ADDITIONAL EVIDENCE FOR THE SEQUENCE OF TYPES
EARLY IN THE REIGN OF EDWARD THE CONFESSOR

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In a remarkable paper which appeared rather more than a decade ago, Mr. Peter Seaby put forward very convincing arguments that the sequence of the first four substantive types of Edward the Confessor was Pacx, Radiate/Small Cross, Trefoil Quadrilateral and Small Flan or Short Cross. How revolutionary was this new ordering can be gathered from the circumstance that the Hildebrand types in the same sequence run D, A, C, B, and the Brooke types 4, 2, 1, 3. A few years later one of the present writers was able to publish an overstrike which confirmed that Trefoil Quadrilateral followed Radiate/Small Cross, in other words that Hildebrand and Brooke both were in error, Hildebrand in intercalating Small Flan, and Brooke in reversing the order. The question of sequence is far from being academic inasmuch as a decade earlier Mr. H. H. King could argue convincingly on the basis of the coins of the Steyning mint that Trefoil Quadrilateral was the first, or if not that at least the second, substantive type of the reign, certainly preceding Pacx. The purpose of the present note is to put on record a mule which leaves little room for doubt that Radiate/Small Cross immediately follows Pacx. Since Pacx can be shown from hoard-evidence to be the first substantive type of the reign, the order of the first three issues must be Pacx, Radiate/Small Cross and Trefoil Quadrilateral, with Small Flan coming an obvious fourth immediately before Expanding Cross which all are agreed comes fifth.

The new piece of evidence is a coin from one of the great Swedish series of hoards, or more correctly a cut half of such a coin. The obverse reads:

+ ED /// /// DEE XI

the last letter forming the more predictable ‘A’ when taken in conjunction with the lefthand arm of the initial cross. There also appears the top of a diademed bust facing left, and the head of an elaborate quatrefoil sceptre. The reverse reads:

/// ELP RIC ON I

the first and the last letters both being cut off at the upright. The reverse type is a small cross pattée, and it is not to tell tales out of school to say that originally the coin had been classified as a true coin of Radiate/Small Cross type. The obverse is indistinct, and it is really only the sceptre that gives the game away. The weight of the cut-halfpenny is 0.60 g. (9.3 gr.) which is perfectly normal for the period, and the provenance a small hoard of some forty English and three times that number of German coins, together with hacksilver, concealed about the middle of the eleventh century at Kvinnegårda in the parish of Havdhem on Gotland, and discovered at intervals in the years 1893 and 1894 (Inv. 9318 = SG 258).

1 Peter Seaby, 'The Sequence of Anglo-Saxon Coin Types, 1030-50', BNJ, XXVIII, i (1955), pp. 111-146.
4 Cf. the Wedmore hoard from Somerset and the Espinge hoard from Sweden—that the Pacx type is ‘early’ also emerges from the wide range of variants, cf. a paper by Mr. Dolley just appeared in the 1966 Numismatic Chronicle.
In the accompanying textblock, enlarged direct photographs are shown below mounted between enlarged photographs of a plaster cast of an unpublished coin in the British Museum, and enlarged direct photographs of Hild. Edw. Conf. 590. Both are pennies of the Lydford mint by the moneyer Ælfric, the sole Lydford moneyer at this period. The British Museum coin, a *Pax* penny, was acquired by exchange from L. A. Lawrence in 1928, and may be presumed to be from an English find (a stray from Wedmore). It weighs 1·16 g. (17·9 gr.) and the obverse reading is:

\[ + \text{EDPERD} = \text{DREXI} \]

and the reverse:

\[ + \text{ÆL} = \text{PRI} = \text{CON} = \text{LYD}. \]

A glance should be sufficient to show that it is from the same obverse die as the new mule from the Kvinnegårda hoard, and this link alone would surely suffice to associate the latter with a mint in Devon. The coin recorded by Hildebrand in the Systematic Collection at Stockholm has an obverse reading:

\[ + \text{EDPER} = \text{DREXA} \]

while the reverse runs:

\[ + \text{ÆLFRIC ON LYDANFO}, \]

the weight being 1·12 g. (17·3 gr.). Again it should require no more than a glance to establish that the reverse die is the same as that of the mule from Kvinnegårda. The mint-signature is impeccable, and that all three coins are of the Lydford mint seems incontrovertible. It may perhaps be added that these are not quite the latest coins of the mint and moneyer. That honour belongs to two Small *Flan* coins, *BMC* 812 and its die-duplicate Hild. 407,\(^1\) though one wonders what the current excavations conducted by Mr. P. V. Addyman, F.S.A., may yet bring to light. One thing does seem certain. No more than five coins of Lydford

\(^1\) R. H. M. Dolley, 'The Last Coins of the Mint at Lydford', *SNC*, 1958, pp. 161 & 162.
seem known for the reign of Edward the Confessor, the Pacx coin in the British Museum and a die-duplicate exhibited to the British Numismatic Society by Peter Seaby\textsuperscript{1}, the mule from Kvinne\-gård\-a, BMC 812 and Hild. 407 and 590. That the five coins are by one moneyer and from only three obverse and three reverse dies must suggest that the output of the mint was exiguous, and especially when there seems no common hoard-provenance.

In conclusion, readers of this Journal may find it convenient to have a cursory listing of the mules and overstrikes that support the Seaby sequence of types for the decade c. 1040–c. 1050. That Pacx follows Arm-and-Sceptre is indicated by a number of mules of Lincoln, Romney and Thetford.\textsuperscript{2} The succession of Pacx by Radiate/Small Cross until now has been indicated by Lincoln mules which seem all from a single obverse die\textsuperscript{3}, and an anomalous one at that in that the fleur-de-lis sceptre does not occur on a single specimen of the 23 Pacx coins illustrated to date in the British Academy’s Syll\-loge of Coins of the British Isles. Only the appearance of Mr. Mossop’s promised corpus of Lincoln pence can establish finally whether the variety is to be accepted as a genuine quirk of a local die-engraver—we may also note the legend beginning before the bust instead of at the top of the coin—but the new mule from Lydford leaves little room for doubt that the sequence is valid if not the letter of the argumentation. That the Radiate/Small Cross type preceded Trefoil Quadrilateral has been shown by the Hereford overstrike to which allusion has already been made\textsuperscript{4}, as well as by mules of Northampton, Worcester and York.\textsuperscript{5} Finally, the succession of Trefoil Quadrilateral by Small Flan emerged from a unique mule of Thetford, with two other mules of Wilton and Winchester ‘skipping’ the later type and going directly into Expanding Cross, the explanation of the ‘skip’ being doubtless the disproportion of the flans.\textsuperscript{6} In every case, it should be remarked, the mules are ‘the-right-way-round’, i.e. the obverse type is the earlier, something that increasingly is seen to be characteristic of the later Anglo-Saxon series as a whole.\textsuperscript{7}

It only remains for the authors to express their thanks to Förste antikvarie fil. dr. N. L. Rasmussen for permission to publish here the new coin from the Kvinne\-gård\-a hoard which is in his charge. The photographs were taken by Mr. Lyon, and for the casts of the coin in the British Museum we are indebted to Mr. K. A. Howes.

\textsuperscript{1} BNJ, XXVIII, ii (1956), p. 430.
\textsuperscript{2} Seaby, op. cit., pp. 134 & 135.
\textsuperscript{3} Ibid., p. 136.
\textsuperscript{4} Supra, p. 59, n. 2.
\textsuperscript{5} Seaby, op. cit., p. 136—and now Winchester cf. infra p. 84.
\textsuperscript{6} Ibid., p. 137 (cf. also pp. 189 & 190).