

THE 'EADPEARD' VARIETY OF THE HAMMER CROSS TYPE
OF EDWARD THE CONFESSOR

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In 1960 Michael Dolley and F.Elmore Jones discussed the left-facing bust variety of the Pointed Helmet type of Edward the Confessor (*BMC VII b*), which, they argued, was a transitional variety belonging early in the issue of that type.¹ More recently, B.H.I.H.Stewart and C.E.Blunt have re-examined the Facing Bust/Pyramids coins of Edward the Confessor (*BMC XIV*) and have argued that the obverse design of these coins represents an initial design for the issue of the Pyramids type (*BMC XV*), which was subsequently superseded by the normal type of a profile bust.² Within the Hammer Cross type of Edward the Confessor (*BMC XI*) there is a small group of coins which differ nearly always consistently in the design of their obverses from that of the normal type, i.e. as it is described, for example, by J.J.North and B.E.H.Hildebrand. They may be considered as forming a separate variety of that type and it may be shown that the variety was again a transitional one, with the obverse dies for these coins designed and cut before the normal design was finally decided upon. The variety was not discussed by Michael Dolley in his paper upon a group of coins from the Seddlescombe find in which he isolated varieties within the Hammer Cross type.³ It was, however, briefly mentioned and accepted as a variety in its own right in the sale catalogue of the collection formed by F.Elmore Jones (Glendining, 12 and 13 May 1973) in which there were two examples present. The purpose of this present paper is, in effect, to expand and clarify the observations made there. All the coins are illustrated.

The points of difference from the normal Hammer Cross type coins are as follows:

- i. The legend begins at eight o'clock by the king's right shoulder and runs without a break to four o'clock by his left shoulder (on the normal coins the inscription begins at or near the top of the coin and is broken by the king's shoulders).
- ii. There is no initial cross (on the normal coins the X of REX at about eleven o'clock appears to serve a dual purpose as also the initial cross).
- iii. The king's name is rendered EADPEARD or, in one instance, EADPERD (on the normal coins it generally appears as EADPAR RD or, less frequently, as EADPAR D). The form of the king's name links the variety with the preceding type, Sovereign/Eagles (*BMC IX*), where it is frequently rendered EADPEARD or EADVVEARDVS, that is, with EA as the second vowel group. They reflect the early types of Edward the Confessor's coins where there is a tendency for the second vowel to be an E. The spelling of the name with the second vowel as an A

becomes common first in the coins of the Sovereign/Eagles type (*BMC* IX), and is then universally employed with the normal Hammer Cross type (*BMC* XI) and the two subsequent and final types of Edward the Confessor, Facing Bust/Small Cross (*BMC* XIII) and Pyramids (*BMC* XV). This shows that the variety is a transitional one, designed at the beginning of the preparation for the Hammer Cross issue. Thus the abandonment of the design of the transitional Hammer Cross coins and the adoption of the normal type marks the point when it was decided finally to abandon the middle E in the king's name and to use an A.

- iv. On three of the obverse dies the inscription continues after REX with a part of ANGLORUM (on the normal coins the legend ends with RE(+), save upon a group of presumably early dies used at Exeter* and on individual dies used at London (*BMC* 1035) and some other mints which include an A at the end of the legend). The lettering is often large and ungainly. This is particularly noticeable on the obverse dies employed by Saewine at Wilton and Godwine at Bristol, which are similar in style to a normal coin of Blacaman struck at Dorchester (F. Elmore Jones, 254) in an anomalous style. Otherwise the lettering on the normal coins of the type is generally smaller and neater.
- v. The costume on the bust of the king is shown in four different ways, with minor variations within each of these. Each style differs substantially from the form of the costume on the normal coins. The four styles are illustrated and described below as Groups A - D. On none of them is there the line of pellets beneath the lowest horizontal line denoting drapery, as is generally found on the normal coins.
- vi. The eye, which on normal coins of the type generally takes form A or B (Figure 1) is on coins of this variety generally shown as C. The exceptions occur on the dies employed by Aelfwine at Winchester (D), Godwine at Bristol (E) and Guolcwine at Gloucester, where it is in the same form as that on the normal coins. Again, save upon the coin of Guolcwine, there is no pellet on the king's cheek, a feature generally found on the normal coins.



Fig.1

- vii. The sceptre is normally headed by a trefoil of pellets (rather than by a quatrefoil of pellets as generally found on the normal coins). One coin of the variety, however, *BMC* 547 struck by Aelfwig at Hereford, does have a sceptre headed by a quatrefoil of pellets, while Michael Dolley has drawn attention to the occasional occurrence of normal coins of the type where the sceptre is headed by a trefoil of pellets.⁵
- viii. While on the normal coins the individual strokes of the king's beard are generally shown either curving slightly inwards or formed as in Fig.2, on the coins of the variety, the beard is frequently found formed of spaced vertical strokes (Saewine and Alfwold at Wilton, Godwine at Bristol, Aegelric and Aelfwig at Hereford). In some instances the strokes are slightly curved (Leafwold at Winchester, Guolcwine and Ordric at Gloucester), while on

Fig.2

one exceptional coin (Aelfwine at Winchester) the curvature of the strokes is exaggerated to give a very 'bushy' effect to the beard.

- On no coins of the variety are the strokes of the beard formed as in Fig.2.

In his brief discussion of the Hammer Cross type coins in the British Museum collection, Michael Dolley classified the forms of the king's crown into three main types: the crown with an empty band; that with a band enclosing jewels; and that with a band with vertical divisions.⁶ Among the coins of the variety, strictly speaking the first form only is found (Fig.6, Bust D). Three further designs of the crown occur within the variety: firstly, where the band is jewelled but terminates at each end with a large pellet (Fig.3, Bust A); secondly, where the band is jewelled (save in one instance), but has straight ends (Fig.4, Bust B); thirdly, where the upright strokes above the horizontal band do not stop at the top line of this band but extend through it, and the band terminates with two curved lines at each end (Fig.5, Bust C). The four forms of the crown correspond to four main forms by which the king's costume is depicted, to give four main styles for the coins of the variety.

The coins are listed below in their separate groups. The number of surviving examples is not large, consequently the groups are represented by relatively few coins, in one instance by a single coin only. It is then possible that certain characteristics ascribed to each group may prove, when further examples of that group come to light, not to be typical of it. Of the four styles listed as Busts A to D, D is almost certainly the latest as the style of the drapery anticipates (but is far from identical with) that on the normal coins. Moreover, the form of the crown is one of those employed by the normal coins, while one coin of the group is atypical in showing the eye in the form of the normal coins. The form of the drapery upon Bust D is based upon that on Bust B but reversed. Bust B is then likely to have been employed after Bust A. Bust C is an exceptional type difficult to place in the sequence. I have tentatively placed it before Bust D as the band of the crown does have curved ends of a sort. The exotic crown and very elaborate drapery suggest, however, that it is best regarded as an aberration from the probable proper sequence of A, B and D.

Bust A is at present known from only two obverse dies employed at Winchester and Gloucester. The narrow band of the king's crown is jewelled and at each end are large pellets. The central upright bar of the crown rises slightly higher than the two end bars. The brooch on the king's right shoulder is shown by an annulet (a feature seen also on Bust C). The drapery over the right shoulder is shown by two pairs of lines running diagonally downwards to the right and the left from the annulet. No drapery is shown to suggest the left arm. Four gently curving horizontal bands of drapery, three of which begin at the annulet, run across the king's chest, slightly downwards from the viewer's left to right. There are two spaced pellets on the shaft of the sceptre. The legend continues after REX with a part of ANGLORUM.



Fig.3 Bust A

Winchester, Leofwold.

1. Reverse a. Obv. **EADPEARDREXANGL.** Rev. **+LEOPOLD·ON·VI·NCE**

BMC 1473, ex Chancton find (1866). Die ratio + . Wt 19.8grs

1. Reverse b. Obv. same die as 1a Rev. **†LIOFPOLDONPINCES**
 F.Elmore Jones collection (Glendinging 12 and 13 May 1971),
 956. Die ratio not noted. Wt 19.2grs
1. Reverse c. Obv. same die as 1a and b Rev. **†LIOFPOLDONPINCES†**
- i. *BMC* 1478, ex Chancton find (1866). Die ratio +.
 Wt 19.4grs
- ii. *SCMB* 1978, E 171 = *NCirc* 80 (1972), 8388. Die ratio
 and weight not noted.

Gloucester, Ordric.

2. Obv. **EADPEARDREXA** Rev. **†ORDRIE CNLEIFCEST**
SCBI 9: *Ashmolean* part 1, 941. Die ratio +. Wt 19.3grs.

J.D.A.Thompson read the mint name as LEICCEST and ascribed the coin to Chester. Ordric, however, is not cited as a Chester moneyer in the Chester sylloge and the ascription of Ordric to this city (from this coin) is queried in J.J.North, *English Hammered Coinage*, I (1963). The name is not a common one. Under Edward the Confessor a moneyer, Ordric is recorded only for Hereford in the Radiate/Small Cross type (*SCBI* 18. *Copenhagen* part IV, 898) and for Gloucester in the Hammer Cross type (*SCBI* 19. *Bristol and Gloucester*, 100 - not in the Sovereign type as incorrectly stated in the chart of moneyers at Gloucester facing page 112). He struck at this mint also under both Harold II (*BMC* 34) and William I (*BMC* 16 and 85). Reading the fourth letter of the mint name upon *SCBI* 9. *Ashmolean* part 1, 941 as a wen which it certainly resembles, rather than as a C, which it does not resemble as it lacks the bottom stroke and has a clear loop at the top of the letter, then the name can be read as a slightly blundered form of the Gloucester mint signature, with the omission of the initial G. The appearance of the diphthong ei in the spelling of the mint name of Gloucester on coins of Edward the Confessor has been discussed by Dr M.Gelling⁷ and presents no serious obstacle to this reading.

In Bust B the nose, the front end of the band of the crown and the right upright stroke above the band are in a straight line. The end of the horizontal band on the left side is similarly straight and is a continuation of the left upright stroke of the crown. The band encloses jewels, but not on the die employed at Wilton by Saewine which may be unfinished as it also omits the balls which surmount the three upright strokes of the crown. The brooch on the king's right shoulder is shown by a solid pellet. The number of vertical strokes at this side to indicate the folds of drapery over the king's right shoulder varies, but as with Bust A, there are none on the left side (save upon *BMC* 1351, struck by Alfwold at Wilton, which does show both an additional pellet-brooch and two vertical lines of drapery on this side). The die of Aelfwine at Winchester shows what appears to be a fillet formed of a line with three pellets suspended from the back of the crown. It is exceptional in this respect, although it is possible that a fillet was intended at the side of the crown on the die of Alfwold at Wilton and on that of Aegelric at Hereford (9 below, under Bust D).



Fig.4 Bust B

Bristol, Godwine.

3. Obv. **EADPEARDRE** Rev. **†GODPINEONBREEC**
SCBI 19: Bristol and Gloucester, 36a, ex F.Elmore Jones collection (Glendinging, 12 and 13 May 1971), 116. Die ratio +. Wt 20.1grs. Same reverse die as BMC 39.

Wilton, Alfwold.

4. Obv. **EADPEARDREX** Rev. **†ALFPOD·ONPILT:**
BMC 1351, ex Chancton find (1866). Die ratio +. Wt 19.4grs

Wilton, Saewine.

5. Obv. **EADPEARDREX** Rev. **†SÆPINE·ONPILTV**
i. Devizes Museum, ex Rose collection (Glendinging, 13 March 1974) 167. Die ratio +. Wt 18.5grs
ii. R.C.Lockett collection, 849 (photograph in British Museum), ex John Dudman collection (Sotheby, 15 December, 1913) 259. Die ratio and weight not noted.
iii. J.Moody collection. Die ratio and weight not noted.

Winchester, Aelfwine.

6. Obv. **EADPEARDRE** Rev. **†ALFPINE·ONPIN**
Museum of London, ex Queen Victoria Street, London find (1872). Die ratio * . Wt 17.0grs

Only one coin is known with Bust C which shares with the coins of group A the use of an annulet for the brooch on the king's right shoulder, and with coin 4 in group B the appearance of a second brooch on the king's left shoulder in the form of a pellet, with vertical lines of drapery to indicate the king's left shoulder. The appearance of a band of jewelled drapery at the king's throat indicates, however, that the design should be treated as a separate class in its own right.⁸ There are other features peculiar to the design. The horizontal band to the crown is longer and the three upright strokes of the crown do not terminate at the top of the band but continue through it, and there is a single jewel in each interstice. There are additional curved bands around the upper ends of the horizontal band. There are five parallel lines of drapery over the king's right shoulder and traces of six lines over the left shoulder, while the horizontal fold-lines which fall away from the annulet on the right shoulder are in two pairs of lines. The sceptre has a quatrefoil of pellets at the head and the king's name is rendered EADPERD rather than EADPEARD.



Fig.5 Bust C

Hereford, Aelfwig.

7. Obv. **EADPERDREX** Rev. **†ALFPIONHEREFOR**
BMC 547, ex Queen Victoria Street, London find (1872). Die ratio +. Wt 19.7grs

Bust D is known from two coins only and it may be significant that both are from mints in the South West Midlands rather than from Wessex. The design is clearly approaching that of the normal Hammer Cross type coins. This is shown firstly by the form of the drapery, which in essence is that found on Busts A and B but reversed in a somewhat unrealistic manner so that the horizontal folds of the drapery fall downwards from the pellet-brooch on the king's left shoulder. The two coins differ slightly in their treatment of the drapery at the king's right shoulder. On the coin of Aegelric at Hereford, there is a second pellet-brooch at this shoulder but no lines representing drapery over the upper arm are shown falling diagonally or vertically from it. On the coin of Guolcwine at Gloucester, however, there is an annulet brooch at the king's right shoulder and two pairs of lines fall diagonally from it to right and left, reminiscent of both coins 5 and 7 above. Secondly the form anticipates that of the normal coins of the type in the treatment of details of the king's face. While on the coin of Aegelric of Hereford the form of the king's eye is C (Fig.1), on that of Guolcwine at Gloucester it is A, one of the forms characteristic of the normal coins. On this coin also appears a pellet on the king's cheek, a common feature of the normal coins of the type. Finally, the crown has a narrow band with curved ends, one of the forms of the normal coins. It should be noted, however, that neither coin shows the line of pellets below the bottom line representing the horizontal drapery, a feature of the normal Hammer Cross coins but which, as is stated above, is always absent from the coins of this variety. The forms of the legends, too, on these two coins in no way anticipate that of the normal coins.



Fig.6 Bust D

Gloucester, Guolcwine (Silacwine ?).⁹

8. Obv. **EAD[PE]ARDR.** Rev. **+GVOL[EPI]HEONGLEPC:**
SCBI 19. Bristol and Gloucester, 105. Bt Spink, ex Argyll and Carlyon-Britton collections. Die ratio +. Wt 18.8grs. Same reverse die as BMC 466.

Hereford, Aegelric.

9. Obv. **EADPEARDREXAN** Rev. **+ELRIE:ONHL·RELOE**
SCBI 18. Copenhagen part IV, 896. Bt Curt (1858). Die ratio +. Wt 19.6grs. Same reverse die as BMC 551. The moneyer is possibly the same person as the EILRIC (= Aegelric) who was a moneyer at Worcester and who received an early, left-facing bust variety die in the Pointed Helmet issue.

As the number of surviving coins of this variety of the Hammer Cross type is small, the conclusions should not be considered as absolutely final. Nevertheless, it may be seen that it is apparently restricted to a small number of important mints in a fairly localised area of Wessex and South-West Mercia. The Hammer Cross issue is not one that is well represented among the mints of Western and South-West England, as no major hoards concealed either late in the Saxon period or shortly after the Norman Conquest are as yet known from that area. It should not, then, be assumed that the tally of coins of the variety is complete and future finds may well show that it was struck at other mints in West or South-West England.

In their paper on the transitional coins of the Pointed Helmet type (*BMC* VII b), Michael Dolley and F. Elmore Jones had concluded that 'slowly but surely the evidence is accumulating that it was normal practice to cut dies first of all for peripheral mints, presumably so that all mints could begin striking on approximately the same day'.¹⁰ They point out that no coin of that variety is known from Winchester: indeed, none is known for any mint in the eastern half of Wessex. Coins of the transitional Hammer Cross type (the next-but-one type to the Pointed Helmet issue) appear, however, at a different pattern of mints from those at which the transitional Pointed Helmet type coins are found. In Southern England they are found at mints which had not received the transitional Pointed Helmet type dies (Winchester, Wilton and Bristol), the first two lying of course in eastern Wessex rather than at the periphery. In South-West Mercia, however, the dies were sent to two mints which had received the transitional Pointed Helmet type dies. This must then either contradict the conclusions of Dolley and Jones or we must allow that transitional dies might be sent to different groups of mints for two different reasons.

There are other factors which are remarkable with the transitional Hammer Cross type coins. Firstly, the number of coins appears to be small: the variety is known so far at only five mints in a fairly restricted area, in contrast to the transitional Pointed Helmet coins which are known from fourteen mints in an area reaching as far as Lincoln and Chester. Secondly, the moneyers who employed the transitional Hammer Cross type dies were in many cases far from being the senior moneyers at their mints. For example, at Winchester Leofwold commenced striking only in the Hammer Cross type and it is difficult to see why he should have received preferential treatment in being one of the two moneyers at that mint who received the first Hammer Cross type dies. At Wilton, the moneyer Saewine began only in the previous type, Sovereign/Eagles, and did not strike after the Hammer Cross type. Alfwold, on the other hand, was an important moneyer at Wilton in the three types preceding the Hammer Cross type. In that issue, however, and in subsequent issues his output appears to have been fairly restricted. At Gloucester, Ordric is recorded as a moneyer only in the Hammer Cross type, while Silacwine's period of activity was restricted to three types only, from Sovereign/Eagles to Facing Bust/Small Cross. At Bristol, Godwine is not known as a moneyer for the two types preceding the Hammer Cross type (although he did strike in Expanding Cross) and no coins struck by him are known after the Facing Bust/Small Cross issue.

The association of coins of the Hammer Cross variety with moneyers who must have been of lesser importance at their mints suggests that these dies were not necessarily distributed before the true Hammer Cross type dies. They may have been withheld (perhaps because they were too different from the true Hammer Cross type or too reminiscent in their design to earlier types) and were sent out only at a later date perhaps to complete quotas of dies supplied to those mints and used either for the sake of economy or to save time. While this is, admittedly, purely hypothetical, it does provide an alternative interpretation to the phenomenon of 'transitional' dies that better suits the transitional Hammer Cross coins. The present writer would be first to admit that future evidence could well provide a different, more convincing explanation.

NOTES

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1. R.H.M.Dolley and F.Elmore Jones, 'Some Remarks on *BMC* Type VII Var. B of Edward the Confessor', *NC* (1960), 183-90.
2. B.H.I.H.Stewart and C.E.Blunt, 'The Droitwich Mint and *BMC* Type XIV of Edward the Confessor', *BNJ* 48 (1980), 52-57.
3. R.H.M.Dolley, 'A Small Parcel of Coins of Edward the Confessor from the Seddlescombe Find', *BNJ* 31 (1960), 76-81, esp. p.81.
4. At Exeter, the extended reading +EADPAR:REXA is found on *SCBI* 2. *Hunterian and Coats* no. 1124 and lot 220 in the R.P.V.Brettell collection (Glendining, 28 Oct.1970). +EADPARRDREXA is found on *SCBI Hunterian and Coats*, no.1125. +EADPAR'DREX:A appears on Brettell lot 192. *SCBI* 17. *Midlands Museums* no.440, with *BMC* 226 and 228 read +EADPARRDREA. Finally it is relevant to note that Brettell lot 219 includes the X of REX although not the A of ANGLORUM.
5. Dolley, 'A Small Parcel', p.81.
6. Dolley, 'A Small Parcel', p.81.
7. M.Gelling, 'The Mint Names' in *SCBI* 19. *Bristol and Gloucester Museums*, 113f.
8. According to Dolley and Jones, Bust C of the transitional variety of the Pointed Helmet type has a jewelled band at the king's throat, and it is a characteristic part of the design in the Small Flan and the Expanding Cross types.
9. The name is discussed in *SCBI* 19. *Bristol and Gloucester Museums*, p.117f. Note the use of two different forms of the letter G on the reverse, assuming, that is, that G is intended by the first letter of the moneyer's name.
10. Dolley and Jones, p.190.

PLATE



1a



1c



2



3



4



5



6



7



8



9

