STATERS OF CUNOBELIN FROM SHOTLEY, SUFFOLK

PHILIP DE JERSEY AND JOHN NEWMAN

BETWEEN 1980 and 1984 six gold staters of Cunobelin were found in a field in the parish of Shotley, Suffolk, by five metal-detector users operating with the permission of the landowner. The staters were scattered over an area of approximately one hectare. The positions of two coins (nos. 1 and 2 in the list below) are not recorded; three staters (nos. 4–6) were found within 20 m of each other, while one coin (no. 3) was about 125 m distant from this group, up a moderately steep slope. It is likely that the six coins represent all or part of a scattered hoard, although no clear point of origin or any container has been identified.

Further metal-detecting in the field, which lies on a north-facing slope overlooking the river Orwell, has revealed several other finds of late Iron Age or early Roman date. These include a denarius of Mark Antony and two denarii of Augustus, a bronze coin of Claudius I, and a copper alloy terret ring. There are also a few late Roman coins. No obvious settlement area can be identified in the field, and a fieldwalking survey in 1989 failed to locate any concentrations of pottery sherds of either Iron Age or Roman date.

Details of the six gold staters are as follows:

1. 5.35 g, wild B series, 2 dies Dh; Van Arsdell 3 1933-1. Found 1980; believed to have been sold abroad.
2. 5.26 g, classic A series, dies Gh; Van Arsdell 2027-1. Found 1980; in possession of landowner (pi. 17, 1).
3. 5.42 g, plastic A series, dies Ig; Van Arsdell 2010-3. Found 1984; in possession of landowner (pi. 17, 2).
4. 5.39 g, classic A series, obverse die K, reverse die previously unrecorded; Van Arsdell 2027-1. Found 1984; in possession of landowner (pi. 17, 3).
5. No details of type. Found 1984; believed to have been sold.
6. No details of type. Found 1984; believed to have been sold.

The staters of Cunobelin occur only relatively rarely in hoards. A poorly recorded discovery from Chippenham in Cambridgeshire, which apparently contained five plastic A staters – in poor condition, one of them pierced – also included at least 41 gold and silver Roman coins. Eight wild A staters formed part of a scattered hoard found in Epping Forest in the early 1970s, which also included four staters of Tasciovanus. More recently, the Somerton (Suffolk) find comprised 31 staters of linear, wild, plastic and classic types. Aside from these three finds, coins of Cunobelin occur only in ones or twos: two in the Lakenheath (Suffolk) hoard, with Roman coins down to 37–41 AD; two from Tunstall, Kent, with an aureus of Claudius; and – very uncertainly – a quarter stater from the problematic Wallington or Wallingford find of c. 1890. Modern unpublished finds show no significant deviation from this pattern, for example the South Worcestershire hoard, composed predominately of Dobunnic silver, which also contained one stater of Cunobelin.

The Somerton and Shotley hoards, seemingly composed entirely of staters of Cunobelin, are further distinguished from the other finds by the presence of different types of stater within the same deposit; previously there appear to have been no examples of any of the five series identified by Allen occurring in combination. In the case of Shotley the three series believed to be the latest – wild B, plastic and classic – are all represented. The absolute chronology of these issues remains uncertain, but presumably they belong to the later part, perhaps the last couple of decades, of Cunobelin’s reign; though, as Burnett has suggested, the production of this coinage may be much more complicated than we have previously believed.

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1 We are grateful to the landowner for allowing us to record the three staters in his possession.
2 Classification according to D.F. Allen, ‘Cunobelin’s gold’, Britannia 6 (1975), 1–19.
5 D.F. Allen, Cunobelin’s gold’, p. 5.
10 A. Burnett, ‘Somerton, Suffolk, treasure trove’, p. 128.
Allen commented that "economic or political circumstances favourable to hoarding did not frequently occur during [Cunobelin's reign];" more recent discoveries have done little to change this view. The Shotley coins – if the find as it stands is complete – are probably best regarded as a small savings hoard, perhaps collected over a period of several years and deposited at some point during the latter stages of Cunobelin's reign, or shortly thereafter.

11 D.F. Allen, 'Cunobelin's gold', p. 5.

THE BEDWORTH HOARD OF CELTIC COINS

PHILIP J. WISE

A savings hoard of staters was found near Bedworth in north Warwickshire by David Morris, a metal-detectorist, in August 1994. Eleven coins were recovered from a ploughed field, all issued by the Corieltauvi. The types represented are the ‘Kite’ (4), the ‘Domino’ (1), South Ferriby (1) and VEP CORF (5) and range in date from about 50 BC – AD 20.

Corieltauvian coin hoards are very rare finds in Britain, with only five previously known. These are from Lightcliffe, Honley and Dewsbury, all in Yorkshire, and South Ferriby and Grimsby in Lincolnshire. Of these the South Ferriby hoard found between 1904 and 1908 is by far the largest with 135 coins recorded, while the Dewsbury Hoard is believed to have contained 30–40, although it was not properly recorded at the time of its discovery in 1950. The remaining three hoards are all comparable in size with the latest find from Bedworth.

The Bedworth Hoard is of considerable interest for two reasons. Firstly, and most importantly, it is the only known Corieltauvian stater hoard to contain both early uninscribed issues and later inscribed issues. It shows therefore that both types of coinage were in use at the same time during the early first century AD. Secondly the hoard was found in an area far to the south of the previous discoveries and, combined with thirteen single coins recorded from Warwickshire, indicates the spread of Corieltauvian influence away from the tribal heartland (see Appendix).

The hoard was the subject of a Treasure Trove inquest held at Atherstone on 24 November 1994. The verdict of the jury was that the hoard was not Treasure Trove because there was insufficient evidence for burial with the intention of recovery. The coins were subsequently purchased jointly from the finder and landowner by the Warwickshire Museum, with grant aid from the Museums and Galleries Commission / Victoria and Albert Museum Purchase Grant Fund. The Warwickshire Museum Catalogue Numbers are N6400–N6410.

The Catalogue

(All coins are illustrated on pl. 17).

1. AV Stater, VEP CORF, VA 960–1 (Corieltauvi N), Mack 459.
   obv. ‘Apollo’ wreath crossed by a line with crescent-shaped ends enclosing beaded circles with pellets in the centre.
   rev. Celticized horse left, VEP (ligated) above horse, CORF below horse, three pellets beneath head as on DUMNOR TIGIR SENO issue.
   Wt. 4.93gm Diam. 20 mm Die-Axis 0°

Note: Difficult to distinguish between VA 940–1 and VA 960–1 in this case as tail off-flan and hence impossible to see pellet-in-ring or three pellets below tail. Overall the rev. does seem closer to VA 960–1 however, especially the hunched form of the horse’s back, and the presence of the three pellets beneath the head surely indicates a late variety for this type.

2. AV Stater, VEP CORF, VA 960–1 (Corieltauvi N), Mack 459.
   obv. as No. 1.

3. AV Stater, VEP CORF, VA 960–1 (Corieltauvi N), Mack 459.
   *Obv.* as No. 1 (though slightly off-flan).
   *Rev.* as No. 2 (although upper part of design worn and V not visible)
   Wt. 5.30gm Diam. 20 mm Die-Axis 40°

4. AV Stater, VEP CORF, VA 960–1 (Corieltauvi N), Mack 459.
   *Obv.* as No. 1.
   *Rev.* as No. 2.
   Wt. 4.99gm Diam. 20 mm Die-Axis 315°

5. AV Stater, ‘Domino Type’, VA 829–3 (Corieltauvi H) Mack 448, class L (Allen), British K: South Ferriby type.
   *Obv.* Portion of crude laureate bust to the right (partially obliterated die).
   *Rev.* Disjointed horse to the left, with rectangular compartment above enclosing four pellets, multi-armed spiral below horse.
   Wt. 4.56gm Diam. 21 mm Die-Axis not determined

6. AV Stater, South Ferriby Type, VA 811–23 (Corieltauvi D), Mack 450.
   *Obv.* Portion of crude laureate bust to the right (almost obliterated die).
   *Rev.* Celticized horse left, head made up of a pellet with a triangle for nose, four pellets below nose.
   Wt. 5.37gm Diam. 21 mm Die-Axis not determined

7. AV Stater, ‘Kite Type’, VA 825–1 (Corieltauvi G), Mack 447, class M (Allen), British K: South Ferriby Type.
   *Obv.* Portions of crude laureate bust to the right, diagonal linear depression to right of curls (rather worn).
   *Rev.* Disjointed horse to the left, diamond-shaped object enclosing three pellets above and tribrach with three groups of three pellets below.
   Wt. 5.12gm Diam. 18 mm Die-Axis 45°
   Die duplicate: North Ferriby, Yorkshire (private possession) unpublished.

8. AV Stater, ‘Kite Type’, VA 825–9 (Corieltauvi G), Mack 447, Class M (Allen), British K: South Ferriby Type.
   *Obv.* as No. 7 (although much better condition).
   *Rev.* as No. 7 (although lower part of design worn).
   Wt. 5.44gm Diam. 18 mm Die-Axis 0°
   Die duplicate: South Ferriby, Lincolnshire (Leeds University, ex. Lockett Coll.) SCBI Coritani, 245.

9. AV Stater, ‘Kite Type’, VA 825–9 (Corieltauvi G), Mack 447, Class M (Allen), British K: South Ferriby Type.
   *Obv.* as No. 7.
   *Rev.* as No. 7 (although upper part of design worn).
   Wt. 5.39gm Diam. 19 mm Die-Axis 315°
   Die duplicate: as No. 8.

10. AV Stater, ‘Kite Type’, VA 825–1 (Corieltauvi G), Mack 447, Class M (Allen), British K: South Ferriby type.
    *Obv.* Portions of crude laureate bust to the right.
    *Rev.* Disjointed horse to the left, diamond-shaped object enclosing two pellets above, cross-in-circle motif below head, and four armed spiral, but no pellets, below horse.
    Wt. 5.38gm Diam. 20 mm Die Axis 220°
    Die duplicate: Stretton-on-Fosse, Warwickshire (private possession) BNJ 58, Coin Register no. 91.

11. AV Stater, VEP CORF, fragment only.
    *Obv.* Portion of ‘Apollo’ wreath.
Appendix: Corieltauvian Coins From Warwickshire

1. Alcester c. 1920, unknown type, unpublished.
3. Dordon 1986, VA 811-3 (rev.) (Corieltauvian D), Mack 450, British KB: South Ferriby type, BNJ 58, Coin Register 92.
5. Kenilworth 1890, VA 804-1 (Corieltauvian B), Mack 52 (nearest), British I, Type C, SCBI Coritani, 212.
6. Lapworth 1987, VA 877-1 (Corieltauvian D), Mack 410b, British U: South Ferriby type, BNJ 58, Coin Register 94.
13. Welford 1990, VA 877-3 (nearest) (Corieltauvian D), Mack 453 (nearest), British W: South Ferriby type, BNJ 61, Coin Register 66.


Acknowledgements I am grateful for the help and advice of Dr Stanley Ireland, Dr Philip de Jersey and Mr John Sills in the preparation of this report.

THE TRUE PROVENANCE OF THE WOODBRIDGE SCEATTA ‘HOARD’

J.A. NEWMAN

The four sceattas that make up the Woodbridge ‘hoard’ were initially listed by Sutherland, who used evidence collected from a Glendining’s sale catalogue of 1934, where lot 44 is described as ‘Anglo-Saxon sceattas (600-800 AD) found at Woodbridge, Suffolk, 1914, four varied types’. These sceattas being listed as a possible hoard by Thompson and as BMC types 2b (Runic), two, type 37b, one; type 37, one. That these four sceattas are unlikely to have been a single deposit is apparent. It should also be noted that there is some confusion over the identification of the four coins, as one may have been switched by mistake while in the Lawrence collection, and Rigold records them as being from his series B, C, R and J (‘plated’). However their provenance is also uncertain, as pointed out.

3 D.M. Metcalf pers. comm.
5 Rigold and Metcalf, as in n. 4, p. 266.
by Metcalf, who suggested that they may simply have been purchased in Woodbridge. This note supports Metcalf’s view and uses strong circumstantial evidence collected in the Suffolk Record Office to suggest that they were in fact found near the former site of Walton Castle at Felixstowe on the Suffolk coast.

In the Suffolk Record Office a manuscript history of the Saxon period in the county notes that ‘Upon Felixstowe beach in the vicinity of Walton Castle, Major Moore of Walton found after 1909, three fragments of bronze fibulae (probably Roman) and four rare silver or bronze-tinned Saxon Sceattae with inscriptions in runes’. The county journal also notes this discovery. That four sceattas, some of which were runic, should have been found at Felixstowe and Woodbridge around 1910 would be a rare coincidence. Therefore a further search was made in the local record office for information relating to Major Moore (1853–1940), the finder of the Felixstowe coins. In Who’s Who in Suffolk, Moore’s recreations are described as geology, archaeology and natural history, which accounts for his interest in finds from Felixstowe beach found near the site of the Roman fort known as Walton Castle. By examining various editions of Kelly’s Directory of Suffolk, Moore’s whereabouts can also be traced between 1908 and 1936. In the 1908 and 1912 editions, Major Moore is listed as a resident of Felixstowe and Walton respectively. However the 1916 and later editions indicate that he had moved to Woodbridge. From this evidence it would appear that Major Moore found four sceattas on Felixstowe beach between 1909 and 1914, as the antiquarian sources and the local journal both note. However by 1916 Moore had moved to Woodbridge, and it was in 1934 that four sceattas were sold at Glendinings with a supposed Woodbridge provenance as outlined above. Therefore we have good circumstantial evidence that the Woodbridge sceatta ‘hoard’ was found at Felixstowe, probably as stray finds on the beach near the former site of Walton Castle.

The findspot for the four sceattas at Felixstowe is particularly interesting, as Rigold argued persuasively that Walton Castle, not Dunwich, was the site of DOMMOC, the first seat of the bishops of East Anglia in the early to mid seventh century. As the probable site of an Anglo-Saxon minster, or monastery, Walton Castle would be expected to be prolific in high status finds, as noted by Blair for the well known sites at Hartlepool and Whitby. In addition Rigold, when reviewing the Saxon Shore forts as Middle Saxon mission stations, commented on the high number of seventh to ninth century coins from similar sites at Burgh Castle, Reculver and Richborough. The Roman shore fort at Walton Castle, Felixstowe, has been destroyed by marine erosion over the last few hundred years, and our knowledge of the site is restricted to antiquarian references and stray finds from the beach and cliff edge. It is interesting to note, therefore, that the Suffolk county sites and monuments record lists various Early Anglo-Saxon finds indicative of a pagan cemetery site, and Middle Saxon finds including a spiral-headed pin and two strapends, the latter finds being artefacts which would not be out of place at known minsters and monasteries such as Whitby. Similarly the Merovingian tremissis of mid seventh-century date from the Myers collection, which Rigold suggested is from Felixstowe, would be typical of a high status find from an Anglo-Saxon minster site, and the four sceattas which are the subject of this short piece would also fit into the accepted pattern of such sites being artefact and coin rich in finds. Whether Walton Castle was DOMMOC and the site given to St Felix in the early to mid seventh century may be impossible to answer, as the North Sea has removed the relevant evidence at both Dunwich and Felixstowe. However Walton Castle is accepted as part of the late Roman maritime defence system known as the Saxon Shore, and the majority of these forts have clear archaeological or historical evidence for Anglo-Saxon re-use as minster or monastic sites. Therefore it would be exceptional if Walton Castle at Felixstowe had not been re-used in the Middle Saxon period as an important ecclesiastical site, with the consequent residue of high status artefacts lost or deposited in the immediate vicinity, some of these artefacts being the four sceattas found by Major Moore on the beach between 1910 and 1914 and previously ascribed to Woodbridge.

Acknowledgements The author of this short note would like to thank Marion Archibald of The British Museum, Steve Doolan of The Fitzwilliam Museum and Gillian Ridley of The British Library for their help in searching for references. Staff at Glendinings also gave advice on where to look for information. Finally encouragement and valuable comment was given by Dr D.M. Metcalf of The Ashmolean Museum.

6. D.M. Metcalf in Hill and Metcalf (editors), as in n. 4, p. 58.
THE Ashmolean Museum has recently acquired an example of the first coinage of William the Lion. This coinage consists of a small but somewhat miscellaneous group of coins of rather varied types. Burns grouped them rather loosely as 'Coinages prior to the crescent and pellet type', fairly reflecting the fact that the earliest coinage of William the Lion seems to have been not one coinage, but a mixture of types, none of the them now common. Stewart observed that, until the introduction of William's crescent and pellet type, the Scottish coinage varied a good deal from mint to mint, and only once in David's reign was a standard type in production on a national basis.

The new Oxford acquisition is illustrated here (pl. 17). The only published coin of even similar type is Burns illustration 26, to which Lord Stewartby kindly directed my earliest puzzled enquiries. He also generously informs me that he possesses a closer parallel with a more exactly corresponding reverse type. The Ashmolean coin was found by metal-detector near Wallingford. It was badly buckled, and has now been successfully straightened. An initial cross is now just visible at about 7 o'clock, followed by several strokes which irritatingly might equally be read as M or W, though we may be confident that the reading should be William. The legend seems to end REX. The bust, however, is very good. The king has a good moustache, but no beard unless a goatee. The crown has much the look of those noted by Burns as associated with Hugo at Roxburgh for David I. The crescent behind the head (which Burns notes for his illustration 26) and the potent sceptre head, are associated with William. The reverse is close to Burns illustration 26, though with four pellets in the angles rather than five. The legend, of which only three letters are visible, reads GO:D, which may probably be interpreted as Hugo de Roxburgh, although the form de Roxburgh is only known for Raul later under William I. Hugo is the only known moneyer for this period whose name could fit the available letters. He struck only at Roxburgh, chiefly under David I, but there are some rarer coins struck by Hugo under Malcolm IV and William the Lion. Nicholas Holmes has kindly informed me of a Malcolm penny in the National Museums of Scotland which might read GOD, perhaps a garbled attempt at Hugo de. However, the vital coin for the interpretation of the new find is the closely parallel coin in the collection of Lord Stewartby. The obverse and reverse dies of the Stewartby and Ashmolean coins differ, yet both obverses have the square cross pâtié sceptre head. The reverse of the Stewartby coin reads +hV( )ROCAS, which probably supplies the missing letters from the Ashmolean piece, although positioning of the letters is not identical. It is tempting to speculate about the identity of this Hugh of Roxburgh, but the name is too common to permit any worthwhile conclusions. The most famous Hugh of Roxburgh was parson of Tallibody, William the Lion's chancellor from 1189 to 1199, and bishop elect of Glasgow in 1199, the year of his death. This Hugh is extremely unlikely to have been our moneyer. He appears to have worked his way up in the royal service from his first appearance at the beginning of William's reign. If the moneyer Hugo also struck in David's reign, as opposed to striking in his name, he would have been improbably old by the time of Chancellor Hugh's election to Glasgow. A surviving eulogy for Chancellor Hugh makes no mention of an early career as moneyer. We know also of Hugh de Camera, the Chamberlain, and Hugh de Sigillo, a royal clerk who no doubt took charge of the seal, as opposed to making it. Professor Barrow very kindly informs me that the moneyers of William the Lion seem never to have appeared in royal charters: their status was evidently judged too lowly for them to witness royal acts, though they may be searched for as witnesses to the documents of burgesses and the early burghs.

We are on slightly firmer ground in dating this coin to the period 1165 to 1174, when minting was mainly confined to Berwick and Roxburgh. Thereafter, with the English occupation of the Lothian strongholds, minting shifts to Perth. To sum up, we may describe this piece as an early coin of William I, struck by Hugo at Roxburgh before 1174.

3 A scientific report on the metallic structure of the coin before straightening appears below.
4 Stewart, p. 197.
A deformed silver penny of William the Lion was submitted for metallurgical study, and to determine whether the coin was in a condition to be straightened. The coin, protected by lead foil, was clamped on edge in a hollow block so that the exposed area of the edge could be ground and polished to a lpm diamond finish. Analysis was by electron probe microanalysis with wavelength dispersive spectrometry. Operating conditions were an accelerating voltage of 25kV, an absorbed specimen current of 30nA, and an X-ray take-off angle of 62°. The detection limits for most elements was 100-200ppm, but were 300ppm for gold and 0.20% for arsenic. This last is due to the compromises made in selecting lines in the X-ray spectra that avoid the well-known interference between the strongest lines in the lead and arsenic spectra, the lead La and arsenic Ka while analysing all desired elements in a single pass. The relatively strong lead Ma line could be used, but for arsenic the most suitable line was the rather weak Kβ line, hence the degradation in performance. A more sensitive routine is available for arsenic as a separate operation but was not thought necessary here. Another interference, between the silver and tin spectra, means that the detection limit of tin in silver is of the order of 400ppm. Again this was not thought significant in the present context.

Three areas, each 50×30μm were analysed on the coin. The individual analyses and the mean compositions of the two silver samples are shown in the table. All concentrations are in percentage weight. After analysis the samples were examined metallographically in both as polished and etched states. The etch used was ammoniacal hydrogen peroxide.

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<th>Sn</th>
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<th>Pb</th>
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The alloy used in the manufacture of the coin of high fineness, containing a mean of only 3.64% copper. The principal impurities are 0.86% lead and 0.33% gold, both of which entered the metal with the 94.94% silver. Apart from 0.13% arsenic all other elements were at or below their limits of detection. Both alloy and impurities are entirely typical of medieval production.

Under the optical microscope the analysed area was found to be in sound condition with no penetrating intergranular corrosion. After etching a fully recrystallised equiaxed grain structure with annealing twins was observed with no significant cold work. The grain boundaries now have an irregular, beaded appearance due to the discontinuous precipitation of copper from solid solution in the silver over several centuries. When silver alloyed with moderate amounts of copper is cast and worked at high temperature and then either quenched or air-cooled, the copper is retained in a metastable solid solution, said to be supersaturated. Over long periods at ambient temperature this copper precipitates and grows at nuclei on the grain boundaries, usually giving a sinuous, beaded structure in the grain boundaries, although other morphologies are possible. The observation of this phenomenon has been developed into a test for the antiquity of silver. It can exhibit a range of morphologies and its presence can be taken as a good indicator of age; however its absence does not necessarily condemn a piece because there are circumstances in which it will not occur be easily visible, for example when the silver has been left heavily deformed, or when the copper content is so high that the copper-rich phase is always present to provide a nucleus for copper precipitation. Here the correct conditions did apply and a typical structure was observed.

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

JEFFREY P. MASS

In 1989 Martin Allen published his ground-breaking study of the dies of Short Cross Class V. 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).2

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 pommee-style initial cross, preceded those of Class Va/Vb, with their cross-pattée design.3 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 VA2.4

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.ONLY, 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 WILLEM 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.5 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.6 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).7 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,8 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-

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2 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.
4 Allen, as in n. 1, p. 48.
5 That is, we have no obverses of Class VA1 that use these particular reverses.
6 Lawrence, as in n. 3, p. 78.
7 The only reverse without it, that of SAMVEL, (no. 19), is treated at the end of this paper.
mentioned coin of RICARD (no. 7). And thus the coin of RICARD would appear, once again, to be classifiable as a 
IVc/Val mule, meaning that two coins of London (the WILLEM and the RICARD) were probably produced from 
dies designed for use in what we 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/Val because, like the RICARD, it 
has a straight-barred A; it is also, of course, die-linked with no. 4, which is of Class Val 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 COLDWINE on all coins prior to Class V, and COLDWINE 
beginning at that juncture.9 In the present instance, no. 1 is thus a IVc/Val mule, and its die-linked partner (no. 2) a Val. 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 Val, since no coins of the mint of York have been found with 
a Val obverse.10 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/Val 
mules (nos. 8-10).

It remains to consider a further coin that has recently turned up (no. 18). Bearing an obverse of Class Val, its 
reverse reads IOHAN.ON.CAN, the first known specimen of that moneyer for the sub-class.11 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 
possessed as the more important one, helping us to situate the die in Class Val. 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 Val. 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 Val/IVc?), we need to examine the last of the six reverses, cited earlier, that have a letter 
A have them unbarred or with a chevron or a hook.12 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 Val/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 pommele-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.’13 In fact, mules that connect the main classes remain decidedly 
rare,14 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 Reconnoissance. 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 
Val.

Even beyond that, some thirteen of the fourteen known moneyers who issued coins in Class IVc continued to be 
active in classes Val or Va2 (the only exception being RANDVL 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 Val. When Allen published his paper on Class V in 1989, he included only nine of those eleven 
in his lists,15 but now, only a few years later, the remaining two, resulting in comprehensiveness, can be added.

10 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.
11 I have also found a cut forthine of the same dies.
13 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 Mss. ‘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 patera. See Allen, ‘Short Cross class Va: mules and mysteries’, as in n. 9.
14 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 Val (see no. 18 for the IOHAN). 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/Val | COLDWINE.ON  | JIN
2. Val     | COLDWINE.ON (same rev. as no. 1) | BM
3. IVc/Val | ROBERD.ON.CA. | JIN
4. Val     | ROBERD.ON.CA. (same rev. as no. 3) | BM
5. IVc/Val | WILLEMONLY  | JPM
6. Val     | WILLEMONLY (same rev. as no. 5) | BM
7. IVc/Val | RICARD.ON.LVN (same obv. as no. 5) | JPM
8. IVc or IVc/Val | HENRLON.LVN (same obv. as no. 5) | JPM
9. IVc or IVc/Val | HENRLON.LVND (same obv. as no. 5) | JPM
10. IVc or IVc/Val | WILLEMONLY.LV (same obv. as no. 5) | MRA
11. IVc    | RICARD.ON.LVN (small chevron A) | JPM
12. IVc    | IOHAN.ON.CAN (large chevron A) | MRA
13. IVc    | JEON.CAN( ] (hooked A) | JPM
14. IVc    | DAVLON.EVER (large chevron A) | IS
15. IVc    | DAVLON.EVER (hooked A) | CM
16. IVc    | DAVLON.EVERW (straight-barred A) | BM
17. IVc    | GOLDWINE.ON  | JPM
18. Val    | IOHAN.ON.CAN | JPM
19. Val or Val/IVc | [ JONCA | 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 (JIN), and to the author (JPM). I am grateful to Martin Allen for reading and commenting on the several drafts of this paper.

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**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. Mark Noble, and Ruding, dated these letters to 1208. In 1910 George Brooke corrected the date to 1207 (the ninth year of John was from 31 May 1207 to 14 May 1208).

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, and Madox's slightly different

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transcript, do not support Brooke's dating of the meeting. The date specified in letters is the quindene of the morrow of St. Dionysius' day (a crastino Sancti Dionisii in xv dies), which is fifteen days from the morrow of 9 October, both the morrow and the day of the meeting being included in the fifteen days. Thus the meeting was to be held on 24 October 1207, not on 10 January 1208 (the quindene of St. John the evangelist's day, 27 December, 1207). The letters ordered the sealing-up of dies 'immediately' (statim), and the decision to hold the meeting only seventeen days after the date of the letters may have been influenced by a need to resume completely suspended minting as soon as possible. The Canterbury, Durham, and London mints reopened after this interruption, but the other thirteen mints receiving the summons almost certainly remained closed.

3 Hardy, as in n. 4, transcribed the date as a crastino Sancti Dionisii in quindecim dies, but examination of Public Record Office C 66/7 [patent roll 9 John], m. 5 has confirmed Madox's reading of the date.

6 C.R. Cheney (editor), Handbook of Dates for Students of English History (London, 1945), pp. 40-64, provides an authoritative list of saints' days and festivals commonly used in dating.

W.H.D. Longstaffe, 'Northern evidence on the Short-Cross question', NC 2nd ser. 3 (1863), 162-88 (at p. 177), correctly stated that the letters of 7 October commanded the people summoned 'to appear the same month at Westminster'.


TWO EDWARDIAN NOTES

J.J. NORTH

1. Early Irish Pence of Edward I – a Correction

In my recent note on the classification of the early issues of Irish pence by Edward I in his own name (BNJ 61 (1991), 23-30), I included in Group A(2) a coin with the hair of A(1) and reverse 3 (Gothic N and thick-waisted S). This was not illustrated, being recorded belatedly from a corroded and stained specimen which is now illustrated (pl. 19, 1). Subsequent cleaning has revealed that the obverse belongs to Group D, which I had previously recorded of Dublin mint only as a mule with a reverse of the issue of c. 1292.

In the light of this, my classification should now be amended as follows:

p. 27. line 3. Delete Hair 1.
Delete line 5.
Group D. Dublin mint. Add Reverse 3.


2. A New Variety of Farthing of Edward III

The publication in 1985 of a Reading farthing of Edward III's Florin coinage similar to those of the London mint appeared to complete the list of varieties of that issue struck at the abbatial mint, as pence of class 4 and halfpence with both types of obverse reading had been known for many years. However, a recently published penny reading EDWARDUS:REX ANG, having affinities with the REX AN coins of Durham mint, provided evidence that Reading also was striking pence differing from the general issues probably during the final years of the Florin coinage. The Reading farthing illustrated (pl. 19, 2) reads EDWARDUS REX AN, a new reading for this denomination since all others omit the English title. The reverse legend appears to resemble that on most other coins of the mint, reading VILL/LAR/ADI/NGY and, although unclear, there is probably a rudimentary escallop shell in the VIL quarter. Its portrait appears crude in comparison with that on most Florin coins, but its general appearance has some resemblance to that on many REX AN halfpence. The lettering, where visible, is neat and of typical 'Florin' style.

Unfortunately the date of the change to REX AN on the halfpence of this coinage is uncertain. Shirley-Fox convincingly placed such coins after those with the REX termination, and it has even been suggested that some

1 NC 1928, 16-46 (at p. 40).
NORTH: EDWARDIAN NOTES

SHARP: UNITES AND SHILLINGS
with pellet or saltire marks may belong to the Pre-Treaty coinage. The fact that obverse legends ending in REX ANG do not appear on any Florin pence of London or Canterbury may be explained by the reduced emissions of that denomination from the former after 1348 and the closure of the latter in 1346. However, one cannot dismiss the possibility that it is not known for London because of the non-survival of examples from the very small amount struck in 1349/50 (£47), but it is equally likely that old dies continued to be used for this. This reduction in the striking of pence coincided with an upsurge in the production of halfpence during the period 2 June 1349 to 24 June 1351 when £15,048 5s. 6d. (over 7 million) of this denomination were issued from London compared with only £32 2s. 0d. (30,000 odd) in farthings. This small figure may also account for the absence of London farthings with the REX AN termination, although, as in the case of the pence, a specimen may turn up. In the light of the above a date of c. 1349 to 1351 appears probable for all denominations with REX AIN, ANG or AN legends. This vindicates Elmore Jones’ suggestion that the REX AIN pence might conceivably be the Durham counterpart of the ‘missing’ London penny of June 1349–April 1350.

Acknowledgments: I am grateful to Patrick Finn for advising me of this coin and especially to its owner, Roger Shuttlewood, for his kind permission to publish it in this Journal.


UNITES FROM SHILLING DIES AND UNRECORDED SHILLINGS OF CHARLES I

MICHAEL SHARP

A Tower unite, m.m.plumes, struck from the obverse die for a Group C2 shilling was in the Ryan Collection (Lot 446) but was not illustrated and it is thought appropriate to show it here (Pl. 19, 1). Its existence prompts the conclusion that the extremely rare Oxford unite with Declaration in straight lines (Morr. A1), was struck from a die intended as a shilling reverse. Morrieson remarked on the similarity of its reverse to that of a shilling, but it can also be said to be totally different from any of the accepted unite reverses, and one is mindful of the existence of the half-unite of 1642 struck from a sixpence reverse die (Morr. A1).

A Tower shilling, m.m.sun, with an unrecorded bust has turned up and, quite remarkably, its discovery was quickly followed by that of a die duplicate! Since they were struck on small flans and have weak areas, both are illustrated (Pl. 19, 2 and 3). The somewhat narrow bust is similar in proportion to that of Group F6 but the crown is double arched and the truncation very different. As an aside, the O of CAROLUS looked punched over a D. The reverse is as that for Group G2. It seems fitting to record this discovery as G3/2 on the basis that G2/2 coins are known with m.m.s eye and sun. H1/1 coins are known with m.m.s sun and sceptre and this new piece is, as yet, known only with the sun mark. Less exciting is the discovery of an E1/3 shilling m.m.crown. The obverse mark is small and does not appear to be over bell (Pl. 19, 3a).

An Oxford shilling of 1643 which does not conform to any illustrated by Morrieson is also recorded here (Pl. 19, 4). Both obverse and reverse appear to be different, although one has to be mindful that Morrieson did not illustrate all die varieties.

Acknowledgements: My grateful thanks are due to Messrs. G.S. Hopkins, A. Morris and R.A. Shuttlewood.
PLATE 19

NORTH: EDWARDIAN NOTES

SHARP: UNITES AND SHILLINGS
WITH the occurrence of the 250th anniversary of the '45 this year, it seems appropriate to record various items which have come to light since the publication of The Medallic Record of the Jacobite Movement by Noel Woolf. These are as follows:

1. Medal for the birth of Prince James, 10th June 1688 (Pl. 20, 1). Similar in but of cruder workmanship and smaller (49 mm.) than the medal by Jan Smeltzing (W.1:2), this medal is signed E.F. below the bust. The engraver is, as yet, unidentified. The exurgal legend is: OB FELICISS:M.BRIT:PRINC:NATIV:20.JUN:1688.I.G:VITUS EQ.B.G.MARC. D'ALBYVILLE.ET SA:ROM:IMP:APUD:BAT:ABLEG:EXT.C.C.. It was exhibit no. 30 in the Scottish Exhibition held in Glasgow in 1911.¹

2. Uniface copper medal, 35 mm., of James III (Pl. 20, 2) by John O'Brisset and taken from the obverse of the medal by Norbert Roettier struck at the time of the negotiations at Gertruydenberg (W.23:1a). It was in the Woolf Collection (lot 87, part).

3. Copper gilt medal of James III (Pl. 20, 3) by John O'Brisset, 50 mm., after the medal by Norbert Roettier struck at the time of the Treaty of Utrecht (W.26:1a).

4. Uniface brass medallion portrait of Anne (Pl. 20, 4) by John O'Brisset, taken from the obverse by John Croker for the medal for the capture of Bouchain in 1711, field stippled, 43 mm.

5. Copper badge of Anne and Charles I (Pl. 20, 5) by John O'Brisset, 35 × 26 mm. The reverse is the same as that of W.28:5.¹

6. Uniface brass cliché of Anne (Pl. 20, 6) by John O'Brisset, 40 × 32 mm. This was in the Woolf Collection (lot 91, part).

7. Brass oval pendant of the Duke of Cumberland (Pl. 20, 7) by unknown artist and probably made after the Battle of Culloden, 28 × 24 mm.

8. Brass medal for the removal of the bell at Carlisle by the Duke of Cumberland, 1746 (Pl. 20, 8), cast and chased by unknown artist, 33 mm. This is similar to W.56:6, has no legend, the bust is of crude style, the bell more detailed and the date incuse.

9. A halfpenny of George II, the reverse of which has been smoothed and engraved to the memory of Captain Andrew Wood (Pl. 20, 9). He served in Colonel John Roy Stewart's Edinburgh Regiment and fought at Falkirk and Culloden, where he was taken. He was sentenced to death and hanged at Kennington Common on 28th November 1746.²

¹ In the collection formed by the late Denis Eyre Bower and illustrated with the kind permission of the Trustees of Chiddingstone Castle.
² Further information may be found in The Jacobite, No. 84, Spring 1994 (The Jacobite is the Journal of The 1745 Association).
PLATE 19

NORTH: EDWARDIAN NOTES

SHARP: UNITES AND SHILLINGS