also used by two other moneys, RICARD and HENRI (pl. 18, 7–9), and then again by WILLELM with a different reverse (pl. 18, 10). In other words, these coins, and two additional moneys, may be part of the complex of mules involving Class Va1, though the actual linkings themselves (if we can assume that they exist) have not yet been found.<sup>5</sup> However, we do have a clue of a different kind. As it happens, the letter A on the coin of RICARD (no. 7) is cross-barred, a feature that Lawrence himself noted as part of the adjusted design beginning in Class V.<sup>6</sup> And, indeed, five of the six known reverses on coins of Va1 that have the letter A, use it in this new format (no. 18 below, plus nos. 4, 10, 15, and 16 in Allen's Plates).<sup>7</sup> We are thus able to draw an important inference: that along with the coin of WILLEM, that of RICARD (no. 7), with its cross-barred A, is probably a IVC/Va1 mule. The matter is less clear with regard to nos. 8–10, however, which have reverses containing no As or any other tell-tale letters.

We need to take a closer look at the chronology and actual designs of these cross-barred As. Though they are not unknown on coins that appeared earlier in the Short Cross series,<sup>8</sup> cross-barred As make their first semi-regular appearance in class IVC; we see them on single reverses of RICARD of London (no. 11), and of IOHAN and HVE of Canterbury (nos. 12–13), and on three reverse dies of DAVI of York (nos. 14–16). But with the exception of one of the dies of DAVI, none exhibits the letter A with a bar (that is *straight*; instead, the barring is uneven, with the IOHAN (no. 12) and one of the DAVIS (no. 14) exhibiting sharply defined chevrons, the RICARD (no. 11) a slightly less pronounced chevron, and the HVE (no. 13) and another of the DAVI reverses (no. 15) a small hook. Only the final DAVI (no. 16) employs a crossbar that is virtually straight, though it is not as straight as on the earlier-

<sup>1</sup> Martin R. Allen, 'The provision and use of Short Cross class V dies', *BNJ* 59 (1989), 46–76.

<sup>2</sup> As in n. 1, pp. 47–48. It has been necessary to replicate here the first four coins that appeared in Allen's Plates, nos. 1–4. The significance of the G or C in GOLDWINE's name is discussed below.

<sup>3</sup> L.A. Lawrence, 'The Short Cross coinage, 1180–1247', *BNJ* 11 (1915), at pp. 64–65, 78–79, 93, 95.

<sup>4</sup> Allen, as in n. 1, p. 48.

<sup>5</sup> That is, we have no obverses of Class Va1 that use these particular reverses.

<sup>6</sup> Lawrence, as in n. 3, p. 78.

<sup>7</sup> The only reverse without it, that of SAMVEL (no. 19), is treated at the end of this paper.

<sup>8</sup> See, e.g., a coin of RANDVI, of London in Class Ia4, in Jeffrey P. Mass, 'Of dies, design changes, and square lettering in the opening phase of the Short Cross coinage', *BNJ* 63 (1993), no. 124 in the Plates.

mentioned coin of RICARD (no. 7). And thus the coin of RICARD would appear, once again, to be classifiable as a IVc/Va1 mule, meaning that two coins of London (the WILLEM and the RICARD) were probably produced from dies designed for use in what we now understand to be sequential sub-classes.

The case for muling can be strengthened by citing the die-linked coins of ROBERD and COLDWINE, first identified by Allen. Taking the ROBERD first (no. 3), it is a mule of Class IVc/Va1 because, like the RICARD, it has a straight-barred A; it is also, of course, die-linked with no. 4, which is of Class Va1 proper. But what about the coin of COLDWINE (no. 1) whose reverse, lacking any mint signature, did not use an A (thus COLDWINE.ON)? In this case it was not a change of format but a change of letter: the moneyer's name was made to start with a C, not a G. That is, the name was GOLDWINE on all coins prior to Class V, and COLDWINE beginning at that juncture.<sup>9</sup> In the present instance, no. 1 is thus a IVc/Va1 mule, and its die-linked partner (no. 2) a Va1. By contrast, however, another coin is a class IVc proper (no. 17), since its moneyer's name is GOLDWINE not COLDWINE.

Both the shape and the selection of letters thus help us to distinguish the reverses of classes IV and V. Yet our knowledge remains far from being complete. For example, the best that we can say about the reverse of the DAVI with the nearly straight-barred A (no. 16) is that it might have been one of the final dies produced in the Class IVc phase. It cannot be considered as belonging to Class Va1, since no coins of the mint of York have been found with a Va1 obverse.<sup>10</sup> Moreover, concerning the other coins that share the IVc obverse with the mules of WILLEM and RICARD, we have no basis as yet for classifying their reverses. They are either Class IVc's proper or IVc/Va1 mules (nos. 8–10).

It remains to consider a further coin that has recently turned up (no. 18). Bearing an obverse of Class Va1, its reverse reads IOHAN.ON.CAN, the first known specimen of that moneyer for the sub-class.<sup>11</sup> As it happens, the letter A appears twice on this reverse, in both the straight-barred and the unbarred versions! The barred A can be posited as the more important one, helping us to situate the die in Class Va1. Moreover, this reverse can be usefully contrasted with that of the above-noted coin of IOHAN that we called a IVc, the one with the sharply defined chevrons on its two letter As (no. 12). That is, no. 12 is unambiguously a coin of Class IVc, and no. 18 seems just as clearly to be a coin of Class Va1. Neither is a mule because of their respective obverses.

On the related question, finally, of whether mules can be identified in the *other direction* (i.e., are there coins that we might call Class Va1/IVc?), we need to examine the last of the six reverses, cited earlier, that have a letter A. Of moneyer SAMVEL, it is no. 5 in Allen's Plates, and appears here, in a new specimen, as no. 19. The point of significance is that the cross bar is missing on both the As (SAMVEL.ON.CAN), making it theoretically possible that the coin is a Va1/IVc mule. However, in the absence of an actual die link with a coin that bears a Class IVc obverse, the case for a mule cannot even begin to be made. If the As on this coin of SAMVEL (no. 19) had exhibited chevrons, we could be confident in classifying it as a mule. But As without bars are insufficient, especially since reverse dies in *later* sub-classes can occasionally be found to exhibit similar unbarred As. A case in point is a coin that reads COLDWINE.ON.CA (no. 20), which has a pommée-style initial cross and is thus a Va2.

To conclude, L.A. Lawrence stated as follows eighty years ago: 'Mules are frequent between most of the consecutive classes, except between IV and V.'<sup>12</sup> In fact, mules that connect the main classes remain decidedly rare,<sup>13</sup> with the links between IV and V little different in that regard. Yet the mint of London can now be added to that of Canterbury in having utilized dies that linked classes IV and V. That is, the new coins of WILLEM and (probably) RICARD (nos. 5 and 7) show us that obverses that were first used at the time of Class IVc continued to be employed across the 'great divide' of the Recoinage. Specifically, the IVc-style obverse that we know to have been shared by these two moneyers was combined with reverses that were likely produced in the phase of Class Va1.

Even beyond that, some thirteen of the fourteen known moneyers who issued coins in Class IVc continued to be active in classes Va1 or Va2 (the only exception being RANDVIL of Norwich/Northampton). Moreover, of that total of thirteen moneyers, *all* eleven from Canterbury and London have had coins bearing their names attributed explicitly to Class Va1. When Allen published his paper on Class V in 1989, he included only nine of those eleven in his lists,<sup>14</sup> but now, only a few years later, the remaining two, resulting in comprehensiveness, can be added.

<sup>9</sup> Allen, as in n. 1, p. 47, note 13. For additional comments, see Allen, 'Short Cross class Va: mules and mysteries', *NCirc* 1991, 337–38.

<sup>10</sup> Allen, as in n. 1, pp. 74, 76. Just to remind ourselves, *all* of the other known reverses in Class IVc that contain the letter A have them unbarred or with a chevron or a hook.

<sup>11</sup> I have also found a cut farthing of the same dies.

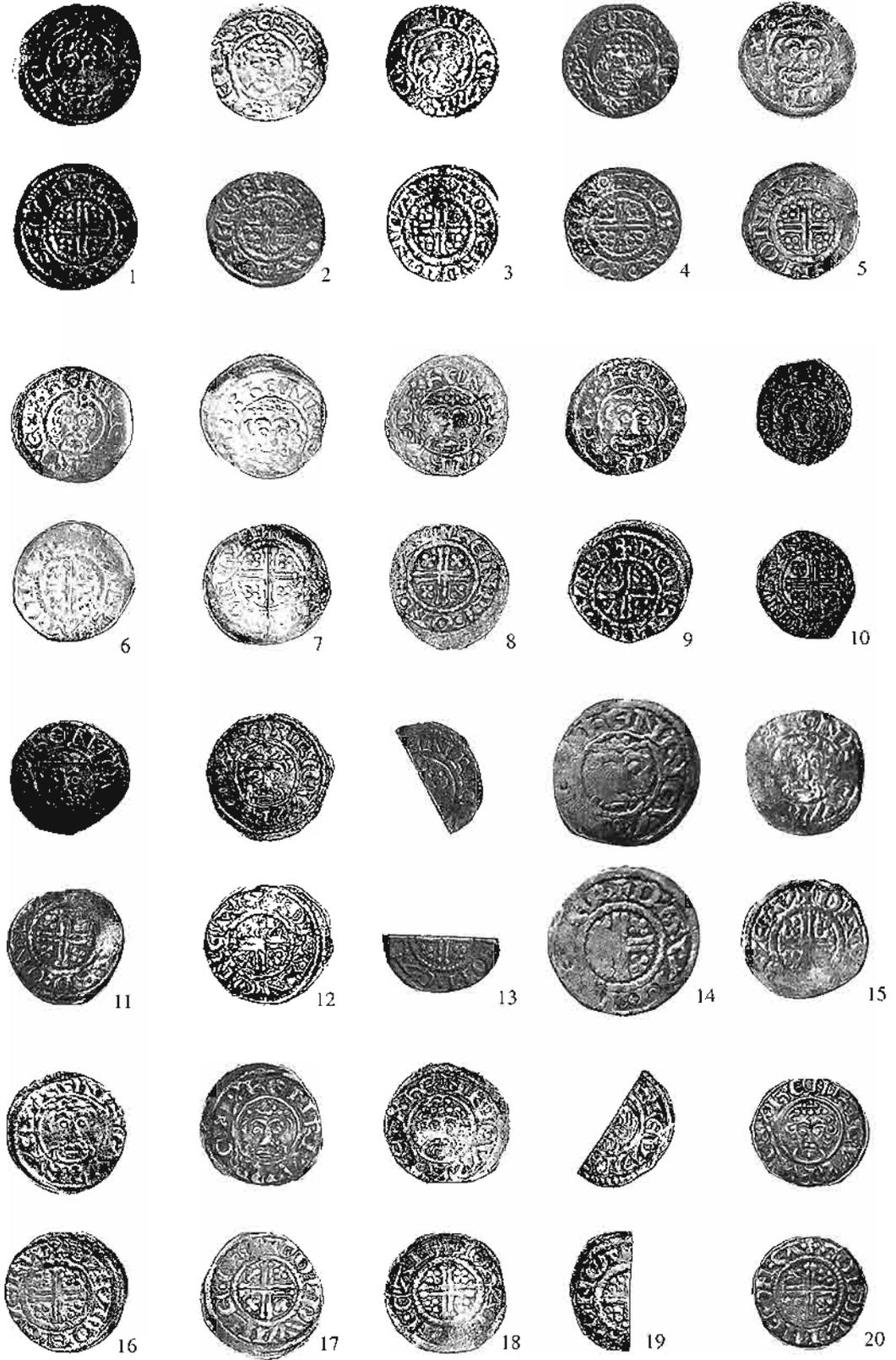
<sup>12</sup> L.A. Lawrence, 'More chronology of the Short Cross period', *NC* XVI (1916), 361.

<sup>13</sup> The mules that are best known are *within* the main classes, that is, those involving coins in closely situated sub-

classes. For example, there is extensive muling among the coins of classes Ia1 to Ia5, and among those of VIc1 to VIc3; see Mass, 'Of dies, design changes, and square lettering', and I. Stewart, 'English coinage in the later years of John and the minority of Henry III', *BNJ* 49 (1979) and 51 (1981). Of course the best known mules are those involving the coins of classes Vb and Va, i.e. those built around the existence or non-existence of both the reversed letter S and the cross pommée and cross pattée. See Allen, 'Short Cross class Va: mules and mysteries', as in n. 9.

<sup>14</sup> Allen, as in n. 1, p. 62.

PLATE 18



MASS: SHORT CROSS DIE LINKS

That is, we now have specimens of IOHAN and SIMON of Canterbury that exhibited obverses of class Va1 (see no. 18 for the IOHAN).<sup>15</sup>

At any rate, the country's two leading mints not only had their moneyers producing coins on both sides of the 'divide'; they also had them, or at least some of them, constructing a 'bridge' upon which they might carry certain older dies with them. It is a point that Lawrence, the great pioneering scholar of this series, would have been only too happy to acknowledge.

*Sources of coins and their accompanying plate numbers:*

1.	IVc/Va1	COLDWINE.ON	JJN
2.	Va1	COLDWINE.ON (same rev. as no. 1)	BM
3.	IVc/Va1	ROBERD.ON.CA.	JJN
4.	Va1	ROBERD.ON.CA. (same rev. as no. 3)	BM
5.	IVc/Va1	WILLEM.ONLV	JPM
6.	Va1	WILLEM.ONLV (same rev. as no. 5)	BM
7.	IVc/Va1	RICARD.ON.LVN (same obv. as no. 5)	JPM
8.	IVc or IVc/Va1	HENRI.ON.LVN (same obv. as no. 5)	JPM
9.	IVc or IVc/Va1	HENRI.ON.LVND (same obv. as no. 5)	JPM
10.	IVc or IVc/Va1	WILLELM.ON.LV (same obv. as no. 5)	MRA
11.	IVc	RICARD.ON.LVN (small chevron A)	JPM
12.	IVc	IOHAN.ON.CAN (large chevron As)	MRA
13.	IVc	[ ]E.ON.CAN[ ] (hooked A)	JPM
14.	IVc	DAVI.ON.EVER (large chevron A)	IS
15.	IVc	DAVI.ON.EVERV (hooked A)	CM
16.	IVc	DAVI.ON.EVERW (straight-barred A)	BM
17.	IVc	GOLDWINE.ON	JPM
18.	Va1	IOHAN.ON.CAN	JPM
19.	Va1 or Va1/IVc	[ ]L.ONCA	JPM
20.	Va2	GOLDWINE.ON.CA	JPM

*Acknowledgements* The attributions in the list of sources are to the British Museum (BM), the Colchester and Essex Museum (CM), Lord Stewartby (IS), Martin Allen (MRA), Jeffrey North (JJN), and to the author (JPM). I am grateful to Martin Allen for reading and commenting on the several drafts of this paper.

<sup>15</sup> A photograph of the SIMON appears in the plates (no. 62) *Mints and Exchanges* (British Num. Soc. Special Publication 1, 1994), of John D. Brand. *The English Coinage, 1180-1247: Money,*

## THE DATE OF KING JOHN'S CONFERENCE OF MONEYERS

MARTIN ALLEN

IN 1711 Thomas Madox published letters patent, of 7 October in the ninth year of King John's reign, which summoned to Westminster moneyers, assayers, die-keepers, mint workers, and others able to give advice about the making of coinage.<sup>1</sup> Mark Noble, and Ruding, dated these letters to 1208.<sup>2</sup> In 1910 George Brooke corrected the date to 1207 (the ninth year of John was from 31 May 1207 to 14 May 1208).<sup>3</sup>

Brooke stated that the date of the meeting at Westminster was 10 January 1208, and this has never been challenged. However, the transcript of the letters quoted in full by Brooke,<sup>4</sup> and Madox's slightly different

<sup>1</sup> T. Madox, *History and Antiquities of the Exchequer* (1st edn., London, 1711), p. 198, n. zz.

<sup>2</sup> M. Noble, *Two Dissertations Upon the Mint and Coins of the Episcopal-Palatines of Durham*, (Birmingham, 1780), p. 83; R. Ruding, *Annals of the Coinage of Great Britain and*

*its Dependencies* (3 vols., 3rd edn., London 1840), II, p. 159.

<sup>3</sup> G.C. Brooke, 'Chronology in the Short-Cross period', *NC* 4th ser. 10 (1910), 291-324 (at pp. 306 and 315).

<sup>4</sup> Brooke, p. 315, citing *Rotuli Litterarum Patentium, 1201-1216*, edited by T.D. Hardy (London, 1835), p. 76, col. 1.