

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

PART 2

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Part 1 of this study¹ contained a general survey of the Short Cross coins of classes VI and VII, in which it was proposed to interpolate two new sub-classes, VIx and VI d. All known die-combinations of these two groups were illustrated on the accompanying plates (nos. 23-33 and 52-90), but they remain to be described in detail and to be considered in the context of the classification as a whole.² Class VIx, if correctly identified as an official issue confined to the mint of Canterbury, is of significance for the chronology of the coinage at the end of the reign of John. Class VI d is of numismatic interest in its own right; but it also provides an opportunity, because of its very limited scale, for subjecting the output of the major mints of London and Canterbury over a short period to minute scrutiny and so enables us to observe the anatomy of the coinage in more detail than can generally be achieved in this series. For the purpose of die-analysis, obverse and reverse dies are identified by reference with O or R to the first coin by which they are represented on the plates: thus O.28 is the obverse die used for the illustrated coins nos. 28 and 32, and R.56 is the reverse die found on nos. 56, 69 and 71.

CLASS VIx

One of the necessary steps in working out a definitive arrangement of the later Short Cross coinage is to isolate the irregular and imitative pieces. This process has convinced me that, with the exception of the small but distinct series purporting to have been struck by six moneyers at Canterbury and classed here as VIx, virtually all the anomalous coins of the period are German imitations.³ Most of the entries in Lawrence's list of moneyers that are not based on a substantial body of regular material can therefore be deleted. But class VIx includes the name Arnold, as well as those of undoubted Canterbury moneyers of classes VI and VII, and this alerts us immediately to the abnormality of the group to which Arnold's coins belong. The name Arnaud occurs as a Canterbury moneyer in the 1205 recoinage (class Va-c), once⁴ with the spelling Arnold, but only two later Short Cross coins with this name (nos. 23-4) can be traced, both in the British Museum from the Colchester hoard. Lawrence's inclusion of the name Arnold in his list

of moneyers of class VI was presumably based on one or both of these coins:⁵

Beside Arnold, five other moneyers are recorded for class VIx. Salemun succeeded his father Samuel at Canterbury in the winter of 1217/18, and his earliest coins belong to the beginning of class VII. The other four, Iohan, Iun, Roger and Walter, are all well attested Canterbury moneyers of classes VI and VII. One reverse die of each has been noted and the details are as follows:

<i>Die no.</i>	<i>Reading</i>	<i>Obverse combinations</i>
R.23	ARNOLD.ON.CAN	V1c1 (23): 0.24 (24).
R.25	IOHAN.ON.CANT	0.25 (25).
R.26	IVN.ON.CANT	0.26 (26).
R.27	ROGER.ON.CAN	0.26 (27): 0.28 (28).
R.29	SALEMVM.ON.CA	0.24 (29): 0.30 (30): 0.31 (31).
R.32	WALTIER.ON.CA	0.28 (32): 0.33 (33).

Apart from the mule coin (23), seven obverse dies have been noted in this group which suggests the possibility that, if the dies were supplied in pairs, a reverse with the name of a seventh moneyer may have existed. Three of the seven obverse dies are each known to have been used by two moneyers. Arnold's VIx die (0.24) is one of three used by Salemun. The dies 0.26 and 0.28 link together Walter, Roger and Iun. These three (if Iun has been correctly identified with Eudo Chic)⁶ comprised the team of archiepiscopal moneyers from VIb onwards up to the point in class VIIb where Iohan replaced Eudo. Iohan was a royal moneyer throughout the same period. No coins of VIx are known in the names of the other royal moneyers who all struck from VIb to VIIa, Samuel, Simun and Henri, nor of Tomas who began in VIc.

Most of the examples of class VIx that I have seen are in the British Museum, from the Eccles and Colchester hoards. The Fitzwilliam also has specimens of Iohan and Salemun from Colchester (Catalogue nos.127 and 147). There were coins of Roger (no.28) and Salemun in the 1911 Ribe hoard,⁷ and of Iun and Salemun in the Aegean hoard. All told it seems unlikely that there are more than about twenty to thirty of these coins in existence, although the fact that they have not hitherto been recognised as a significant group may mean that further examples only await identification. The weights of ten specimens range from 1.35g (20.8gr) to 1.52g (23.5gr), with an average of 1.43g (22.1gr), which coincides with the standard of the regular coinage.

The general features of VIx have been described in part I, and can at once be seen from the illustrations. The dies are stylistically homogeneous and carefully made from punches not otherwise used on English coins of the period. The large letters are more positively shaped than is normal in class VI - A,C,h,L and R may be cited in particular. With the exception of one mis-spelling, Salemun for Salemun (a simple copying error), the inscriptions are conspicuously literate. The form Waltier, often found on Henry II's coinage before 1180 but not in the Short Cross series, suggests the work of a continental die-sinker. Although the treatment is different, and the face is much more spread, one of the neatly made dies of Va or early Vb may have been used as a model, rather than a coin of the coarser class VI, since the division of the word Rex, with only X behind the sceptre, is a feature of some of the early recoinage dies in class V.

There are three grounds for not dismissing the coins of class VIx

immediately as continental imitations. First is the mule coin (no.23) which appears to have been struck from an official English obverse die. Second, the dies of the group display a notable competence and consistency. Third, the moneyers' names, with a single mint signature, though not exactly corresponding with the team of regular Canterbury moneyers at any time, do coincide with those of known mint officials of a particular period. By contrast, imitative groups, even those which like class VIx are apparently the work of a single die-sinker, tend to mix or repeat the names of moneyers and mints indiscriminately and do not show such a consistent or representative run of moneyers' names. The conclusion must be that the reverse dies of class VIx were not copied at random from different models but were intended to be part of a series including the names of a given set of officials with one die each. Taking the mint-signature at face value, therefore, we need to consider the time and circumstances in which such dies might have been produced and used.

Two occasions suggest themselves when the VIx group might have been struck at Canterbury. The first is the period of John's quarrel with Archbishop Stephen Langton when England was placed under papal interdict and minting at Canterbury, at least from London-made dies, appears to have been suspended for several years (c.1208-c.1213), during the currency of class VIa and perhaps of late Vc and of early VIb as well. The second was the civil war of 1215-17, when London and Canterbury were for a time possessed by opposing factions. In favour of the earlier period it could be argued that there is a known hiatus in the regular Canterbury coinage at the time, that a coin of class Vb was probably used by the die-sinker as a model and that a moneyer Arnaud-Arnold only otherwise occurs in class V of the Short Cross series. Against this, however, seems to be the weight of the list of VIx moneyers as a whole. Iohan was a Canterbury moneyer in class V as well as in class VI, but Iun, Roger and Walter⁸ do not appear before class VI and Salemun not before class VII. In an issue close to class V in date more than two out of six moneyers might have been expected to have taken part in the recent recoinage (all the London moneyers of class VIa had struck in class V) and a moneyer not otherwise known before class VII is anomalous. Moneyers sometimes had long careers, but Salemun was Samuel's son and successor and an isolated appearance so much earlier seems rather unlikely. If the later period is preferred, it would have been only a year or two before Salemun became a regular moneyer himself. There was no regular moneyer Arnold at this time, but the rolls show one Ernaldus holding the office of *Custos Cuneorum* to the moneyer Roger of Ipswich in 1217/18 and 1221/22.⁹ During the civil war, therefore, four of the six names on coins of class VIx were current Canterbury moneyers, the fifth was the son of a current moneyer whom he was about to replace, and the sixth is known to have been a mint official shortly afterwards and may well have been so already at the time. On balance, the evidence of moneyers therefore seems to me to favour the later occasion.

The one piece of tangible evidence for the position of class VIx is the mule coin, no.23. Its obverse is weakly struck from a worn die, but to my eye it clearly belongs to class VIc1 and not to Vc or VIa as it should if the coin had been struck in the earlier period. It does not have the heavy spur-and-crescent E which is typical of dies before VIb (see Fig.A), and the other lettering also seems to me to indicate VIc. An irregular issue during or after the invasion of Louis of France could explain the involvement of the Canterbury mint alone; the canon of names including several of the regular moneyers of the time, lacking a few of them but adding the names of two others who would have been close to the affairs of the mint; and the use of an official die of the period in a worn state. The difficulties of



Fig.A - Forms of letter E on coins of VIa and VIb

interpolating class VIx at any other stage in the regular series, or of reconciling its singular characteristics with the habitual indiscipline of foreign imitation, seem to me to be more formidable than an explanation on the lines here suggested. In a later part of this paper the implications of this proposal will be considered in their chronological context, but it may be said here that they have not been found incompatible with the other evidence.

CLASS VI d

Material

The coins described as of class VI d are individually and collectively rare - I have records of no more than sixty-one coins in all struck from a die or pair of dies that can be so classified. Such dies can be identified by a number of features which distinguish them from those made immediately before (VIc3) and afterwards (VIIa) and enable certain coins to be defined as mules with these adjacent sub-classes. The distribution by mints of the VI d true coins and mules that I have examined is as follows:

<i>Mint</i>	<i>VIc2/d</i>	<i>VIc3/d</i>	<i>VI d/c3</i>	<i>VI d</i>	<i>VI d/VIIa</i>	<i>VIIa/VI d</i>	<i>Total</i>
Bury	-	-	-	5	-	-	5
Canterbury	1	7	5	22	2	5	42
London	-	-	2	8	4	-	14
	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
<i>Total</i>	1	7	7	35	6	5	61
	-	-	-	-	-	-	-

All the Bury coins are from the same pair of dies. Six obverse dies have been noted at London and eight at Canterbury, apart from the one obverse of VIc2 and the two each of VIc3 and of VIIa which are found muled at Canterbury with VI d reverses.

The difference in rarity between the coins of London and Canterbury reflects approximately the respective number of moneyers, three against eight. But fewer London coins have survived in relation to the number of dies used. In only one case is a pair of duplicates known of any combination of London dies, whereas of Canterbury there are two pairs and six triplets. Two London obverse dies are each known from a single coin, and two others each from only two; all but one of the eight Canterbury obverses

are recorded from two or more coins, three of them from as many as five or six specimens. Although coins of VId are too rare for firm conclusions to be drawn, it seems likely from this evidence that die-output at Canterbury was considerably greater than at London in the VId period (we do not know whether this may also have been the case with dies of earlier or later varieties).

Fewer coins per reverse die are known than per obverse at both main mints, indicating as expected that the output of obverse dies was larger than that of reverse dies. Fourteen surviving coins of London from a total of six VId obverse dies would allow us to suppose that there may be one or two more London VId obverses to be discovered, and probably not more than three or four at most. Nine survivors from seven London VId reverse dies do not permit any meaningful estimate of this kind. With twenty-nine survivors from eight Canterbury obverses, all the dies originally used may well be known, although the discovery of one or at most two more would not be surprising, especially since O.71 is recorded from a single coin. As regards Canterbury reverses, thirteen dies among thirty-five coins, of which four are known singly, would suggest that further dies may await discovery; at least sixteen would be required if the die-ratio of reverses to obverses was 2:1 as it was towards the end of the thirteenth century. It may be of interest to students of statistical numismatics and inverse probability that neither of the two recorded specimens from the London die O.78 was among the first fifty VId coins examined; and that when this paper was first drafted the last two Canterbury coins to come under notice were both from the previously unrecorded die R.53. The next ten or twenty specimens to come to light must therefore be expected to provide new dies as well as combinations of known ones. The first to do so after these remarks were drafted (no.113) supplied a new reverse die, the second (no.114) a new combination of two known dies, and the third (no.115) the only recorded example of a VId2/VId mule.¹⁹

The distinguishing features of class VId are the lettering, the form of bust and the punctuation. The lettering is described in the next section and the other two in the sections dealing with obverse and reverse dies. Dies bearing the pellet-barred N (PN), the most obvious and best known characteristic of the VId coins, have hitherto been regarded as constituting a variety of class VIc, but the group to which they belong is clearly a series on its own. Recognition of these other features, particularly the letter fount and punctuation, enables dies of VId to be identified even where the N is plain or unclear. Thus the form of letters and their larger size marks off VId dies without PN or punctuation, such as R.64, R.77 and R.80, from class VII in which a plain N and no stops are normal, and the lettering also separates an obverse with N unclear, like O.78, from VIc3.

Lettering

The letter fount of VId is distinctive. The letters are tall and well formed, with slender uprights. Examples which show it clearly are nos.63, 71 and 76. Characteristic letters are C and E, and L, R and T. The last three of these all differ considerably from the same letters in VIc because of the punch used for the main upright. In VIc this is a broad-based wedge with hollowed sides, but in VId it is a narrow bar with a pointed top and a serif at the foot (Fig.B). Since most reverses carry at least one of these three letters and all obverses have two R's, it is possible to determine without undue difficulty whether a die on which the N is unclear, or is not

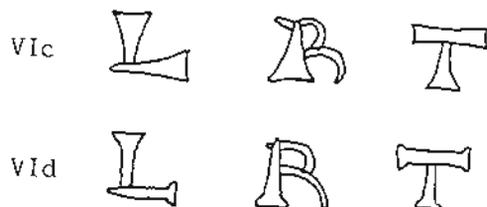


Fig.B - Forms of letters L,R and T on coins of V1c and V1d

pellet-barred, belongs to V1d or not. The C and E frequently have extended curly fronts (e.g. R.52,57,70,74 and 76-8). One die (R.72) has a pellet by the foot of the curled front of the C, which may be compared with the ornamentation of two pellets sometimes found in V1c2 (e.g. no.35) and more rarely in VIIa (no.96). The letter A is unbarred on the Bury die, R.62.

With the exception of 0.73, and possibly of 0.78, neither of the two known strikings from which are clear, there is a pellet on the diagonal bar of the letter N on all obverse dies of V1d. Usage of the pellet-barred N (PN) on reverse dies varies. The letter N always occurs at least twice on reverses, in ON and as the third letter of the mint name, and a third time in the case of certain Canterbury moneyers. However, relatively few reverse dies (five) have PN in both or all cases: R.62 of Bury and R.78-9 of London have two, and R.56 and R.63 of Canterbury have three. Two reverses of Canterbury, R.64 and R.74, and three of London, R.76-7 and R.80, have no PN. Another reverse with plain N only is R.84, a curious die with letters smaller than are normally found in late class VI. The remaining reverses of V1d, one of London (R.81) and the rest of Canterbury, have mixed N's. Of the dies with three mixed N's, Henri's (R.52) and Ioan's (R.65) have two plain and Simon's (R.70) has one plain; Iohan's (R.53) and Iun's (R.113) both have one of each with the second and first respectively unclear.

The fact that the coins here described as of V1d can be differentiated by a modern numismatist on the basis of general letter forms regardless of the PN serves to show that this small group of dies was made with different punches, and perhaps by a different engraver or engravers, from the coins of V1c. It is apparent from the uneven occurrence on reverse dies of the pellet on the bar of the N that it was added to the letter and not an integral part of the punch or punches with which the N was put into the die. Such an addition must presumably have been a deliberate mark of some kind, although the fact that it was sometimes omitted suggests that it was not of critical importance. Whether it was used to identify the dies, as a personal sign of the die-sinker, or for some other purpose we shall never know.

Most of the coins which have lettering on one side that does not conform to the typical style of V1d are to be regarded as mules with V1c or VIIa. There are, however, a few London dies on which the lettering differs from that of normal V1d (some or all of it being rather smaller) but is not normal for VIIa either, and these dies are apparently of a transitional nature. Two obverse dies with bust C, 0.77 and 0.81, are of this kind. On 0.77 several letters are small (H,N and the second E) and on 0.81 the S is small and uprights with concave sides are to be found in H,N and I. Both the reverse dies used with 0.81 are unusual. R.81 has V1d features in the PN and the letter E, although the uprights of the letters are closer in size to that of the larger variety found in early VIIa; the R is ornamented with a hairline before the upright. The letters of R.84 are even smaller, and this die has the features of VIIa except for the first E with a curly front,

ornamented B and D, and the stops by ON; the B is not clear on no.84 but the die is also found with a VIIa obverse (1958 Ribe hoard, no.83).

Obverse Dies

Fifteen obverse dies of VI_d have been noted, and one die of VI_c2 and two each of VI_c3 and VIIa have been found paired with VI_d reverses. The principal variation in the VI_d obverses is in the bust, of which there are three different forms (A,B and C). The pattern is as follows:

Mint	Dies of VI _d				Other dies combined with VI _d reverses		
	A	B	C	Total	VI _c 2	VI _c 3	VIIa
Bury	1	-	-	1	-	-	-
Canterbury	5	2	1	8	1	2	2
London	3	1	2	6	-	-	-
	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Total	9	3	3	15	1	2	2
	-	-	-	-	-	-	-

Bust A is large and tall, not unlike that of VI_c. There are three curls each side of the head, of which the top two are large and enclose a pellet and the lowest is very small. Some dies are very neat (e.g.0.62,0.64,0.67 and 0.71) but others are rather coarser (e.g.0.57,0.61 and 0.76). On several the central features of the portrait, the cross on the crown, nose, mouth, (pellet on) chin and collar are not all vertically aligned with each other (e.g.0.57,0.76 and 0.78). One die (0.58) has seven pearls instead of five in the crown. The eyes often have a squinting look, and are sometimes blobbed; they are not always level (e.g.0.58,0.61 and 0.76). All the dies appear to have the decisive PN, which avoids any possible confusion with VI_c3; the one die on which the N is unclear (0.78) has a bust which would not be abnormal on a coin of VI_c2 or VI_c3, but the lettering is of the VI_d style. More than half of the VI_d obverses recorded have bust A, five of Canterbury, three of London and the one of Bury.

Bust B is found on one die of London (0.60) and two of Canterbury (0.63 and 0.73). The face is broad and carefully worked, with two curls only each side, both enclosing a pellet. This bust does not otherwise occur in class VI, but something like it is occasionally found at the beginning of class VII, for example on the very early coin by Rauf of Bury (91) which, however, has a tiny third curl each side. Two of the dies have PN but one of Canterbury (0.73) has the N plain.

Bust C, on two London dies (0.77 and 0.81) and one of Canterbury (0.66), is very neat, and rather more compact. It is quite like some of the larger busts found very early in class VII. The Canterbury die shows a full third curl each side and large letters (e.g.5). One London die (0.77) has a tiny third curl each side, but the other has two curls only (0.81). Some smaller letters are found on the London dies. All three dies with bust C have PN.

This labelling of the busts does not imply their sequence in use (although it might perhaps represent their approximate order of manufacture).

At both London and Canterbury obverses with bust A are muled with reverses of both VIc3 and VIIa, although they are mostly used with VIId reverses. The London obverse die with bust B (0.60) is found with a VIc reverse (R.60) as well as one of VIId (R.79), and one of the two Canterbury obverse dies with this bust (0.63) is combined with a reverse die of VII (R.82) as well as with two of VIId (R.63 and R.65). Of the bust C dies, themselves most akin to class VII, none are found muled with VIc and only 0.81 has yet been recorded with a VIIa reverse.

Features of the individual obverse dies of VIId are noted below. Unless otherwise stated, they all have pellet-barred N in HENRICVS and three curls each side of the head, two large and one small. None of the VIId obverses has a stop before *Rex* as is found quite often on dies of VIb and VIc. The figures in parentheses refer to the illustrations on the plates (these are omitted where the only illustration is the same as the die number).

Bury

0.62 Bust A; neat die; narrow collar.

Canterbury

0.57 (57,59,68) Bust A; features off-centre (e.g. mouth, collar); right eye lower; right curls irregular, with mark by circle.

0.58 (58,72) Bust A; seven pearls in crown; collar off-centre to left.

0.63 (63,65,82) Bust B; two curls; broad chin. Late striking (82) shows flaw between chin and R.

0.64 (64,70,74,83) Bust A; neat die; medium collar; C set high up; bar across waist of S.

0.66 (66,75) Bust C; very neat die.

0.67 (67,69) Bust A; neat die; narrow collar.

0.71 Bust A; neat, but curls lower on right side.

0.73 Bust B; two curls; N plain; R tilted towards S.

London

0.60 (60,79) Bust B; two curls; X distant from E.

0.61 Bust A; carelessly made die; letters irregularly placed.

0.76 (76,85,86,87) Bust A; large head, cross and chin misaligned; right eye higher, and blobbed on some specimens (85-7); first R deformed.

0.77 Bust C; neat; some small letters; C with extended front.

0.78 (78,80) Bust A; large face, with tilted mouth; flat-backed h; N unclear.

0.81 (81,84) Bust C; small and neat head; two curls; front of C double-punched; upright of 2nd R protrudes; X touches sceptre; small S.

Reverse Dies

In addition to twenty-one reverse dies of VId, thirteen of Canterbury, seven of London and one of Bury, five reverses of VIc (three of Canterbury and two of London) and five reverses of VIIa (two of Canterbury and three of London) are found with VIdobverses. Three reverse dies are recorded of one Canterbury moneyer, Hiun, strangely enough by a single coin in each case (the only other Canterbury reverse of VId known from one coin is that of Henri). Three of the Canterbury moneyers are represented by two VId reverse dies each, and the other four by one each; all of the latter four, however, are involved in mules with VIc or VIIa reverses. More dies of Abel of London are recorded than of any other moneyer, four VId reverses and three of VIc and VIIa in mule coins, but this is not reflected in the total of his surviving coins which is no higher than that of some Canterbury moneyers. The figures for reverse dies of each moneyer are:

Reverses combined with VId obvs.

<i>Mint</i>	<i>Moneyer</i>	<i>VId</i>	<i>VIc</i>	<i>VIIa</i>
Bury	Rauf	1	-	-
Canterbury	Henri	1	-	1
	Hiun	3	1	-
	Iohan	2	-	-
	Roger	1	1	-
	Samuel	2	-	-
	Simon	2	-	-
	Tomas	1	-	1
	Walter	1	1	-
London	Abel	4	1	2
	Ilger	1	-	1
	Rauf	2	1	-
<i>Total</i>		21	5	5

Whether deliberately or not, considerable variety was introduced into the reverse inscriptions of VId dies. The irregular use of PN has already been noted, and there is also variation in spelling and punctuation. The names of three of the four Canterbury moneyers of whom two or three reverse dies are recorded occur in different forms - Hiun and Iun, Ioan and Iohan, Simon and Simun. Abel's four dies all differ in punctuation or PN. The only case of two reverses with the same spelling, PN and punctuation are those of Samuel, but even with these the stop before ON is placed much higher on R.70 than on R.72.

Reverses of VId are the first in the Short Cross series to depart from the regular practice of having a stop before and after ON, an invariable feature of all earlier classes up to VIc. Stops are not found in this position on coins of class VII, except on a very few unusual dies, and the VId reverses thus mark the point of transition between earlier and later usage. Four dies, the one of Bury (R.62) and three of Canterbury (R.56, R.74 and R.113) do have both stops and so does the transitional die of Abel of London (R.84), which might be regarded as of class VII except that it seems to be the pair of O.81. One of London (R.76) and three of Canterbury (R.55, R.67 and R.70) have the first stop only. In most cases the stops are placed

level with the top of the letters, instead of centrally as is normal in other classes, and this is a useful criterion in identifying a VI*d* die. The other twelve reverses have no stops by ON. A very small extra point is to be found on two reverse dies. On R.53 it is in the first quarter of the cross, and on R.62 below the initial cross.

The true coins of VI*d* and mules with VI*c* and VII*a* recorded of each moneyer are set out in the following table. Considering the relatively small number of surviving coins, these figures show a reasonable degree of evenness between moneyers, each being represented by two to nine coins in all including mules, and by from one to five true coins of VI*d*, with the exception of Henri whose two coins are both mules. The apparent ascendancy of Abel over his two colleagues at London is to be noted.

<i>Mint</i>	<i>Moneyer</i>	<i>VIc/VI<i>d</i></i>	<i>VI<i>d</i>/VIc</i>	<i>VI<i>d</i></i>	<i>VI<i>d</i>/VII</i>	<i>VII/VI<i>d</i></i>	<i>Total</i>
Bury	Rauf	-	-	5	-	-	5
Canterbury	Henri	1	-	-	1	-	2
	Hiun	1	1	2	-	-	4
	Iohan	2	-	3	-	1	6
	Roger	-	1	3	-	-	4
	Samuel	3	-	2	-	1	6
	Simun	1	-	3	-	3	7
	Tomas	-	-	5	1	-	6
	Walter	-	3	4	-	-	7
London	Abel	-	1	5	3	-	9
	Ilger	-	-	1	1	-	2
	Rauf	-	1	2	-	-	3
<i>Total</i>		8	7	35	6	5	61

In the following list of VI*d* reverse dies the inscription, occurrence of PN and punctuation, and other characteristics are noted. As in the case of obverse dies, reference to the illustrations is given only in cases where more than one combination is recorded.

Bury

R.62 RAVF.ON.SANTE; both PN; unbarred A's; small point below initial cross.

Canterbury

R.52 hENRIONCANT; 2nd PN; no stops.

R.63 hIVNONCANTE; all PN; no stops.

R.64 IVNONCANTE; no PN; no stops.

R.113 IVN.ON.CANTE; 3rd PN, 1st unclear; both stops.

R.53 (53,54) IOhANONCANTE; 1st PN (and 2nd?); no stops; extra point in 1st quarter.

R.65 (65,88) IOANONCANTE; 1st PN; no stops.

R.66 ROGERONCANT; 2nd PN; no stops.

R.55 (55,89)	SAMVEL.ONCAN; 1st PN; 1st stop only (set high up).
R.67 (67,68,115)	SAMVEL.ONCAN; 1st PN; 1st stop only.
R.56 (56,69,71)	SIMVN.ON.CANTE; all PN; both stops.
R.70 (70,90)	SIMON.ONCANT; 1st and 3rd PN; 1st stop only (high).
R.72 (72,73)	TOMASONC.ANT; 1st PN; no stops by ON but pellet at foot of C.
R.74 (74,75)	WATER.ON.CAN; no PN; both stops (high).

London

R.76	ABEL.ONLVNDE; no PN; 1st stop only (high).
R.77	ABELONLVNDE; no PN; no stops; E's with extended fronts.
R.78	ABELONLVNDE; both PN; no stops; E's with extended fronts.
R.84 (84,Ribe)	ABEL.ON.LVNDE; no PN; both stops; small letters; ornamental B and D; transitional die, VI _d -VII.
R.79	ILGERONLVNDE; both PN; no stops.
R.80	RAVFONLVNDE; no PN; no stops.
R.81	RAVFONLVNDE; 1st PN; no stops; ornamental R.

Die Combinations

A total of forty-two separate die-combinations is recorded, which seems a high figure in relation to the number of coins examined. As can be seen from the tables on p.103 most of the individual die-combinations of London and Canterbury are represented to date by single coins only. It is therefore likely that new material would significantly increase the number of recorded combinations even if it added few extra dies. Mules with VI_c or VII_a account for more than half of the combinations at Canterbury and half of the known combinations overall. Mules both ways are found with VI_c and VII_a at Canterbury. At London, although VI_d obverses are found muled with earlier and later reverses, VI_d reverses have not yet been noted with earlier or later obverses (except the Ribe coin combining an obverse of VII with R.84, which is not included in the table below). The pattern of recorded combinations is as follows:

<i>Mint</i>	<i>VI_c/d</i>	<i>VI_d/c</i>	<i>VI_d</i>	<i>VI_d/VII</i>	<i>VII/VI_d</i>	<i>Total</i>
Bury	-	-	1	-	-	1
Canterbury	7	3	13	2	3	28
London	-	2	7	4	-	13
<i>Total</i>	7	5	21	6	3	42

It appears that dies were paired more or less indiscriminately. Since obverse die-links between moneyers are frequent, the obverses presumably belonged to a common pool. At London two obverse dies (0.60 and 0.76) were shared by Abel and Ilger, and two others (0.78 and 0.81) by Abel and Rauf. Interchanges are much more frequent at Canterbury, not surprisingly in view of the number of moneyers. One obverse die of VIc3 (0.52) is found with reverses of no less than five moneyers. Two obverses of VId (0.64 and 0.57) were used by four and three moneyers respectively, and several others by two each. Although three separate links (0.52, 0.67 and 0.89) have been noted between reverse dies of Samuel and Simun, there does not really seem to be a closer connection between any one pair or group of moneyers than another. There is no division between the moneyers accounting to the archbishop (Hiun, Roger and Walter) and those accounting to the king.

At Bury only one pair of dies was supplied at a time; 0.62 and R.62 are thus demonstrably a pair. They are represented by five specimens, more than any die-combination involving a die or dies of VId at the other mints. Although at London and Canterbury two stylistically homogeneous dies may in some cases have been made and issued as a pair - 0.60 with R.79 and 0.76 with R.76 are possible examples - it is doubtful whether any particular obverse and reverse dies were regarded as pairs in use. At Canterbury there are cases where more than one reverse is combined, and has stylistic affinities with, a particular obverse, e.g. R.63 and R.65 with 0.63 or R.66 and R.75 with 0.66. Once they were taken into productive use at Canterbury or London, any connection between the parts of what may originally have been a pair or set seems quickly to have been disregarded. Furthermore, on the evidence of dies noted among the surviving material, more reverses than obverses were presumably supplied to the mint at Canterbury. As to combinations, the London material is too scanty but that of Canterbury is plentiful enough to have shown a pattern if such had existed. There is, for example, not a single case (other than at Bury) of a particular die-combination being the only context in which each of the two dies is found; had there been, and had there survived several specimens of it, one might have supposed such dies to have been paired in use.

Because of the extent of interchanging of dies, some elaborate chains of die-links can be strung together, particularly at Canterbury. It can be seen how certain die-combinations lead from VId into VII and back again, and one reverse die (R.55) links VIc with VIIa. However, although there were clearly overlaps involving dies of late VIc and dies of early VIIa, there was equally a period when most of the dies in use were of VId as demonstrated by the fact that among the specimens examined there are many more coins of true VId (35) than mules with VIc (15) or VIIa (11).

The period when VId dies were being supplied must have been very brief, but there can be little doubt from the evidence of die-combinations and the lack of any direct mules between VIc and VIIa that it came between those two. The condition of the dies involved in the mules with VIc and VIIa also confirms the position of VId. Thus 0.40, a VIc die, shows more wear and surface marks in its combination with the VId reverse R.54, than in a true VIc combination (no.40) and some of the VIc reverses involved in VId/VIc mules show signs of wear (e.g. R.57). At the other juncture, dies of VId such as 0.63, 0.76 and R.65 are seen to have been in a later state when muled with dies of VIIa than for their true VId coins.

There follows a list of specimens of VId, including mules, arranged according to obverse dies. For a concordance related to reverse dies, see p.100 above.

*Die-Combinations Involving Dies of VI d**Bury*

0.62/R.62 BM (62); BM (2 others); FEJ; IS.

Canterbury

0.115 (Vic2)/R.67 (Samuel) MRA (115, not illustrated).
 0.40 (Vic3)/R.53 (Iohan) CM (54).
 0.52 (Vic3)/R.52 (Henri) FEJ (52).
 " /R.53 (Iohan) IS (53).
 " /R.113 (Iun) GPG (113).
 " /R.55 (Samuel) JDB (55); FEJ.
 " /R.56 (Simun) JDB (56).
 0.57/R.57 (Vic3, Hiun) IS (57).
 " /R.59 (Vic3, Walter) BM (59); BM; IS.
 " /R.67 (Samuel) Royal Mint, Hocking Cat. no. 396 (68).
 0.58/R.58 (Vic3, Roger) 1911 Ribe hoard, no. 167 (58).
 " /R.72 (Tomas) BM (72); BM.
 0.63/R.63 (Hiun) BM (63).
 " /R.65 (Ioan) BM (65); FEJ; JDB.
 " /R.82 (VIIa, Henri) BM (82).
 0.64/R.64 (Iun) FEJ (64).
 " /R.70 (Simon) IS (70).
 " /R.74 (Water) BM (74).
 " /R.83 (VIIa, Tomas) BM (83).
 0.66/R.66 (Roger) BM (66); Fitzwilliam 140; FEJ.
 " /R.74 (Water) BM (75); BM; 1911 Ribe hoard, no. 304.
 0.67/R.67 (Samuel) FEJ (67).
 " /R.56 (Simun) IS (69).
 0.71/R.56 (Simun) BM (71).
 0.73/R.72 (Tomas) BM (73); BM; IS.
 0.88 (VIIa)/R.65 (Ioan) CM (88).
 0.89 (VIIa)/R.55 (Samuel) 1911 Ribe hoard, no. 286 (89).
 " /R.70 (Simon) IS (90); BM; Aegean hoard.

London

0.60/R.60 (Vic3, Abel) BM (60).
 " /R.79 (Ilger) FEJ (79).
 0.61/R.61 (Vic3, Rauf) BM (61).
 0.76/R.76 (Abel) BM (76); FEJ.
 " /R.85 (VIIa, Abel) BM (85).
 " /R.86 (VIIa, Abel) GPG (86), incorrectly given as BM, *BNJ* xlix (1979), 40.
 " /R.87 (VIIa, Ilger) BM (87).
 0.77/R.77 (Abel) IS (77).
 0.78/R.78 (Abel) JDB (78).
 " /R.80 (Rauf) IS (80).
 0.82/R.81 (Rauf) BM (81).
 " /R.84 (Abel) BM (84).
 " /R.86 (VIIa, Abel) GPG (114, not illustrated).

Abbreviations used:

BM, British Museum; CM, Colchester Museum; MRA, M.R.Allen; JDB, J.D. Brand; GPG, G.P.Gittoes; FEJ, F.Elmore Jones; IS, Author.

Canterbury Die-Combinations

Reverse Dies	VIc3					VIId					VIIa		Total
	0.40	0.52	0.57	0.58	0.63	0.64	0.66	0.67	0.71	0.73	0.88	0.89	
<i>VIc3</i>													
Hiun R.57	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
Roger R.58	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
Walter R.59	-	-	3	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	3
<i>VIId</i>													
Henri R.52	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
Hiun R.63	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
Iun R.64	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
Iun R.113	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
Iohan R.53	1	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2
Ioan R.65	-	-	-	-	3	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	4
Roger R.66	-	-	-	-	-	-	3	-	-	-	-	-	3
Samuel R.55	-	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	3
Samuel R.67	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	2
Simun R.56	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	1	1	-	-	-	3
Simon R.70	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	3	4
Tomas R.72	-	-	-	2	-	-	-	-	-	3	-	-	5
Water R.74	-	-	-	-	-	1	3	-	-	-	-	-	4
<i>VIIa</i>													
Henri R.82	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
Tomas R.83	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
<i>Total</i>	1	6	5	3	5	4	6	2	1	3	1	4	41

London Die-Combinations (all obvs. VIId)

		0.60 0.61 0.76 0.77 0.78 0.81						
		<i>VIc3</i>						
Abel R.60		1	-	-	-	-	-	1
Rauf R.61		-	1	-	-	-	-	1
<i>VIId</i>								
Abel R.76		-	-	2	-	-	-	2
Abel R.77		-	-	-	1	-	-	1
Abel R.78		-	-	-	-	1	-	1
Abel R.84		-	-	-	-	-	1	1
Ilger R.79		1	-	-	-	-	-	1
Rauf R.80		-	-	-	-	1	-	1
Rauf R.81		-	-	-	-	-	1	1
<i>VIIa</i>								
Abel R.85		-	-	1	-	-	-	1
Abel R.86		-	-	1	-	-	1	2
Ilger R.87		-	-	1	-	-	-	1
<i>Total</i>		2	1	5	1	2	3	14

Addenda

I am indebted to Mr.G.P.Gittoes and Mr.M.R.Allen for various comments on this paper, including the following information:

1. A coin of class VIc, with ornamental letters on both sides, but with only two curls each side of the head, was in the Lockett collection, first Short Cross plate, row 8, no.5 (London, Abel).
2. Mr.Gittoes has a Bury coin with 2-2 curls on the obverse (VIc1) and with double-barred N on the reverse. This form of ornamentation was not included in Lawrence's drawings of ornamental letters (*BNJ* xi (1915), 80), but it occurs on at least one coin in the British Museum (J.J.North, *English Hammered Coinage*, 1, pl. XVI,8; Canterbury, Walter). The Bury coin could be described as a VIc1/c2 mule and is important confirmation of the position of VIc1 (see *BNJ* xlix (1979), 32).
3. Add no.114, VIId/VII, London, Abel, O=81 and 84, R=86, GPG.
4. Coins of VIIa by Walter of Canterbury are rather less rare than implied in part 1 (*BNJ* xlix (1979), 35); there were three in the Gisors hoard. Mr.Gittoes has found one with the larger pellets in the inner circle on the reverse.
5. Mr.Allen has a coin of VIa1 by Walter of London reading hENRICVR/SRX (cf. *BNJ* xlix (1979), 31, n.18).
6. Add no.115, VIc2/VIId, Canterbury, Samuel, R=67,68, MRA. The letters R on the obverse have curled tails, which put the die in class VIc2 (ornamental letters) rather than VIc3, to which all the other VIc obverses muled with VIId reverses belong. No.115 is not included in the table on p. 104.
7. A coin in Birmingham City Museum (Brand cat. no.68) has two curls of hair as in VIc1 but ornamental letters as in VIc2; cf. no.1 above.

Notes

1. *BNJ* xlix (1979), 26-41.
2. I had also intended to include in this part a die-analysis of the coins of the three minor mints of this period, but Mr.M.R.Allen has now dealt with those of Durham independently (*BNJ* xlix (1979), 42-55) and the few of York and Winchester can await treatment on a later occasion.
3. I.Stewart, 'Some German Coins Overstruck with Sterling Types', *Lagom*, ed. T.Fischer and P.Ilisch (Münster, 1981), pp.205-10 .
4. F.Dumas and J.D.Brand. 'The British Coins in the Gisors (1970) Hoard', *BNJ* xl (1971), 22-43 (at p.35).
5. The suggestion by R.H.M.Dolley ('A Note on the Chronology of Some Published and Unpublished "Short Cross" Finds from the British Isles', *BNJ* xxix (1958-9), 297-321, at p.312) that Arnold was 'presumptively the same man as Arnaud in Class V' seems to rest on the belief that Arnold 'struck class VI on a very substantial scale'.
6. J.D.Brand, 'Some Short Cross Questions', *BNJ* xxxiii (1964), 66.
7. G.Galster, 'A find of English coins at Ribe, Denmark', *NC* (1916), 378-98; list nos. 164 and 283.

8. Lawrence gave Walter an entry under Vb in his table but no regular coin of this description can be traced. 'The Short Cross coinage, 1180-1247', *BNJ* xi (1915), 95.
9. LTR 2H.III, m.5 and LTR 6 H.III, m.4d; I owe these references to Mr.Brand.
10. For nos. 114-5, see addenda, p.105.