

No.	Moneyer	Class	Weight (g)	No.	Moneyer	Class	Weight (g)
<i>Ireland</i>				<i>Imitations</i>			
11	Robert of Dublin	3rd (Rex)	1.31	10	Iohan of London	Group RE, no.4 (Stewartby)	1.28
<i>Scotland</i>							
53	Rauf of Roxburgh ?	A	1.38	66	Iohan of London	Group RE, no.4 (Stewartby)	1.36
54	Hue & Walter	B	0.87				
119	uncertain	-	0.33				

## THREE SHORT CROSS PROBLEMS

JEFFREY P. MASS

THE Short Cross series is renowned for its intractable research problems. Among the most illustrious of such problems are two involving controversial linkings of mints, and one involving a disputed pairing of moneyers. Unfortunately, solutions remain elusive in all three cases. However, the numismatic record is now much richer than before, allowing us to revisit these problems in new perspective. By combining and separating coins included in the Plates, we can seek to make progress in new ways.

### A. Norwich or Northampton

In 1964, F. Elmore Jones published his highly thought-provoking paper on the old conundrum of Norwich or Northampton in Short Cross classes I and IV.<sup>1</sup> Now, almost two generations later, it seems a propitious moment to reassess where we are vis a vis this classic riddle.

As will be recalled, Elmore Jones made a strong case against Norwich having been a mint in the 1180s, though he was not quite able to nail down the proof. The issue centred on the two moneyers Reinald and Willelm, all of whose class I coins had traditionally been thought to have mint signatures reading exclusively NOR.<sup>2</sup> Since the five other moneyers were known from coins reading NORh or NORhT, there was no debate over their Northampton mint affiliation, which was obvious.

Elmore Jones essentially demonstrated four things: (1) that there were coins of Willelm in class 'Ia' that read NORh; (2) that there was a coin of Willelm in class Ib that read NORh; (3) that there were coins of Willelm and Reinald in class 'Ib' that shared the same obverse; and (4) that neither moneyer could be die-linked with any of the other five. In short the case was a powerful one, though not entirely airtight, since two sets of moneyers with the names Willelm and Reinald remained at least a possibility.

A third of a century after Elmore Jones set out his findings, that final loophole has unfortunately not yet been

closed, though we might usefully re-examine the evidence in the light of new data.

The NORh coins of class Ia1 speak for themselves; sharing the same reverse die, they are obviously of Northampton (Plate 16, 1-2). Similarly, the NORh coin of Ib is of Northampton (3). As concerns the die-linked coins of 'Ib' noted by Elmore Jones, their obverses are what we now call class Ia4 (formerly Ia\*, coins with a seriffed X), with the mint signatures on both reading simply NOR.<sup>3</sup>

Several additional coins reinforce what we already know. First, there is a new die-linking between Reinald and Willelm, classifiable to Ia5 (5-6). Since Ia5 (coins with irregular numbers of curls) is what we formerly called 'early Ib', the linking of these two moneyers has now been extended slightly forward in time. Yet a further coin is a very worn specimen of Willelm in class Ib, which has enough space for a fourth letter (illegible) in the mint signature. And still another coin, of late class Ib, is a Reinald with a mint signature NOD (7). As it seems to me, NOD is a more likely rendering for Northampton than it is for Norwich. In addition, a coin of Reinald of class Ib in the National Museum of Ireland reads NORh explicitly, whereas another of that moneyer (in a private collection) has an 'unreadable' fourth letter. A few other new coins from early in the series (Ia4 and Ia5, all reading NOR) have not yet been die linked (eg, 8).

Finally, several points need to be added about the very earliest coins in the class Ia sequence. Whereas the Ia1 reverse die of the Willelm reads NORh, there is nothing as yet comparable for Reinald, whose own earliest survivor is of class Ia2. As it happens, that coin has a mint signature that reads NOR, with a final pellet instead of (regrettably) a final letter (9). At any rate, each of the two moneyers is known so far from but one of the two initial sub-classes in Ia, and, indeed, it is not until Ia4 that they can be explicitly linked, a linking that then continues into Ia5. I have not yet linked coins of the two moneyers in class Ib proper, though Reinald remained active for far longer (in Ib2 and Ic) than did Willelm (Ib1 only).

<sup>1</sup> F. Elmore Jones, 'Norwich or Northampton - A Short Cross Problem', *BNJ* 33 (1964), 70-2.

<sup>2</sup> The belief that they were moneyers of Norwich seems to have originated with John Evans, 'The Short-Cross Question' (1865), 271, and was continued by L.A. Lawrence, 'The Short-Cross Coinage, 1180 to 1247', *BNJ* 11 (1915), 98. The earlier view tended to favour Northampton; D.H. Haigh, 'On the Short Cross and Long Cross Coinages of Henry III', in R. Sainthill, *An Olla Podrida* 1 (1844), p. 134.

<sup>3</sup> Ex Elmore Jones and now in the British Museum. A die duplicate of the Willelm (a coin of Ia4/a3) is included here (4).

In sum, while we continue to fill in pieces of the puzzle of Norwich/Northampton in class I, key parts of the jigsaw are obviously still missing. Nevertheless, the inferences in favour of Northampton exclusively are very strong.

A similar problem regarding N, NI, NO, NOI, and NOR coins exists in class IV, as elaborated by Elmore Jones in the same paper. Now involving moneyers who are named Randul and Willelm (again), the clinching evidence, as earlier, remains elusive. Though we now have a fairly good sampling of the dies and know that the two moneyers are linked (10–11; 12–13), there are no coins that have a mint signature with a fourth letter. However, another moneyer, Giferei, produced coins in class IVa that read NORÆ (14), thereby proving that Northampton was an active mint in class IV. Even so, the current thinking now favours Norwich for Randul and Willelm,<sup>4</sup> though the proof for this, I believe, remains not quite airtight. The argument derives essentially from two pieces of evidence – a reference in the Pipe Rolls to a substantial sum of money being given to Norwich to support an exchange during 1195–97,<sup>5</sup> and a coin with affinities to class IV of a moneyer Iohan, which has a mint signature that is unambiguously NORW.<sup>6</sup> Unfortunately, an exchange without an accompanying mint is not without precedent (Nottingham in 1180),<sup>7</sup> and the verdict remains out on whether the NORW coin is a genuine issue.<sup>8</sup> Moreover, it is hard to see how Norwich now being open would weaken the case for Northampton remaining open also.<sup>9</sup>

In sum, the proof that we are looking for in class I would be a die-link between Willelm or Reinald and one of the five other Northampton moneyers, whereas the proof in class IV would be one of two kinds: a die-link between Willelm or Randul and Giferei of Northampton in class IVa, or a die link between Willelm or Randul and Iohan of Norwich in class IV.

## B. Winchester and Wilton

The arguments regarding Winchester and Wilton are very different from the preceding because we know that both were fully active mints in class I. The original argument that a great fire closed Winchester and led to the opening of Wilton was put forward, in a fascinating paper, by

Brand and Elmore Jones. The matter was subsequently revisited by Allen and myself, with conclusions regarding the circumstances of Wilton's opening rendered somewhat more tentative.<sup>10</sup> What made the subject interesting in the first place was that two of the moneyers at Winchester (Osber and Rodbert) seemingly switched their operations to Wilton, with at least one, Rodbert, using an obverse at Wilton that had been used at Winchester (15–18).<sup>11</sup> At the same time, Rodbert also used a pair of reverse dies whose mint signatures were clearly retooled from WIN to WIL (19–20).

Unsurprisingly, a number of new coins unavailable to Brand and Elmore Jones have appeared since they published, adding up to significantly greater complexity than they had imagined. What now seems apparent is that both moneyers were active at both mints simultaneously and continuously, rather than being at one, then the other, and back again. Among the possibilities that are raised here is that of an Osber who began his operations at Wilton, not Winchester.

It is not actually my purpose here to reopen all of these issues, but rather, simply, to place on the record the new numismatic evidence. If nothing else, this evidence reinforces our notion of simultaneous operations, even as it fails to shed new light on the context in which Wilton was initially opened.

Looking at Osber first, we now have his coins at Winchester in classes Ia3, Ia4/Ia3, Ia4, Ia5, and Ib1 (21–25), and at Wilton in Ia2, Ia4, Ia5, Ib1, Ib1/b2, and Ib2 (26–30).<sup>12</sup> In other words, Osber was seemingly active at Wilton for a longer period in both directions than he was at Winchester, making it difficult for us to think of him as a temporary visitor on assignment from Winchester to Wilton (Elmore Jones' view).

Indeed, a case can be made for an altogether different scenario since 'Osber of Wilton' is known to have owed rent at Winchester for activities during the early 1180s.<sup>13</sup> Of course, a rumoured coin of Osber at Winchester in class Ia1 (1180) would change this picture substantially, revealing him as a moneyer who would then have begun working at Winchester. But the existence of such a piece cannot be confirmed,<sup>14</sup> and either way Osber clearly ended his career at Wilton. Moreover, the possibility of separate Osbers, even if remote, cannot be dismissed

<sup>4</sup> See below. Unaware that that they were die-linked, Lawrence, 'Short Cross Coinage', 98, gave Randul to Northampton and Willelm to Norwich.

<sup>5</sup> Or 1194–6; see John D. Brand, *The English Coinage, 1180–1247: Money, Mints and Exchanges* (1994), pp. 33–4, 54; and Martin Allen, 'The Chronology, Mints and Moneyers of the English Coinage, 1180–1247', forthcoming.

<sup>6</sup> See Elmore Jones Sale Catalogue, lot 1794.

<sup>7</sup> Brand *The English Coinage*, p. 26.

<sup>8</sup> See Lord Stewartby and M.R. Allen, 'Iohan: A Short Cross Class IV Moneyer of Norwich', *N. Circ.* (1992), pp. 343–4, for the claim that it is; and Elmore Jones, sale catalogue, for the assumption that it is an imitation. The coin has a highly bizarre appearance, with an obverse that looks like nothing else in the entire Short Cross series, but with a reverse that is very persuasive.

<sup>9</sup> References to exchange or moneyer activities at Northampton exist for 1192–3 and 1197–8; Brand as in n. 5, p. 54. There appears to be nothing about either Norwich or Northampton from 1198–1204.

<sup>10</sup> J.D. Brand and F. Elmore Jones, 'The Emergency Mint of Wilton in 1180', *BNJ* 35 (1966), 116–19; M.R. Allen, 'The Chronology of Short Cross Class Ia', *BNJ* 63 (1993), 53–8, and J.P. Mass, 'Of Dies, Design Changes, and Square Lettering in the Opening Phase of the Short Cross Coinage', *BNJ* 63 (1993).

<sup>11</sup> It was Elmore Jones who noticed the initial die-linking between the two mints; see Brand and Elmore Jones, 'Emergency Mint of Wilton'; and the Elmore Jones Sale Catalogue, lot 1194.

<sup>12</sup> The coin of Ia2 (not pictured) is in the British Museum.

<sup>13</sup> See Allen, as in n. 5, p. 54; and Brand, as in n. 5, p. 55.

<sup>14</sup> It is not in the corpus of data assembled by Yvonne Harvey on the mint of Winchester.

entirely, for there appears to be no die-linking to connect Osber to both mints. The fact that Osber and Rodbert are themselves die-linked at Wilton (but not at Winchester) in class Ib sheds no light at all on this question.<sup>15</sup>

In the case of Rodbert, we now have his coins at Winchester in classes Ia1, Ia1/Ia2, Ia2, Ia4, Ia5, and Ib1 (31, 16, 32–35), and at Wilton in classes Ia1, Ia2/Ia1, Ia1/Ia2, Ia2, Ia4, Ia5, and Ib1 (36–37, 15, 38–41). The newest discovery is the Ia4 coin from Winchester (33), which helps us to fill out a picture of a man who, from beginning to end, must have been shuttling back and forth between two places.

On the question, finally, of the opening and closing at Wilton, we can make two statements: that the circumstances surrounding the former are no clearer than before, but that the conditions regarding the latter suggest that Wilton went on to operate as a regular mint. As we now know, its doors, after all, remained opened for several years, with the full sequence of sub-classes represented in both Ia and Ib (thus, Ia1–Ia5, and Ib1 and Ib2).

### C. Aimer and Fil Aimer

Over the course of a century and more, numismatic scholars have debated, and been confused by, Aimer and Fil Aimer. It is fair to say that every possible relationship between them has now been advanced by someone, as the following range of opinions makes clear: (1) that Aimer and Fil Aimer were one and the same man;<sup>16</sup> (2) that Aimer and Fil Aimer were different and unrelated;<sup>17</sup> (3) that Aimer and Fil Aimer were son and father;<sup>18</sup> and (4) that Fil Aimer on the coins was not Philip Aimer (variously spelt) but rather was a moneyer with a different name.<sup>19</sup>

Though I am unable to provide irrefutable proof here, I now believe theory no. 2 to be correct: that the two men had no connection whatever, apart from being moneyers of London in Short Cross class I. We need to review the principal evidence.

Aimer clearly preceded Fil Aimer on the coins, and was present from the virtual opening of the new series. Thus we now have coins of Aimer in classes Ia1, Ia1/Ia2, Ia2, and Ia2/Ia3 (42–45), all of which preceded the earliest of the coins of Fil Aimer. The output by the latter began in class Ia4/Ia3 (46) and continued in Ia4 and Ia5 (47–48), and then ceased. Meanwhile, Aimer had also been issuing in Ia4/Ia3, Ia4, and Ia5 (49–51), and he continued to be active into class Ib and beyond.

The conclusions to be drawn here are that we are talking about two moneyers, who, if they were son and father,

would have had the normal sequence of 'father first' reversed. They would also have had to be moneyers simultaneously, a situation that would have been highly unusual. Though sons, of course, succeeded their fathers as moneyers with some regularity, they would not normally have overlapped with them into the *next* sub-class. That is, whereas a father and a son might issue in a sub-class that was not yet finished, they were most unlikely to do so also in the one that followed. In the case at hand, the two men clearly produced in classes Ia4 and Ia5.

Moreover, Aimer and Fil Aimer seem never to have shared obverse dies, a practice (die-sharing) that was extremely common at the time. Instead, Aimer shared obverses with a moneyer named Willelm (44, 52), whilst Fil Aimer seems never to have shared dies with anyone. Nor is much to be made of the disproportionate outputs of the two men in Ia4 and Ia5. That Fil Aimer was prolific and was even the dominant moneyer of that brief era tells us nothing about his relationship with Aimer, who was merely steady. As already noted, our attention is accordingly drawn to the single item that they actually shared in common. Without the word 'Aimer' as it appears in its two contexts, there would be little reason for any exploration into the current subject.

The physical whereabouts of the two men is germane here. If Aimer, as most scholars now believe, was the son of Fil Aimer, he would have had to have travelled from Tours to London in advance of his father, and to have adopted a surname for his name on the coins, a practice without a clear precedent or rationale at the time. Moreover, the son would have had to survive the scandal that later enveloped the father, since Fil Aimer was sent back to France in disgrace in early 1181, with Aimer remaining as a moneyer for some years thereafter (see below). Once again, the inferences seem to point to unrelatedness.

However, the matter is confused by a reference in the Pipe Rolls to an 'Aimer fitz Philip', i.e., 'Aimer the son of Philip.'<sup>20</sup> But the meaning here is anything but clear since the father referred to might *not* have been Filip Aimer but another Filip. To argue to the contrary is of course possible; but it would oblige us to overlook the *entirety* of the numismatic evidence.

In my opinion, the joint usage of the names is a coincidence that has created an imaginary link. In other words, Aimer by itself is a given name; but Aimer in Fil Aimer is an oddly shortened surname (see below). Thus a coin of Aimer in class Ia2 could be misspelt as 'AIMER', a typical example of the confusion regarding the rendering of moneyers' given names at this early juncture.<sup>21</sup> Similarly, a

<sup>15</sup> See the reference to this die-linking in the Elmore Jones Sale Catalogue, lot 1201.

<sup>16</sup> See, e.g., W.S.W. Vaux, 'Some Notes on the Eccles Find of Silver Coins', *NC* (1865), 219–54; R.L. Kenyon, 'The Short Cross Question', *NC* (1875), 145; and T.W. Armitage, 'Correspondence: The "Short Cross" Question', *N.Circ* 30 (1922), columns 398–9.

<sup>17</sup> See, e.g., J. Evans, 'Further Remarks on the Short Cross Question', *NC* (1875), 153–4. Lawrence made the definitive statement on behalf of this point of view: 'I do not know who Aimer was or his relationship if any to Philip Amery.' See L.A. Lawrence, 'Correspondence: The "Short Cross" Question', *N.Circ* 30 (1922), columns 509–10.

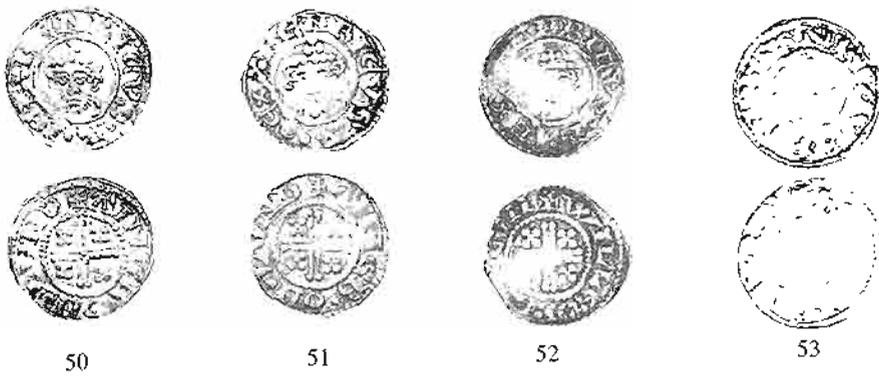
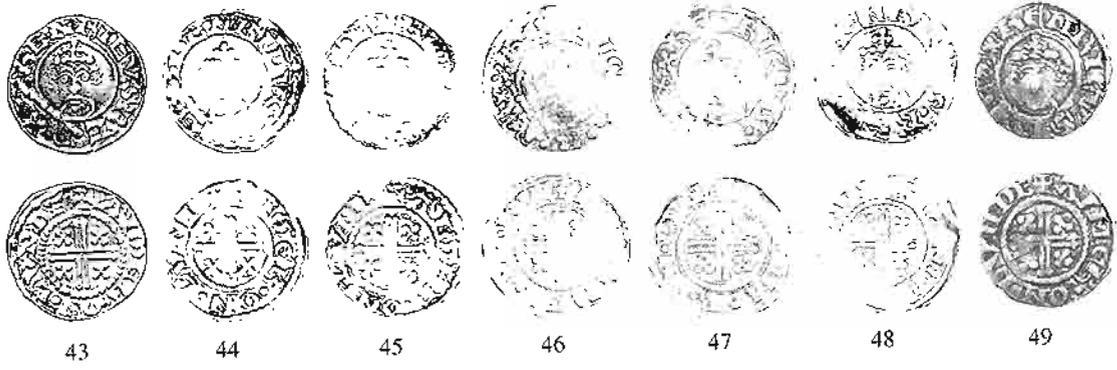
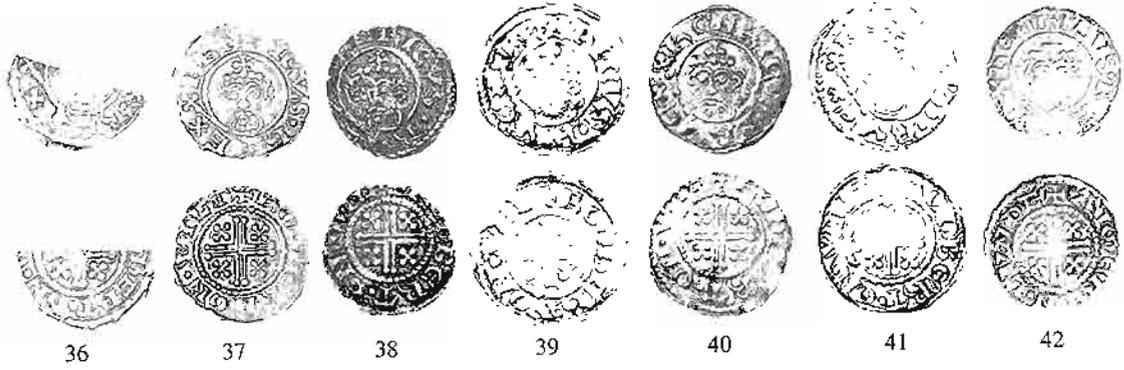
<sup>18</sup> E.g., D.F. Allen, *A Catalogue of English Coins in the British Museum: The Cross-and-Crosslets (Tealby) Type of Henry II* (1951), p. cxlviii; J.D. Brand, 'Filip Aimer – Exchanger and Moneyer', *N.Circ* 81 (1973), 371–2; and Allen, as in n. 10, p. 55.

<sup>19</sup> E.g., Evans, as in n. 2, p. 279, proposed this as at least a possibility.

<sup>20</sup> Cited by Brand, as in n. 5, pp. 28–9; and Allen, as in n. 10, p. 55.

<sup>21</sup> The coin itself is in the Rotenfels Hoard; see G.P. Gittoes and N.J. Mayhew, 'Short Cross Sterlings from the Rotenfels Hoard', *BNJ* 53 (1983). For the subject of variant spellings, see Mass, as in n. 10.





coin of Aimer in class II was spelt hGIM&R, after a multi-year lapse in his minting activity in classes Ib2 and Ic (53). But Aimer himself, as far we can determine, was an altogether typical moneyer, made atypical only in hindsight by students who felt the need to decode the mysteries surrounding Fil Aimer.

As just stated, the real problems lie with 'Fil Aimer', whose names and persona are intermixed in ways we are still unable to interpret. In the absence of any reasonable alternative, our starting point must be simply that 'Fil Aimer' is a shortened version of 'Philip Aimery'. However, by making such a point, we are acknowledging a rendering on the coins that is unique. For nowhere else do we encounter the seeming abbreviation of each of a moneyer's two names. In all other cases, the most that appears is the full given name plus the first letter (or first two letters) of the surname. Thus, Pieres M and Henri Pi would be typical examples, necessitated by the prior existence of another Pieres and Henri. But the point is that Henri Pi is never rendered on the coins as, say, 'Hen Pine' (for Henri Pineferding), which would have been the functional equivalent of 'Fil Aimer'. Moreover, we are unable to explain why Philip Aimery's name was not simply recorded on the coins as 'Filip', which would have been not only simpler but also entirely in line with regular practice.<sup>22</sup> At this time, there were no other Filips of London to confuse things, with the single active moneyer named Filip a man of Northampton.

And thus 'Fil Aimer', the most famous name(s) on the coins, continues to resist our best efforts to understand him. We are obliged to ponder (and ultimately to reject) several other interpretations. For example, it is difficult to

credit 'Fil Aimer' as not the father but rather the son, even though his coins clearly came second. Similarly, it seems altogether untenable that 'Fil Aimer' could have been a temporary amplification of 'Aimer' on the coins, coming during that moneyer's prolific period in classes Ia4 and Ia5. For even if an unprecedented usage was being claimed by him when he was, inarguably, the dominant moneyer, Philip Aimery stopped issuing coins soon thereafter, and was dismissed from service a few months after that.<sup>23</sup> In other words, we have here an insoluble problem: for if all along there was only one moneyer who now came to be dismissed, who was the Aimer who continued into classes Ib, II, III, and IV?

Indeed, the fact that it is no longer possible to retain Fil Aimer as a moneyer in class Ib serves the useful purpose of separating him from Aimer both before and after. By repositioning, as we have, the traditional opening phase of class Ib to the closing phase of class Ia,<sup>24</sup> we are establishing, in effect, a new criterion by which to attribute the names on the coins to two moneyers. To repeat, then, Aimer and Fil Aimer seem not to have been related, with the former a normal moneyer in every way, but with the latter still an enigma despite our best efforts.

Finally, the coins themselves of Fil Aimer are unfortunately no help here, since, with the tiny exception of a variable pellet separating his two names, his coins all read exactly the same way. Thus, 'Fil Aimer' is always FIL[.] AIM&R.ON.IVN on the coins, a rigidly unchanging pattern that was highly unusual. In the end we are left with but a single recourse – to leave Fil Aimer shrouded in mystery, but to rescue his unlucky namesake from a shadow not in any way of his own making.<sup>25</sup>

## MINT OUTPUT IN THE ENGLISH RECOINAGE OF 1247–1250<sup>1</sup>

MARTIN ALLEN

In the 1930s W.C. Wells published some important documentary evidence for mint output during the Long Cross recoinage of 1247–50.<sup>2</sup> On 28 July 1250 sheriffs were ordered to recover the costs of the die-keepers' fees from the moneyers of ten of the recently closed recoinage mints: Exeter (£8 15s. 3d.), Gloucester (£11), Lincoln (£18), Newcastle-upon-Tyne (£6 12s.), Northampton (£14), Norwich (£12), Oxford (£14), Wilton (£4 13s. 9d.), Winchester (£12 7s. 11d.) and York (£10 10s.). Wells suggested that these sums were payments for the entire

recoinage outputs of the mints, and he calculated the outputs, assuming that the die-keepers were paid 1s. per £100 minted. Wells preferred a second series of calculated outputs, double the size of the first set, using a 6d. per £100 rate. When Christopher Blunt and John Brand published the London and Canterbury mint outputs of the reign of Henry III (1216–72), they noted that the die-keepers were paid 6d. in one period.<sup>3</sup> However, there is documentary evidence for the payment of 1s. per 100 pounds of silver minted in the recoinage.<sup>4</sup> The outputs calculated by Wells

<sup>22</sup> Brand, *The English Coinage*, as in n. 5.

<sup>23</sup> See Brand, as in n. 5, p. 30, for the dismissal. According to Martin Allen, there is evidence to show that Fil Aimer ceased to be a moneyer in autumn 1180, just as the transition to class Ib was about to occur.

<sup>24</sup> That is, the old 'early Ib' is now relabeled 'Ia5'; Mass, as in n. 10.

<sup>25</sup> The author wishes to thank Martin Allen, Lord Stewartby, and Peter Woodhead for reading and commenting on this paper. Nos 26, 31 and 43 in the Plates are in the collections of the British Museum. Lord Stewartby and Mr Woodhead, respectively; the remainder are in the collection of the author.

<sup>1</sup> *Acknowledgements.* Dr Mark Blackburn has read a draft of this note, providing many helpful comments. Dr Barrie Cook has supplied invaluable hoard data (see note 8).

<sup>2</sup> W.C. Wells, 'Notes on the Long-Cross coinage of Henry III, 1247–1250', *BNJ* 22 (1934–7), 79–107, at pp. 93–7.

<sup>3</sup> C.E. Blunt and J.D. Brand, 'Mint output of Henry III', *BNJ* 39 (1970), 61–6, at p. 62.

<sup>4</sup> The payment of 1s per 100 lb. in the recoinage is specified in the *Officia ministrorum cambii* (*Red Book of the Exchequer*, fol. 246), edited by C. Johnson, *The De Moneta of Nicholas Oresme and other Mint Documents* (London, 1956), pp. xxvi, 52.