

A RE-EXAMINATION OF CLASSES 7 AND 8 OF THE SHORT CROSS COINAGE

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ALTHOUGH Lawrence indicated in his lists of mints and moneyers that class 7 of the Short Cross coinage might be divided into three sub-classes, he gave no indication of the criteria for such sub-division beyond stating that 'words can hardly explain the differences (of classes 6 and 7), which are well shown on the plates . . . The subdivision used in class 7 is more in relation to the size of bust, which becomes progressively smaller without losing its general character'.¹ A number of attempts have been made by later students to arrive at a more satisfactory arrangement of this class and the most recent definition of the established three subclasses is contained in Stewart's study of classes 6 and 7.² In this the generally accepted criteria of a neat portrait and lettering with a distinctive letter A (having a pointed top below the cross-bar) are retained to distinguish coins of 7a, while coins of 7c are described as being 'largish with a large degenerate face and tall letters with long fronts to C and E'. However, most of the coins in this large class are at present attributed to 7b, which Stewart describes as 'rougher (than 7a) in execution and design, the lettering is less tidy with a rectangular A (H with top bar); H soon replaces M. There is great variety of bust and lettering'. Brand had already remarked on two varieties found within this sub-class: 'one group has very small lettering, often with a pellet inserted at random in the reverse legend. Another group, very similar in its lettering, has a distinctive small bust with a more or less pointed chin ending in a pellet: these are marked 7b-i although they probably do not follow on immediately from 7a'.³

No attempt appears to have been made to subdivide class 7b any further or to establish the chronology of the varieties of this and the later issues of class 7. This seems surprising in view of the considerable amount of documentary evidence of the dates of many of the moneyers working during the period that this class was being struck. However, the mass of coins at present designated 7b, whilst showing variation in the portrait and lettering, offers no easily recognisable criteria for division into sub-classes. This is due largely to the careless manner in which most post 7a dies were made with a few simple punches without distinctive features. Whilst there is uniformity in the style of bust in the more carefully made Short Cross issues (e.g. 1a-b, 5a-b), others have considerable variation in the portrait and even at times the lettering, due to the careless placing and striking of the

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¹ L.A. Lawrence, 'The Short Cross Coinage, 1180-1247', *BNJ* 11 (1915), 59-100.

² Ian Stewart, 'English Coinage in the later years of John and the minority of Henry III', *BNJ* 49 (1979), 35.

³ J.D. Brand quoted by D.M. Metcalf in *SCBI* 12, *Ashmolean Museum, Oxford, Part II, English Coins, 1066-1279* (Oxford, 1969), p. xiv.

punches when the dies were made. In later class 7 the position is often aggravated by the careless striking of the coins themselves, many of which have a part of the design off the flan.

This study was originally limited to classes 7b and 7c in view of the discussion of 7a in Dr Stewart's recent paper. However, he has suggested that the paper would be more complete if it covered the whole of class 7 and a tentative chronology of the earlier coins has been included. The opportunity has also been taken to examine the classification of class 8 in the light of the considerable number of coins discovered since this was originally formulated.

In any classification it is essential to distinguish features which are easily recognisable, since style at best is subjective especially in a series of progressive deterioration where the selection of cut-off points is arbitrary. In the case of 7a it has been possible to effect some sub-division by the portrait and lettering, although there is some overlapping and one large sub-section, which will probably require further refinement, shows considerable variation in style. These criteria were inapplicable to the later coins of the class, where, except in one variety, there is little distinction between the portraits and most letter forms closely resemble those which they replace. There can be slight differences in size, but this is often difficult to recognise, especially as some distortion can be caused in punching the die.

Various features have been examined, but all except one proved unsatisfactory for the purpose. The nose has a number of varieties, but tends to become standardised in 7b and 7c apart from some variation in the length and width. There is also considerable variety in the sceptre-head, but this feature is often obliterated or off the flan and was only clearly visible on about half of the coins examined. Considerable distortion can occur and it is not always possible to be certain of the form of the critical upright. However, both of these features can assist in the classification of 7a, where the coins are usually well struck, and details are given in the summary of the classification.

The only punch on the post 7a coins which was found to be distinctive enough and fairly consistent in its use was that employed for the eyes. It has the advantage of being centrally placed on the coin so that it is always visible, although its recognition can be difficult on lightly struck or worn coins, and this feature has been used as the main criterion for the sub-division of 7b. The use of a single feature does, of course, create a somewhat artificial arrangement, although by their very nature many numismatic classifications have a degree of artificiality, since they impose divisions which often did not exist at the time that the coins were struck. There can be no guarantee that the eye punches were used sequentially, especially in the light of the evidence of the indiscriminate use of other punches. However, there can be no doubt that the broken punch succeeded its unbroken form and the division of 7b has been largely based on this.

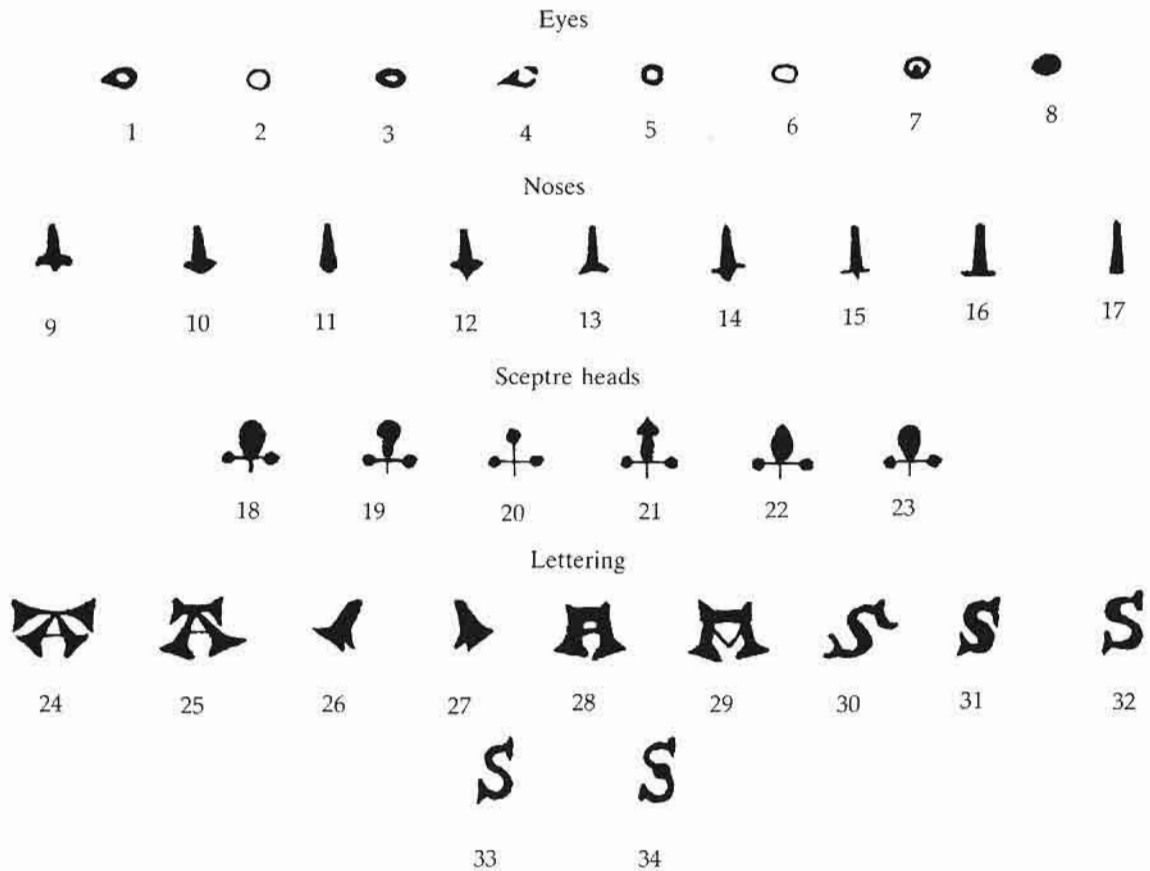
The proposed new sub-divisions have been designated by Roman letters rather than numbers as it was felt that the latter would impose too rigid a chronology on what is essentially a preliminary examination of the series. The whole class needs more study, which may give rise to further subdivision and refinement of the proposed chronology. However, it is hoped that this paper will encourage others to investigate this neglected group of coins and provide the base upon which a more detailed classification may be made.

CLASSIFICATION

Class 7a

The simple, but in some ways unsatisfactory, identification of this class by the form of the letter A (fig. 1, 24-5) is hallowed by long usage. As Stewart remarked, 'unfortunately this does not provide a universal criterion for the sub-class since although the letter occurs in

FIG. 1 Variations in Punches in Class 7.



Key to Figure 1

The drawings illustrate the general style of the punches many of which show considerable variation often due to the striking into the die or of the coin.

1. Eye 1 ('realistic') - 7a A-C & 7b A.
2. Eye 2 (thin annulet) - 7a C, 7b A & D, 7c C.
3. Eye 3 (thick oval) - 7a D.
4. Eye 4 (broken eye 1) - 7b B-C.
5. Eye 5 (thick annulet) - 7b D & 7c A & B.
6. Eye 6 (irregular annulet) - 7c B.
7. Eye 7 (pellet in annulet) - 7c B.
8. Eye 8 (solid - possibly eye 7 filled in) - 7c B.
9. Nose 1 - 7a A-B.
10. Nose 2 - 7a A-D, 7b A.
11. Nose 3 (possibly nose 2 weakly struck or worn). - 7a A.
12. Nose 4 - 7a C-D, 7b A.
13. Nose 5 (very rarely found - probably nose 4 weakly struck) - 7a D.
14. Nose 6 - 7a C-D.
15. Nose 7 - 7b A-B.
16. Nose 8 (considerable variation in length and thickness). - 7b A-7c B.
17. Nose 9 (ditto - some may be nose 8 with side projections not visible on weakly struck dies). - 7b A

- 7c C.

18. Sceptre 1 - 7a A-C.

19. Sceptre 2 (considerable variation; sometimes becomes pear-shaped - see 6). - 7a B-7c B.

20. Sceptre 3 (thickness of upright varies sometimes appearing curved). - 7a A - 7b C, 7c A.

21. Sceptre 4 (rarely found - possible a misstruck variety of 3). - 7a D, 7b A.

22. Sceptre 5 (rarely found). - 7b A.

23. Sceptre 6 (possibly a misstruck variety of 2) - 7b D.

24. Pointed A of 7a with long top.

25. Pointed A of 7a with short top.

26. Nipped dexter punch of A in 7a.

27. Nipped sinister punch of A in 7a and, rarely, in early 7b.

28. Square letter A of 7b & 7c.

29. Chevron-barred A of 7c.

30. S with crescent serifs.

31. Thick-waisted S with body from single punch - some variation in serifs.

32. Composite S of crescents and wedges.

33. Similar letter with body from single punch.

34. Similar letter with pellet centre (rarely found).

the name 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 name of some of the London moneyers'.⁴ These remarks apply also to a few Canterbury coins where the mint signature is reduced to C and the moneyer's name contains no letter A. However, it is hoped that the following remarks will enable most coins lacking this critical letter to be placed in their correct class.

One unusual feature is the use in the letter A of an upright punch with a nicked base. On the earliest the mark is on the dexter punch (fig. 1, no. 26) and this has only been noted in groups A and C (cf. **pl. 10, 3 and 8**). In most cases it is on the sinister side (fig. 1, no. 27) and is found mainly on reverses of group C (cf. **pl. 10, 10 and 13**). This iron appears to have been used on a few 7b dies to make the form of letter typical of that issue. Where there are two letters A in the legend usually only one of these appears to have the mark suggesting that it may possibly have been deliberate rather than due to a flawed or misstruck punch.

Although most coins can be attributed to one of the following groups there is some overlapping. For example, coins with the portraits of groups A and C are sometimes found with the lettering normally used in B, and late coins of group C tend to merge into D.

Group A (**pl. 10, 1–4**)

Round face with well-marked beard. A few coins (possibly early) have a longer face and a die of this style is muled with a reverse of 6d (**pl. 10, 1**). Normally a distinctive S with crescent serifs (fig. 1, no. 30) on the obverse only – this letter has been noted on one reverse die used with a group B obverse. The letter A sometimes has one upright from a nicked punch (fig. 1, no. 26–7). The letter E on the obverse is sometimes unbarred. Rarely ornamental letters (**pl. 10, 2**). A few transitional coins have the small lettering of group B. Reverse die-links with B. Eye 1. Nose 1 (rarely 2 or 3). Sceptre 1 or 3.

Group B (**pl. 10, 5–7**)

Small neat portraits with well-marked beard and more pointed chin. One group has a slightly larger bust which closely resembles some in class 6c (comp. Stewart nos 96 with 73, 105 with 81, 110 with 75). Normally, small distinctive lettering (Durham type), but a few coins with this portrait have larger lettering. Two styles of letter S – thick-waisted body from a single punch (fig. 1, no. 31) or composite from crescent and wedge punches (fig. 1, no. 32). One or both Es on obverse may be unbarred. A few coins have ornamental letters. The reverse lettering is often larger (possibly B/A mules). Reverse die-links with 6d and group A. Eye 1. Nose 1 or 2. Sceptre 1, 2 or 3.

Group C (**pl. 10, 8–14**)

Oblong face which is larger than that of group B on most coins. The beard is usually less clearly marked. There is considerable variation in the portrait and on some late coins the face is square with little or no chin, merging into group D. Normally, there are pellets in four curls, but one die (shared by Abel, Ilger and Raulf) has a very large portrait with pellets in all six curls (**pl. 10, 8**). The pellets on some coins are placed in the centre of the crescent, as in previous issues, but on many they appear at the tip of one or more of the curls. This is probably due to less careful die-making, but one cannot dismiss the possibility that new single punches were introduced for the curls to replace the crescent and pellet. A few coins, which are probably late, have no pellets in the curls and some have one on the chin. The lettering is generally larger than that of group B and one coin of Ioan has ornamental letters on the reverse and may be a mule (C/A or B). There is some variation in

⁴ Stewart, 'English Coinage in the later years of John and the minority of Henry III', p. 35.

the size and style of the lettering and the letter A often has the nicked sinister limb. Some reverses (probably late) have multiple stops.

It may be possible to subdivide further this large and varied group along the following lines, but varieties 2 and 3 may not be sequential since a few coins in each have features found in group D.

1. Good style with portraits of varying sizes – on one die it is as small as that of group B. Large lettering except on a few early coins which have the lettering of group B. Letter S 2 or, rarely, 3 (fig. 1, nos 31–2). Eyes 1 (rarely 2). Nose 4 (rarely 2).
2. Portrait with one or more curls having the pellet at the tip of the crescent. There is a degeneration in style and many coins have coarser lettering sometimes with a short-tailed R. Letter S 4 or, rarely, 3 (fig. 1, no. 33 or 32). Eyes 2 (rarely 1). Nose 4.
3. Distinctive portrait (**pl. 10, 11**) with thin pointed nose with sinister nostril damaged (fig. 1, no. 14). Often without pellets in curls and sometimes with one on the chin. Lettering of similar style to variety 2, but often slightly smaller and slimmer. Letters S 3, 4 or 5 (fig. 1 nos 32–4). Eyes 2. Nose 6.

A few obverse dies have very small portraits and are used with reverses having multiple stops. One die, shared by Ioan and Samuel (**pl. 10, 14**) has stylistic affinities with group D. There are no pellets in the curls and the lower vestigial one is omitted. The reverse of Ioan used with this obverse is also known in combination with another obverse of group C (**pl. 10, 10**).

Group D (**pl. 10, 15–17**)

Crude square portrait with no chin and faintly marked beard. There are no pellets in the curls except on a very few coins which are probably early. Thick lettering with long-tailed R similar to that on some coins of group C variety 2. Distinctive oval eyes (fig. 1, no. 3) on most coins. The evolution of this variety from group C makes the establishment of precise criteria difficult and there are a number of borderline coins which may be classified as late C or early D (cf. **pl. 10, 13**). Some coins have multiple stops on the reverse (**pl. 10, 15**). Eyes 3 (rarely 2). Nose 4 or 6. Sceptre 2 (very rarely 4 or 5).

Class 7b

The largest portion of class 7 is at present massed under the heading of 7b, which consists of any coins of the class which cannot be attributed to 7a (mainly by the letter A) or 7c (large lettering). Apart from the distinctive portrait of Brand's 7b-i, the variations in style are slight, but further subdivision is made possible primarily by the deterioration of one eye punch and the sequence of the moneyers noted for each of the new sections. Except in group B below, there are no pellets in the curls.

The following classification does not solve all of the problems and there remain a few coins which cannot be attributed with complete certainty, especially if the eye punch is not clearly visible.

Group A (**pl. 10, 18–21**)

The lettering is normally smaller than that of 7aD with a square-topped A (fig. 1, no. 28). The letter M is represented by H, except on a few early coins. Some reverses have a terminal stop or one after the third letter of the mint name. One die has both and another has a stop in the moneyer's name. There is some variation in the portrait in this large group, which could possibly be subdivided, and the following main varieties have been noted. Some reverse die-links exist between the varieties.

1. Small round face, sometimes of crude style, with square chin and faint beard (**pl. 10, 18 and 21**). A few coins have the large lettering of group 7aD and mules exist with

- reverses of 7a. The only die of this group used by Norman (Bury) is of this variety. Eyes 1 or 2. Nose 8 or 9 (rarely 4). Sceptre 2 or 6 (rarely 3).
2. More oblong face of finer style (**pl. 10, 19**). Most reverses with a stop in the mint name appear to have been used with this obverse. Eyes 1. Nose 8 or 9. Sceptre 2, 4 or 5.
 3. Larger oblong face with well-marked beard and slightly larger lettering (**pl. 10, 20**). On a few coins flaws can be seen developing in the eye punches.⁵ Eyes 1. Nose 8 or 9. Sceptre 2 (rarely 3).

Group B (**pl. 10, 22–25**)

This variety is distinguished by a pellet on the chin and usually in each curl in combination with the broken eye punch (fig. 1, no. 4). Many coins have a small neat portrait with a pointed chin (**pl. 10, 22 and 25**), but others are slightly larger and coarser with a squarer chin (**pl. 10, 24**). The lettering is small and a few with reverse stops similar to group A are possibly mules.

A variety, usually without pellets in the curls, has larger lettering and a large bust resembling that on 7bA(3) from which it may be distinguished by the pellet on the chin and the broken eyes (**pl. 10, 23**). It is probably early as it is the only variety in this group struck by Norman at Bury from a single die. It is also known for his successor Simund and the moneyers appointed in 1229/30. A few coins of London have terminal stops. Eyes 4. Nose 8 or 9 (rarely 7). Sceptre 2 (rarely 3).

Group C (**pl. 10, 26–8**)

A large portrait, normally cruder and squarer, with little chin and faintly marked beard. Broken eyes, but no pellets in the curls or on the chin. Larger lettering except on a few reverses which may be mules with group B. Most coins have a disproportionately small R and S. Some have terminal stops on the reverse and one has a stop at the head of the legend as well. Very rarely there is a stop after the third letter of the mint name, a variety normally found in group A.⁶ Eyes 4. Nose 8 or 9. Sceptre 2 or 3.

Group D (**pl. 11, 29–32**)

Square face sometimes of good style but often coarse with little chin. The eyes are unbroken annulets, usually thick (fig. 1, no. 5), but some coins have thinner ones and may be distinguished from somewhat similar coins of group A by the lettering. Some of the portraits are similar to many found in 7cA with which this issue would have been included except for the established criterion of the large lettering to distinguish 7c. In this group the lettering resembles that of group C, most coins having the very small S. Many have a new distinctive R with a long thin tail and a neater h is also used on some. Reverse terminal stops are fairly frequent. Eyes 5 (rarely 2). Nose 8 or 9. Sceptre, 2, 6 or 7.

One unusual obverse die used with a reverse reading LEDLUF ON LVN· (**pl. 11, 29**) has

⁵ It is sometimes difficult to distinguish such coins from those of 7bC. This may be effected by the state of the damage to the eye and by the lettering, which is slightly larger in the later issue. The crescent in front of the letter E is usually shorter and thicker on coins of group A and the letter V is pointed, while one or both of the punches used for this letter in group C has a flat base. The close resemblance of the portrait on some late group A coins to that on some of group C suggests that they should be sequential. However, the interposition of group B between them is confirmed by

the state of the eye punch and the moneyers. Simon (*d.* 1230) is recorded for groups A and B but not C, as is Norman at Bury, whose successor Simund commences in group B. The London and Canterbury moneyers first recorded in 1229/30 struck in B and C but not in A.

⁶ Coins with such reverses are not 7bC/A mules as they have the lettering of group C on both sides and have only been noted of Adam and Giffrei, neither of whom is recorded for the earlier group.

pellets in the curls.⁷ Despite the irregular features, the dies appear to have been made from official irons, but one cannot entirely dismiss the possibility that it is an imitation, especially as these exist with the name of Ledulf (**pl. 11, 44**).

Class 7c

Although the criteria of this class have been defined as 'a large degenerate face and tall letters', there is considerable variation in the portraits and some in the lettering allowing further sub-division.

Group A (pl. 11, 33–6)

This group has very large lettering with long fronts to C and E and a number of the coins have a large coarse portrait. However, many with this lettering have a normal sized bust with little chin, resembling some found in 7bD. They are attributed to this class because of the lettering and the fact that most of the coins of this group struck by Nichole have this style of portrait. The eyes are normally thick annulets and there are no pellets in the curls. A few coins have a chevron-barred A (fig. 1, no. 29)⁸ and the reverses with this tend to have slightly smaller lettering. This variety is probably late as it is rarely found in the next group (**pl. 11, 38**). Mules with reverses of 7bD occur. No reverse stops have been noted. Many coins are carelessly struck, often on flans too small for the dies. Eyes 5. Nose 8 or 9. Sceptre 3 (rarely 2).

Group B (pl. 11, 37–41)

The coins attributed to this group have a neater portrait with a more oblong face often with a pronounced chin and beard. Coins without pellets in the curls and annulet (often irregular) eyes are probably the earliest and are rarely found with 'chevron-barred A' reverses – perhaps B/A mules (**pl. 11, 38**). Later coins usually have pellets in the curls (normally six, but one die has only four) and the eyes are 'pellet-in-annulet' or 'blob' (fig. 1, nos 7 and 8). These solid annulets may be later as they are probably from filled-in punches of the 'pellet-in-annulet' type. One die shared by Ioan F. R. and Willem also has a pellet on the chin (**pl. 11, 40**). The lettering is similar in style to that of group A but often tends to be slightly smaller as on the 'chevron A' reverses. A few coins, probably late, have a thick initial cross similar to that found in group C. Some reverse dies have terminal stops. Eyes 5, 6, 7 or 8. Nose 8 (rarely 9). Sceptre 2.

Associated with this group is a most unusual obverse die (**pl. 11, 41**) used at Canterbury by Henri and Willem. The large coarse portrait has pellets in the four curls and differs in style from any other found in class 7. It has the appearance of an imitation, but the punches used to make the dies closely resemble those on regular coins and it is perhaps an official obverse die.

Group C (pl. 11, 42–3)

This rare late variety has portraits bearing some resemblance to those on a few coins of class 8. The beard is pointed and distinctly marked and there is a minute pellet in each of

⁷ Two other obverse dies of this period with pellets in the curls have been noted – one, used by Adam, is of 7bD, while the other, used by Giffrei, is of 7cA and also has a pellet on the chin.

⁸ The chevron-barred A has been noted on coins of the following:
London, Adam.
Canterbury, Ioan Chie, Ioan F.R., Nichole, Willem.
Bury St Edmunds, Simund. (A coin of Ioan has this form of letter in the moneyer's name only, but does not belong to this variety, being later).

the six curls. The lettering is large with a distinctive tall narrow N. The initial cross is very thick with such slight serifs as to appear plain on some coins – this is also found on a few coins of group B. Rarely there are terminal stops on the reverse. This variety has only been noted for the five moneyers⁹ striking in class 8 and its position is also confirmed by mules with class 8 reverses.¹⁰

Eyes 2. Nose 9. Sceptre uncertain (usually off flan).

Chronology

Having established the proposed subdivision, it is appropriate at this point to examine its validity and suggest approximate dates for the new groups in the light of the documentary evidence¹¹ which may be summarised as follows:-

LONDON

Abel. Retired before 1222 (7aB & C). Replaced by Terri.
 Elis. Appointed 1218¹² (7aC – 7bA). Possibly replaced by Adam.
 Terri. First recorded 1221/2 (7aD – 7bB). Replaced Abel. Possibly replaced by Giffrei.
 Adam. First recorded 1229/30¹³ (7bB – 7cA). Possibly replaced Elis.
 Ricard. First recorded 1229/30. Dead by 1237 (7bB – D).
 Ledulf. Appointed 1230 (7bB – 7cA).

CANTERBURY

Ioan. Dead by 1237 (7aA – 7cA).
 Iun. Before 1222?¹⁴ (7aA – 7bA). Replaced by Ioan Chic.
 Samuel. Before 1218?¹⁵ (7aA – D). Replaced by Saloman.
 Simon. Died in or before April 1230 (7aA – 7bB). Replaced by Willem Ta.
 Walter. Retired 1218 (7aA – B). Replaced by Roger of R.
 Roger of R. Appointed 1218 (7aA – 7bC). Replaced Walter.
 Saloman. Appointed 1218?¹⁵ (7aD – 7bA). Replaced Samuel.
 Thomas. Recently dead in 1235 (7aA – 7bD). Replaced by Robert.
 Ioan Chic. First recorded in 1221/2 (7bA – 7cB). Replaced Iun.
 Ioan F.R. Died in or before 1240/1 (7bC – 7cB).
 Osmund(e). After 1226?¹⁶ (7bA – 7cB).
 Willem Ta. Appointed April 1230 (7bB – 7cA). Replaced Simon.
 Robert. Appointed 1235 (7bD – 7cA). Replaced Thomas. } Probably retired on mid 1237 – see note 19.

BURY ST EDMUNDS

Willelm. Retired 1218 (7aB – C).
 Norman. Appointed 1218¹⁷ (7aC – 7bB).

It will be seen from the above and figure 2 that the documentary evidence appears to support the proposed classification and indicates the following approximate dates for the new groups.

⁹ It seems likely that the moneyer Ioan at Canterbury in class 8 is the class 7 moneyer Ioan Chic who would no longer require the distinguishing second name when he became the sole Ioan at Canterbury after the death of Ioan F.R.

¹⁰ Two exist with reverses of 8a (London) and two with reverses of 8b (London (illustrated in *BNJ* 25 (1945–8), 286) and Canterbury).

¹¹ Lawrence, 'The Short Cross Coinage', pp. 73–5; L.A. Lawrence, 'More chronology of the Short-Cross period', *NC* 4th ser. 16 (1917), 10–12; J.D. Brand, 'Some Short Cross Questions', *BNJ* 33 (1964), 65–7.

¹² There is a reference in 1220–1 that Abel, Ilger and Rauf refused to admit Elis to their company. Brand, 'Some Short Cross Questions', p. 66.

¹³ 'There is some documentary evidence that Adam was

not appointed until 1229–30', Brand 'Some Short Cross Questions', p. 66.

¹⁴ This moneyer has been identified as the Eudo (or Odo) Chiche mentioned in the rolls of 1218 and was probably related to Ioan Chic, who replaced him in the lists of 1222, and Simon (Chiche).

¹⁵ There is some uncertainty about this date as the name of 'Salomon filius Samuelis' is inserted over an erasure on the roll of 1218 and the coins indicate that he may have taken office somewhat later (see p. 000).

¹⁶ Documentary evidence exists that in 1226 Osmund was not to have a die that had been given to him. Brand, 'Some Short Cross Questions', p. 67.

¹⁷ Coin evidence indicates that Simund replaced Norman c.1229/30 (see p. 34).

Class 7a,	groups A & B c.1217–18	Class 7c	C c.1232–33
	C c.1218–21		D c.1234–36
	D c.1221–22		A c.1237–39
Class 7b	A c.1222–28		B c.1240–41
	B c.1229–31		C c.1242.

Some difficulties arise in the chronology of class 7a. There seems little doubt that groups A and B are early as coins of Walter (Canterbury) and Rauf (Bury) are only known of these varieties. Moreover, mules exist with reverses of 6d in both groups (pl. 10, 1 and Stewart nos 88–90). Although the coins of Bury suggest that group A is the earlier (Rauf's successor Willelm struck mainly in group B), coins of Walter and Roger of R, who replaced him at Canterbury, exist of both varieties indicating that they may not be sequential. The entry of 20 January 1218 on the roll of the Lord Treasurer's remembrancer which records this change of moneyers also shows the replacement of Samuel by his son Saloman. This appears to pose another problem for the proposed arrangement, as Samuel is known for all varieties of 7a, while Saloman appears to commence striking in group D. This has been dated c.1221–2 on the evidence of the coins of Elis (admitted after 1220/1), who appears to have commenced striking in late group C, and Terri (c.1222), who has been noted in 7a for coins of the last group only. This would appear to throw some doubt on the chronological significance of the groups or on the date that Saloman actually replaced Samuel. However, the name of the former is inserted on the roll over an erasure and it seems likely that his appointment was later than the date of this. The proposed arrangement derives some confirmation from the coins of the mint of Bury where the sequence of the single moneyer was Rauf – Willelm – Norman.

The arrangement of class 7b calls for little comment since it is largely based on the documentary evidence of the sequence of the moneyers and the deterioration of the 'realistic' eye-punch. Group B breaks the progression of late A into C, but the evidence of the moneyers appointed c.1230 confirms its position in the series, as does the use of the damaged eye-punch. Some confirmation of the lateness of groups C and D is provided by the Eccles hoard, which has been dated no later than 1230,¹⁸ as the selection of coins from this hoard in the British Museum contains no variety later than 7bB.

Class 7c has been subdivided by the variation in the style of the portrait in combination with the declining number of moneyers active at the two main mints, since the only unequivocal records relating to the moneyers striking in this class are those of the deaths of Ioan (of Canterbury) by 1237 and Ioan F.R. in or before 1240/1.¹⁹ The sequence of the groups is confirmed by the coins of Bury where Simund is known of groups A and early B, while his successor Ioan is found in B and C. Apart from a superficial resemblance of the portrait in group C to some found in class 8, its position is confirmed by mules with that class¹⁰ and the moneyers, which are the same (assuming that Iohan of class 8 at Canterbury is the Ioan Chic of class 7 (see note 9)).

Moneyers

The new arrangement indicates a complement of four moneyers at London mint throughout the issue,²⁰ decreasing to two in 7cB²¹ and to one in 7cC. At Canterbury, there

¹⁸ Ian Stewart, 'The burial date of the Eccles hoard', *NC* 7th Ser. 20 (1980), 194–7.

¹⁹ On 30 June 1237, Nichole seems to have agreed to pay compensation to Robert and Willem Ta for the loss of their dies. *CPR*, 1237, 190–1.

²⁰ This is not evident in groups A and B of class 7a when

only three moneyers appear to be striking. This is probably the result of the refusal of the existing moneyers to admit Elis (see note 12 above).

²¹ Giffrei has only been noted in 7cB from a very early variety without pellets in the curls.

SHORT CROSS CLASSES 7 AND 8

	7a				7b				7c		
	A	B	C	D	A	B	C	D	A	B	C
LONDON											
Abel	X	X	X								
Ilger	X	X	X	X	X	X					
Rau(1)f	X	X	X	X	X	X					
Elis			X	X	X						
Terri				X	X	X					
Adam						X	X	X	X		
Ledulf						X	X	X	X		
Ricard						X	X	X			
Giffrei							X	X	X	X	
Nichole									X	X	X
CANTERBURY											
Samuel	X	X	X	X							
Walter	X	X									
Henri	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	
Ioan	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X		
Roger	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X			
Simon	X	X	X	X	X	X					
Tomas	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X			
Roger of R	X	X	X	X	X	X	X				
Salemun				X	X						
Iun	X	X	X	X	X						
Ioan Chic					X	X	X	X	X	X	X
Osmunde					X	X	X	X	X	X	
Willem						X	X	X	X	X	X
Willem Ta						X	X	X	X		
Ioan FR							X	X	X	X	
Robert								X	X		
Robert Vi									X		
Nichole									X	X	X
BURY ST EDMUNDS											
Rauf	X	X									
Willelm		X	X								
Norman			X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	
Simund						X	X	X	X	X	
Ioan										X	X
DURHAM											
Pierres		X									

FIG. 2 Mints and Moneyers in Class 7

appears to have been eight moneyers (as in class 6) except in groups B and C of class 7b, where there were possibly nine. As at London, the number decreases in groups B and C of 7c to six²² and three respectively.

Lawrence included the moneyer Norman as one of those striking at Canterbury in class 7b and this reference has been accepted by later writers. There are in the British Museum five coins of class 7aC reading NORMAN ON CAN, all from the same dies, and it seems likely that the entry was made on the evidence of these. It is probable that the coins were in fact struck at Bury as the insertion of CAN for SAN is a simple error and the coins fit into the series struck by Norman at that mint. Consequently, the moneyer has been omitted from the lists of Canterbury in this paper, but the question would require further consideration should coins of 7b also exist, although even this would not furnish conclusive proof that a moneyer called Norman was working at Canterbury during early class 7.

Bury St Edmunds with its complement of one moneyer struck coins throughout class 7, but the survival of only one die of the large group A of 7b appears to indicate that the mint there was inoperative for several years between c.1222 and c.1228.

Stops on the reverse

Although the practice of inserting a stop before and after ON ceased in class 7 (there are a few very rare exceptions), a number of reverse dies in that class had stop(s) in other places. This started in 7a (groups C and D), where as many as six were sometimes used (each side of the initial cross, each side of ON and in the middle of the moneyer's name and the mint signature).²³ This practice was continued sporadically throughout the class, but was subsequently confined to one or, rarely, two stops. A terminal stop or one after the third letter of the mint name occurs on some dies with small lettering used with obverses of 7bA. Some of these are found with obverses of 7bB with the small neat portrait and may be 7b B/7b A mules. Thereafter the stop is normally found only at the end of the legend and has been noted in 7bB (coarse style) to 7b D. The same stop is found rarely on reverses used with obverses of 7c B(late) and C. Although they are not common, terminal stops occur too frequently to be mere space-fillers.

Halfpence and farthings

Records show that dies for making round halfpence and farthings were delivered to Ilger and three other London moneyers on two occasions in 1222.²⁴ In the absence of any survivors, some numismatists have concluded that the dies were not used,²⁵ although there is some contemporary evidence that halfpence and farthings had probably been issued. These doubts have now been resolved by the recent discovery of a round halfpenny attributable to this period and, in the light of this, it seems reasonable to assume that farthings also were issued.

The types and legends of the halfpenny are similar to those of the pence, differing only in the reverse initial mark, which is a crescent. As one would expect from the date on which the dies were issued, the style of the portrait and lettering resembles that of the pence of

²² In 7cB no late varieties have been recorded of the three Canterbury moneyers who did not strike in 7cC. Osmund is only known from an early coin without pellets in the curls, Ioan F.R. from a coin of similar style with pellets in the curls and on the chin (pl. 11, 40), while Henri has only been recorded from the coin of irregular style discussed on p. 31 (pl. 11, 41).

²³ Stewart 'English Coinage in the later years of John and

the minority of Henry III', p. 36.

²⁴ R. Ruding, *Annals of the Coinage*, 3rd edn, 1840, p. 182 citing *Mem. Roll 6. H. III*, Roll 3b.

²⁵ Lawrence, 'The Short Cross Coinage', p. 73. However, some earlier writers correctly predicted that the coins had probably not survived, e.g. Martin Folkes, *A Table of English Silver Coins* (1745) p. 7.

late 7a/early 7b. The form of stopping on the reverse, which reads TER·RIONLUN·D, suggests an association with the earlier class, but this can only be resolved conclusively if a halfpenny of Raulf turns up.

Class 8

The classification of this series by Elmore Jones in 1948 was written at a time when the coins were considerable rarities.²⁶ Despite the paucity of the English material on which he based his study, subsequent finds abroad,²⁷ whilst indicating the possibility of some refinement, have confirmed the accuracy of his arrangement. Tribute to this was paid in the report on the Gisors hoard.²⁸

The arrangement subdivided the issue by the three styles of letter X on the obverse and noted the extremely rare use of an initial cross pattée on the reverse of the earliest coins. Unfortunately, later students made the prime subdivision by the reverse initial cross and the secondary division by the letter X producing the following somewhat unrealistic classification.

8a. Initial cross pattée. 'Long Cross' X.

8b. Initial cross pommée.

1. 'Long Cross' X.

2. Wedge X.

3. Pommée X.

This would have been more logically presented in the following manner, since the obverses of 8a and 8b₁ differ only stylistically.

8a. 'Long Cross' X.

1. Initial cross pattée.

2. Initial cross pommée.

8b. Wedge X. Initial cross pommée.

8c. Pommée X. Initial cross pommée.

With such a classification it would be seen that the dies of 8b₁ are really part of the 8a issue used with new reverses. While the earliest of the cross pommée reverses have large lettering similar to that on the obverse dies, the majority found with 8b₁ obverses have the smaller lettering used on 8b₂ coins.

However, as remarked earlier, it can only cause confusion to disturb an established system of designation and the generally accepted one is used in the following remarks.

The portrait of class 8 has an oval face with a pointed chin terminating in a pellet. There are usually two curls (crescent and pellet) on each side, except on two dies of 8b₁, which have three, and in 8b₂, where there is some variation. The eyes are normally annulets, but become large pellets on the later coins. The lettering has a distinctive h and incurved N. The open C and E mentioned by Elmore Jones as characteristic of this class occur only on a few early coins and they are closed on most coins. There are often stops in the reverse legend and on the obverse after HENRICUS.

Class 8a (pl. 11, 45)

Portrait of neat style. Large lettering with a 'curule' X. Sometimes a pellet after HENRICUS. Normally no stops on the reverse, but one die has three pellets before ON. Initial cross pattée. Mules with obverses of 7cC exist. This is an extremely rare variety with only three specimens known.

London (LUN) – Nichole.

²⁶ *BNJ* 25 (1945–8), 286–90.

²⁷ Gisors hoard – 32 specimens, *BNJ* 40 (1971), 22–43.
Aegean (Naxos) hoard – 274 specimens, *CH* no. 339. Ribe

hoards – 49 specimens (1911 find); 25 specimens (1958 find), in *NNA* (1971), 38–59.

²⁸ *BNJ* 40 (1971), 29.

Class 8b₁ (pl. 11, 46)

Similar portrait and lettering. Initial cross pommée. Usually three pellets after Nichole on coins of London. Although the reverses of Bury and a few of London have lettering similar to that on the obverse, the majority have the smaller variety associated with 8b₂ and should perhaps be classified as 8b₁/8b₂ mules. One obverse die used at London has a Gothic N.²⁹ An unusual portrait on a coin from the Naxos hoard has an extra curl each side of the crown band and realistic oval eyes from punches not seen on any other coins of this period (pl. 11, 46). Despite its irregular appearance, the lettering confirms that it is from official dies. This is the rarest of the varieties with a cross pommée initial mark.

London (LUN) – Nichole.

Bury (SANTE) – Ioan.

Class 8b₂ (pl. 11, 47–51)

Similar portrait, initially of good style but degenerating in the course of the issue. Smaller lettering with X of wedges – in the form of a cross pattée on most coins, but the placing of the upper and lower wedges produces the effect of a crude curule X on a few coins, perhaps intentionally (pl. 11, 49). Coins with this may be distinguished from 8b₁ by the size of the lettering. Three, two, one or no pellets after HENRICUS. On the reverse there are usually three (occasionally two or one) pellets after the moneyer's name or, rarely, after ON. The coins of Bury display a more complex system of stopping on the reverse often with three pellets in the mint name in addition to those before or, rarely, after ON. The initial cross is pommée, but on one London die this appears to have been converted into a cross pattée.³⁰ There is also some variation in the number of curls, many coins having a small half curl beside the crown. Most coins have two or two and a half curls, but some (probably late) have one and a half, while one London die has three. On many coins the pellet is placed at the tip of the crescent instead of centrally and on a few it is omitted. The face becomes longer and thinner and sometimes one or both eyes are large pellets, probably due to the filling in of the annulet punch. A Gothic N occurs in the moneyer's name on one London die (pl. 11, 48), in the mint name on one Canterbury die of uncertain moneyer (perhaps Ioan)³¹ and on one obverse used at Bury (pl. 11, 50). The critical letter X is not visible on the latter, but the portrait and lettering suggest that it is of this sub-class. One obverse die was used with a London and a Canterbury reverse.³² Cross pommée reverses of London and Canterbury muled with obverse dies of 7cC may be of this variety although the London reverse could possibly be of 8b₁ (see note 10).

London (LUN or, rarely, LUNÐ) – Nichole.

Canterbury (CAN, CANT or, rarely, CA or CANTE) – Ioan, Nichole, Willem.

Bury (SANTÉD or SANTEÉD) – Ioan.

Class 8b₃ (pl. 11, 52–6)

Portrait of coarser style usually with large pellet eyes (a few coins, which are probably early, have annulets for one or both eyes). Most coins omit the pellet on the chin. There

²⁹ F. Elmore Jones sale, Part 1 (13 April 1983), Lot 1230.

³⁰ F. Elmore Jones sale, Part 2 (10 April 1984), Lot 1529. It seems probable that the mark is a cross pommée struck over a cross pattée erroneously inserted. The lettering confirms that the die is of class 8b₂ and not a converted one of 8a.

³¹ F. Elmore Jones sale, Part 1, Lot 1228.

³² F. Elmore Jones sale, Part 1, Lots 1228 & 1229. It is very unlikely that this obverse die was transferred between

the two mints. A similar case occurred with an obverse die of Edward I, which was used with reverses of London and Canterbury. The unusual composition of the Mayfield (Sussex) hoard of 1968, in which the two Edward pence were found, makes it extremely unlikely that the obverse die was used at Canterbury and more probable that a reverse die of Canterbury was erroneously sent to the London mint and used there. (cf. *Mints, Dies and Currency*, edited by R.A.G. Carson (London, 1971), p. 153).

are always two curls containing pellets on each side. One die has small annulets instead of pellets in the curls (pl. 11, 53). One pellet or none after HENRICUS, but one early die with annulet eyes and a pellet on the chin has three (pl. 11, 52). Often three (rarely one) pellets after the moneyer's name. Again, pellet marking (two or one) varies considerably at Bury, where it occurs before or within the mint name and sometimes before or after ON. The lettering is often larger and coarser than on 8b₂ and Gothic Ns are sometimes used (pl. 11, 54–5). Coins are usually less carefully struck than those of the earlier varieties.

London (LUN or LUN) – Nichole.

Canterbury (CA, CAN, CAn or, very rarely, CANT) – Iohan, Nichole, Willem.

Bury (SANE, SANED or SANTED) – Ioan.

The relatively small number of class 8 coins that have survived make it unwise to draw any firm conclusions from the absence of 8a and 8b₁ of Canterbury mint. The first variety is extremely rare and was possibly only struck at London. However, class 8b₁, although rare, is also known of Bury and one would expect Canterbury to have been striking. If the absence of such coins is due to the temporary closure of the mint rather than the non-survival of any specimens, perhaps the reason for this is the long gap between the death of Edmund Rich on 16 November 1240 and the granting of the temporalities to his successor, Boniface of Savoy, after 22 February 1244. Numismatic evidence suggests that the Canterbury mint may have closed at times when the temporalities were not controlled by the archbishop,³³ despite the resulting loss to the king of his major share of the profits, although this would perhaps have been more than compensated by increased activity at the royal mints. If this hypothesis has any validity it may explain some of the gaps in the emissions of the Canterbury mint during the thirteenth century.

Key to the Plates

All coins except no. 45 (Ian Stewart collection) are in the author's collection. Nos 22, 24, 30, 34, 38–9, 41–9, 51 and 53–6 are from the Aegean (Naxos) hoard.

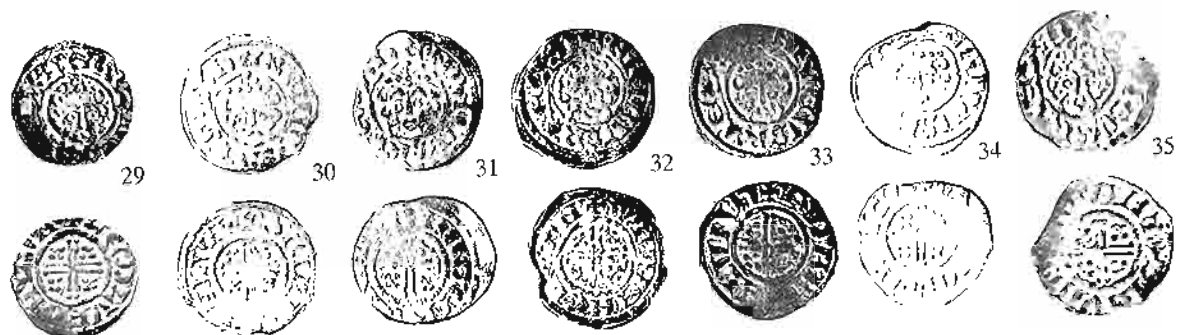
1.	7a A	London	Ilger	Large face. Reverse of 6d (second N is pellet-barred).
2.		Canterbury	Henri	Ornamental C on reverse.
3.		Canterbury	Iun	
4.		Canterbury	Samuel	Large face.
5.	7a B	London	Abel	
6.		Canterbury	Roger	
7.		Canterbury	Roger of R	Reverse die-linked with group A.
8.	7a C	London	Abel	Large portrait with pellets in all curls. Die-linked with Ilger and Raulf.
9.		London	Raulf	Pellet on chin and in curls.
10.		Canterbury	Ioan	Multiple stops on reverse.
11.		Canterbury	Iun	Pellet on chin; none in curls.
12.		Canterbury	Roger	Multiple stops on reverse.
13.		Canterbury	Samuel	Late portrait resembling group D.
14.		Canterbury	Samuel	Small face die-linked with Ioan. Multiple stops on reverse.
15.	7a D	London	Terri	Multiple stops on reverse.

³³ It has been suggested that John's quarrel with Archbishop Stephen Langton resulted in the suspension of minting operations at Canterbury for several years: c.1208–13, since no coins of that mint exist of class 6a – and possibly late

5c and early 6b. Ian Stewart, 'English Coinage in the later years of John and the minority of Henry III. Part 2', *BNJ* 51 (1981), 93.

16.		Canterbury	Salemun	First letter A of 7b style.
17.		Canterbury	Samuel	Pellet on chin and before ON.
18.	7b A	London	Ilger	Terminal stop on reverse.
19.		London	Raulf	Double-barred N in LVNDE.
20.		Canterbury	Ioan	Terminal stop on reverse.
21.		Canterbury	Salemun	Early letter M.
22.	7b B	London	Ilger	Stop in mint signature. Small lettering.
23.		London	Ledulf	Coarse portrait. No pellets in curls. Larger lettering. LVD.
24.		London	Raulf	Large portrait. No pellet on chin. Small lettering.
25.		Canterbury	Roger of R	Small lettering.
26.	7b C	London	Geffrei	Terminal stop on reverse.
27.		London	Ricard	Die-linked with Adam.
28.		Canterbury	Henri	
29.	7b D	London	Ledulf	Pellets in curls. Terminal stop on reverse. LEDLVF
30.		London	Ricard	Terminal stop on reverse.
31.		Canterbury	Roger	
32.		Canterbury	Willem	
33.	7c A	London	Adam	
34.		Canterbury	Willem Ta	
35.		Bury	Simund	
36.		Bury	Simund	Chevron-barred A.
37.	7c B	London	Nichole	'Blob' eyes. Four curls with pellets.
38.		Canterbury	Nichole	No pellets in curls. Chevron-barred A.
39.		Canterbury	Nichole	Pellet-in-annulet eyes. Pellets in curls.
40.		Canterbury	Ioan F.R.	Pellet on chin and in curls. Die-linked with Willem.
41.		Canterbury	Henri	Unusual portrait. Four curls containing pellets. Die-linked with Willem.
42.	7c C	London	Nichole	
43.		London	Nichole	Terminal pellet on reverse.
44.	Imitation	'London'	'Ledulf'	
45.	8a	London	Nichole	
46.	8b ₁	London	Nichole	Unusual portrait. E:O
47.	8b ₂	London	Nichole	S:R - E:O 2½ curls.
48.		London	Nichole	S ? R - E:O 2 curls. Gothic N in NICHOLE.
49.		Canterbury	Willem	S:R - :ON - 2 curls. Letter X resembles curule form.
50.		Bury	Iohan	S:R - ON:S 2½ curls. Gothic N on obverse.
51.		Bury	Iohan	S:R - :ON - 1½ curls.
52.	8b ₃	London	Nichole	S:R Pellet on chin. Annulet eyes.
53.		London	Nichole	S ? R Unusual curls. Annulet eyes.
54.		London	Nichole	S:R - NICHOL:O LVN (Final N gothic).
55.		Canterbury	Iohan	HENRICVR - :ON Gothic N in CAN.
56.		Canterbury	Nichole	E:O Made-up nose.





NORTH : SHORT CROSS CLASSES 7 AND 8 (2)