

ENGLISH COINAGE IN THE LATER YEARS OF JOHN AND THE MINORITY OF HENRY III

PART I

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THIS paper¹ is a product of nearly thirty years of intermittent work on the later Short Cross coinage. My original objective was a more detailed analysis of the coins of Lawrence's class VI and the earlier part of his class VII. This led on to consideration of the activities of individual moneyers and the pattern of the coinage as a whole. Increasingly, however, I came to find that further work in such a wide and neglected field tended to extend the subject rather than advance its prospect of completion. On returning to it each time I have made further discoveries and refinements but, since this process seemed capable of continuing almost indefinitely, I felt it might now be more useful to record what has already been done than to go on accumulating unpublished material. In this part, therefore, I shall revert to my original purpose, the classification of the coins. A second instalment will be devoted to analyses and die-studies of some selected parts of the series, in particular the latest coins of class VI (described below as class VI_d). Subsequently I hope to discuss the activities of mints and moneyers, and to suggest a chronology reconciling the numismatic evidence with the historical framework.

The four plates accompanying this paper include more than a hundred coins of class VI and early class VII. Being familiar, inexpensive and superficially uniform, Short Cross coins have not been adequately illustrated either in works of reference or in sale catalogues. The only extensive series of photographs available is that of the Ashmolean collection in the Oxford *Sylloge*; but this is not a specialist selection and it therefore seemed justifiable to include in this paper a full representation of the principal varieties. There are also complete runs of coins from all known dies of a few rare groups which will be analysed in the second part of this paper—the coins of the mints of Durham,² Winchester, and York and of the newly identified sub-classes VI_x and VI_d. Most of the coins illustrated are in the British Museum, from the Eccles and Colchester hoards. Others are in the Nationalmuseet, Copenhagen (where the Ribe hoards are held intact); in the Colchester Museum (from the 1902 hoard); in the Royal Mint Museum; or in private collections. I would like to record my thanks to their respective keepers and owners for casts or photographs and for permission to illustrate their coins.

Short Cross coins of classes VI and VII are so plentiful that no study of this kind can be complete. However, it is in practice possible to take into account a very high

¹ An early draft of part of it was read for me by Mr. F. Elmore-Jones at the Society's meeting in October 1953.

² The issues of this mint are discussed elsewhere in this volume by M. R. Allen, 'The Carlisle and Durham Mints in the Short Cross Period', pp. 42-55.

proportion of the relevant material. The British Museum contains many hundreds of specimens obtained direct from Eccles, Colchester, and lesser hoards, as well as many from such collections as those of Sir John Evans (which was based on Eccles) and Lawrence (who was collecting actively from the end of the nineteenth century). Mr. Brand has recorded some 1,600 further Short Cross coins in various other public collections.³ I have also been fortunate in having access to the most significant private collections of recent years.⁴ These collections have been put together by specialists, and by including many of the coins from the Lawrence sales represent a fairly thorough sifting of the material which has been on the market over several generations. By one means or another, therefore, many thousands of Short Cross coins have been seen or indirectly checked in the preparation of this paper, and it is likely that they constitute the great majority of the relevant material. Obviously in such an extensive and widely dispersed series there will be individual specimens of interest elsewhere, for example in smaller private collections or in continental museums; but I doubt whether they would disturb the basic pattern that emerges from the great body of evidence already available.

The general classification of the later Short Cross coinage remains today substantially as it has been for more than sixty years since the appearance of Lawrence's standard modern study.⁵ Lawrence's work was largely based on the material made available a few years before by the discovery of the first great Colchester hoard (1902).⁶ Evans⁷ had worked out an earlier scheme of five classes as a result of his study of the other great Short Cross hoard, that found at Eccles in 1864.⁸ The Evans classification still has its value, partly for some insights that Lawrence did not absorb, but more particularly since it was used both for the publication of the Colchester hoard and in a manuscript catalogue of the Eccles coins that were examined by Evans. The only major hoards of later Short Cross coins discovered since the advent of the Lawrence classification have come from abroad, two from Ribe in Jutland (1911 and 1958),⁹ buried not more than a year or two before the end of the coinage in 1247, and another apparently from the Aegean which found its way to the London market in 1969-71.¹⁰ Both the Ribe hoards have been listed according to Lawrence, and a record of the Aegean hoard, which although buried in the 1250s consisted predominantly of Short Cross coins, is in preparation.

The coins struck between John's recoinage of 1205 and the end of the Short Cross coinage in 1247 were divided by Lawrence into four classes, V to VIII. The first of

³ These are listed in privately produced catalogues: *Short Cross Coins in the Fitzwilliam Museum Cambridge* (1963),—*the Ashmolean Museum Oxford* (1964),—*the Birmingham City Museum* (1965),—*the Yorkshire Museum* (1965),—*Paris, Brussels & the Hague* (1965),—*the Ulster Museum, Belfast and the National Museum of Ireland, Dublin* (1965-6),—*the Royal Mint* (1966), and *Maidstone Museum* (1967). These catalogues are cited below by the names (or places) of the museums.

⁴ These include the collections of Mr. C. E. Blunt (incorporating that of the late J. Shirley-Fox), Mr. Elmore-Jones, Mr. D. Mangakis (sold through Spink & Son Ltd. in 1970-1), Mr. P. Woodhead, and Mr. Brand.

⁵ L. A. Lawrence, 'The Short-Cross Coinage, 1180-

1247', *BNJ* xi, 59-100; 'More Chronology of the Short-Cross Period', *NC* 1917, pp. 356-77.

⁶ H. A. Grueber, 'A Find of Silver Coins at Colchester', *NC* 1903, pp. 111-76.

⁷ J. Evans, 'The Short-Cross Question', *NC* 1865, pp. 255-95.

⁸ W. S. W. Vaux, 'Some Notes on the Eccles Find of Silver Coins', *NC* 1865, pp. 219-54; Stewart, 'The Burial Date of the Eccles Hoard', *NC* 1980, pp. 194-7.

⁹ G. Galster, 'A Find of English Coins at Ribe, Denmark', *NC* 1916, pp. 378-98; B. H. I. H. Stewart and J. D. Brand, 'A Second Find of English Sterlings from Ribe (1958)', *NNA* 1971, pp. 38-59.

¹⁰ Stewart, 'A Hoard of English Sterlings from the Aegean', *Coin Hoards V*, pp. 141-2.

them was plentiful but brief, representing the high output of a number of mints during the recoinage, but lasting perhaps three years or less; it was subdivided by Lawrence into three stages, Va, b, and c, according to changes in lettering, and Vb has been further divided into two by Brand.¹¹ A comparable and straightforward division of class VIII, which probably belongs entirely to the 1240s, was subsequently proposed by Elmore-Jones,¹² who justified its position as the last in the series (a point which had been challenged by Parsons),¹³ while Dolley and Brand have shown that the Rhuddlan mint, which Lawrence had thought worked only in the 1240s, was active on and off for much of the Short Cross period.¹⁴

There remain classes VI and VII, covering a period of over thirty years during much of which minting was on a substantial scale—indeed class VII alone accounts for more than half of the surviving specimens of the whole Short Cross coinage. Brand¹⁵ has refined Lawrence's subdivisions of class VI in a way which does not differ greatly from that proposed here, but I believe it is possible to achieve something more detailed for this important class. Lawrence himself obviously felt the need to attempt some subdivision of this vast run of material, and noted some of the important features, but his text contains few indications of his thinking. It is true that he labels the class VI coins on his plate by sub-classes and that in his list of moneyers he gives two columns, a and b, for class VI and three columns, a, b, and c, for class VII, remarking 'As regards the table of classes VI and VII, some subdivision of the classification, in regard to the form of the bust, has been attempted. In the *a* column the bust approximates to that in the class preceding.'¹⁶ These clues are, however, somewhat unsatisfactory. There are three subdivisions of class VI on the plate, against only two in the lists, while the varieties given for individual moneyers are, particularly in the case of class VII, incompatible with any rational arrangement of the coins.

It was this confusion which prompted me to undertake a more detailed examination of class VI, the results of which constitute the core of the present paper. Like Brand's, my arrangement is based on the three sub-classes of Lawrence's plate, VIa, b, and c, each with further subdivisions. However, two sub-classes, both very rare, have been identified: one an anomalous issue of Canterbury, which is here called VIx and apparently belongs during the early part of VIc; the other a small but clearly defined group at the end of the class, here described as VIId. Certain dies of VIId are muled with later dies, and this led me to look more closely at class VII. Because of their relationship with class VIId (and of the importance of changes in the office of moneyer for the chronology of this period), the early coins of class VII have been discussed in some detail. Unfortunately, although Lawrence distinguishes three subdivisions of class VII (a, b, and c) in his list of moneyers, he did not so label his class VII illustrations as he had done those of class VI. Nevertheless, although full discussion of the class is beyond the scope of this paper, it is possible to attempt a provisional and rough division of class VII into three parts, of which only the early (VIIa)

¹¹ 'Some Short Cross Questions', *BNJ* xxxiii, 57-69 (at pp. 64-5).

¹² F. Elmore-Jones, 'The Last Short-Cross Issue of Henry III (Class 8)', *BNJ* xxv, 286-90.

¹³ H. A. Parsons, *The Short Cross Coinage and the Question of a Civil War, A.D. 1215-17, Issue* (Spink, 1951).

¹⁴ Brand, 'The Short Cross Coins of Rhuddlan', *BNJ* xxxiv, 90-7, following a note by R. H. M. Dolley in *Num. Circ.*, Nov. 1963, pp. 226-7.

¹⁵ Fitzwilliam Catalogue, p. iii; followed by Metcalf in *SCBI Oxford*.

¹⁶ *NC* 1917, p. 356 n.

and later (VIIc) varieties are clearly distinguished. The long middle series is called VIIb more for convenience than to suggest that it is a homogeneous sub-class. The whole class requires further attention and more detailed analysis of the coins: progress will probably be made by using moneyers' names to refine its varieties, since there were many replacements in the 1220s and 1230s, and by consideration of the contents of the Eccles hoard now that it can be dated to 1230.

Class VI

In Lawrence's text his only comment concerning the sequence of sub-varieties is that the coins with ornamental letters are 'probably the later issues, though possibly not the latest'.¹⁷ His lists tell us that he thought the Durham coins belonged to the earlier part of the class, and the York and Winchester coins to the later. Robert and Tomas of Canterbury he regarded as early moneyers. It is evident from Plate IV of *BNJ* xi that VIa (no. 37) is a rougher version of Vc, VIb (no. 38) is very coarse, and VIc (nos. 39 and 40) contains the coins with ornamental letters. But even within this broad framework there are difficulties. Should a 'VII/Vic mule' (no. 41) have ornamental letters on the reverse unless that was the latest variety of class VI? Did Tomas of Canterbury strike through much of class VII but only during the earlier part of class VI? Detailed examination of a large number of coins of the class has suggested solutions to these problems in the course of revealing a fairly precise sequence of varieties. In order to avoid confusion by introducing a further classification, the a, b, and c of Lawrence's plate have been retained, and subdivisions denoted by an added numeral.

Class VIa (London and, in VIa2 only, Durham). The general appearance resembles Vc. The head is smallish, the strokes of the beard are vertical or nearly so, there are two curls (consisting of a crescent enclosing a pellet) each side of the head, and the pearls in the crown are generally small, though sometimes still large as on Vc. The lettering, except for the distinctive forms of x, is as on Vc; E consists of a thick crescent with a centre bar and curved front combined in a large spur.

VIa1. The x in *Rex* consists of two thin strokes disposed in a (usually flat) saltire.

VIa2. The x in *Rex* now becomes a small cross with rounded limbs and remains so for the rest of class VI and most of class VII.

Class VIb (London and Canterbury). The bust is large and coarse, with the whiskers of the beard spreading out radially from the jaw; eyes sometimes blobs (i.e. without hollowed centres); usually no pellet on chin; curls still 2-2. Lettering is tall and rather coarse, though the heavy spur-and-crescent e, which had characterized classes Vc and VIa, is now replaced by a tidier form of the letter with a short curve at the front. On the obverses of later coins a stop is sometimes found between the s and R of *Henricus Rex*.

VIb1. The face and chin rounded, as on VIa.

VIb2. A tall and thinner face, sometimes very narrow, and pointed towards the chin. Letter A is sometimes squat and squarish; later coins have A with longer top-bar and the limbs angled to a point.

¹⁷ *BNJ* xi, 65.

Class VIc (London, Canterbury, Bury St. Edmunds; and in VIc3 only, Winchester and York). The face is triangular, and except on some coins of VIc1 it is often heavily punched into the die so as to stand out on the coin; open eyes; large pearls in crown. In VIc1 the lettering is tall and large as before, but the letters of VIc3, like the unornamented letters of VIc2, are distinctly finer than those of VIb. Sometimes a pellet between s and r.

VIc1. Curls 2-2. Large, plain lettering. Two coins appear to be mules with reverses of VIx and VIc2.

VIc2. Curls 3-3. Ornamental lettering. Muled both ways with VIc3, and apparently with an obverse of VIc1.

VIc3. Curls 3-3. Plain lettering. Muled both ways with VIc2 and VIc1.

Class VIx (Canterbury only). A very rare and abnormal group. Large face; curls 2-2; round eyes; nostril depicted by points each side of nose; prominent pellet on chin. Large well-formed lettering, with several notable characteristics—e.g. h with lower and flatter back than on regular coins of class VI, a shaped r, and plain square x. Hand breaks *Re/x* (instead of usual *R/ex*). One coin is apparently a mule with VIc1 obverse.

Class VIId (London, Canterbury, Bury). New lettering with tall, slender uprights; N often has a pellet on the bar. No stop before *Rex*. Two, one, or (usually) no stops on reverse. Usually a large bust with 3-3 curls, but some dies have smaller bust, and some 2-2 curls. Muled both ways with VIc3 and VIIa.

The foregoing varieties, with their Brand equivalents and references to the illustrations in this paper and in Lawrence's (LAL), may be summarized thus:

<i>Stewart</i>	<i>Brand</i>	<i>Illustrations</i>
VIa1	VIai	2-7
VIa2	VIaii	8-10; LAL 37
VIb1	VIaiii	11, 12
VIb2	VIb	13-16; LAL 38
VIc1	VIc	17-22
VIc1/x mule		23
VIx		24-33
VIc1/c2 mule		LAL 41 ('VII-VIc')
VIc2	VIc orn.	34-7; LAL 39
VIc2/3 mule		38
VIc3/2 mule		not figured; see note 21
VIc3	VIc	39-51; LAL 40
VIc3/d mule		52-6
VIId/c3 mule		57-61
VIId	VIc*	62-81
VIId/VII mule		82-7
VII/VId mule		88-90

Class VIa is, except for the new forms of x, a continuation from Vc. A change from large to small pearls in the crown took place at about the time that class VI replaced class V. The thin, plain x of class VIa is an exception to the otherwise invariable criterion of Lawrence for the class, that the x is always of the rounded-cross form. VIa1 might have been labelled Vd, since the plain saltire x differs as much

from the regular cross of class VI as from the St. Andrew's cross formed of four wedges which characterizes Vc. However, although a few specimens of Vc have small pearls in the crown (no. 1) and a few of VIa1 have large (5), the VIa1 form of x is generally coupled with small pearls, which are a feature proper to class VI as a whole, and VIa1 has therefore been classified here as the earliest variety of the new class rather than the latest of the old. This arrangement has the further advantage of reserving to class V only the varieties which were struck by provincial mints during the recoinage. VIa2 retains all the features of VIa1, except the x, and is otherwise indistinguishable from it. It is not, therefore, possible to identify mules between Vc and VIa, or between VIa1 and VIa2. London coins of class VIa1 are plentiful; in the past they have probably often been regarded and listed as of class Vc, because of the greater resemblance of the new x to the wedge-limbed x of Vc than to the rounded x of the rest of class VI. Class VIa2 is the only variety of class VI known of the Durham mint. London coins of this variety are rare, though less so than those of Durham. I have not seen any Canterbury coin which I am satisfied can be classed as VIa, and I do not believe that such exists. Some reverse dies of VIa (6 and 11), and a few of VIb (16), have loosely formed circles of large dots. Several variant inscriptions, including some rather extraordinary aberrations of spelling, are found on coins of VIa. There are obverse dies of VIa1 with the readings HENRIVSR/EX (3) and HENRICVR/EX (4), while others, correctly spelt, have the whole word REX behind the sceptre.¹⁸ Oddities of this kind appear to be due to careless or inexpert die-sinking rather than to imitation or forgery.

Classic specimens of class VIb are easily recognized. They show two curls each side of the head, a feature which is invariable on class VIa and indeed goes back to the early part of class Vb. The bust is tall and thin, sometimes grotesquely so. The lettering differs from that of VIa, being taller and less solid. Characteristic forms are the tall n and, perhaps most definitively, a more compact e which replaces the heavy, crescent-and-spur, e of class Vb-VIa. Although these differences should enable a mule between VIa and VIb to be recognized, I have not found one. During the course of VIb a new form of A was introduced (14), with the limbs meeting in a point under a long top-bar, replacing a clumsier form which had continued from VIa (13 and 16).

The boundaries of class VIb are less easy to define than its characteristic examples, as just described, which are here labelled VIb2. Earlier in the class (presumably) are coins with the same lettering as VIb2, but with a round face as on VIa1 and VIa2, which Brand has designated VIaiii. In general, when changes of bust and lettering do not exactly coincide, it seems to me preferable to take the latter as the decisive criterion, since this clearly represents the use of new punches, whereas variations in the appearance of the bust are often less consistent or clear-cut and may represent no more than the work of different die-sinkers using the same tools. I have therefore chosen to define VIa and VIb according to lettering and to use the label VIb1 for the round-faced coins with the taller letters. Nevertheless, many coins of the period are unfortunately so poorly struck that certainty about letter forms is not always possible. As in VIa, a few odd spellings occur in VIb: a coin of Canterbury has the moneyer's name hNERI; one of VIb1 by Walter of London reads ON.LEI; another,

¹⁸ e.g. Birmingham 89 (Walter, London). I have a note of an obverse reading HENRICVR/SRX, but have been unable to verify it.

by Ilger, has a pellet after N in the king's name.¹⁹ The strangest readings are HNERICVSREX/X. and RAVF.ON.LVND E X on a coin from the Aegean hoard (no. 11 shows the same obverse die combined with a normal reverse of Ilger). Although the Canterbury mint resumed activity during the course of class VIb, few if any of its coins can be described as VIb1, and it therefore seems not to have been operating at the start of the sub-class.

With two curls each side of the head, as on previous varieties, is a further group of coins which apparently follows VIb2. Although there is not a clear change of lettering I have chosen to call this group VIc1 rather than VIb3 for a number of reasons. There is, indeed, some development of letter forms, particularly the C and E, which usually have longer curved fronts than in VIb, and so more resemble those of VIc2 (except for the ornamental forms) and VIc3. As to the face, on most specimens this is triangular, quite unlike the long, thin shape of VIb, being punched into the die so as to stand out on the coin within the beard, which is a feature of VIc2 and VIc3. There is also an apparent mule combining a VIc1 obverse and a reverse with ornamental letters, indicating that this was the variety in issue immediately before VIc2. Finally, there are characteristic VIc1 examples of Bury St. Edmunds, the first coins of this mint since class V. In all these respects the two-curl coins of this series, in spite of some continuity of lettering, appear to look forward to the bulk of the coins of VIc at least as much as backwards to VIb. They are not very common, and were replaced by the more extensive series with three curls on each side.

The three curls which now became normal (though often the third curl is tiny and does not contain a pellet) continued, with rare exceptions in class VIc and early VIIa, for the rest of class VI and into class VII. Evans had divided his classes III and IV, which together are broadly equivalent to Lawrence's class V plus class VI (and also Lawrence class VIII, but very few of these late coins were then known), according to the number of curls. This division was not an entirely satisfactory one, because Evans class IV (three curls) had to include, in addition to the later issues of Lawrence class VI, a few coins from abnormal dies of the early recoinage (Lawrence class Va and early Vb) on which extra curls, and other variant features, sometimes occur. Nevertheless, the division by curls appears to be valid and intentional so far as Lawrence class VI is concerned, since with the third curl a much more prominent innovation appears in the use of ornamental letters (VIc2).²⁰ The more flamboyant forms are obvious—the curly C, E, and G, or the twisted A and T—and probably belong mostly to the earliest phase. The less decorated letters, the only ornament to which may be a thin extra stroke parallel to an upright or a curl on the tail of h or r, may easily be overlooked, especially on worn coins. The use of ornamental letters appears to have been discontinued gradually, some dies being referable to VIc2 on the basis of a single h or r with out-turned tail or one letter with a thin extra stroke. These are presumably the latest of VIc2 since it is they that are usually involved with the mules which exist both ways between ornamentally lettered dies (VIc2) and the plain-lettered dies which followed (VIc3).²¹

¹⁹ Dublin 144; Elmore-Jones; British Museum.

²⁰ For drawings of the ornamented letters see *BNJ* xi. 80.

²¹ Examples of such mules are: VIc2/3—Bury, Dublin

244; Canterbury, Walter, York 102; London, Rauf, Fitzwilliam 52; VIc3/2—Bury, Fitzwilliam 174; Canterbury, Henri, no. 38 on plate III herein; London, Ilger, York 23.

Originally I had arranged VIc2 and VIc3 in the reverse order, partly because that sequence implied a more gradual process of change—first the addition of the extra curl, then the introduction of decorated letters—and partly because occasional ornamental letters are found in class VIIa. Subsequently I have come to feel that these points are outweighed by two more specific kinds of evidence, the mules and the new mints. The obverse of Lawrence's fig. no. 41, which is not a VII/VI mule but a coin of VIc with plain/ornamental letters, has only two curls each side of the head and so appears to be of VIc1; if so this would confirm the use of dies with elaborately ornamented letters immediately after VIc1. On the other hand, at the other end of class VIc, the mules with VIId involve two obverses and five reverses of VIc and on none of these seven dies is an ornamental letter to be found. Nor is there one on any of the dies delivered to York and Winchester early in December 1217; although there must have been a delay between the manufacture of these dies and their delivery, since at this time class VIIa appears to have been in issue at the continuous mints, it is difficult to accept that the extensive series of ornamental lettered coins as well as the rare class VIId should have come and gone during the period of this delay. I therefore believe that ornamental letters were introduced on the dies along with the third curl, and that these decorated forms gradually fell out of use until plain forms only were used on the later dies of VIc. The decorated letters of class VIIa differ in style from those of VIc2 and there is therefore no real difficulty in widening the gap between them.

Lawrence's instinct that the series with ornamental letters was not the last of class VI may have been founded either upon an unformulated version of the foregoing argument (he illustrates a coin of VIc2, no. 39, before VIc3, no. 40) or on his observation of the variety here called VIId. This has been noticed independently by a number of students but has not hitherto been adequately published. Its position in the series is clearly established by the die-links and mules which will be fully discussed in the second part of this paper. Brand has used the label VIc* for these coins, as if they were a variety of VIc in the same way that his Va* and Vb* (with *Re/x* not *R/ex*) are variants of normal Va and Vb. Elmore-Jones, on the other hand, refers to the pellet-barred N—the most characteristic but not invariable feature of VIId dies—as being 'found on some early coins of class 7'.²² Account must also be taken of Lawrence's remark that 'class VI fades insensibly into the next class, and it is almost impossible to separate the latest of one group from the earliest of the next'.²³ In fact, the results of detailed analysis are not entirely favourable to any of these views.

On a strict reading of Lawrence's descriptions of classes VI and VII, any coin with stops before and after ON would have to be assigned to class VI and any without to class VII. Yet his own plate includes a coin of Ilger (no. 42) which has such stops (and others) in the reverse inscription but is labelled VII. So absolute rigidity cannot have been intended by the author of the classification. As it happens, some of the VIId reverses have both stops by ON, some have only the first, and some have none; but the VIId coins as a whole constitute a homogeneous group which cannot be split between the two classes solely on these grounds. It seems to me that as a

²² *BNJ* xxv, 289.

²³ *BNJ* xi, 65.

group they have more affinity, in their large bust and large lettering, with class VI than with class VII. This point is emphasized by the mules: those with class VIc are only apparent on close examination, while those with VIIa are evident at a glance.

The universal feature of characteristic VIId dies is the lettering, tall, slender, and well formed. Once recognized, it can be seen to differ distinctly in detail from that of VIc, and VIId dies without the pellet-barred N can be identified with certainty thereby. For this reason I feel it is misleading to use a label which implies that the coins are simply variants of VIc. Equally, with the exception of one or two dies that partly justify Lawrence's observation about gradual transition, there is a clear dividing line between typical coins of VIId and VIIa, as the mules between them demonstrate, so that, in general, the latest coins of class VI can be separated from the earliest of class VII without difficulty. The lettering and other features of class VIId will be considered in more detail in the next part of the paper.

In addition to the points of connection noted above, the suggested sequence gains some confirmation from the pattern of mints and moneyers (see below), and from various minor features. An open final E is sometimes found in both VIa and VIb.²⁴ A stop before *Rex* is quite frequently found in coins of later VIb and of VIc. Another feature which occurs in each of these sub-classes (though infrequently) is a colon at the end of the reverse inscription.²⁵ Dies of VIc and VIId are generally much better made than those of VIa and VIb; errors have scarcely been noticed in VIc, and abnormalities are few.²⁶

Class VII

Lawrence's definition of the class, based on a conflation of his descriptions of it in the *Journal* and the *Chronicle*,²⁷ is as follows:

The coins comprised in this class appear to be slightly smaller in diameter than in any other class. The designing is poor, and many specimens are very badly struck. The bust is a small round one with a square and unpointed beard made of a few long, coarse strokes. The head is usually set so low down that the inner circle generally cuts off the chin. There is hardly ever any appearance of a collar. The curls are three in number, often without pellets, and usually reaching up to the level of the crown. New irons must have been made for this class, as the letters shown on the coins average 2.3 mm., but are often 2 mm. only. They are neatly filled in to the die and do not show marked variation except the M, which is frequently barred straight across, like the letter H. There are no peculiar nor ornamental letters. The cross pattée is still present as the mint mark on the reverse, but there are no stops on either side of ON, which until now had always appeared. Instead, we frequently find pellets placed between the letters of the moneyer's or mint name, or in some other place than before or after ON. Thus a name followed by initials may have these punctuated.

Although the foregoing is a fair general description of most of the coins struck between the end of class VI and the start of class VIII, there are, in fact, exceptions to Lawrence's definition on almost every point of detail. Thus, using the sub-classes a, b, and c as defined below, it can be observed that:

²⁴ VIa—Abel, Belfast 4 and York 2; Ilger, Belfast 15; Rauf, York 32. VIb—Ilger, Belfast 17 and Birmingham 40; Rauf, Maidstone 12 and Oxford 99.

²⁵ VIb—Ilger, Dublin 47; Hiun, Dublin 152. VIc—Abel, Oxford 13 (*SCBI* 514, 'Vc'); Hiun, Royal Mint 13

(=Hocking 367).

²⁶ e.g. C for E in LVNDCN, Abel, Oxford 15; reversed C for D, Abel, Maidstone 2; and Ilger, Maidstone 9.

²⁷ *BNJ* xi. 66 and 80-1; *NC* 1917, p. 360.

- (i) the coins of VIIc are quite large;
- (ii) the early coins of VIIa are as neatly designed as any in the series (and many of them are very carefully struck);
- (iii) the bust in VIIa is sometimes tall and tapered, and often with a very neat beard, while the bust in VIIc is very large;
- (iv) sometimes in VIIb the face is small and set high above the collar;
- (v) a few dies of VIIa show only two curls each side;
- (vi) large letters are characteristic of VIIc;
- (vii) a few ornamental letters occur in VIIa; and
- (viii) some dies of VIIa have a stop before and after ON.

The principal characteristics of the subdivisions here used may be summarized as follows:

- VIIa. Well-struck coins with neat portrait and lettering, the A being of the roman (pointed) form with the addition of a top bar. This sub-class and its varieties are discussed in further detail below. Nos. 42, 43, and 44 of Lawrence's plate are of VIIa.
- VIIb. Rougher in execution and design, the lettering is less tidy, with a rectangular A (H with top bar); H soon replaces M. There is a great variety of bust and lettering. No. 45 of Lawrence's plate is of VIIb.
- VIIc. Largish coins with a large degenerate face, and tall letters, with long fronts to C and E. Sometimes the A (still square) is chevron-barred, and a true M reappears, instead of H, on a few coins. Coins of VIIc are figured by Lawrence as nos. 46, 47, and 48.

Class VIIa

The description VIIa may conveniently be used to cover that early phase of the class during which the letter A continued to be of the top-barred form. Unfortunately this does not provide a universal criterion for the sub-class, since although the letter occurs in the names of two of the three mints, Bury and Canterbury, it features neither in the obverse inscription nor in the London mint-signature and only in the names of some of the London moneyers. While, therefore, we can ascribe all Abel's coins of the class to VIIa and can draw a distinction between Rauf's of VIIa and VIIb we cannot so divide Ilger's although comparison of his coins with those of other moneyers often allows us to identify his coins of VIIa with reasonable confidence. Within class VIIa there is considerable diversity of style and detail, and many of the special features are to be associated with its earliest phase since they occur on the dies muled with VIId and on coins of moneyers whose tenure of office ended early in 1217/18, such as Rauf and Willelm of Bury and Samuel and Walter of Canterbury. Variation is to be found in the shape and size of the bust, the number of curls, the size and form of the letters, the inner circle on the reverse, and the use of points in the reverse inscription. A number of coins combine two or more unusual or early features, as will be apparent from the illustrations.

A characteristic series of early coins—which may be called for convenience the Durham type, since it includes all the rare class VII coins of this briefly revived mint (100-4)—has a small, oval-shaped bust, with two full curls and a tiny third one each side; neat letters, of which the very small C and E and the squat, broad-topped A are typical; and a finely grained inner circle. The only class VII coin (99) by Walter of Canterbury that I have seen is of this type as are others by Roger (94) and Tomas

(98), and one of the only two by Rauf of Bury. Similar to the Durham type, but with a more tapered, and sometimes larger, head and sometimes larger, but still neat, letters are some rare coins that include the second specimen by Rauf of Bury (91), which shows only the tiniest of third curls; one by Tomas (97) of which the reverse die is that of the VI_d/VII mule (83); two from the same obverse die by Abel (105) and Ilger (110), the former with an ornamented D; one by Ilger with two curls each side (Aegean hoard); and others by Roger (95) and Rauf (112). All these coins have grained circles on the reverse except no. 95.

Lettering varies considerably. In addition to the small, neat letters of the Durham type and the slightly larger but still neat letters on some of the coins just described, there are others associated with a dotted circle on the reverse. The most notable is of medium size, with pronounced triangular serifs. One by Simun (96) has a reversed N on the obverse and decorated C and E on the reverse. Two coins from the Aegean hoard, one by Henri from the same obverse die as no. 96, the other by Ioan from a different obverse with normal N, also show these decorated letters. They have shorter fronts than the ornamental forms found in class VI, and are really no more than the ordinary letters with added pellets at the top and bottom. Another group with the same basic lettering (but without decorated forms) is characterized by the generous use of stops on the reverse, usually each side of ON, each side of the initial cross and in the middle of both the moneyer's and the mint name. I have noticed this 'stopped' variety of Bury by Willelm and Norman, of Canterbury by Henri (93), Roger (BM), and Samuel (Aegean, with two curls only), and of London by Abel (108), Elis (109), and Ilger (Lawrence plate no. 42). With the exception of no. 108, of which the reverse is not so tidy, these stopped dies have inner circles composed of small, neat dots.

The ornamental letters found on London coins of VII_a differ from those of Canterbury. An R with a curled tail, a smaller version of the ornamental R of VI_c2, is found (with a stop after it) in the moneyer's name on a coin of Ilger (111) and in the king's name on one of Rauf (Aegean). An ornamental D, with a thin second upright in the manner of VI_c2, is found on certain dies of Abel. One of these (84), which belongs at the transition between VI_d and VII_a, also has the letter B similarly ornamented, and has stops by ON; a coin from an obverse of VII_a with the larger bust shows the effects of wear and rust on the same reverse die.²⁸ Other examples are no. 105 (with the tapered bust obverse), no. 106, with a dotted inner circle on the reverse, and apparently no. 108, the coarsest of the stopped dies.

A further kind of reverse has large letters, tidy but not of the very neat kind, and a dotted inner circle. Illustrated examples are of Willelm of Bury (92) and Abel of London (107). Its introduction must have been quite early in class VII since it was also used by Samuel of Canterbury; a reverse of his, reading CAT, is found both with a large broad bust and with an obverse akin to the Durham type, with small bust and lettering.²⁹

²⁸ Ribe 1958, no. 83.

²⁹ Ribe 1958, no. 59; and Aegean hoard.

TABLE OF MONEYPERS

As noted above, the entries in Lawrence's lists of moneyers for classes VI and VII are divided into five columns, VI a and b, and VII a, b, and c. Unfortunately, they bear no relation to reality, and cannot be reconciled with even the loosest interpretation of Lawrence's own rather vague comments on the subdivision of the classes. Thus, although there appear to be no Canterbury coins of early class VI, Lawrence gives VIa for all of them, making it the only entry for Tomas whose coins actually begin at the very end of the class. In class VII the confusion is total. Several London and Canterbury moneyers are entered in all three columns, even though they operated in part of the class only, like Nichole in VIIc at London. Where one or two entries are given by Lawrence for a class VII moneyer, they are quite likely to be confined to those parts of the class of which his coins do *not* exist (e.g. Robert of Canterbury and Gefrei of London).

Lawrence's lists are further, and more understandably, confused by the inclusion of entries based on irregular coins which can now for the most part be demonstrated to be foreign imitations. As is evident from coins in the British Museum on which their entries may reasonably be assumed to depend, two supposed London moneyers of class VI, Pires and Renner, must be deleted for this reason. The Pires coin is die-linked with one in the name of Henri of Canterbury (the only coin which at first sight had seemed to me to be a possible exception to the absence of VIa at this mint). That of Renner (a genuine London moneyer in class V) shares an obverse die with another coin by 'Davi' of 'York'. All these coins can be excluded as imitations, leaving the quartet of class VI London moneyers intact.

In view of the many anomalies in Lawrence's lists it seems necessary to include revised tables at this stage, although more detailed discussion of moneyers will be reserved for a later part of this paper. As can be seen, the entries generally serve to substantiate the proposed sequence of varieties by continuity of moneyers. Thus, the last London coins of Walter demonstrate the existence of an early two-curl variety of VIc; the place of VI d is confirmed by its being the only variety of class VI of which all the moneyers are found in class VIIa—and for some of them (Rauf of Bury, Samuel and Walter of Canterbury, and Abel of London) it is the only division of class VII in which they are recorded; and, at the other end of the class, VIIc contains coins of Nichole at the two main mints and of all the other three moneyers of class VIII, as well as several who continued from VIIb.

The one substantial abnormality in the new lists is provided by the Canterbury coins described as class VIx. In spite of the occurrence of one name (Arnold) which does not occur on other coins of this period and of another (Salemun) which is otherwise confined to class VII, there are grounds for resisting the conclusion that they are foreign imitations. In the next part of this paper I shall argue that this small group of coins may constitute the one identifiable numismatic consequence of the Barons' War. Although Lawrence records Arnold under class VI, it is possible that his entries for Roger and Walter in class VIII also relate to coins of class VIx, since these two are the only fictitious class VIII moneyers given by Lawrence which do not seem to have been included on the basis of identifiable imitations.

		Class VI									Class VII			Class VIII
	Class V	a1	a2	b1	b2	c1	x	c2	c3	d	a	b	c	
BURY														
Rauf	...	...	...	...	...	×	...	×	×	×	×	...	...	...
Willelm	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	×	...	...	...
Norman	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	×	×	...	...
Simund	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	×	×	...
Io(h)an	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	×	×
CANTERBURY														
Henri	...	...	...	...	×	×	...	×	×	M	×	×	×	...
Hiun	...	...	...	...	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	...	...
Iohan	c	...	...	...	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×
Robert	b	...	...	...	×	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	×	...
Roger	...	...	...	...	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	...	...
Samuel	c	...	...	...	×	×	...	×	×	×	×	...	...	...
Simon	c	...	...	...	×	×	...	×	×	×	×	×	...	...
Walter	...	...	...	...	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	...	...	...
Arnold	...	...	...	...	...	M	×	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Tomas	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	×	×	×	...	...
Salemun	...	...	...	...	...	...	×	...	...	...	×	×	...	...
Roger of R.	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	×	×	...	...
Norman	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	×	...	...
Ioan Chic	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	×	×	...
Ioan F R	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	×	×	...
Osmund	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	×	×	...
Willem	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	×	×	×
Willem Ta	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	×	×	...
Robert Vi	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	×	...
Nichole	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	×	×
DURHAM														
Pieres	c	...	×	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	×	...	...
LONDON														
Abel	c	×	×	×	×	×	...	×	×	×	×	...	...	...
Ilger	c	×	×	×	×	×	...	×	×	×	×	×	...	...
Rau(l)f	c	×	×	×	×	×	...	×	×	×	×	×	...	...
Walter	c	×	×	×	×	×	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Elis	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	?	×	...	...
Terri	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	?	×	...	...
Adam	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	×	×	...
Gefrei	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	×	×	...
Ledulf	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	×	×	...
Ricard	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	×	...	...
Nichole	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	×	×
WINCHESTER														
Henri	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	×	...	...	...	...	...
YORK														
Iohan	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	×	...	...	...	...	...
Peres	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	×	...	...	...	...	...
Tomas	b	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	×	...	...	...	...	...
Wilam	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	×	...	...	...	...	...

Note: M denotes mule coins only.

LIST OF COINS ILLUSTRATED ON PLATES II-V

Abbreviations used:

BM	British Museum
CM	Colchester Museum (ex 1902 Colchester hoard)
RM	Royal Mint Museum
RH	Ribe hoard (in Nationalmuseet, Copenhagen)
JDB	Collection of Mr. J. D. Brand
GPG	Collection of Mr. G. P. Gittos
FEJ	Collection of Mr. F. Elmore-Jones
IS	Author's collection

O = and R = are used to indicate respectively the same obverse or reverse die.

No.	Class	Mint	Moneyer	Remarks and references
1	Vc	London	Abel	Smaller pearls in crown. JDB.
2	Vla1	"	"	JDB.
3	"	"	"	hENRIVS. IS.
4	"	"	"	hENRICV. IS.
5	"	"	Rauf	Larger pearls. JDB.
6	"	"	"	Odd face; loose circle of large dots. BM.
7	"	"	Walter	Curious rev. cross. IS.
8	Vla2	Durham	Pieres	BM.
9	"	"	"	JDB.
10	"	London	Walter	JDB.
11	Vlb1	"	Ilger	hNERICVS REX/x·; loose circle. JDB.
12	"	"	"	JDB.
13	Vlb2	Canterbury	Robert	s.R.; squat A. BM.
14	"	"	Samuel	New A. JDB.
15	"	London	Ilger	s.R. JDB.
16	"	"	Water	No stop after ON; squat A; loose circles. JDB.
17	Vlc1	Bury	Rauf	Stop (?colon) at end of rev. BM.
18	"	Canterbury	Iohan	New A. BM.
19	"	"	Henri	s.R. JDB.
20	"	"	Hiun	s.R.; colon at end of rev. BM.
21	"	London	Abel	s.R. BM.
22	"	"	Walter	JDB.
23	Vlc1/x	Canterbury	Arnold	R = 24. BM.
24	Vlx	"	"	O = 29, R = 23. BM.
25	"	"	Iohan	BM.
26	"	"	Iun	O = 27. BM.
27	"	"	Roger	O = 26, R = 28. BM.
28	"	"	"	O = 32, R = 27. RH.
29	"	"	Salemum	O = 24, R = 30 and 31. BM.
30	"	"	"	R = 29 and 31. BM.
31	"	"	"	R = 29 and 30. BM.
32	"	"	Waltier	O = 28, R = 33. BM.
33	"	"	"	R = 32. BM.
34	Vlc2	Bury	Rauf	Highly ornamental letters. BM.
35	"	Canterbury	Samuel	Highly ornamental letters. BM.
36	"	London	Abel	Highly ornamental letters; stop after LVNDE. BM.
37	"	"	"	Less ornamental letters; s.R. BM.
38	Vlc2/3	Canterbury	Henri	Ornamental R's on obv. only. BM.
39	Vlc3	Bury	Rauf	BM.
40	"	Canterbury	Henri	O = 54 (Vlc3/d mule). BM.

<i>No.</i>	<i>Class</i>	<i>Mint</i>	<i>Moneyer</i>	<i>Remarks and references</i>
41	Vlc3	Canterbury	Samuel	JDB.
42	"	"	Simun	s.r. BM.
43	"	London	Rauf	JDB.
44	"	Winchester	Henri	R=45. BM.
45	"	"	"	R=44. FEJ.
46	"	York	Iohan	O=50. BM.
47	"	"	Peres	R=48. BM.
48	"	"	"	O=49, R=47. BM.
49	"	"	Tomas	O=48, R=50. BM.
50	"	"	"	O=46, R=49. BM.
51	"	"	Wilam	BM.
52	Vlc3/d	Canterbury	Henri	O=53, 55, 56 and 113. FEJ.
53	"	"	Iohan	O=52, 55, 56 and 113, R=54. IS.
54	"	"	"	O=40, R=53. CM.
113	"	"	Iun	O=52, 53, 55, and 56. GPG.
55	"	"	Samuel	O=52, 53, 56 and 113, R=89. JDB.
56	"	"	Simun	O=52, 53, 55 and 113, R=69 and 71. JDB.
57	Vld/c3	"	Hiun	O=59 and 68. IS.
58	"	"	Roger	O=72. RH.
59	"	"	Walter	O=57 and 68. BM.
60	"	London	Abel	O=79. BM.
61	"	"	Rauf	BM.
62	Vld	Bury	Rauf	BM.
63	"	Canterbury	Hiun	O=65 and 82. BM.
64	"	"	Iun	O=70, 74, and 83. FEJ.
65	"	"	Ioan	O=63 and 82, R=88. BM.
66	"	"	Roger	O=75. BM.
67	"	"	Samuel	O=69, R=68. FEJ.
68	"	"	"	O=57 and 59, R=67. RM.
69	"	"	Simun	O=67, R=56 and 71. IS.
70	"	"	Simon	O=64, 74, and 83, R=90. IS.
71	"	"	Simun	R=56 and 69. BM.
72	"	"	Tomas	O=58, R=73. BM.
73	"	"	"	R=72. BM.
74	"	"	Water	O=64, 70, and 83, R=75. BM.
75	"	"	"	O=66, R=74. BM.
76	"	London	Abel	O=85, 86, and 87. BM.
77	"	"	"	IS.
78	"	"	"	O=80. JDB.
79	"	"	Ilger	O=60. FEJ.
80	"	"	Rauf	O=78. IS (cast of rev. chipped).
81	"	"	"	O=84. BM.
82	Vld/VII	Canterbury	Henri	O=63 and 65. BM.
83	"	"	Tomas	O=64, 70, and 74, R=97. BM.
84	Vld(-VII)	London	Abel	O=81, R=Ribe II, 83. BM.
85	Vld/VII	"	"	O=76, 86, and 87. BM.
86	"	"	"	O=76, 85, and 87. BM.
87	"	"	Ilger	O=76, 85, and 86. BM.
88	VII/Vld	Canterbury	Ioan	O=97, R=65. CM.
89	"	"	Samuel	O=90, R=55. RH.
90	"	"	Simon	O=89, R=70. IS.
91	VII	Bury	Rauf	Larger head. BM.
92	"	"	Willelm	Tidy, larger letters. BM.
93	"	Canterbury	Henri	Six stops on rev. BM.

<i>No.</i>	<i>Class</i>	<i>Mint</i>	<i>Moneyer</i>	<i>Remarks and references</i>
94	VII	Canterbury	Roger	Durham type. IS.
95	"	"	"	Larger head, rev. circle dotted. BM.
96	"	"	Simun	Larger head, rev. circle dotted. Note и, c and e. CM.
97	"	"	Tomas	O=88, R=83. BM.
98	"	"	"	Durham type. BM.
99	"	"	Walter	Durham type. RH.
100	"	Durham	Pieres	O=101, R=102. BM.
101	"	"	"	O=100, R=103. BM.
102	"	"	"	O=103-4, R=100. BM.
103	"	"	"	O=102 and 104, R=101. JDB.
104	"	"	"	O=102-3. IS.
105	"	London	Abel	O=110. Larger head, d ornamented. CM.
106	"	"	"	d ornamented, dotted circle. CM.
107	"	"	"	Large letters and dotted circle on rev. JDB.
108	"	"	"	Stops on rev. BM.
109	"	"	Elis	Stops on rev. IS.
110	"	"	Ilger	O=105. Larger letters, grained circle. CM.
111	"	"	"	Obv. of Durham type; rev. note k and .on. JDB.
112	"	"	Rauf	Durham type lettering; slightly larger head. JDB.
113	See after no. 54.			