



The De Wit Collection
of Medieval Coins

1000 Years of European Coinage

Part IV: The Sceattes

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PART IV: THE SCEATTAS

Now part of the
Fitzwilliam Museum Collection,
Cambridge



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INTRODUCTION

The first coin of the collection of Professor De Wit featured in the introduction of Part I of this sale - it was in 1965 that he bought the wonderful *Saluto d'oro* piece which is now part of the third catalogue.

Not long after this, in 1967 during a visit to Mr Franceschi, a coin dealer in Brussels, a group of 10 to 12 small coins caught his eye. He bought one without knowing what it exactly was, simply because he was taken by its design. Research into the matter revealed that it was a sceatta - more precisely a continental porcupine type. Further study led to encounters with more interesting types originating in England. It was their interesting iconography and the outstanding workmanship they displayed that had captured his fascination. Thus this small purchase was the beginning of an extraordinary collection of sceattas.



No. S 85

The first Sceatta of the De Wit Collection

At first, it was very hard to acquire good specimens. He bought some of them from the Elmore Jones collection (1973), later from the sales of three parcels from the Aston Rowant Hoard (1975) and in 1977 he purchased quite some coins from the Mack collection. Nevertheless the collection still consisted of only 30 coins by 1982.

In the mid-80s metal detector finds came to the sale and Professor De Wit's close contact with Spink caused the collection to increase considerably. Together with acquisitions from dealers in the Netherlands the collection grew to 170 specimens in 1993. In 1994 Patrick Finn set up business for his own, and from then on two sources of acquisition became available: Spink and Patrick Finn (as one can see in the pedigrees of the pieces). A considerable part of the collection and some of the most interesting pieces were bought in the period up to 1998.

The famous collection of Mr Subjack came onto the market in 1998 and of the 121 specimens offered for sale De Wit acquired nearly a third. Another 54 coins were added to the collection at the turn of the millennium, and with these purchases the collection grew to its final number of 421 specimens.

This collection of sceattas is now one of the most significant of its kind in the world. Therefore, and in order to do justice to its tremendous significance to research on early English coinage, it is of the utmost importance that the whole collection should remain in its entirety in the Fitzwilliam Museum in Cambridge, to which the collection has been sold.

Yet, to preserve Professor De Wit's sceatta collection for numismatists, historians and interested collectors, if only in the form of a catalogue, and also to ensure that the publication of the overall collection is not tarnished by incompleteness, we have decided to publish it in the separate catalogue now before you. By doing so, we hope to have provided you with the joy of holding in your hand a complete, illustrated and highly exciting catalogue.

As customary, each coin is displayed enlarged by a factor 2:1 and is richly commented by Professor De Wit. The individual specimens are marked with an "S" preceding their catalogue number to signify that they are part of the sceatta subcollection. We hope this catalogue might even inspire you to travel to Cambridge to view the pieces in their new setting at the Fitzwilliam.



Dr. Sebastian Steinbach



ANGLO-SAXON

INTRODUCTION

After the Romans had retreated new centres of power emerged gradually, Christianity was spread and trade started gaining momentum. These developments however took a long time, starting in the middle of the 6th century and continuing until 760.

Political development

Initially, authority was deferred to British native nobility (Britons => Celts). Some continued the Roman politics of recruiting Germanic tribes (for the most part from regions north of the Rhine estuary). In the course of time these Germanic tribes shedded British sovereignty and started forming their own power blocs. Both the Romans and the Britons called these Germanic people Saxons (*Saxones*). They would later dominate the kingdoms of east, west and south Saxony (together with the Frisians).

In central and north England Angles settled chiefly (members of a Germanic people from the region north of the Elbe).

In the late 7th century, Anglo-Saxons controlled large parts of Britain south of the Firth of Forth, which consisted of a multitude of kingdoms. Towards the edge of this region lay Wales, Dumnonia in Cornwall and western Devon and Strathclyde resp. Cumbria, all regions populated by the Celts.

At the turn of the 7th century this multitude of kingdoms had been reduced to just 7 (the heptarchy):

- 1 Kent
- 2 Essex (= Eastsaxon)
- 3 Sussex (= Southsaxon)
- 4 Wessex (= Westsaxon)
- 5 East Anglia
- 6 Mercia
- 7 Northumbria

These 7 kingdoms incessantly fought each other, regardless of the fact that they were virtually all related through marriage. In the end two kingdoms proved themselves more powerful than the others: Northumbria and Mercia, separated by the River Humber. The other five were often subordinate to one of these both. Up to 700 Northumbria expanded to the north and Mercia to the Thames, bringing London (formerly controlled by Essex) under its sway.

Kent

Original territory of the Celtic British *Cantiaci*. Despite Anglo-Saxon supremacy the Roman-British influence continued. Kent was generally ruled by two kings (East and West Kent), one of which was always dominant. The division into the two provinces presumably goes back to the end of the sixth century when West Kent is most likely to have been taken over by the rulers of East Kent. The kings possessed separate courts based in East and West Kent which is what one might expect from these regions having separate dioceses.

The first period of significance was that under King Aethelberth (580/93-616/18), son of the first king of Kent, married to the Merovingian princess Bertha. Aethelberth's dignity was that of *bretwalda* (literally „ruler of Britain“; the overlord of the southern English) and he propagated Christianity. When after the death of Aethelberth the missionaries were faced with a reaction against Christianity, King Eadbald seems to have been brought back to the true faith by Archbishop Lawrence while his co-ruler Aethelwald was saved from apostasy by Bishop Justus of Rochester (Yorke)

Though the successors of Aethelberth never held the same kind of authority as Aethelberth, their power was considerable. The circumstances changed and in 686, during the reign of King Eadric, Caedwalla and his brother Mul of Wessex invaded Kent. Mul became king of Kent, but died in 687. When Caedwalla abdicated the Kentish House returned. This short gap had far-reaching consequences for coinage: series A was still manufactured in Kent, but for series C the mint was transferred to the north.

In the 8th century Mercia and Wessex dominated the region. The Mercian overlord Aethelbald to an extent maintained Kent's autonomy during the reigns of Aethebert II and Eadbald, though he appointed the archbishops of Canterbury.

In a final effort to restore independence, Kent turned to Wessex in the early 9th century after which it became part of Wessex for good.

Wessex

The dynasty that ruled the kingdom of the West Saxons was initially made up of the rulers of the Saxon people of the *Gewisse*, who originated from the upper course of the Thames.

When King Cynegisl in 635 converted to Christianity, Dorchester-on-Thames became the new episcopal see. Later, around 660, the see was transferred to Winchester.

Due to Mercian expansion in the Thames Valley the interest of the *Gewisse* in the territory waned and during the 760s they shifted southward, setting their sights on South Hampshire and the Isle of Wight (both territories were inhabited by the *Jutes* who had established a kingdom there). The decisive victory over the *Jutes* was won when King Caedwalla took the Isle of Wight. Caedwalla ruled only briefly (685-689) but left a lasting mark on this period (see under Kent amongst others). It was in his days that the original name *Geuissae* changed to „Saxon“ or „West Saxon“. In 688 Caedwalla undertook a pilgrimage to Rome where he was baptised 10 days before his death by Pope Sergius I. He was buried in Rome.

The *Gewisse* dynasty also conquered the territory of the *Durotrige* (Dorset and Somerset) and a major part of Devon (which was a part of the kingdom *Dumnonia*). Consolidation followed under King Ine (688-726), who also controlled Sussex and Surrey. Ine was not altogether successful at suppressing rival branches of the royal house that occupied the West Saxon throne and this would remain the same during the 8th century. Ine presumably founded Hamwic (Southampton) which would later be the most important (trade) place of South England.

After Ine's death, the West Saxons lost a growing amount of terrain to the mighty kings of Mercia (Aethelbald).

Mercia

Mercia was the most powerful of Anglo-Saxon kingdoms in the period 650-825. Yet it is also the one that least is known about.

The Christian centre of Mercia was the episcopal see of Lichfield, its legal centre was Tamworth and monastic life centred around Repton. The border with the Britons lay near the rivers Dee and Severn.

The kingdom stemmed from the Angles and was called *Icelingas*, after Icel, probably the first lord over Mercia.

Penda (626-655) however is widely regarded as the true founder of Mercia. In 628 he took the Cotswold from Wessex (the Cotswold became a subsidiary kingdom of Mercia (*Hwicce*)). In 633 he defeated King Edwin and in 642 King Oswald of Northumbria and then proceeded to attack Wessex, East Anglia and Northumbria, but was checked by Oswin of Northumbria in 655.

Penda's death led to the division of Mercia and feudal subjection to Northumbria (655-658), but his son Wulfhere (658-675) succeeded in restoring independence. He was the first king of Mercia to control London.

Mercia's objective was to place members of the Mercian royal family in charge of the smaller surrounding territories.

The period after 716 is characterised by two things:

- 1 the increased power over the south english kingdoms, and
- 2 the struggle for power within the Mercian dynasty.

Aethelbald (716-757) spent his early life in exile. In the 730s he ruled all of the southern kingdoms. They were incorporated into „South England“ and Aethelbald was proclaimed „King of Britain“ (charter 736).

After he was assassinated in Seckington civil war broke out, from which Offa emerged victorious.

East Anglia

East Anglia encompassed the latter counties Norfolk and Suffolk. Records show immigration into the region around 400 (Caistor by Norwich). According to Beda later colonists (after 500) originated from Angles, but the first royal dynasty (*Wuffingas*) was more likely of Swedish decent.

In view of their common North Sea interests, it is not surprising that there was an early close link between Kent and East Anglia which is first observed in Aethelbert's attempts to convert Raedwald (ca. 599 - ca. 625), but christianisation was not easy. Bede even mentions a temple which both heathens and christians used. Still, the first bishop of East Anglia would be the Burgundian Felix, who was from Kent, a confirmation of the authority of the archbishop of Canterbury. Raedwald was presumably buried in the grave of Sutton Hoo.

East Anglian royal lineage also had close links with the Northumbrian royal house. The connection between Kent, Essex, East Anglia and Northumbria would eventually generate the important coinage of the sceattas.

East Anglia was temporarily under Mercian dominion. King Aethelberth was killed in 794 by Offa.

Essex

This was the oldest Anglosaxon kingdom. Until the 9th century it was the kingdom of the East Saxons, who would lend it its name Essex. Archeological findings show that the original colonists were from continental Saxony. The Eastsaxon royal dynasty is documented from the late 6th century.

All rulers of Essex were descendants of Sabert (around 604), a son of Sledd, who was married to Rricula (the sister of Aethenerth of Kent). Under Sabert London's importance increased.

In the 7th century, the Eastsaxon royal house dominated parts of Hertfordshire and Middlesex, including London. The western border was only 10 miles away from London, something that deeply influenced Essex's further history. Despite the fact that London was part of Essex, it was Aethelberth of Kent and not Sabert (baptised in 604 upon intervention by his uncle Aethelberth) who had St. Paul's built in London according to Pope Gregory's exact wishes. The pope wanted to make London the metropolitan see, instead of Canterbury.

Sabert was succeeded by his three sons, who turned away from the Christian belief and had Pope Gregory's missionaries thrown out of London. Things changed under Saebbi (664-694) who was more of a bishop than a king during his reign and who took up monastic life just before his death.

Towards the turn of the 7th century, the kings of Essex acknowledged the overlordship of Mercia. Even when in 716 the mighty King Aethelbald (716-757) rose to the throne in Mercia, the royal dynasty in Essex continued to exist, though how it developed is unclear. In those days London came under Mercian sway. The port of London would have been an important prize for the Mercian kings and the remissions of tolls to certain religious houses on ships using the port are one sign of the kings' interest in commerce. London was an important mint for Aethelbald and Offa, his successor, and Offa may have done much to develop the city both as a trading base and as a royal centre (Yorke).

The practice of co-kingship was usual in the Eastsaxon kingdom, which is why several kings ruled each employing their own legal system. In 825 Essex fell to Wessex and the Eastsaxon royal dynasty vanished.

Sussex

Situated between Hampshire and Kent, this kingdom approximated the *Civitas Regni* of the Romeinen, Chichester its foremost place. Germanic tribes populating this area is first documented for the 5th century; they predominantly engaged in farming the rich soils at the foot of the Downs.

Aella is generally considered the founder of Sussex, he landed at Cymenesora in 477 with his three sons. After Aelle, Aethelwath (died before 685) is the only other known king of Sussex, he was a vassal of Wulfhere of Mercia, from whom he received the Isle of Wight. He was murdered by Caedwalla.

Northumbria

From the 7th century up until the Viking raids, Northumbria was a leading political force in Britain.

Originally it consisted of two kingdoms: Bernicia and Deira. The main town in Bernicia was Bamburgh and in Deira it was York.

In the early 7th century Aethelfrith was king of both Bernicia and Deira (Edwin, the son of the former king of Deira, Aelle, was exiled). Aethelfrith defeated the Britons at Chester, but this victory would not be the end of territorial expansion.

Aethelfrith was killed in 616 by King Raedwald of East Anglia in the battle at the River Idle. This permitted Edwin to become king of Bernicia and Deira. He substantially expanded the territory, to such an extent that he eventually held effective overlordship over all Anglosaxon territories, with the exception of Kent.

Edwin was finally defeated in 633 near Haethfeld by the kings of Gwynedd, Cadwallon and the heathen Anglosaxon Penda of Mercia. In 634 Cadwallon was killed by Oswald, son of Aethelfrith, who could then take the place of Edwin. Penda continued opposing and in 642 killed Oswald. Northumbria fell apart again into Bernicia and Deira.

When Penda attacked Northumbria in 655, he was killed in battle, enabling Oswiu (brother of Oswald and king of Bernicia) to seize power over Mercia and hold it for three years. This ended when Wulfhere, son of Penda, managed to restore the power of his father. After the victory of Aethelred (brother of Wulfhere) in 679 at the River Trent the power of Northumbria was limited to the territory north of the River Humber for good. Northumbria then expanded to the north.

Oswiu was married to an Irish princess from the house of Ui Néill. From this marriage Aldfrith was born. He had been raised in Ireland and he was a scholar and a poet. Upon the death of his halfbrother Ecgfrith, he was called to the Northumbrian throne (685-705). Under him Northumbria experienced a period of great intellectual and artistical flourishing (Northumbrian Renaissance). The Lindesfarne Gospels and the Ruthwell

Cross amongst others are from this period. Aldfrith's death meant a sudden end to this Golden Age. In days when coinage was dominated by anonymous sceattas, Aldfrith had tried issuing a coin with his name (for this see under Northumbria, no. S 422 and 423), but without much success. There might have been another such attempt, by King Aethelred of Mercia (no. S 274), which in that case also failed.

The continental territories

Lacking sources sometimes cause Frisian history to be shrouded even more than the English heptarchy. The struggle with the Franks shaped the history of this territory, and certain parts of the land changed hands several times.

Shortly after the days of Dagobert I (623-639) Utrecht was held by the Franks. Then the Frisians conquered Utrecht, Dorestad and advanced as far as the Sinfal, which was the mouth of the River Schelde, thus creating „Great Frisia“.

Of early Frisian kings we know nothing. The first name history sheds some light upon is Aldgisl's, who was succeeded in 679 by Radboud (679-719).

In 687, after the Battle of Testri, Pippin went on to take the whole of the Frankish realm, seeking to reconquer what had been lost. In 689 (?) he took Castrum Duristate and *Fresia citerior* (the territory south of the old Rhine), and then Utrecht. That after 795 Utrecht and Vechten formed the northernmost footholds of the Franks is certain. Although Radboud's territory had been reduced severely, he still maintained good ties with Pippin (the son of Pippin, Grimoald, wedded Theodesinda, Radboud's daughter).

After Grimoald had been murdered by a Frisian in 714 and Pippin had died that same year, Radboud recaptured the territories that had been lost. After Pippin's death, Charles Martel took firm control of the dominion. When Radboud died in 719, Martel recaptured *Fresia citerior* and defeated the contemporary Frisian overlord Bubo (who bore a ducal title) during a campaign in 733/4, which effectively gave him sway over all Frisian territories up to the Lauwerszee.

Ecclesiastical development

Britain was christianised from different directions.

The main conversion effort came from the south. In 596 Gregory the Great asked St. Augustine (not to be confused with the more famous St. Augustine of Hippo) to spread Christian belief in Britain. He set out from France and landed on the island of Thanet in 597.

St. Augustine received great support from King Aethelberth and from his wife in particular. She was Christian and had married on the condition that she would be entitled to practise her belief in Britain. It was for her that Aethelberth founded the church of St. Martin just outside the walls of Canterbury, and it was only a matter of time before St. Augustine also ended up in Canterbury. Here, he founded the monastery of St. Peter and St. Paul (later to become the St. Augustine monastery), also outside the city walls.

St. Augustine was successful in spreading the gospel. Among other things, Justus became bishop of Rochester in 604 and Mellitus was appointed bishop of the East Saxons, his see in London.

Gregory the Great wanted London to become the archepiscopal see, but St. Augustine's close connection to Aethelberth tipped the scales in favour of Canterbury (see also under Essex).

In 601 Paulinus came to Kent. When in 625 Edwin of Northumbria wanted to enter into marriage with the sister of Eadbald (king of Kent and Aethelberth's son), Paulinus accompanied the bride with the instruction to christianise Northumbria. Edwin and many of his followers were baptised in 627. Paulinus became bishop of Northumbria and his see was in York. Paulinus worked in Bernicia and in Deira founding churches in Campodunum and Lincoln. The demise of Edwin in 633 meant an end to his missionary work. He returned to Kent where he became bishop of Rochester. Paulinus's time, 625-633, was a period of temporary and passing nature.

Real christianisation of the north would come from another direction, the Irish-Scottish border to be precise. At the request of King Oswald, the abbot of Iona Aidán took up missionary work, founding amongst others the monastery of Lindesfarne. The followers of Aidán continued his work. Thus the monasteries in the north of Northumbria and East Anglia were created.

What should be borne in mind is that christianising the region was by no means easily accomplished. First the king had to be converted, then surrounding nobility would have to be targeted, after which missionaries would finally get to the people. Thus the king had to take into account the inclination of his subjects. Bede reports that some regions maintained temples where both christians and heathens were allowed to perform religious services.

Conversion of the Frisian areas was undertaken from Ireland and the north of Britain. Wilfrid's personality (of Northumbrian birth, abbot of Ripon and later bishop of York) had made it impossible both for Theodorus,

archbishop of Canterbury, and Ecgrith, king of Northumbria, to maintain him (678). Seeking to restore his functions, Wilfrid travelled to Rome, taking the Rhine route (and not the more common route via Quentovic). He spent the winter at the court of Frisian king Aldgisl. Ebroin, the mighty Merovingian mayor of the palace, sent envoys to King Aldgisl, requesting Wilfrid to be surrendered. Aldgisl rejected. Wilfrid went on to convert a lot of people during this winter, and travelled on to Rome. Later, he would once again play a role of significance in Northumbria.

After Wilfrid Wigbert came to Frisia in 686/7. Christianisation had not asserted itself and things looked even gloomier after Aldgisl passed away in 679, and was succeeded by Radboud (679-719) who did not think much of this new belief.

In 690 Willibrord came to Frisia. He, too, was of Northumbrian birth and had been educated in Ripon near Wilfrid. Willibrord soon acknowledged that prospects of converting the Frisians were grim and he directed his efforts to the Frisia Citerior of Pippin. Willibrord was ordained archbishop on 21 November 695 in Rome and appointed the see of Utrecht. Pippin's death in 714 and Radboud's subsequent recapturing of Utrecht, prompted Willibrord to leave. When the Franks (Charles Martel) once again took control of Utrecht upon Radboud's death (Karel Martel), Willibrord returned.

Boniface (whose original name was Wybfrith; he assumed his new name Boniface upon his entry into the church), who was from Wessex, received a papal calling from Gregory II in 718 to take up missionary work. From 719 to 722 he preached in Frisia and was asked by Willibrord to become co-bishop. He declined and left.

Others assisting Willibrord were Plechelmus (Oldenzaal) and Adelbert (Egmond, see under Holland). Willibrord died in 739 leaving the episcopal see vacant for some time to come.

Boniface left for Hessen and Thuringia. In 753 he abdicated the archepiscopal see in Mainz to devote his last years - he was 78 at the time - to converting the Frisians, which would prove to be fatal when he was murdered by Frisians in 754 in Dokkum.

Missionary work in Frisia, as in Britain, was a laborious task. A little more so in Frisia as its rulers did everything they could to obstruct the missionaries.

Trade development

Christianisation of Britain heralded a new era in the development of cities. They became centres of secular and clerical administration, but they also grew into places of trade and were equipped with bulwarks for their defence.

London distinctly became the centre of trade supraregionally, the borough of Aldwych its hub.

Many ports started to play more important roles, something that caused trade with the continent - which had always existed - to gain momentum in the late 7th century. In the south of Engeland it was Hamwic that maintained close ties with the continent. Additionally the connection between Kent and Quentovic played a major role, not only with regard to trade, but also with regard to passenger traffic (pilgrimages to Rome usually went via Quentovic). Trade, heavily dependent on waterways, for the most part took place between the English east coast and the estuary of the Rhine and Meuse rivers. It therefore comes as no surprise that most coin hoards were found in this region.

Summary

Summarising, one finds that England's political system grew less complex over time. The multitude of kingdoms in the end gave way to a system in which two territories held sway over the others. Initially Mercia, under Offa, was by far the most important, but in the end Wessex prevailed and henceforth supplied the „King of all England“. A similar consolidation cannot be said to have taken place in Frisia.

In England cities with a specific function arose, whereas in Frisia there was no such development. Accompanying this development, interlocal trade emerged in a number of towns in England, yet in Frisia would stay limited to a handful of places (Dorestad). Additionally, local trade developed in England, which it did not in Frisia.

Numismatic development

With regard to coinage, one would expect it to reflect political and ecclesiastical developments as well as those of trade. Yet a classification of the sceattas along these lines has not been able to date.

In the first period, starting around 650, gold coins were struck in Britain and in Frisia, mostly imitations of current coins (to which a local mark was added) struck in low quantities (the English (thrymsas) are listed here, the Frisian examples under Frisia).

Around 680, silver coins (sceattas) started to be struck. They dominated the period 680-760.

The oldest classification system for silver sceattas is that of the B.M. Started in 1875 (BMC) as a simple numbering system, it has been adapted a few times since (Hill in 1953 and Stewart in 1984) so as to assign a unique number to each single type.

Classifying coins is usually a straightforward affair. Country and sovereign (sometimes year and place) are decisive. For sceattas however, this approach is not an option. Although the number of kingdoms was limited (of 7 only 2 or 3 were really significant) and the number of kings that ruled in the period 650-760 was actually quite small, it is nevertheless impossible to employ this classic method. Metcalf (in T&S) and many others did suggest kingdoms and kings, but invariably have difficulty proving their assertions. Blackburn and Bonser's commendable effort to propose a chronology for sceattas (BAR (1984), p. 171 and MEC I, p. 188) also clearly shows gaps in documentation, causing dubious lines of reasoning.

Therefore other approaches have been chosen, such as Hill's of 1951, who in two articles adopted a division of coinage into „Standard“ and „London derived“. This theory would mark the beginning of a new development.

In 1957 Rigold introduced a system of series, which classifies sceattas that show a distinctly similar style in series. Rigold based his idea of series on 4 criteria: internal coherence, distinctiveness, distribution and chronology. Originally Rigold had intended his system for the three oldest series (the Primary Phase), but later it would be adopted for two other series containing continental sceattas (Intermediate Phase). All other types were subsequently classified within the Secondary Phase. The Primary Phase is the period 680-690, the Intermediate Phase starts around 690 and the Secondary Phase refers to the period 700-760. The difficulty of this Secondary Phase lies in the fact that it does not follow any chronology as well as that series are generally named for their (presumed) origins, which makes it exceptionally hard to attribute newly found types to a certain series.

What we propose here is a classification of coins along two lines: a. their actual use (their function as money; means of payment, means of valuation, etc.) and b. their function as a means of propaganda (due to the lack of communication methods, coins were often the means par excellence of conveying certain messages, a fact that is well-established for Roman times).

A. The function as money

The development of cities on the one hand and the development of trade (via the North Sea) on the other made issuing money necessary. Its uses would vary: in cities, money with a limited operating range was needed, hence coins without a legend sufficed, for everybody knew what they looked like; for trade, money was needed that could be recognised throughout a large region and that moreover could be issued in larger quantities. We therefore propose to distinguish sceattas by: interlocal traffic (recognisable coins, ample in supply and current for a longer period of time) and local traffic (coins intended only for a limited range of circulation, issued in small quantities and sometimes bearing no legend).

B. The function as means of communication

Perhaps the term „means of communication“ would be more appropriate than „means of communication“. Christianisation was already in full swing in the sceatta period. Kings and their entourages had already been converted, but since christianisation was a top-down affair in this region, the people were far from converted to Christianity. Heathen cult(s) played an important role. Once the king had been converted, coins formed an excellent means of promoting the new religion. With respect to this we assume that coinage was a royal prerogative, which Metcalf, too, postulates (see T&S p. 16), but there are also some other views. Grierson and Blackburn doubt this theory (MEC I p. 159). We can however not imagine that sovereigns, mighty ones in particular as for example Aethelbald in Mercia who controlled London, did not exert influence on coinage. Many sceattas display a buste with a cross on their obverse, which in our opinion should be interpreted as a king converted. In these cases, a king could either call upon his people to follow his example (in which case the reverse will bear a distinctly Christian motif) or act cautiously and leave things at the obverse cross (in which case the reverse will bear a heathen motif). Gannon notes that (with respect to the thrymsa bearing AVDVARLD REGES, attributed to Eadbald (616-640)): „The king appears to stress his conversion to christianity by means of crosses on the coin's obverse and reverse and his adoption of romanitas (diadem) and promoted and furthered the interest of the Church to the best of his ability“ Gannon p. 46. This could also explain the distinction between a „saintly or monk king“ and a „warrior king“ (Morehart in BAR (1984), p. 182).

Curiously enough, the basis for the interlocal system was already laid down by Pada (no. S 8). He imitated the *Virtus Exercit* type of the Romans for his first coin. The obverse bears the effigy of the emperor and the reverse the standard between two prisoners, with the text *Virtus Exercit*. The Roman type had been struck in

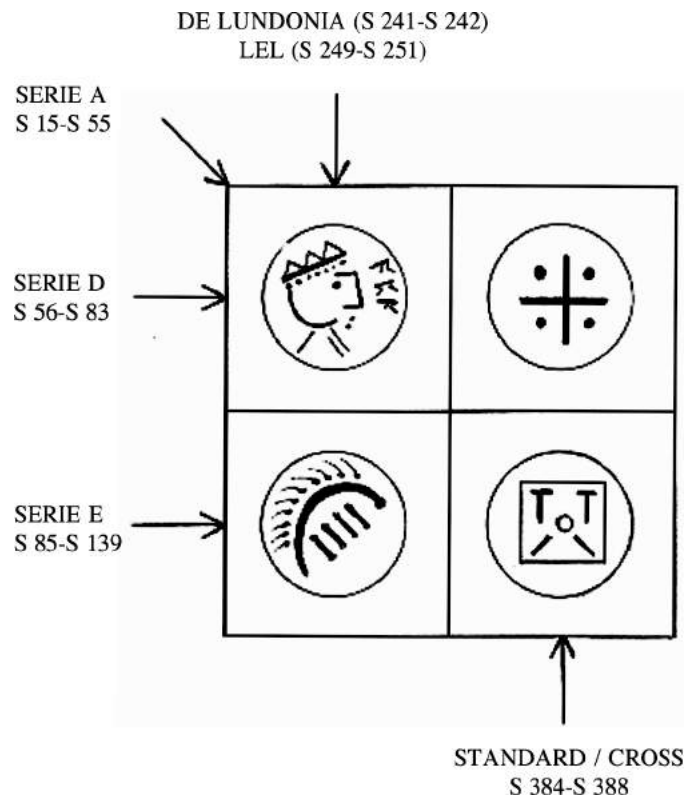
many mints in London by the emperors Constantine I, Crispus and Constantine II, and it is bound to have been a known coin. As the reference *VOT XX* would have been meaningless it was symmetrically deformed into *ToT XX*. This must have been a very limited series (there are only four known specimens).

The Pada coin was followed by serie A (from S 15). The several attributes surrounding the head were taken from the thrymsas, though the bust was given a new face (by adding a crown amongst others) and *TIC* was added in front of it. The original standard was adopted too, except for the fact that two bent lines were added at its top and the *XX* was replaced with two slanted lines. This must have been a significantly larger issue.

Series A is followed by series C (from S 20). The bust now shows *APA* in runes before it, the standard initially remained the same, but later on the tufa was replaced with a cross.

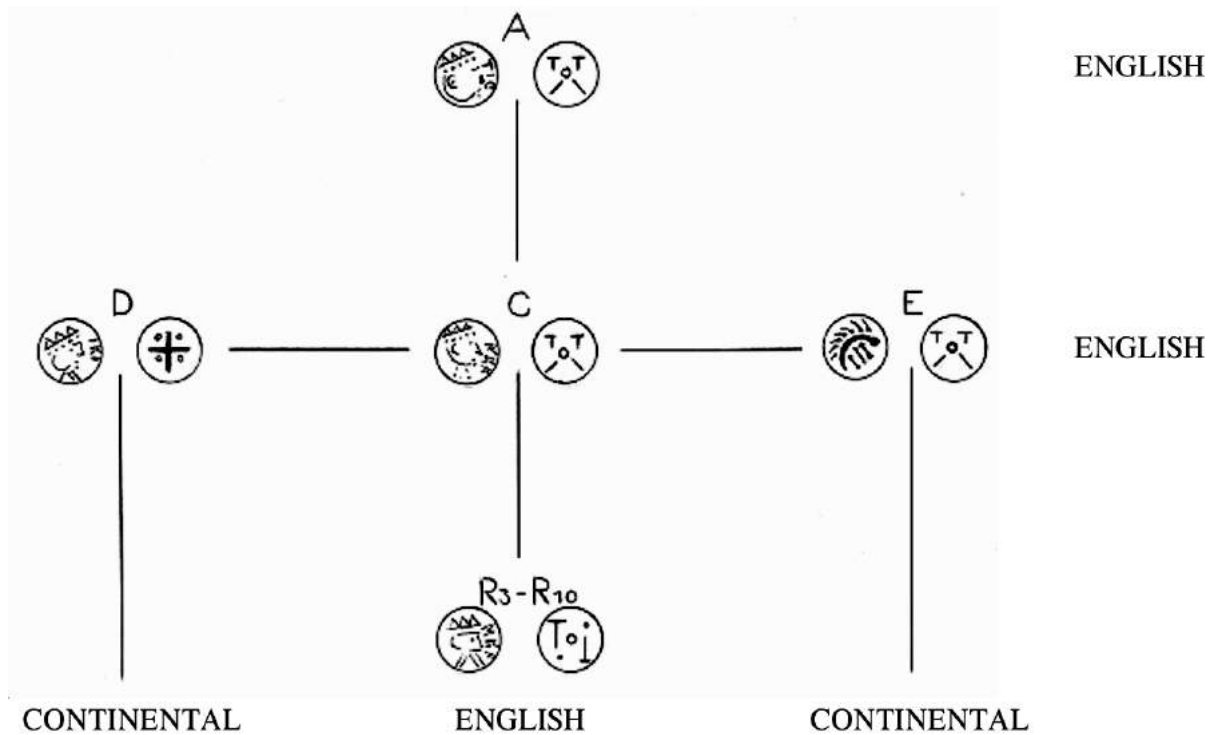
That brings us to the end of the 7th century, when the need for interlocal money quickly increased. Consequentially three major lines of interlocal coins were issued. They can be characterised as follows:

- 1 The C series was continued as R series. It has a distinctly English character
- 2 A new series (D) is created, for which the bust with *APA* was adopted, but not the reverse with standard. For that, a simple cross consisting of four dots was chosen. Its character is Frisian. This series also shows runes or corruptions of those
- 3 A new series (E) emerges, for which the standard was copied, but not the bust. Instead of it, this type shows a porcupine. Its character is a bit more southern, Domburg comes to mind. Generally, this series has no writing, or in exceptional cases a number of Latin combinations (*TICV*, *XAZO*)



Sometimes other combinations were used. The creation of series D and E (i.m.o. both made in England, see under the respective series) offers the possibility of using 4 designs in various combinations.

All the combinations of this scheme are used, except the combination: porcupine/cross. This combination doesn't exist, but it could be a connection between series D and E.



All four sides degenerate in the course of time. The bust, first realistic, changes to stylised, and after that is hardly recognisable as a bust. The cross is initially girded by a nice symmetrical pattern, later by random characters. The porcupine starts out showing nice workmanship, its arc ending in a sphere, its hair spiky and three lines in the arc, later the arc shows a jumble of symbols. The standard begins as the accurate ToT / \ only to degenerate to a much courser and simpler design.

Local money continued to be used alongside these types, particularly in England, where coins were struck with an all but endless variety of designs that often displayed great artistry.

In England coins were in also struck by ecclesiastical authorities, often showing Christian motifs on both sides.

Similar local coinage is hardly observed on the continent (with the exception of Quentovic). There were no coins bearing kings' busts, for there were hardly any kings (the few kings that did rule in this period (Radboud) were strictly opposed to the Christian belief. Needless to say, they did not engage in making propaganda for Christianity either).

In Frisia there was no ecclesiastical coinage.

Around 760 both the continent and England adopted new monetary systems and the age of sceattas was over.

The following numbers marked with an "S" in front of the catalogue-number were sold to the Fitzwilliam Museum / Cambridge. There are described to present the collection of Prof. de Wit as a whole.

THRYMSAS

The thrymsas became known in particular through the Crondall hoard (see Sutherland), which is being kept in its entirety at the Ashmolean Museum in Oxford. Thrymsas were also struck before the period of the Crondall specimens as well as after it, and were at the time known under the same name.

Apart from features copied from older continental coinage (Roman and Merovingian), thrymsas also exhibit distinctly individual traits. The Crondall hoard stems from the period 635-645.



S 1 A: Bust r. T V X I C, R: Geometric pattern. 1.152 gr.

Spink - London 1997

Found in N. Lincolnshire (Lindsey) in 1996.

Not published.

The geometrical pattern is something one also finds on Celtic coins from the Iceni region (today's Norfolk).

This, to my mind, constitutes the only coin with an obverse derivative of Roman coins and a reverse showing a Celtic motif. The gold content is high, contrary to the next coins (approx. 92%).



S 2 Witmen type - Crondall phase. A: Bust r., trident before, R: Bifurcated cross in circle of dots with meaningless legend. Suth: IV.II. 1.171 gr.

Spink - London 1997.

21 specimens came up in the Crondall hoard (in 1993 Metcalf gave a total of 28 specimens).

The trident is possibly not a trident at all, as the middle tooth is prolonged and bends to the left. Hence, Metcalf describes this object as: "a candelabrum on bifurcated base", a symbol of royal or religious authority.

Only the very first type (Suth: 57, currently at the BM) shows a legend that is fully legible: VVITMEN MONITA.

Witmen, the moneyer, is a well-known Saxon name. Sutherland (p. 46) does not deem improbable that the coin in hand was struck under an ecclesiastical authority in Rochester or Canterbury.



S 3 Wuneetton type - Ultra Crondall phase. A: Bust r. with trident, in beaded circle, R: Small cross potent, in double circle of dots WVNEETTON (reversed). Suth: IV.III.73. 1.270 gr.

Spink - London 2001.

From list 34 (1998) of Chris Rudd (this coin).

Found in a ploughed field at Dagnall, Buckinghamshire, 10.05 a.m., 9 November 1997, by David Phillips of the Bedfordshire Historical Search Society (Treasure Hunting, May 1998). EMC1998.0038.

There are 6 specimens: 1. In Sutherland no. 72, in BM, 2. In Sutherland no. 73, ex. Lockett (Found 1892), in Asm.M. (Metc.p.59,ill.77), 3. In Sutherland no. 74, in BM, 4. In MEC (p.163, no. 666) => from Seaby SCMB 1976, in Fitzw.M., 5. In Subjack sale (no. 5) Found Essex 1970, 6. This coin, die-duplicate of no. 2.

The Wuneetton group is a direct derivative of the Witmen series, which is probably Kentish in origin. Time from the 650's.

WVNEETTON is a meaningless inscription.



S 4 Crispus type - Post Crondall phase. A: Bust r., helmeted and draped CBISPV NOBCIIES, R: Cross on shaft with three upper limbs, terminating in ring ornament and in lower angles crosses \times \times \times \times \times \times (cf. left) RASEC (= the *laiona*). An ornament between the Laiona and Cesar.



Suth: II.III. 1.209 gr.

Vecchi - London, Auction 2 (1996), no. 1121.

The reverse text begins with CESAR (retrograde). It is interesting that the cross with the rings is repeated in the initial symbol. There is an ornament on the reverse between both bits of text.

There are three known specimens: BM, Subjack sale no. 6 (ex. Coddenham find), and this one. Together they provide a complete legend: small ornament RASEC large ornament ANOIAL ED (entirely retrograde). The Coddenham specimen has CAESAR instead of CESAR.



S 5 Two emperors type - right. A: Diademed bust r., R: Two small busts facing, side by side, with traces of hands supporting an orb between them, above a stylized figure of Victory, with minutely "stippled" wings enfolding the heads of the busts, l. and r. of the head of the Victory four dots. Suth: II.V. 1.261 gr.

Baldwin - London, Auction 6 (1995), no.1100.



S 6 Two emperors type - left. A: Diademed bust l., R: Two small busts facing, side by side, with traces of hands supporting an orb between them, above a stylized figure of Victory, with minutely "stippled" wings enfolding the heads of the busts, l. and r. of the head of the Victory one dot. 1.243 gr

Finn - Kendal 1997.

Unique.

The characters on either side of the bust are exactly the same as those of no. S 5. The nose of this bust is entirely different from that of no. S 5.



S 7 A: Bust r., with open hand before, in hand a cross, R: Eight-rayed symbol, with pellet terminals + VTAPIOLVT..... 1.235 gr

Glendining - London, Auction March '91, no. 255.

Found Caistor-by-Norwich.

Unique.

With respect to the bust with raised hand Metcalf refers to the Merovingian coin of Ebroin (Bias, no. 99), Part I, no. 159.

Line drawing in T&S I, p. 48 (this coin).

This coin illustrated in Gannon fig. 5.11.

PADA

The coins of Pada and Vanimundus mark the transition of gold to silver. They were all found in East Kent, save one which was found in London (Rigold), and they belong to the period 655-675.

Pada was in the past thought to refer to a king. There are two kings of that name: Penda of Mercia (626?-655) and his son Peada of the Middle Angles (+656). These respective starting dates of government are too early to apply to the coins. Pada therefore refers to the moneyer, similar to Witmen.



- S 8 A: Helmeted and cuirassed bust r. TAO OIZNV, R: Standard, with T O T X X (pellet in O). Tufa with three dots, around the standard M PADA (in runes) M EATT.

Vecchi - London, Auction 11 (1998), no. 10.

Ex: Subjack collection no. 10.

Ex: Stack Auktion 7-12-1994, no. 2274.

Ex: Seaby Coin and Medal Bulletin 5 (1984).

Ex: Spink Auktion 1 (1978), no. 40.

Ex: Lawrence collection (Glendining 14-3-1951, no. 197).

There are 4 known specimens: 1. BM, 2. Ashmolean, 3. BN, 4. this coin.

This coin is of a very fine cut and very symmetrical. On the right it clearly reads M (for moneyer) PADA. Reading on, the writing continues with M EAT on the left (whether the other T (poorly legible) is part of it is not quite clear (in view of the symmetry)). But what would it signify in that case?

Rigold: P1b, no. 2 (this coin). 1.263 gr.



Tufa
(DOC III, I; Table 13)

Standard and Tufa
on a byzantine coin of
emperor Theophilus
(DOC III, I; Pl. XXIV, no15a.7)

This is the first instance of the standard (see introduction), together with a tufa (with three dots in it). Roman coins also showed something over the standard. As the tufa later disappears, the standard and the tufa should be regarded as separate objects. That Bede sees them as one is odd: "Even when he (Edwin king of Northumbria, 616-633) passed through the streets on foot, the standard known to the Romans as a TUFA, and to the English as a Tuf, was carried in front of him" (Book II, ch. 16). The Tufa was a standard of Roman origin and took the form of a winged globe mounted on a spear. It was perhaps adopted as the personal standard of the Bretwalda or High-king of Britain (Commentary accompanying the translation of Bede).

In the DOC the tufa is described as a "crown surmounted by a fan-shaped plume of peacock feathers" and illustrated as above (DOC III, Part 1, p. 128-130). Maybe it was a form of hairdress which was worn at imperial triumphs. How it was constructed and worn is still not clear.

This coin illustrated in Gannon fig. 2.42b and 5.18a



- S 9 A: Laureate bust r. o I TNC, R: Within a circle PADA in runes, dotted line below, Tufa (with three dots) at nine o'clock MIZCTOTTATM.

Finn - Kendal 1998.

Pale gold.

Rigold classifies the TNC types as IIb, but this most certainly is IIa (the N is very clear).

- S 10 A: Laureate bust r. o I TNC, R: Within a circle PADA in runes, dotted line below, Tufa (with three dots) at nine o'clock MIZCTOTTATM.

Peus - Frankfurt, Auction 313 (1985), no. 826.

Ex: Glendining - London, Auction 8/9 Dec. 1981, no. 381 (Glendining provided Blackheath (south east of London) as a possible finding spot. Information reported by the finder, which Glendining doubted).

Die duplicate of Rigold PaIIa2.



S 11 A: Diademed "visigothic" bust r., cross on coat CNV AVNC, R: In circle of dots cross, in the edges rings which are connected with thin lines with the centre of the cross PADA (in runes) AUYNA.
 Rigold: Pa III, 7a (this coin); BMC: 97. 1.180 gr.
 Glendining - London, Auction 5 (1977), no. 1.
 Ex: Coll. Mack. Syll. 311, Auction Glendining: Mack II, no. 1.
 From Sarre Cemetry (Isle of Thanet), Kent. Grave no. 226 (Cf. Archeologia Cantiana, 1864-8, VII, p. 171).
 The Glendining catalogue provides the following note: "It is amusing to note Mack's ticket which states "Found in a junk shop with another one similar by Mr. J. North in 1954 in Brighton". Spink July 25 1957."

S 12 A: Diademed "visigothic" bust r., cross on coat III AVNC, R: In circle of dots cross, in the edges rings which are connected with thin lines with the centre of the cross PADA (in runes) AVNV.
 Rigold: Pa III, 6 (this coin). 1.092 gr.
 Spink - London 1992.
 Ex: Elmore-Jones collection.
 Ex: Chick collection, purchased Spink - London, Auction 11 (1980), no. 849.
 Ex: NC 1992, no. 130.
 From Sarre Cemetry (Isle of Thanet), Kent. Grave no. 226 (Cf. Archeologia Cantiana, 1868, III, p. 312). Found in 1864.
 This purchase in 1992 at last reunited both coins from the grave of Sarre cemetry.
 The runes on the coin in hand are deformed, contrary to those on no. S 11.

VANIMUNDUS



S 13 A: Diademed bust r. oT[.....]VS, R: Latin cross, under cross a dot, in the corners of the cross C and V + VAIIMVNDVS MOIE.
 Serie Va / BMC: --. 1.065 gr.
 Finn - Kendal 1997.
 Unique.
 Of this type just three specimens are known, each one in pale gold, and found in France (two specimens are now at the BM, the others ex. coll. Ponton d'Amécourt, Belfort: 3300 and 3301, Prou: 2731). This one was found in South England
 The reverse text is wholly legible and exactly the same as on the pale gold specimens. Belfort provides OTIASIVS as the text of no. 3301.



S 14 A: Helmeted bust r., cross-sceptre over shoulder oTI IVS, R: Small cross, in two circles of dots + TMVSNVMVC.
 Serie Va / BMC: 55. 1.048 gr.
 Spink - London 1990.
 Ex: Spink - London, Auction 16 (1981), no. 455.
 Ex: Chick collection, purchased Spink Num. Circ. 1982, no. 8182
 This type matches Belfort: 3302 through 3307
 Metcalf (T&S p. 80) approx. 12 specimens.
 Not recorded by Rigold.

PRE INTERLOCAL

This group forms the link between the thrymsas, meanwhile manufactured of silver, and the major series intended for interlocal traffic. The division into three groups - interlocal traffic in England, on the continent and north and south - will follow under series C.

Crowned bust TIC / standard

Series A / BMC: 2a

This series would introduce an altogether new type incorporating a number of elements of earlier types, which would be used comparatively long.

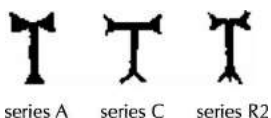
The obverse bears a "new" portrait. Three triangles with dots within them serve to depict a crown; they are placed over a straight line (we first see this on a thrymsa, the clasped hands type, which Sutherland, in view of the legend, attributes to Northumbria, to Abbot Aidán more precisely). Underneath this a line of dots. The crown of the three triangles is also seen on the Harlingen solidus, leading Boeles to believe this solidus was from England. The solidus found in Schweindorf (found in 1948 in East Frisia) has caused this view to become outdated. Berghaus thinks this crown goes back to that of some Roman Emperors (see *Anglo-friesische Rünensolidi im Lichte des Neufundes von Schweindorf*, 1967, p. 15). The crown is an important symbol of authority, uniting the formal side of tradition with its content. There are: the crown as symbol of Victory, the radiate crown (as symbol of the God Helios, the beams emanating from his head) and the diadem, which appears in late Roman times. In the Middle Ages these three fuse; there is no essential difference anymore (Lex.d.Mitt. V, p. 1545 and Gannon p. 42).

The face is always turned to the right. The oldest specimens show an oval with a dot in it symbolising an ear, later this changes to a half oval with a dot in it. Behind the bust an A between a ring and an eight. Before the bust the letters TIC.

The reverse adopts the Pada type I standard. The X X is replaced with / \ and the ring moves to the centre of the standard (without a dot). The tufa, with three dots in it, is kept on. At the top of the standard a drooping arc on either side. Around the standard the letters AT (right) and PI (left).

After the Cimiez hoard, this series is the most likely to have been struck in Kent in the days of King Hlothere (673-685). After the death of Hlothere, the situation in Kent became extremely instable. It was attacked in 686 by Wessex (Caedwalla and Mul) and Essex. In 691, Wihtrud restored peace. Rigold concludes that the period 685-691 was not suited for minting. Metcalf, continuing along this line of reasoning, believes series A continues up to 685 and series C begins in 691.

It is interesting to see how the shape of the letter T evolves during these series:



For a further analyses of this coinage it would be advisable to focus on the development of the letters.



S 15 1.262 gr.
 Münzen und Medaillen - Basel 1989.
 Syll. 30.74 (this coin).
 This coin clearly shows the letters PI to the left of the standard.
 This is not true for the following two coins, which only show AT to the right.



S 16 1.280 gr.
 Spink - London 1979.
 From NC 1973, no. 2333.
 Ex: Elmore Jones collection.



17

- S 17 1.172 gr.
Holleman - Enschede 1996.
From list 106, no. 465.
Found in Wijnaldum, November 1989.

Subgroup

Series A / BMC 2a

The main trait of this sub-type of series A is a line of four dots which is visible behind the bust. Yet, there are also some other alterations such as: the eight to the right of the A has become a ring; the drooping arcs continue at first, later on they disappear. There is no longer a letter combination AT PI.



18

19

- S 18 1.209 gr.
Finn - Kendal 2000.
From list 18, no. 31.
This still features the drooping arcs.
- S 19 1.211 gr.
Finn - Kendal 1998.
From list 13, no. 22.
The drooping arcs have disappeared.

Crowned bust APA, AEPA, EPA / standard

Series C / BMC 77a

The main change compared to the previous series is that the TIC before the bust has been replaced with three runes in three different shapes:

= APA = AEPA = EPA

One can often not distinguish between APA and AEPA due to the fact that the die is bigger than the flan. The crown is continued. Still, there are some minor dissimilarities. We therefore distinguish four sub-groups.

Series C presumably starts in 691 and has to be placed north of the Thames (East Anglia).

Subgroup 1

Series C1 / BMC: 77a

This sub-group has APA/AEPA before the bust. The reverse is the normal standard, except for the two drooping arcs which are sometimes located at the bottom, just like the tufa which is sometimes at the top and sometimes at the bottom.



20

- S 20 1.193 gr.
Finn - Kendal 1999.
From list 15, no. 41.
Bust with unusually large nose and an ear like a large E.



S 21 1.164 gr.
Finn - Kendal 1999.
From list 15, no. 42.

S 22 1.157 gr.
Spink - London 1988.

Subgroup 2

Series C2 / BMC: 77a

This second sub-group with APA/AEPA features a simplified standard, all the symbols around which have been replaced with crosses. Initially APA/AEPA is preceded by a T, which later disappears.



S 23 1.256 gr.
Finn - Kendal 1998.
From list 14, no. 37.
Ex: Aston Rowant Hoard (Sotheby 18-7-1985, no. 495).
Ex: Booth collection.

With T. Large fat face, with ear like a theta.

Metcalf (T&S p. 111) notes the following: "A find from Watton, Norfolk (Asm. 128) and this coin from Aston Rowant (die-duplicate of Watton) make no technical mistakes in copying the design of C2. The head is too big, and the vertical row of pellets behind the head (which is normally omitted in C2) is prominent. The field of the reverse die undulates in a way that is technically intriguing."



S 24 1.237 gr.
Spaar- en Voorschotbank - Surhuisterveen 1990.



S 25 1.207 gr.
Spink - London 1987.

Subgroup 3

Series R1 / BMC 77a

The sub-group with EPA before the bust. Initially preceded by a T, then by an o, after which each prefix disappears.

The standard was initially struck in its old shape, after that the drooping arcs disappear and the / \ are replaced with | |.

There still is no conclusiveness to be had as to whether the series R1 and R2 belong to the larger series R or to the smaller series C. Here R1 is represented with one piece, R2 with five. We choose to classify this series at the end of series C, because the style (e.g. the shape of the crown) fits that series better than that it would series R as its beginning.



S 26 1.077 gr.

Vinchon - Paris 1974.

The die differs of what is normally seen in this sub-group. Additionally the weight is low 1.077 gr compared to an average weight of 1.20 – 1.25 gr.

S 27 1.241 gr.

Finn - Kendal 1999.

From list 15, no. 50.



S 28 1.112 gr.

Spink - London 1987.

Ex find North Essex (ca. 1980-83). Metcalf makes the following remark: "Large-flan coins in exactly this style occur in the Aston Rowant hoard alongside small-flan coins of the same type. It now seems probable that the issues of two main mints, in two styles and fabrics, should be distinguished among the early runic coins, and that it would be convenient to refer to those which are apparently a continuation of series A as series C, and those on large flans as R1. Where the East Anglia issues begin is not yet certain, and there are styles that are difficult to fit into either category, but the larger coins, such as this one, may well represent the earliest issues of runic coins at an East Anglian mint. For that reason the Aston Rowant hoard is important in that it demonstrates that the two fabrics - together with the TAT variety - were in existence side by side at an early date" (in: BNJ 56 (1986), p. 7, no. 9 (pl. 2.20) = this coin).



S 29 1.232 gr.

Sotheby - London, Auction 6-11-97, no. 444.

Ex: Aston Rowant Hoard (Glendining auction 17-2-1988, no. 276, illustrated on cover).

Ex: D.B. Feather collection.

S 30 0.811 gr.

Sotheby - London, L09443 (1999), no. 208.

Ex: Stack collection.

Subgroup 4

Series R2 / BMC 77a

The 3rd and 4th group have EPA before the bust. This 3rd sub-group contains one type that differs from normal development. Behind the bust and to the left and the right of the standard we find the letters TAT.

EPA is preceded by a T and in the standard / \ are replaced with | |.

Metcalf adds the sub-groups 3 and 4 to the series R. Blackburn and Bonser (in: BNJ 55 (1985), p. 71) make a case for classification of both groups under series C.



S 31 1.178 gr.
Spink - London 1991.

From: NC 1991, no. 3865.

When comparing the drawings and photos of other specimens (Metcalf knows of only five specimens) one might conclude they are of the same die. At any rate, the bust is very characteristic indeed.

In Bede we encounter the name Tate, the pet-name of Queen Aethelburh, daughter of King Aethelberth, who was married to Edwin King of Northumbria.

Subgroup 5

Series CZ / BMC:

This is an altogether deviating sub-group. Before the bust APA or AEPA, behind the head a line of four dots, nothing behind the bust. The reverse has the normal standard, with only a single difference, the base is open and replaced with a large cross. In the standard T o T, two drooping arcs, and T's next to the standard.

Metcalf knows of only 4 specimens, presumably from north east Wessex.



S 32 1.160 gr.
Holleman - Enschede 1996.
From list 105, no. 424.

INTERLOCAL ENGLISH

Bust - Runen / Standard

Serie R3/ BMC: 2c

The classification into series R3 through R10 was adopted from T&S p. 507. Metcalf (T&S p. 502) remarks that "series R, which was minted in large quantities over a period of several decades, were the principal coinage of the kings of East Anglia."



S 33 A: Realistic bust r., before O EPA, behind O, R: Standard with two right angles and two inclined lines, around the standard . | . on the edge (here nearly crosses). 1.064 gr.
Finn - Kendal 1995.
From list 6, no. 57.
Die-duplicate of Asm. no. 422 (T&S). Metcalf describes it as A = imitation of R1 and R is imitation of R8.



- S 34 A: Bust r., before XEPA, behind A O, R: Standard with two right angles and two inclined lines.
 Spink - London 1997. 0.928 gr.
 Ex: Joe Linzalone collection, Stack auction 7-12-1994, no. 2284.

- S 35 A: Bust r., before EPA, behind A A O, R: Standard with two right angles and two inclined lines, one ring, . I . on each side. 1.127 gr.
 Spink - London 1986.
 From: NC 1986, no. 6037.
 Despite the fact that the neck lines are missing here, this coin was nevertheless classified under type 3, as its style and letters match that best.



- S 36 A: Bust l., before XEPA, behind A O, R: Standard with two right angles and two inclined lines around pellet. 1.023 gr.
 Finn - Kendal 1999.
 From list 16, no. 58.
 XEPA is retrograde.

Serie R4 / BMC: 2c

- S 37 A: Bust r., before EPA, behind zigzag line with two pellets, great O, R: Standard with two right angles and two included lines around ring. 0.964 gr.
 Vecchi - London, Auction 14 (1999), no. 1698.
 Ex: Subjack collection no.75.
 The crown reappears (see also R5), albeit in a very highly simplified form.



- S 38 A: Bust r., before EPA, behind A O A, R: Standard with two right angles and two lines around ring, four T's in two concentric circle of pellets. 0.965 gr.
 Finn - Kendal 1998.
 From list 14, no. 49.
 In both A's behind bust a dot. The zigzag line seen in no. S 37 has sublimated into two A's.

Serie R5

The crown is simplified even more, placed on a single line, and the dots in the crown also disappear in the course of time.

- S 39 A: Crowned bust r., before EPA, behind A, R: Standard with two T's and three pellets in the angles, ring in centre, four crosses on the edge. 0.813 gr.
 Spink - London 1988.



- S 40 A: Crowned bust r., before EPA, behind A T, R: Standard, four T's around pellet, above and below TAT. 0.893 gr.

Künker - Osnabrück, Auction 35 (1997), no. 1078.

The type 405 (T&S) shows 4 crosses outside of the standard, similar to no. S 39.

- S 41 A: Crowned bust r., before EPAE, behind A T, R: Standard, four T's around pellet, Tufa, above and below + A +. 0.998 gr.

Vecchi - London, Auction 13 (1998), no. 1663.

Ex: Rudd, List 34, no. 27 (mentions the places Ipswich of Woodbridge. Unpublished, apparently).



- Serie R6*
S 42 A: Bust l., before EPA, behind x A, R: Small standard with ring and four pellets, Tufa, outside + + V. 1.153 gr.

Baldwin - London 1980.

Ex: Lockett collection (210) - illustrated.

The P of EPA is rendered by a small angular c. The weight does not fit in with the R-series. Its classification in series R or in series C continues to be debated.

Note in T&S p. 513: "The Langford find is illustrated in the W. Allen sale (Sotheby, 14 March 1898, lot 171). There are various Langfords in different counties, but there is no Langford in East Anglia. The coin reappeared as Lockett 210."

Its origin would be Middle Anglia rather than East Anglia.

- Serie R7*
S 43 A: Crowned bust r., Before 𐌹𐌺𐌹 (the first letter is doubtful), behind O O, R: Standard, two right angles and two inclined lines around ring, four crosses on the edge 0.879 gr.

Spink - London 1997.

East Anglia.



- S 44 A: Crowned bust l., before RHY (in runes), R: Standard, cross with four pellets in centre, two inclined stripes above (remaining of a tufa). 0.596 gr.

Vecchi - London, Auction 11 (1998), no. 78.

Ex: Subjack collection no.78.

Line drawing T&S p. 515 (the rightmost of the four), this coin. The reverse die-duplicate of Asm. 409. Find Caistor-by-Norwich.

Presumably from eastern Norfolk.

Serie R8

This series features two types of reverse: one with two right angles and two sloping lines, and one with two T's and two right angles.

- S 45 A: Crowned bust r., before O EPA, behind O V O, R: Standard with two right angles and two inclined lines, ring in centre, four crosses on the edge. 0.970 gr.

Spink - London 1988.



S 46 A: Crowned bust r., before O EPA, behind O V O, R: Standard with two right angles and two inclined lines, ring in centre, four crosses on the edge. 1.135 gr.
Spink - London 1987.

S 47 A: Crowned bust r., before O EPA, behind O O, R: Standard with two right angles and two inclined lines, ring in centre, four crosses on the edge. 0.975 gr.
Finn - Kendal 1998.
From list 14, no. 50.



S 48 A: Bust r., before E R (in runes, retrograde), behind O O, R: Standard with two right angles and two inclined lines, ring in centre, four crosses on the edge. 1.056 gr.
Spink - London 1986.
Ex: NC 1986, no. 3202.
Ex: Mack collection (Syll. 325).
Bought Spink London 1953.
Ex: Hill collection (this coin is shown in Hill: "The Standard and London Series of Anglo-Saxon Sceattas", under No. 15 (PL.I), and in Hill: "Saxon Sceattas and their Problems", under no. 9 (Pl.II).
Metcalf considers it to mark the transition of the "Bust / horse" series (= series Q) to the series R. See T&S p. 498.

S 49 A: Crowned bust r., before MI (should be read as ER), behind O V O, R: Standard with two right angles and two inclined lines, ring in centre, four crosses on the edge. 1.249 gr.
Elsen - Brussel 1997.
From list 195, no. 97.



S 50 A: Crowned bust l., before EPA, R: Standard with two right angles and two inclined lines, ring in centre, four crosses on the edge. 0.970 gr.
Spink - London 1997.
EPA retrograde.

S 51 A: Bust r. before EU (in runes), behind O V O, R: Standard with T o T and two right angles, on the edge three crosses and zigzagline. 0.942 gr.
Spink - London 1988.
The degenerated runes are the same as on S 300 (MEC suggests EU).



- S 52 A: Bust l., before MII, behind O V O, R: Standard with T o T and two right angles, four crosses on the edge. 0.778 gr.
 Vecchi - London, Auction 11 (1998), no. 79.
 Ex: Subjack collection no.79.



- Serie R9*
- S 53 A: Bust r., before SPI, behind A A O, R: Standard with two T's and twice three pellets around ring, Tufa with three pellets, . | . on the other edge. 1.110 gr.
 Spink - London 1983.
 From: NC 1983, no.3891.
 Ex: Mack collection (Syll. 324).
 Bought Spink 30-6-1954.
 Ex: Hill collection (Num.Chron.1953, Pl. VI.25).
 Ex: Grantley collection (752).
 Ex: Cambridge hoard. Metcalf gives the following footnote (T&S p. 517): "J. Evans, "On a small hoard of Saxon sceattas found near Cambridge", NC 14 (1894), 18-28, pl. 2,7 = SCBI Mack 324, ex Hill ex Grantley 752 = NC 13 (1953), pl. 6,25, = NC 91 (1983), 160 item 3891."
 Line drawing in T&S p. 517 = this coin.



- Serie R10*
- Metcalf stated: "These groups belong to a still later stage of the East Anglian issues, and introduce two new runes legends which are (for the first time) certainly personal names - WIGRAED and TILBEORTH."
 This, to my mind, also implies that Metcalf does not consider APA, EAPA, EPA, SPI, etc. to be names of moneyers.
- S 54 A: Bust r., before WIGRAED, behind O V O, R: Standard with two right angles and two inclined lines around ring, four crosses on the edge. 0.743 gr.
 Spink - London 1988.
 From: NC 1988, no. 4610.



- S 55 A: Bust l., before WIGRAED, behind O V O, R: Standard with two right angles and two inclined lines around ring, four crosses on the edge. 0.845 gr.
 Vecchi - London, Auction 11 (1998), no. 80.
 Ex: Subjack collection no. 80.
 Ex: Stack Auction 7-12-1994, no. 2287.
 Metcalf p. 519. For Wigread with bust left see MEC 715.

INTERLOCAL CONTINENTAL (NORTHERN)

A large series, yet less extensive than the porcupine series (E, see Interlocal Continental South).

The effigies on these coins are very plain: a crowned head to the right (and, less often, to the left) on the obverse, the lips almost always rendered by two dots and a bold cross with a dot in each angle on the reverse. The obverse effigy is initially accompanied by a rune inscription, which soon is corrupted into a scattering of lines. The head also degenerates through time. The reverse cross (alternatingly a cross pommée and a greek cross) is practically always surrounded by meaningless symbols, which very scarcely can be made out to signify something. Yet there is always a cross above the cross and a large ring under it.

Although the origins of the porcupine series lie more to the north than those of this series, we have nevertheless designated it as 'northern' and the porcupines as "southern". The reason for this is that this group starts with runes, which to my mind indicates a more northern origin. The porcupines are invariably without an inscription of any kind.

The first coins of this group are direct imitations of series C: before the head APA. I.m.o. this means that the possibility of the series originating in England has to be considered, after which it soon crossed the North Sea to the continent, where it was imitated in the long series D.

Coins of this group were mainly found along the trade routes: the River Rhine, the Zeeland river delta and in East Anglia (see map 8 in Op den Velde and Pol in BAR (1984), p. 128).

Recently (2007) Op den Velde and Metcalf made a profound analysis of series D (tyoes 2c (56-83, 8 (384-388) and 10 (382-383)).

They collected 1.046 specimen to trace the die-links. The coins presented here are included in this study (cf. W. Op den Velde - D. M. Metcalf: The Monetary Economy of the Netherlands, c. 690 - c. 715 and the trade with England: A study on the Sceattas of Series D, in: JMP 90 (2003), p. 9-211).

Subgroup 1

Characteristic: Bust right.



S 56 A: APA in runes, R: Cross pommée ...XAVNV... 1.156 gr.

Holleman - Enschede 1999.
Found in Boer.

This is one of the few specimens that distinctly reads APA before the head. The reverse reads XAVNV, letters that are reminiscent of the letters XAZO found on a number of porcupines (over the curve), see subgroup 8 of Interlocal Continental (Southern).
Series D / BMC: 2c.

S 57 A: In front of the head + APA (in runes), neck of four lines, R: Cross pommée. 1.188 gr.

Spink - London 1988.



S 58 A: A behind the head, APA in front (in runes), neck of five lines, two straight lines and three dotted lines, R: Cross pommée. 1.111 gr.

Henzen - Amerongen 2000.
From list 112, no. 1093.

Found in Friesland.

This already shows a somewhat stylised head.

The previous sceattas show runes before the head. As part of the runes were struck outside of the flan, there is no certainty as to whether it reads APA or AEPA.

S 59 A: No runes visible, R: Cross pommée. 1.063 gr.

Holleman - Enschede 1991.

Realistic portrait, partly because of the beard (which might also be the neck).

This coin was found in 1991 near Great Dunmow, Essex, by Mr Davidge. Described in Coin Register in: BNJ 60 (1990), no. 173.



S 60 A: T and three lines connected by short lines in front of the head, neck of two thin lines, R: Greek cross. 1.022 gr.

Vinchon - Paris 1982.

The form of the head is realistic (of the more realistic portraits this is the only one bearing a Greek cross). The reverse appears to show a crown over the cross.

S 61 A: Large crown ending below the head, neck of four lines, R: Greek cross. 1.169 gr.
Westerhof - Sneek, Auction 9 (1992), no. 371.



S 62 A: APO in front of the head, A behind, neck of three lines, R: Cross pommée. 1.205 gr.

Henzen - Amerongen 1999.
From list dec. '99, no. 1011.

S 63 A: T I I I in front of the head, A behind, no neck, R: Cross pommée. 1.288 gr.
Spink - London 1987.



S 64 A: Three stripes connected with thin lines in front of the head, neck of four lines, R: Cross pommée. 1.091 gr.
Spaar- en Voorschotbank - Surhuisterveen 1988.

S 65 A: Four stripes connected with thin lines in front of the head, A behind, R: Cross pommée. 0.854 gr.
Spaar- en Voorschotbank - Surhuisterveen 1988.



S 66 A: Stylized head, neck of five lines, R: Cross pommée. 1.227 gr.

Glendining - London, Auction 4 (1975), no. 222.
Ex: Aston Rowant Hoard.

S 67 A: Stylized head, four lines connected with two thin lines in front, neck of three lines, R: Cross pommée. 1.235 gr.
Spink - London 1987.



S 68 A: A behind head, R: Greek cross.
Holleman - Enschede 1990.

0.896 gr.

S 69 A: Square behind head, neck of four dotted lines, R: Greek cross.
Holleman - Enschede 1988.

1.177 gr.



S 70 A: Heavy stylized head, neck of two lines of pellets, R: Cross pommée.
Spink - London 1988.

1.252 gr.

S 71 A: Nearly unknowable head only recognizable by the nose, A behind, R: Cross pommée.
Holleman - Enschede 1999.
From list 118, no. 486.

0.765 gr.



S 72 A: Head with great nose, V O in front, A behind, neck of six dotted lines, degenerated crown, R: Greek cross.
Holleman - Enschede 1990.
An altogether deviant type, with regard to both the obverse and the reverse. The obverse brings to mind no. S 330 subgroup 7 of the bird-on-cross group, its reverse is particularly coarse.

1.273 gr.

S 73 A: Strange drawn head, no crown but great nose, A F in front, neck of three lines, R: Cross pommée.

1.229 gr.

Spink - London 1991.

Extremely peculiar coin. There is a die-duplicate that came up with the Remmerden hoard (no. 48).

Subgroup 2

Characteristic: Bust left.



S 74 A: Crowned head l., neck of four lines, R: Cross pommée.
Coin Inv. - Lisse, Auction 40 (1992), no. 238.
From England.

1.034 gr.

Very realistic portrait, which however does not fit in well with the development within this subgroup. The design of the ledge under the crown is a bit awkward and not as straight as usual.



- S 75 A: Three lines connected with thin lines in front of the head, A behind, R: Cross pommée. 1.088 gr
 Lanz - München, Auction 41 (1987), no. 23.
 As from the form of the head this in my opinion seems to be the oldest type, cf. Bias fig. 311 (head r.).
 The reverse is nicely symmetrical: above the cross is a cross, under it a ring and around it on either side a zigzag line (this could be a prototype).



- S 76 A: Lines connected with thin lines in front of the head, rudiment A behind, neck of four lines made of pellets, R: Cross pommée. 0.940 gr.
 Glendining - London, Auction 4 (1975), no. 234.
 Ex: Aston-Rowant Hoard.
- S 77 A: A behind the head, neck of three dotted lines, R: Cross pommée. 0.719 gr.
 Spink - London 1987.
 From: NC 1983, no. 3898.
 Ex: Aston-Rowant Hoard.



- S 78 A: A behind the head, neck of four straight lines, R: Greek cross. 0.825 gr.
 Spaar- en Voorschotbank - Surhuisterveen 1988.



- S 79 A: From the head only a great nose is visible, neck of two lines, R: Cross pommée. 1.148 gr.
 Holleman - Enschede 1993.
 Found in Wijnaldum 1993.



- S 80 A: Unknowable head, four lines ending in pellets in front of the head, V O behind, neck of three lines, R: Greek cross. 0.840 gr.
 Spaar- en Voorschotbank - Surhuisterveen 1990.

Subgroup 3

This sub-group is characterised by runes before the head, it can be to the right as well as to the left; they are always the same, but differ from the usual ones.



As the first and the last rune are the same, and their form moreover somewhat resembles normal runes, Op de Velde suggests that this simply means APA. The question remains: where were they used? The answer may tell us something about their origin.



S 81 A: Crowned head r., A behind, neck of four lines, R: Greek cross. 1.199 gr.
Holleman - Enschede 1990.
From England.



S 82 A: Crowned head l., very short neck, R: Greek cross. 1.343 gr.
Spink - London 1988.



S 83 A: Crowned head l., very short neck, R: Greek cross. 1.290 gr.
Spink - London 1988.

Combination of the groups Interlocal Continental Northern and Southern



S 84 A: Crowned bust r., before T : EPA, behind A, neck of four lines, R: Standard with VICO, four crosses and four crescents on the edge. 1.078 gr.
Triton - New York, Auction 2 (1998), no. 1244.
Ex: John Jordan collection.
The Ashmolean owns a specimen (T&S no. 213), found in Woolstone (Brk). It can be found neither in the T&S text nor in other literature.
This specimen is a die-duplicate of the coin in the Ashmolean.
It also connects series D (obverse) to series E (reverse). If both series D and E were created in England, and from there travelled to the mainland, where and with what purpose was this combination coin manufactured?

INTERLOCAL CONTINENTAL (SOUTHERN)

The modal sceatta type is the porcupine, the coin with the characteristic arched back and "spiky hair". Its origin was the subject of much speculation. The latest suggestion is from Dhénin who thinks that the porcupine is derived from the celtic coins of the Carnutes. The types I think lie closest to the porcupine I have marked "porcupine like" (see no. S 270 combined with a celtic cross) and (S 240) combined with a "Carip bust". This porcupine-like figure might well be a variant of the snake we see on the Sede types (cf. no. S 342 and S 343), which moreover combine a Sede coin (S 344) with a genuine porcupine.

In view of the many types found on the continent, particularly in Domburg, it is fairly sure that we are dealing with a continental type. Still it seems, in view of the reverse of subgroup 1 (as series A - C), not altogether improbable that the origin of this series lies in England. Metcalf agrees "It would be an extravagant hypothesis to suggest that the distinctive porcupine design originated in England (where in England?), and then migrated to the Rhine mouths."

The porcupine was clearly a trade coin. It had no legend, neither in runes nor in Latin writing (with the exception of subgroup 8 which shows four Latin letters). Apparently text was not necessary.

Metcalf subdivided this type in a number of subtypes A through G (T&S p. 197), of which he deems four the oldest: "Plumed bird" (see there), VICO (see subgroup 4), G (see subgroup 7) and D (see subgroup 6). Among these first types Metcalf does not consider subgroup 1, which to my mind however constitutes the very beginning.

As a continuation on her study of series D, Op den Velde and Metcalf made the same study of series E. They collected already more than 4.000 items (the specimen of this collection are included), to trace the die links. This study is still in progress and will be published soon.

Subgroup 1

Characteristic: Obverse an arc to the right with "hairs, spikes", reverse the standard with T o T / \. The reverse is a clear imitation of series A - C. Yet there is much doubt as to whether it constitutes the prototype of the porcupine series. I think it is, for the weight of no. S 85 (which is uncirculated) lies in the same range as that of the A series (which lies between 1.17 and 1.28 gr here). The rest of the weights fit series C better (between 1.16 and 1.21 gr. here). This subgroup, after all, was created in the same period as the C-series. Lower weights are the result of wear usually (an exception to this are the last two numbers of this subgroup, S 91 and S 92).



S 85 A: Arc ending in pellet, four lines and pellet inside the arc, R: Standard with four crosses on the edge. 1.302 gr.

Franceschi - Brussel 1967.

From the Franceschi - lot. From the Lutje-Saaksum hoard or the Kloster Barthe hoard.

The weight of this coin is a bit above the weight in the A series.

Series E / BMC: 4.



S 86 A: Arc ending in pellet, four lines below, R: Standard with four crosses on the edge. 0.765 gr.

Holleman - Enschede 1993.

Found in Vrouwenpolder in May 1993.

It seems doubtful that there is a cross left of the standard. Possibly die-duplicate of no. S 85. The coin is somewhat worn, hence the lower weight.



S 87 A: Arc ending in pellet, four lines below, R: Standard with eight crosses on the edge. 1.051 gr.

Finn - Kendal 1999.

From list 15, no. 46.

This clearly shows eight crosses around the standard, separated by dots. It is not impossible that the numbers S 85 and S 86 also have eight crosses.



- S 88 A: Arc ending in pellet, four lines below, ring in front, R: Standard with four crosses on the edge. 1.160 gr.
Coin Investment - Lisse, Auction 51 (1996), no. 287.



- S 89 A: Arc ending in pellet, four lines below, ring in front, R: Standard with rows of pellets on the edge. 0.650 gr.
Elsen - Brussel 1996.
From list 183, no. 275.
The porcupine looks like a primitive form of the "plumed bird". Its weight is low due to wear.

- S 90 A: Arc, line, cross and OIII below, R: Standard with four crosses on the edge and ornament in the angles. 1.183 gr.
Finn - Kendal 1997.
From list 12, no. 46.



- S 91 A: Arc, no pellet, three lines and three pellets below, cross before arc, R: Standard with four crosses between two pellets on the edge, ornaments in the angles. 1.057 gr.
Finn - Kendal 1997.
From list 10, no. 30.

- S 92 A: Arc ending in pellet, two twigs and two pellets below, R: Standard, the T's are greater than usual, pellet between the stripes. 0.956 gr.
Finn - Kendal 1995.
From list 5, no. 23.
Type with two twigs is unknown.

Subgroup 2

Characteristic: The obverse shows the arc developing a rounder form, the reverse T's are replaced with more elegant T's and the lines with T's or other ornaments. The weights become lower (here they vary between 0.90 and 1.05 gr).



- S 93 A: Arc, four lines below, R: Three pellets between the I's in the standard, crosses and T's around. 1.030 gr.
Holleman - Enschede 1990.
The two T's and I's are very beautiful designed.



- S 94 A: Strong curved Arc, three lines below, T in front, R: One T connected with an I (cf. last no.), three pellets in crescent, T's on the edge. 1.001 gr.
Holleman - Enschede 1989.

- S 95 A: Arc with a lot of quills, three lines below, R: Two T's, one ring and one crescent within the standard. 0.903 gr.
Finn - Kendal 1995.
From list 6, no. 34.



- S 96 A: Arc with line of pellets on the outer edge (cf. subgroup 5: Franeker type), IINT below, R: Two T's, one cross and one line within standard, the ring in centre is replaced by a dot. 1.048 gr.
Coin-Investment - den Haag, Auction 16 (1982), no. 574.

- S 97 A: Arc with vague line of pellets on the outer edge, four lines below, R: Two latin crosses and two pellets within the standard, around a ring. 0.902 gr.
Finn - Kendal 1997.
From list 12, no. 47.

Subgroup 3

Characteristic: the reverse shows a design different to that of subgroups 1 and 2.



- S 98 A: Strong curved arc with two pellets on it, three lines below, R: Pellet-in-ring within standard, four pellets around, four T's on the edge. 0.965 gr.
Spink - London 1992.

- S 99 A: Arc ending in pellet, three lines below, R: Ring and four pellets within doubled standard. 0.868 gr.
Holleman - Enschede 1990.



S 100 A: Arc ending in pellet, two pellets on the arc, three lines below, R: Pellet-in-ring and four times three pellets within standard, T I. of standard. 1.030 gr.
Coin Inv. - Lisse, Auction 45 (1994), no. 320.

S 101 A: Arc, three lines below, the outer line connected with the arc, three pellets in front, R: Right angle, T, I and V with ring in centre within standard, crosses on the edge. 1.082 gr.
Finn - Kendal 1999.
From list 15, no. 47.
Ex: Malcolm Shields collection.
The fact that on the obverse the uppermost line within the arc connects to the end of the arc, is reminiscent of the VICO coins (see subgroup 4), and the letters in the standard also resemble these four letters. The reverse shows prolonged sides of the standard.



S 102 A: Arc ending in pellet, O V and three pellets below, R: Four lines and ring within standard, pellets and stripes on the edge. 0.970 gr.
Coin Inv. - Lisse, Auction 52 (1997), no. 335.
Could the stripes r. of the standard be letters?

S 103 A: Coarse Arc with pellet on it, three lines below, very strong spiky hair, R: Six crescents, three pellets and one ring within standard, cross and two quills on the edge. 1.230 gr.
Finn - Kendal 1997.
From list 10, no. 31.
This coin was struck very coarsely, which may be the reason for its higher weight than the previous coins.

Subgroup 4

Characteristic: The obverse arc is always terminated by the uppermost line within the arc. The reverse reads VICO in the standard.

The weight of the VICO coins is substantially higher than that of the other subgroups (with the exception of one).

Merovingian coins sometimes show the word VICO (= city). Does that mean this subgroup may be attributed to a certain city? Just as later was the case with BONA (Utrecht(?), under Charlemagne, Part I, no. 181), Tiel and Deventer (cf. Part I, no. 938-939 and 1057-1058).



S 104 A: Arc, four lines and two pellets below, triangle in front, R: VICO and three pellets within standard, quills above, line 1. 1.248 gr.
Auktionen - Basel, Auction 26 (1996), no. 2686.
Metcalf (p. 212) type 1b.



105

- S 105 A: Arc, four lines, pellets and triangle below, cross in front, R: VICO and three pellets within standard, line I. 1.127 gr.
 Finn - Kendal 1995.
 From list 6, no. 33.



106

107

- S 106 A: Arc, four lines below, triangle in front, dotted line above, R: VICO and four pellets within standard, four pellets I. 1.161 gr.
 Münzen und Medaillen - Basel 1993.
 From autumn 1993, no. 762.
- S 107 A: Arc, four lines below, R: VICO and four pellets within standard. 1.285 gr.
 Auktiones - Basel, Auction 20 (1990), no. 588.

Subgroup 5

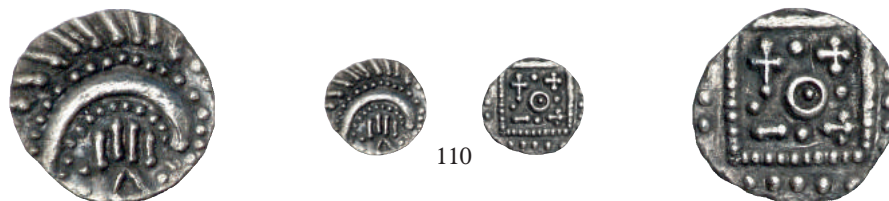
Characteristic: The obverse arc is girded by a border of dots on both sides. The reverses vary considerably. This subgroup is known as the "Franeker type".



108

109

- S 108 A: Arc surrounded by line of pellets, three lines below, R: T o T / \ within standard, V's on the edge. 1.104 gr.
 Finn - Kendal 1999.
 From list 16, no. 49.
 The reverse brings to mind series A and C.
- S 109 A: Crude arc with pellet on it, surrounded by lines of pellets, four lines below, R: Standard Pellet-in-ring and four crosses within standard, four crosses and four right angles on the edge. 1.128 gr.
 Bought 1985 (Dekker collection).
 Bought Schulman - Amsterdam on 5-10-1955.
 This type has a lot in common with the G series.



110

- S 110 A: Arc surrounded by lines of pellets, four lines below, triangle between two pellets in front, R: Pellet-in-ring, three crosses, line and four pellets within standard, rows of pellets on the edge. 0.797 gr.
 Coin Inv. - Lisse, Auction 52 (1997), no. 336.
 Here, again, the G series comes to mind.



- S 111 A: Arc surrounded by line of pellets, three lines below, I O X in front, R: Pellet-in-ring, three crosses, line and pellet within standard, 1.279 gr.

v.d.Dussen - Maastricht, Auction 22 (1994), no. 990.

The crosses in the standard are much thinner and more irregular than those of no. S 110.

Variety F (see Metcalf, T&S p. 248 et seqq.), this type is not listed there.

- S 112 A: Arc surrounded by two lines of pellets, arrow between V and X below, R: Ring, two right angles, cross and line within standard, 0.969 gr.

Finn - Kendal 1999.

From list 17, no. 60.



- S 113 A: Arc surrounded by one line of pellets, three lines below, ring and cross in front, R: Right angle, ring and four pellets within standard, 1.047 gr.

Finn - Kendal 1997.

From list 12, no. 44.

- S 114 A: Arc surrounded by line of pellets, three lines below, R: Pellet-in-ring, two right angles and two lines within standard, 1.145 gr.

Henzen - Amerongen 1996.

From list June 1996, no. 306.

Subgroup 6

Characteristic: At the end of the arc is an triangle, looking like a face.

Metcalf: var. D.



- S 115 A: Arc, four lines below, triangle in front looking like an eye, R: Ring, two angles and pellet within standard, 1.257 gr.

Spink - London 1987.

Ex: Grantley collection.

Although this coin does not show a distinct triangle, the "eye" might be regarded as its predecessor. The reverse too differs from the normal types.

- S 116 A: Arc, triangle with line and pellet in front, R: Pellet-in-ring, two I's and two V's within standard, 0.996 gr.

Kricheldorf - Stuttgart, Auction 20 (1969), no. 337.

The reverse shows some likeness to the previous number (S 115).



- S 117 A: Arc with pellets on it, triangle with two pellets in front, three pellets below, R: T o T / \ within standard. 0.997 gr.

Holleman - Enschede 1999.

The reverse is reminiscent of the reverse of Series A and C, save for the T's which are finished nicer (for this see subgroup 2).

- S 118 A: Arc with triangle and pellet on it, V with two pellets in front, R: Ring, two T's and V's, cross within standard. 1.273 gr

Henzen - Amerongen 1996.

From list October 1996, no. 299.

The T's on the reverse are cut in the same style as on the previous number (S 117). The obverse triangle is not connected to the arc, which could mean it belongs to subgroup 2.

Found in Friesland.



- S 119 A: Arc with triangle, three pellets in front, R: Pellet-in-ring within standard made of greater pellets. 1.327 gr.

Holleman - Enschede 1988.

As far as known the type with this reverse does not occur.

- S 120 A: Arc with triangle, ring with pellet, cross and T A I V below, R: Ring, two right angles, two lines and two pellets within standard, two crescents and N V I I T on the edge (T very clear visible). 1.242 gr.

Finn - Kendal 1997.

From list 11, no. 26.



- S 121 A: Arc with triangle, ring, cross and T A I V below, R: Ring, two right angles, two lines and two pellets within standard, two crescents and N V I I T on the edge. 1.030 gr.

L. Schulman - Bussum, Auction 17 (1996), no. 575.

The obverse is probably a die-duplicate of no. S 119, the reverse most likely is not.

Found near the Egmond abbey (Netherlands).

- S 122 A: Arc with triangle, cross and pellets below, R: Small standard with ring, T's and pellets on the edge. 0.999 gr.

Henzen - Amerongen 1993.

Coursely struck.



- S 123 A: Arc with triangle, T or cross with pellet-in-ring below, R: Small standard with ring, some marks on the edge. 1.011 gr.

Henzen - Amerongen 1997.



124

- S 124 A: Arc with triangle, one small and one long line below, R: Ring and four stripes within standard.

0.872 gr.

Holleman - Enschede 1996.
From list 106, no. 468.
Found in Slappeterp.



125



126



- S 125 A: Arc with triangle, ring and cross below, R: Ring with four angles within standard.

1.132 gr.

Finn - Kendal 1997.
Arc and triangle form a face that seems to be smiling.

- S 126 A: Arc with triangle (line within), T, ring, V and lines below, R: Ring, two lines and three pellets within standard, T's, pellets and V's on the edge.

1.337 gr.

Spink - London 1983.
From NC 1983, no. 3867.
"Insect-like" body with foreleg. More interestingly drawn than normal with many symbols in the field. High weight.

Subgroup 7

Characteristic: The arc has now a special shape of triangle. The standard has: pellet-in-ring and four horizontal lines.

Metcalf: var. G

The hoard Goting-Kliff / Föhr showed a relatively large number of this type. Hatz subdivided them in 10 subtypes (G. Hatz: Der Münzfund vom Goting-Kliff / Föhr, Num. Studien, no. 4, Hamburg 2001).



127



- S 127 A: Arc with triangle and two pellets on it, right angle, line, lozenge with pellet below, R: Pellet-in-ring, four lines within standard, tufa on the edge.

1.189 gr.

Baldwin - London 1996.



128



- S 128 A: Arc with triangle and two pellets on it, right angle, line and pellet below, R: Pellet-in-ring and four lines within standard.

1.212 gr.

Münzen u. Medaillen - Basel 1993.
From list autumn 1993, no. 761.
A similar type can be found in NC 1972, no. 339, its reverse also shows a tufa.



- S 129 A: Arc with triangle and pellet on it, six pellets, right angle and cross below, R: Four lines, two pellets and pellet-in-ring within standard. 1.138 gr.
Holleman - Enschede 1991.



- S 130 A: Arc with triangle, three pellets and line below, R: Ring-in-pellet and four lines within standard. 1.181 gr.
Holleman - Enschede 1991.
- S 131 A: Arc with triangle and two pellets on it, three pellets and angle with cross below, R: Ring-in-pellet and four lines within standard. 1.179 gr.
Finn - Kendal 1997.
From list 10, no. 26.
Cf. BNJ (1987). Metc. p. 217.

Subgroup 8

Characteristic: The arc with "triangle" now has two pellets giving more appearance of a face. In front are four letters XAZO. The reverse remains the same.



- S 132 A: Porcupine as a face, XAZO below, R: Ring-in-pellet and four lines within standard. 1.178 gr.
Finn - Kendal 2001.
From list 19, no. 29.
- S 133 A: Porcupine as a face, XAZO below, R: Ring-in-pellet and four lines within standard. 1.148 gr.
Henzen - Amerongen 1994.
Found in Vechten (located between Utrecht and Bunnik in the Netherlands), site of a Roman *castellum*.

Subgroup 9

Characteristic: Insect-like (not to be confused with the subgroup "Insect-like", mentioned under no. S 252 and S 253).



- S 134 A: Arc with small triangle, two pellets, bent line and square below, R: Ring-in-pellet and four lines within standard. 1.116 gr.
Spink - London 1988.
From: NC 1987, no. 7061.
Metcalf type: G.
Group G4 from the article of Blackburn and Bonser in: BNJ 57 (1987) p. 99, where it is shown under no. 26.

Subgroup 10

Characteristic: The obverse arc now points towards the left.



- S 135 A: Arc with triangle on the l., the quills are articulated, four pellets below, R: Smaller square with central pellet within standard, the corners joined to the outer corners by lines, four lines at the sides.

Finn - Kendal 1995.

1.166 gr

A wholly unknown porcupine. With the arc having wandered towards the edge of the flan, the spikes to the right can be seen to have an extension towards the left.



- S 136 A: Arc with triangle on the l., two pellets in the triangle and two further pellets in field, R: Cross and lines around pellet-in-ring within standard.

Spink - London 1987.

Ex: Mack collection Syll. 335.

Bought Spink 17-3-1954.

Ex: Hill collection.

0.886 gr.



- S 137 A: Arc with triangle on the l., three pellets and zigzagline below, R: Two right angles and to T's around circle within standard.

Münzen und Medaillen - Basel 1983.

0.992 gr.



- S 138 A: "Flat" arc enclosing three lines, R: Three lines and a right angle round central pellet within standard.

Coin Inv. - Lisse, Auction 52 (1997), no. 334.

0.972 gr.



- S 139 A: Arc enclosing four pellets, R: Lines around circle within standard, lines at one side (tufa?).

Coin Inv. - Lisse, Auction 43 (1993), no. 141.

Found in Schalsum (Friesland/Frisia, Netherlands).

The weight is half that of a normal porcupine. The sides of this standard are about 70% of the normal standard. Could this be an obol-like half sceatta?

0.538 gr.

LOCAL ENGLISH

The types under the heading local "english" have in common that they all had a limited area of circulation. Many groups in this sector are consequently of limited scope.

As was already noted in the introduction they sometimes show a bust with cross (converted king?), combined with a reverse that is either of Christian significance or of pagan (sometimes the pagan image show traces of a Christian motif). As a result the Local English group exhibits a wide variety of often very artistic English coins.

HELMETED BUST

Sceatta coinage in many aspects reflects Merovingian influence. Still, this is perhaps the only group that begins with a type that is a faithful copy of a Merovingian coin. As the first coin in the group was not discovered until 1999, there was initially a lot of doubt over whether this type was Anglo-Saxon or Merovingian. This was aggravated by the fact that known specimens were very limited (as no. S 141 for instance). It was only after a significant number of them came up with the Aston Rowant hoard (25 in total, of which 15 are kept in the BM) that the type could conclusively be said to be Anglo-Saxon.

Characteristic: Obverse sometimes decribed as: with broad-rimmed hat. The cross behind the bust is the beginning of the text (or a residu of it), The reverse shows a cross on steps, pellet between the steps.

The helmeted bust, to my mind, is an example of a warrior king.

For this series, see: "Series F" in: NC CXI (2003), p. 309.

Subgroup 1

I consider this the prototype of all the other sub-groups. As for the text, it is an exact copy of the Merovingian coin of Auxerre. Belfort no. 579 gives as obverse text + ADEONE MONE and as reverse text + AVTEZIODERO. The bust is not from Belfort: 579, but rather from Belfort: 578. The reverse of Belfort: 579 is a double cross, the obverse of Belfort: 578 is more likely.

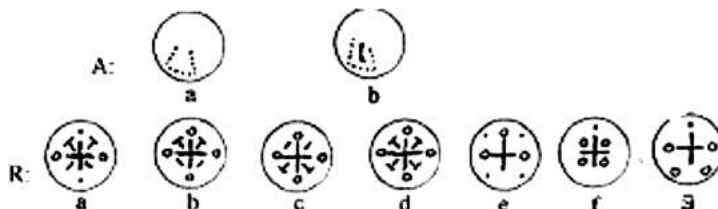
It seems peculiar that the sceatta that was copied from the Auxerre coin, combines a text of one Merovingian type and the design of another. That an English copyist would have had both Merovingian model coins available seems highly improbable. Perhaps the answer is that the Auxerre moneyer manufactured the English prototype, and English moneyers subsequently completed the series, further corrupting a text which had probably been incomprehensible to them from the very start. It is remarkable that, however blundered the text gets in the course of time, the MON part is always kept on.



- S 140 A: Bust r. with broad-rimmed hat, more numerous pellets to represent hair + AVEONE MONE, R: Cross on two steps, no pellet between, around the cross T O O O T, + AVTIZODEOCI. 1.076 gr.
Finn - Kendal 1999.
From list 15, no. 43.
Die duplicate of reverse in Hunterian SCBI. I (1961), no. 60.
Series F / BMC: 24b.

Subgroup 2

The texts have now become badly corrupted (both sides) and the reverse design is now different. Metcalf (T&S p. 129-30) subdivided the specimens known to him into 4 groups. A division into two groups of obverses seems more sensible: a neck without a "centre line" and one with such a line. In addition, 7 types of reverse may be distinguished (a to g):



In the following, only combinations will be referred to.

- S 141 A: + VOICNMEOOT, R: + I . OCDNTDOI. 1.031 gr.
Glendining - London, Auction 5 (1977), no. 14.
Ex: Mack collection (Syll. 338), Veiling Glendining no. 5 (1977), no. 14.
Ex: Lawrence collection (191).
Type: a.a.



S 142 A: +|><| + O, R:ZIO ETOCI.

1.144 gr.

Finn - Kendal 1995.

From list 6, no. 37.

Type: a.f.

S 143 A: +MODT, R: + IAICD IOA +.

1.055 gr.

Finn - Kendal 2001.

From list 19, no. 21.

Type: b.b.



S 144 A: +MODT, R: + . IOCID IO - SI.

1.213 gr.

Spink - London 1997.

Die-duplicate of no. S 145. Other die-duplicate in list 122 (July 2001), no. 3416 van Henzen - Amerongen.

Type: b.c.



S 145 A: +MODT, R: + . IOCID I.....

1.209 gr.

Spaar - en Voorschotb. Surhuisterv 1988.

At the moment of selling this coin had been in the possession of the *Spaar en Voorschotbank* for about 7 years.

(Aston Rowant hoard?).

Type: b.c.



S 146 A: + I - IIM.....A, R: +ZITV.

1.165 gr.

Willems - Bennekom 1990.

From: NC 1989, no. 3985.

Type: b.e.

S 147 A: --, R: + AVTISIO O OCI.

0.991 gr.

Finn - Kendal 2000.

From list 18, no. 35.

Type: a.g.

This is the only coin showing the lower part of the neck. There are two symbols under the neck.

BUST / CROSS-CROSSLET and SALTIRE

That this series was Merovingian was long doubted. The reverse in particular occurs in several Merovingian deniers (Belfort 2758-2759).

Metcalf (T&S p. 153) knew of eight specimens with an English provenance, widely scattered over the country. Still, an early date should be considered for this type, perhaps in the period of the A-B-C series. These series were not represented in Hamwic while some hoards give rise to the assumption that the mint was located thereabouts.

The political context in which series W is to be located is the aftermath of the annexation by the Gewissae of the Jutish province of southern Hampshire in the 660s or later, and the establishment in due course of Hamwic. It is difficult to see how the numismatic evidence might fit together with Caedwalla's conquest of the Isle of Wight in 686 - partly because we have no means of judging the date of introduction of W in relation to that event (T&S p. 156/7).

Recently (2007) Metcalf had the opportunity to make a new corpus of series W. He came to the conclusion that the series W had to be placed at the very beginning of a secondary phase, perhaps in the primary phase. The series was minted in Southern Wessex (in the time primary Hamwic didn't exist). He distinguish three varieties, with a number of sub-varieties. Cf. D. M. Metcalf: *The first series of Sceattas minted in Southern Wessex: Series W*, in: *BNJ 75* (2005), p. 1-17.



- S 148 A: Bareheaded bust r. with two crosses, R: Two crosses (one with side limbs) over each other with pellet in centre. 1.142 gr.

Spink - London 1994.

Found in Bentley, near Ipswich, Suffolk in 1993. Same obverse die (and probably reverse die) as Blackburn-Bonser no. a1 and a3 (this one is at the Ashmolean) and Coin Register 1992, no. 245. See also *BNJ 1992*, Coin Register no. 246 and *BNJ 1993*, Coin Register no. 181.

Blackburn-Bonser, taking stock in *BAR* (1984), p. 235 ("Finds from North-East Lincolnshire"), have divided the coins into four groups. Both first types are English, but the two others being English is dubious.

Blackburn-Bonser: type a (just three types were known at the time).

Series W / BMC: 54.

Illustrated as line-drawing in Metcalf (2005) under 4a (variety 1 / variety 1B). Variety 1B looks like variety 1A.



- S 149 A: Bareheaded bust r. with two crosses, limbs ending in rings, R: Cross with ring in centre and crosses in the angles. 1.154 gr.

Spink - London 1995.

Found in Berkshire in 1992.

Blackburn-Bonser: type b (just one type was known at the time).

Series W / BMC: 200.

Not mentioned in Metcalf (2005). Variety 2 / variety 2A. This specimen looks like fig. 10b. Except this one, Metcalf knows of 3 specimen.

- S 150 A: Bust r. with two crosses, R: Cross with crosses in the angles. 1.128 gr.

Finn - Kendal 1996.

Unicum.

Series W / BMC: --.

Metcalf (2005) knows only one specimen (variety 1 / variety 1D), fig. 9b, from South Lincolnshire (now in the Abramson collection, the weight is low - 0,9 gr.). It seems not impossible that the specimen in the Abramson collection is a die duplicate of this one.

FITVR - SAROALDA

This group contains two types that to an extent are related. In their article: Single finds of Anglo-Saxon and Norman Coins - 3, p. 64-101, in: BNJ 56 (1986) Blackburn and Bonser under no. 98 provide an overview of the development of what is known as the "Fitur-group". They characterise it as "a small coherent group of sceatta", a theory corroborated by the legible text on no. S 152.



- S 151 A: Head r., ring before, R: Standard with FITRV and pellet in centre, S - VI - VI on the edge. 1.226 gr.

Glendining - London, Auction 2 (1988), no. 303.

Ex: Aston Rowant.

Period: 710-720.

This coin is a die-duplicate of the no. 1 pictured in the Blackburn - Bonser article (coin from the Aston Rowant Hoard, now in BM). The text in the standard, FITVR, which should probably be translated as "is made", also occurs on the Merovingian coins, in the same design (see, for instance, the coin from Brioude (Brivate in Jacquier list 33, no. 724) which clearly reads X BRIVATE VICO FITVR, whereas the *monetarius* is on the other side). The outer rim has a fantail on one side and a cross on the other (at least I think it is a cross, as the legs are made up of dots). Which for the legend leaves the text mentioned above, but the texts on the BM specimen and on the coin in hand complement each other, providing SAVIV. The end starting with an S has another letter, possibly a T, in which case a parallel can be drawn with no. S 152.

Interpreted along the lines of the French model, SAVIV should be the mint, which then would also apply to no. S 152.

Only two specimens are known.

- S 152 A: Bust r., neck as a triangle, hair of lines, without pellets, R: Standard with saltire, three pellets in each corner, SA ROA L DO . T on the edge (retrograde, there is also a possibility that the T is at the beginning of the text). 1.014 gr.

Spink - London 1980.

Ex: Glendining - London, Auction 1 (1980), no. 392.

The Blackburn - Bonser article mentions five specimens, all of them showing a legend that is all but indecipherable. The reason that this type is known as "Saroaldo" nevertheless, lies in the fact that an analogous specimen of the FITVR coin, which has a cross with four dots in the standard instead of FITVR, shows the word SAROALDO. In my opinion this is the only specimen that has this text on which SAROALDO is legible.

VERNVS

This group, made up of three sub-groups, has come to light fairly late, which applies to the first sub-group in particular. It is a very difficult group, in view of its many particular characteristics (angular head, large Latin writing, etc.), to place in the series of sceattas.

Article on the Vernus-group of Blackburn and Bonser in Bar (1984), p. 229.

Subgroup 1

This group came to light around 1983. Of the term VERNVS, at least the part VERN is clearly legible, the last two letters most likely being correct. Remarkably, the coins show Latin writing instead of runes, which moreover are of a large format. Both Merovingian and Anglo-Saxon coins invariably show small, finely-drawn writing. As such this sub-group does not fit the sceatta series.

The design of the standard is somewhat later date than the initial T o T / \ design.



- S 153 A: Crowned head r., VERNVS in front, R: Standard with tufa, with three pellets, crosses at the edge. 1.153 gr.

Spink - London 1983.

From: NC 1983, no. 3863.



- S 154 A: Crowned head r., VERNVS in front, R: Standard with tufa, with three pellets, three crosses on the edge. 1.182 gr.

Spink - London 1999.
Found in Middlesex.
Obverse is a die-duplicate of no. S 153.



- S 155 A: Crowned head r. with two pellets below, VENOVS in front, R: Pellet-in-ring, two right angles and two lines within standard, crosses on the edge. 1.108 gr.

Rudd - Aylsham 1999.
From list 42, no. 26.
Ex: Subjack collection, no. 26
The angular head is the same as on the two previous numbers, but the eye is missing. I believe this coin is from the same mint as both previous because of the shape of the letter E. The reverse is also the same as that of the two previous coins (whether the object is a tufa cannot be said).

Subgroup 2

This is clearly different from the last. Albeit this sub-group retains the angular shape of the head, the crown is replaced with spiky hair. The reverse shows a slightly different design of the standard, but the tufa is kept on.

A fine example of this sub-group is provided by the Merovingian coin from Quentovic (cf. Part I, no. 157-158). The head is the same, as is the spiky hair, and the letters O N as part of ALINOMO (moneyer Aldinus) can be read before the head, thus showing part of Vernus (nus).



- S 156 A: Head r. with spiky hair, + O O N in front (the second O is doubtful), R: Pellet-in-ring, four horizontal stripes and two pellets within standard (Tufa). 1.265 gr.

Spink - London 1983.
From: NC 1983, no. 3866.
Ex: Aston Rowant Hoard.

This coin connects to the last, of sub-group 1, it has no eye either but an arc instead, in the same place as all types of sub-group 1. The face is short.

- S 157 A: Head r. with spiky hair, + O ? N in front, R: Pellet-in-ring, two right angles and two vertical lines within standard, crosses and V on the edge. 1.159 gr.

Rudd - Aylsham 1999.
From list 42, no. 28.
Found in Pottersbury, Northamptonshire on 5 September 1995, EMC: 1999.0015.
The eye returns, though angularly shaped. The face is long, as in no. S 155.



158

- S 158 A: Head r. with spiky hair, + N in front, R: Pellet-in-ring, two right angles and two lines within standard, V on the edge. 1.016 gr.

Spink - London 1994.

The face is short again, as in no. S 156.



159

- S 159 A: Head nearly unknowable with spiky hair, cross and some letters in front, R: Pellet-in-ring, four horizontal stripes and two pellets within standard, cross on the edge. 1.273 gr.

Vecchi - London, Auction 11 (1998), no. 29.

Ex: Subjack collection 29.

The face has almost disappeared now.

Subgroup 3

There is no face anymore in this sub-group. The depiction of the obverse is a little bit problematic.



160

- S 160 A: Nearly invisible illustration, R: Pellet-in-ring, two T's and two stripes within standard, cross on the edge. 1.200 gr.

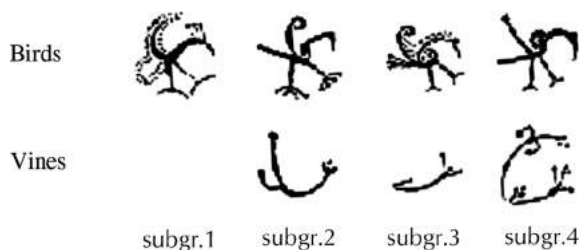
Finn - Kendal 1995.

The design of the standard on the reverse is slightly reminiscent of the oldest shape, but its poor workmanship, to my mind, precludes a provenance in the earliest period.

Now come a number of groups with animals, which all have a more or less Christian or pagan meaning: pecking bird (incl. peacocks), dragon, dragon's head and hound. The end of the "local English" section features birds and quadrupeds not related to Christian or pagan symbolism.

PECKING BIRD

In a number of places, the Christian belief had a common symbol: a bird with a vine. "Before becoming emblematic of Jesus" words in John 15: 1-8 "I am the true vine", visualized as a framework where creatures, especially birds, representing human souls, could safely abide, the decorative potential of the motif had already been widely used in classical art. In Anglo-Saxon England vine-scrolls are ubiquitously found in countless variations as a visualization of salvation and Paradise (Gannon p. 117). A number of different birds may be used and the decoration with vines of the space around the bird also shows variation. Beneath the several occurring designs have been drawn; birds and vines that go together have been drawn separately.



The peacock is also included, as its style is very similar to the other birds. The peacock can be distinguished by the crest on its head and by the missing vines.

Subgroup 1

Characteristic of this sub-group is the facing head framed by an oval on the obverse, girded by roundels with dots in them, and its peacock on the reverse. The mint is Southampton (Hamwic).

Peacocks are Christological symbols of immortality and of the resurrection, because their flesh was reputed to be incorruptible (Gannon p. 120). Peacocks can also be found in the Book of Kells.

Metcalf extensively describes this sub-group in his article "The coins and pottery from Hamwic" (1988), p. 17 et. seqq. The following descriptions rest upon his overview on p. 30 (categorisation according to the number of roundels).

The facing head clearly exhibits traits of the "Wodan" coins (see under Danish-Frisian-English). The motif can be found back on the oldest series of Danish coins (see Malmer, quoted in the section Danish-Frisian-English). That the coins of Hamwic show Danish influences stands to reason, as it was the main port of the region.



- S 161 A: Head in oval shield surrounded by pellets, 9 roundels around, pellet inside, between the roundels a pellet, R: Peacock r., two pellets and two roundels in field, pellet inside. 0.794 gr.
Vecchi - London, Auction 2 (1996), no. 1126.
Series H, BMC 49.
Type 1c.



- S 162 A: Head in oval shield surrounded by pellets, 7 roundels around, pellet inside, between the roundels a pellet, below a cross, R: Peacock r., one pellet and one roundel in field, pellet inside, a cross with four pellets. 0.745 gr.
Spink - London 1973.
From: NC 1973, no. 2339.
Ex: Elmore Jones collection.
Type 2a.



- S 163 A: Head in oval shield surrounded by pellets, 7 roundels, pellet inside, between the roundels a pellet, below a cross between pellets, R: Peacock r., one pellet and two roundels in field, pellet inside.

0.943 gr.

Finn - Kendal 1997.

From list 12, no. 49.

Found Westhamnett near Chichester.

Type 4a.

- S 164 A: Head in oval shield surrounded by pellets, 7 roundels around, pellet inside, between the roundels a pellet, below 4 pellets, R: Peacock r., one pellet and one roundel in field, pellet inside, cross of five pellets.

0.871 gr.

Finn - Kendal 1997.

From list 9, no. 33.

Type 6b (just a single dot between the roundels) and different head.

Subgroup 2

Characteristic of the obverse is a man standing in a semi-circular curve, with two crosses, and the reverse shows a pecking bird. For the discussion on the semi-circular curve see the introduction of Bust cross / Man standing.

The man is depicted in a number of styles as is the pecking bird.

The man is wearing a short tunic and is holding the crosses with bent arms; the bird is in a simple style and the vine is short.



- S 165 A: Man standing with crosses in a semi circular curve, R: Pecking bird.

0.964 gr.

Spink - London 1998.

From NC 1998, no. 1004.

Series U / BMC: 23b.

- S 166 A: Man standing with crosses in a semi circular curve, R: Pecking bird.

0.890 gr.

Finn - Kendal 1995.

From list 5, no. 52.

Base metal coin.

Subgroup 3

The difference with sub-group 2 is that the man is now wearing a longer tunic, his arms are less bent, (later still they are straight); the bird is more detailed, and the vine is first short, then long.



- S 167 A: Man standing with crosses in a semi circular curve, R: Pecking bird, short vine.

0.954 gr.

Spink - London 1990.

From: NC 1990, no. 1669.

Series U.



S 168 A: Man standing with crosses in a semi circular curve, R: Pecking bird, long vine. 1.162 gr.
 Spink - London 1989.
 From: NC 1989, no. 4004.
 Ex: Mack collection (Syll. 346).
 Bought Spink 1986 (NC 1986, no. 3205).
 Series U.

S 169 A: Man standing with crosses in a semi circular curve, R: Pecking bird, long vine. 1.132 gr.
 Spink - London 1994.
 From NC 1994, no. 5626.
 Series U.



S 170 A: Man standing with crosses in a semi circular curve, R: Pecking bird, long vine. 0.794 gr.
 Spink - London 1987.
 Ex: Mack collection: Syll. 347.
 Bought Baldwin 20-1-60.
 Ex: Grantley collection (644).
 Ex: Rashleigh collection (29).
 Series U.

S 171 A: Man standing with crosses in a semi circular curve between two birds, R: Pecking bird, long vine. 1.066 gr.
 Vecchi - London, Auction 11 (1998), no. 86.
 Ex: Subjack collection no. 86.
 Metcalf p. 568-9 (BMC 23c). Page 569 shows a drawing of a facing figure wearing a large moustache. The two birds are missing. The reverse shows a pecking bird though to the left.
 This type (23c) is different from others because of the facing figure.
 Series U, BMC 23c.

Subgroup 4

Here, the obverse is a "celtic cross", the reverse is a pecking bird, but the vine is now exclusively made up of dots.



S 172 A: Celtic cross, one rosette in the centre and in each angle, R: Pecking bird, vine made of pellets, two pellets in field. 0.993 gr.
 Spink - London 1995.
 From: NC 1995, no. 5504.
 Series H / BMC: 39.

S 173 A: Celtic cross, one rosette in the centre and in each angle, R: Pecking bird, vine made of pellets, two pellets in field. 0.928 gr.
 Spaar- en Voorschotbank - Surhuisterveen 1990.
 Series H / BMC: 39.



- S 174 A: Celtic cross, within a cross ending in pellets, around four pellets, in each corner of the celtic cross a rosette, R: Pecking bird with vine r. 1.145 gr.
 Spink - London 1989.
 From: NC 1989, no. 4580
 Series H / BMC: 23
 Found in Tilbury.
 See line drawing in T&S p. 430 (this coin). Best western style with a "Kentish" body and tail.
 Metcalf draws a head with a beak above the bird; this is incorrect, what is shown is the end of the vine, a twig with three berries.
 Series H / BMC: 39.

Subgroup 5

This series is also characterised by a pecking bird, though its shape is entirely different. The obverse shows the wolf with the twins. As with the standard, this obverse design is modelled on a Roman coin: the Urbs Roma type. These were not struck in London, but in almost all the other places in the empire. The she-wolf to the right occurs in the first Roman series.
 "The she-wolf and twins is much more specifically a classic motif, associated with the city of Rome - and, for eight-century Anglo-Saxons, with what Rome meant for them" (T&S p.570)
 The pecking bird and vine on the reverse now is vertical, contrary to the sub-groups up to now. A fine example of this design is shown on a fragment in Jedburgh, Borders (see fig 4.18c in Gannon p. 121).



- S 175 A: Wolf r., twins below with four pellets between them, R: Bird with wide open beak, in which the end of the vine. 1.046 gr.
 Finn - Kendal 1995.
 From list 5, no. 53.
 Ex: Londesborough.
 Ex: Montagu.
 Ex: Grantley collection (723).
 Ex: Lockett collection I (223).
 Ex: Mack collection II (20).
 Mack SCBI 361.
 This specimen is a die-duplicate of the coin in the Canterbury hoard.
 Normally the she-wolf faces inwards, here her head is vertically positioned. The breast of the bird is broken (this is exactly the same with no. S 168). The fruits are much more pronounced here, on the last one they resembled berries.
 Series V / BMC: 7.

- S 176 A: Wolf r., twins below with cross between them, R: Bird with beak made of pellets. 0.986 gr.
 Finn - Kendal 1997.
 Wolf's head smaller. Bird with rounded breast, single beak, numerous leaves.



- S 177 A: Wolf r., twins below with cross between them, R: Bird with beak made of pellets. 1.092 gr.
 Spink - London 1992.
 From: NC 1992, no. 855.
 The position of the wolf's head is vertically downward, the bird's breast is broken.

DRAGON

This group is characterised by a dragon on the reverse. The dragon's design follows a fixed pattern: a beast with large claws and a turned head. Within this framework dragons can take a wide variety of appearances, particularly with regard to their tails.



In all mythologies, dragons play a key role. They are a hostile force opposing the gods. In Christendom too, the dragon is the foe of the divine (further east, dragons are positively viewed, as representing a purging force).

Dragons were to be slain and three forces had it in their power to do so: God, heroes and saints. Much later the struggles of St. Michael and St. George would be frequently portrayed on coins a lot (on a coin the bishop of Osnabrück, Part II, no. 1836, can be seen to fight a dragon, but in that case the dragon represents Islam). Sceattas often depict dragons, though they are never fought. The turned head has often been interpreted as better fitting a round design as used for coins, but that is incorrect as very old depictions of dragons show the turned-head variant (see Gannon fig. 4.57 on p. 148).

Dragons also play a role in baptism. A dragon slain while in water becomes an allegory of the liberation of man through baptism (see Ps. 74.13). *Auf Darstellungen der Taufe Christi ist der überwundene Drache gelegentlich zu sehen* (On representations of the baptism of Christ, a slain dragon can sometimes be seen) (see Schmidt, p. 44). An example of this is the baptismal font in the Cathedral Church of St. John the Evangelist in Brecon (Wales) which shows a dragon of exactly the same shape as the one on the sceattas.

The dragon as encountered on the sceattas is of Germanic origin (T&S p.467). In Germanic mythology, dragons are often called "Lindwurm". Thus dragons and serpents should be considered one and the same.

The obverse has a variety of scenes. The main series show a standing man or two standing men.

What we are dealing with in this case is a sometimes peculiar *melée* of standing figures, that as far as I am concerned are clearly derived from Roman coins and from dragons of distinct Germanic or Scandinavian origin.

Subgroup 1

Standard with T o T / \.



- S 178 A: Dragon r. with beak-like jaws, head turned back, leg below, branch behind, R: Standard T o T / \ (pellet in the o), four crosses on the edge. 0.713 gr.

Finn - Kendal 1999.

From list 17, no. 53.

A single leg points towards a bird. Still, the head faces left, therefore we think it is a dragon.

There is a line between the head and the body, from which a twig sprouts, ending in a dot.

A special coin which combines the "dragon" with the oldest shape of the standard (series A - C 1-2). Is this a prototype of the dragon series?

Subgroup 2

One man standing, mostly with two crosses. Mintplace London?



- S 179 A: Standing, facing figure holding two crosses, feet l., arms right-angled, R: Monster, large eye, r. with clawed feet, with one of which it is scratching its head. 1.104 gr.

Finn - Kendal 1996.

From list 8, no. 38.

Series O / BMC: 40.



- S 180 A: Standing, facing figure holding two crosses, feet r., arms curved, R: Dragon r., with clawed feet, large tail, before the mouth of the dragon a vine. 0.850 gr.
Finn - Kendal 1996.
From list 7, no. 42.
- S 181 A: Standing, facing figure holding two crosses, feet r., arms curved, R: Dragon, large eye, r. with clawed feet, short tail. 1.041 gr.
Spink - London 1999.
From NC 1999, no. 2035.
Ex: Triton II, 1-12-1998, no. 1240.
Ex: John Jordan collection.
The head is drawn as a helmet, the eye in the helmet.



- S 182 A: Standing, facing figure holding two crosses, feet r., arms curved, R: Dragon, large head, l. with clawed feet, with one of which it is scratching its head short, curved tail. 0.758 gr.
Vecchi - London, Auction 11 (1998), no. 60.
Ex: Subjack collection no. 60.
Ex: NC 1993, no. 4271.
Of excellent Celtic-Germanic style.
- S 183 A: Standing man looking r. with short tunic holding cross, arabesque behind him, R: Dragon, large head, l. with clawed feet, curved tail and simple feet. 1.084 gr.
Spink - London 1983.
Ex: Mack collection (Syll. 349).
Ex: Lockett collection (234).
Ex: Grantley collection (716).
Ex: Montagu collection I (163).
Series K/N / BMC: 23a.



- S 184 A: Standing man looking r. with short tunic holding cross and staff in the hands, within circle of pellets, R: Dragon l., curved tail, within circle of pellets. 0.963 gr.
Finn - Kendal 1997.
Metcalf knows of two other specimens (T&S, p. 445). One in the Ashmolean T&S 352 found near Tilbury and one found in Cooling near Hoo, Kent (Metcalf: Twenty Five Notes on sceattas finds, in: BAR (1984), no. 20, but that has the dragon to the right).

Subgroup 3

Two men standing with two crosses. Mintplace East Anglia?

Metcalf stated that the "two standing figures" motifs might have been copied from non-numismatic sources. I think this is incorrect. The two figures, specifically those facing each other, are encountered almost in exactly the same style on an imitation of a Roman coin.



- S 185 A: Two identical figures standing facing each other, holding a long cross between them and others in r. and l. hands respectively, R: Dragon l., head looking back, tail ending in three pellets. 0.928 gr.
Vecchi - London, Auction 11 (1998), no. 58.
Ex: Subjack collection no. 58.
Series N / BMC: 41a.
Very realistic portraits, see for a comparison Part I, no. 36.

- S 186 A: Two identical figures standing facing, holding a long cross between them and others in r. and l. hands respectively, on a base line, R: Dragon l., head looking back, tail ending in four pellets, line from head of the dragon under, ending in a pellet. 1.026 gr.
Spink - London 1997.
Ex: NC 1994, no. 7120.
Series N / BMC: 41b.



- S 187 A: Two identical figures standing facing, no long cross between them only three pellets, and others in r. and l. hands respectively, R: Dragon l., head looking back, tail ending in three pellets. 0.849 gr.
Spink - London 1988.
For an example see no. 3176.
Series N / BMC: 41b.

- S 188 A: Two identical figures standing facing, holding long cross between them and others in r. and l. hands respectively, R: Dragon l., head looking back, short tail ending in one pellet, on the r. long-beaked bird, apparently feeding the dragon. 0.973 gr.
Finn - Kendal 2000.
From 18, no. 55.
Found in South Lincolnshire, 1999.
The BM has another specimen (?)



- S 189 A: Two identical figures standing facing, no long cross between them, only some pellets, in r. and l. hands a stick ended in three points (like a crosier), short tunic, on a base line, R: Dragon r., head looking back tail ending in three pellets, line from head of the dragon under, ending in two pellets. 0.974 gr.
Münzen u. Medaillen - Basel 1994.
From list 576, no. 128.
Series N / BMC: 41b.

- S 190 A: Two identical figures standing facing, no long cross between them, only some pellets, in r. and l. hands a stick ended in three points (like a crosier), short tunic, on a base line, R: Dragon r., head looking back, tail ending in three pellets, line from head of the dragon under. 0.740 gr.
Spink - London 1988.
Series N / BMC: 41b.

Subgroup 4

From this group on the faces are rendered in a very primitive style, mostly by a few dots. The figures became much simpler. Still, the general lay-out is retained: two standing figures, long cross in the middle, flanked by two crosses.

The dragon, too, shows a slightly different shape. Most notably, the foot scratching the head passes in front of the head, just behind it. The head also has a kind of horn.

Metcalf (T&S p. 488) deems this an imitation of the O and N series.



S 191 A: Two identical primitive figures standing facing, long cross between them, in r. and l. hands a long cross, R: Dragon l., head looking back, tail ending in three pellets, feet short before head, on the head a curve with a pellet. 1.249 gr.

Finn - Kendal 1996.

Die-duplicate of the Ashmolean specimen (T&S: 382).

Metcalf (T&S, p. 489) knows of only one specimen, that from the Ashmolean Museum.

Series QIb.

S 192 A: Two identical primitive figures standing facing, long cross between them, in r. and l. hands a long cross, R: Dragon r., head looking back, feet short before head, on the head a curve with a pellet, tail ending in three pellets, row of pellets from head under, ending in a straight line. 1.075 gr.

Spink - London 1991.

Series QIa.



S 193 A: Two identical primitive figures standing facing, long cross between them, in r. and l. hands a long cross, R: Dragon l., head looking back, tail ending in three pellets, feet short before head, on the head a curve with a pellet. 1.094 gr.

Spink - London 1987.

From NC 1987, no. 7052.

Series QIb.

Subgroup 5

The obverse design is now a geometric pattern.



S 194 A: Square with ring in centre within two concentric circles, A V O between them, R: Dragon r., head looking back, feet short before head, tail ending in three pellets, two rows of pellets before mouth, on the head a curve with a pellet. 0.971 gr.

Finn - Kendal 1994.

This coin illustrated in Gannon fig. 5.24a.

Series Q IX.

Subgroup 6

Here the dragon is combined with a cross with two stylized birds.



- S 195 A: Forked cross between two stylized birds and twice seven pellets, R: Dragon r., head looking back, crossed claws, short tail ending in pellets, eight pellets in field. 0.887 gr.

Vecchi - London, Auction 11 (1998), no. 71.

Ex: Subjack collection no. 71.

Unicum.

Here the dragon has "spiky hair" on its back, something only observed on the oldest types (see e.g. sub-group 1). This coin illustrated in Gannon fig. 4.6 and 4.61.

There are also some other types that have a dragon motif on their reverse:

·1 the obverse shows the head in a wreath (S 256)

·2 the obverse shows a walking bird (S 297)

They were listed under the relevant groups.

TRANSITION FROM "DRAGON" TO "DRAGON'S HEAD"



- S 196 A: Two concentric circles, each terminating in a serpent's head, pellet before mouth, R: Dragon sitting l., head reverted, pellet in field. 1.005 gr.

CNG - Lancaster, Auction 55 (2000), no. 1794.

Found at Kilham, East Yorkshire 1996-1997.

Period: ca. 715.

Apparently unpublished and unique.

Mule of reverse designs from series K and N. The obverse is clearly copied from series K, type 32, which normally has a single wolf's head at the end of a beaded circle. The two heads in this case have been copied directly from the head of the monster on the reverse. The monster itself has been borrowed from series N, but the die engraver has misunderstood elements of the normal design; the crest is continued under the body to form one of the legs, and the tail goes straight up instead of arching over the back towards the mouth (Bonser in catalogue CNG).

DRAGON'S HEAD

This group's obverse is the bust, sometimes a standard, celtic cross or man standing, but also the female centaur.

Its reverse shows a single dragon's head with a long tongue (in the dragon group, dragons never have a tongue, (Gannon's note with fig. 4.58 b and c is incorrect, not a tongue but a tail). Then three dragon's heads turning in a circle and finally four turning dragon's heads.

Subgroup 1

The dragon's head fills the full surface of the coin. Its serpentine body girds the head. The tongue comes in a few variants; it sometimes becomes an arabesque (no. S 199).



- S 197 A: Bust r., with large hand holding cross, R: Dragon's head r., with its body and the torc all woven together into a curve. 0.955 gr.

Spink - London 1983.

From 21-7-1981 / 445.

Series K, BMC: 33.



- S 198 A: Bust r., with large hand holding cross, R: Dragon's head r., with its body and the torc all woven together into a curve, the long tongue has two parts, both ending in three pellets. 1.071 gr.
Spink - London 1993.
From NC 1993, no. 6121.
Ex: Chick collection.
Bought Spink March 1971.
Found at St. Albans, Herts., before 1965 (shown at the BM during 1965). Cf. BNJ (1987), p. 132, no. 75. Shown BM april 1971.
Kent or Thames Valley, ca. 720-30.
Series K, BMC: 33.
- S 199 A: Diademed bust r., with large hand holding cross, R: Dragon's head r., with its body and the torc all woven together into a continuous arabesque. 0.943 gr.
Finn - Kendal 1998.
From list 14, no. 43.
Series K, BMC: 33.



- S 200 A: Bust r., with large hand holding cross, R: Dragon's head l. with long tongue, its body and the torc all woven together into a continuous arabesque. 0.991 gr.
Finn - Kendal 1999.
From list 17, no. 32.
BNJ 1967, p.16 no. 4 (similar obverse).
Series K, BMC: 33.
- S 201 A: Bust r., with large hand holding cross, R: Dragon's head l., with long tongue, ending in a curve, under the tongue three pellets, above four pellets, its body and the torc all woven together into a curve. 0.974 gr.
Finn - Kendal 1996.
From list 8, no. 32.
Series K, BMC: 33.
This coin, and the following number, clearly show the dragon's teeth.



- S 202 A: Bust l., with large hand holding cross, R: Dragon's head l. with long tongue, ending in a curve, its body and the torc all woven together into a curve. 1.022 gr.
Spink - London 1988.
From: NC 1988, no. 6297.
From: NC 1988, no. 4600.
Series K, BMC 32b.
- S 203 A: Bust r., with large hand holding cross, R: Dragon's head l. with long tongue, ending in a bud, its body and the torc all woven together into a curve. 1.182 gr.
Baldwin - London, Auction 18 (1998), no. 1617.
Ex: Seaby's Coin and Medal Bulletin, september 1970, H3003.
Series K, BMC: 33.



204

- S 204 A: Bust r., cross (no hand, the drapery is different with respect to the last numbers), R: Dragon's head l., the tongue oscillating around the head, with its body and the torc all woven together into a curve.

1.017 gr.

Vecchi - London, Auction 11 (1998), no. 44.

Ex: Subjack collection no. 44.

Ex: Stack auction 7-12-1994, no. 2294.

Series K, BMC: 33.

Subgroup 2

The most striking characteristic of this design is its curled-up dragon's body with clearly visible legs. Of outstanding artistical merit.

Birkhan (Num. Zeitschrift 86 (1971), p. 64) has drawn attention to the source of this type in a Celto-germanic Schlüsselpfennig with a Rolltier or curled animal as its type, from the Rheinlands or beyond. He has illustrated a prototype which is so exactly similar in its design to the sceat that the die-cutter must have had it in front of him: *Vor allem die Übereinstimmung in der Rolltierdarstellung geht so sehr ins Detail (gestäubtes Rückenhaar, gepunkteter Leib, Ohren der Schlange, auf gekrümmtes Schwanzende), dass man wohl nicht an Zufall denken kann* (The likeness with even the smallest details in the curled animal design is so exact (spiky hair on the back, dotted body, snake ears, arched tail end) is so great that any notion of coincidence has to be discarded). See T&S, p. 384.



205

206

- S 205 A: Bust r., with large hand holding cross, the circle is at the bottom reversed, R: Dragon's head r. with long tongue ending in a curl, teeth very clear, curved body, claws are visible.

1.213 gr.

Spink - London 1995.

Series K, BMC 32a.

- S 206 A: Bust r., with large hand holding cross, the circle is at the bottom reversed, R: Dragon's head r. with long tongue ending in three pellets, teeth not visible, curved body, all claws are visible.

1.190 gr.

Finn - Kendal 1995.

From list 5, no. 40.

Series K, BMC 32a.

Subgroup 3

The bust with the cross is now replaced with a standard with four rings that are connected to each other.



207

- S 207 A: Standard with four rings bounded by line, R: Dragon's head r. with sharp tongue, curved body.

1.197 gr.

Finn - Kendal 1996.

From list 8, no. 36.

Presumably a die-duplicate (obverse) of the only other specimen BNJ 1977, pl. 2, no. 26, Metcalf (T&S, p. 449).

No finding location given, oral remark: an East Anglian find.

Metcalf in T&S p. 449, no. 1.

Series K/R.



- S 208 A: Pellet-in-ring within standard, four crosses and four lines on the edge, R: Dragon's head 1. with tongue ending in a curl, curved body. 0.945 gr.

Finn - Kendal 1999.

From list 17, no. 33.

Metcalf in T&S p. 449, no. 3.

The dragon's body is much larger than on the other specimens, it moreover has two large teeth in its mouth.

Series K/R.

Specific sub-groups are: a number of dragons' heads going round in a circle (sub-groups 4-5-6). These turning heads start occurring in the late 7th, early 8th century, amongst others in manuscripts (see fig. 5 (Lichfield St. Chad's Gospels) in Morehart, BNJ 55 (1985).

A parallel can be drawn between the birds of the B series and the turning birds of the J series (see under Two busts/Four birds) and the dragon and the turning dragons' heads.

Subgroup 4

This is the first instance of several dragon's heads on one coin. There are three rotating heads. The big tooth is distinct. The tongues of the dragons are connected in a central point.



- S 209 A: Man with helmet standing and looking r. with long tunic holding two crosses, R: Three dragon's heads rotating in circle to the r. 0.956 gr.

Spink - London 1995.

From NC 1995, no. 4084.

Series L / BMC 23e.

Subgroup 5

Here, again, the turning dragon's heads face right. The tongues are no longer connected but swirl away behind the heads of the other dragons.

The obverse is now a celtic cross.



- S 210 A: Celtic cross, on the cross pellets in centre and on the limbs, rosettes in the angles of the cross, R: Three dragon's heads in circle. 1.083 gr.

Finn - Kendal 1996.

From list 7, no. 37.

Hamwic type (Metcalf T&S, p. 333).

Series H / BMC: 48.

Subgroup 6

This group sees the return of the dragon's heads turning in a circle (now four), their tongues linked in a central point. Tongues turning to the left are normal, right-turning tongues form an exception.

The obverse design is now made up of a helmeted female centaur facing right, winged.

Two descriptions exist of this remarkable design:

By Morehart (*Female Centaur or Sphinx*, BNJ 55 (1985), p. 1-8. This type has often been referred to as sphinx (also by Metcalf, see his article "Sceattas from the territory of the Hwicce", Num. Chr. XVI (1976), p. 64-74). But the body is not that of the classical sphinx, it is more of a lion. Therefore Morehart preferred the name "female centaur". She writes that this symbolism is rooted in Germanic culture rather than in Roman or Celtic culture. She believes the reverse does constitute a mixture of Celtic and Germanic influences.

By Göbl (*Die Hexadrachmenprägung der Gross-Boier*, Wien 1994), who provides the following description of a coin of Busu (p. 20-21) *Weiblicher Flügelkentaure mit handförmig endendem Schweif nach links stehend, zurückblickend. Dazu zwischen den Beinen freistehend BVSV (Pl. 4, no. 28). Eine echte späte Parallele findet sich bei den Sceattas des siebenten Jahrhunderts (female winged centaur with a tail with a hand-shaped end, facing left, head turned. Additionally, the centaur straddles BVSV (Pl. 4, no. 28). A genuine, late parallel is found in the sceattas of the 7th century, Pl. 10, no. 14)*". BUSU was a Boian who lived around 44 BC. The Boii lived from 70 BC until 40 AD. There are no known specimens of this Celtic type.

Centaur's were originally half man half horse. They were regarded as dangerous demons (see also the latterday sculptures in Autun). There are however also peaceful images of centaurs, this presumably being one of them.

The female centaur encountered on the sceattas is always taken to be a female figure (in view of the wings an angel maybe?, Göbl thinks so too) and a lion. According to Schmidt (p. 129 et. seq.) winged figures were men, it would take until Giotto's time for female figures to appear. This is a man, to my mind, also in view of the fact that he is wearing a helmet. The body being a lion's is also rather improbable, the legs are too long. What actually comes to mind is a horse.



- S 211 A: Female centaur l. with helmet and wings, R: Four dragon's heads in circle rotating to the r., tongues joining in centre. 0.670 gr.

Rauch - Wien, Auction 57 (1996), no. 9.

This coin was illustrated in R. Göbl's: *Die Hexadrachmenprägung der Gross-Boier*, Wien 1994, under no. 14 on plate 10 (under no. 15/16 a similar sceatta is shown).

The legs of the animal are positioned crooked on this coin, whereas they are perfectly straight normally (see the next numbers).

Series S / BMC: 47.

- S 212 A: Female centaur l. with helmet and wings, R: Four dragon's heads in circle rotating to the r., tongues joining in centre. 1.024 gr.

Spink - London 1986.

From: NC. 1986, no. 6036.



- S 213 A: Female centaur l. with helmet and wings, R: Four dragon's heads in circle rotating to the r., tongues joining in centre. 0.908 gr.

Künker - Osnabrück, Auction 35 (1997), no. 1076.

- S 214 A: Female centaur l. with helmet and wings, R: Four dragon's heads in circle rotating to the l., tongues joining in centre. 0.880 gr.

Spink - London 1988.

Normally the tongues of the dragons rotating to the r. (there is one specimen with the same reverse, but also the averse turned around, cf. BNJ 1987).

HOUND

This type has an obverse with a bust with one of several attributes. A hound with a vine for the reverse. Metcalf identifies the creature as a dog due to its collar (T&S, p. 391), which can be clearly seen on all the specimens present in the following. In the Roman Baths in Bath we find a stone relief of a hound with collar, who looks upwards to his mistress (Goddess Diana? In Roman religion a goddess of domestic animals the hunt?).

The sceattas show the foreleg of the hound in an anatomically inaccurate manner: from its first joint it projects upwards to the right.

Metcalf believes this type to be a joint royal/archepiscopal coin (T&S, p. 392).

Subgroup 1

Characteristic: a vine in front of the bust.



- S 215 A: Bust r., before a vine, R: Hound, looking backwards, with vine. 1.221 gr.
Spink - London 1995.
Metcalf has subdivided the obverse, the reverse and the drapery in various groups.. This coin: Obv a / Rev II / drap 2.
Series K, BMC 42.

- S 216 A: Bust r., before a vine, R: Hound, looking backwards, with vine. 1.046 gr.
Spink - London 1994.
Metcalf: vz a / kz II / drap 2.
Series K, BMC 42.

Subgroup 2

Characteristic: hawk in front of the bust.



- S 217 A: Diademed bust with hawk on shoulder, hawk looks l., R: Hound l., looking backwards, at a vine. 1.075 gr.
Finn - Kendal 1996.
From list 8, no. 33.
Metcalf: vz b / kz I / drap 2.
Series K, BMC 42.



- S 218 A: Diademed bust with hawk on shoulder, hawk looks l., R: Hound l., looking backwards, at a vine. 0.982 gr.
Spink - London 1991.
From: NC 1991, no. 3871.
Metcalf: vz b / kz IV / drap 2.
Cf.: Metcalf en Walker, no. 44.
Series K, BMC 42.

Subgroup 3

Characteristic: a cross before the bust.



- S 219 A: Diademed bust with cross before, hawk looks r., R: Hound l., looking backwards, at a vine. 0.929 gr.
 Finn - Kendal 1999.
 From list 16, no. 53.
 Metcalf: vz c / kz I / drap 1.
 Series K, BMC 42.

BUST CROSS / MAN STANDING

General features: Diademed bust and a man standing. Generally this man stands within a curve or semi-circle. It has been described in BMC as "a boat-like curve", but it is more probably a dais or sanctuary or some other indication of royal dignity (cf. Metcalf: Num. Chr. XVI (1976), p. 71). As this curve is sometimes missing I believe its meaning is not that significant. Drapery most shallow V's. Metcalf assumes the standing man to be King Aethelbald. This standing figure wears a helmet - doubtless the cynehelm, or royal helmet-crown (see the article referred to above).

Subgroup 1

Diademed bust, latin cross before, standing man with two crosses.



- S 220 A: Diademed bust r., latin cross before, R: Standing man, looking r., in a boat-shaped curve, two crosses. 0.828 gr.
 Auktionen - Basel, Auction 20 (1990), no. 586.
 It is not quite sure whether the man on the reverse is facing right or facing the viewer.
 Series L / BMC: 15a.
- S 221 A: Diademed bust r., latin cross before, R: Standing man, looking r., in a boat-shaped curve, two crosses. 1.126 gr.
 Aufhäuser - München 1992.
 It is not quite sure whether the man on the reverse is standing in a boat-shaped curve.
 Series L / BMC: 15a



- S 222 A: Bust facing, before plant, R: Standing man, facing, two crosses. 0.798 gr.
 Spink - London 1997.
 Series L / BMC 16.
 The man is not standing in a boat-shaped curve. Metcalf gives a line drawing of the plant (T&S p. 408), third of the right. Of the reverse Metcalf gives a line drawing (T&S p. 407), second on the left.



223

- S 223 A: Bust r., before five pellets as a cross, before and behind the bust a rosette, pellet inside, R: Standing man, facing, two crosses. 1.184 gr.
 Finn - Kendal 1995.
 From list 5, no. 41.
 Hill (1953) listed under no. 68 two specimen: one in Glasgow (Hunterian SCBI, 91) and one with unknown provenance (see Seaby's Bulletin august 1952, no. 8878).
 Series K/L / BMC: 68.

Subgroup 2

Characteristic: Diademed bust, man standing with cross and falcon. Drapery shallow V's (except the last two numbers). Mostly in a boat-shaped curve.

A comment on this bird we find in Dark Age Britain (p. 19): "A letter of Aethelberth (king of Kent 725-762) to Boniface is existent, asking for his prayers, and sending gifts of two woollen cloaks and a silver drinking cup lined with gold. In the letter, he reminds Boniface of his friendship with Bucege his kinswoman, and asks him for a pair of falcons "*quick and spirited enough to attack crows without hesitation*". Apparently few such falcons were available in Kent". Normally the bird would be indicated as "hawk", but on the grounds of this quote we have chosen the term "falcon" (both hawks and falcons were known royal hunting birds). Gannon makes no choice and refers to a "bird".



224

225

- S 224 A: Diademed bust, latin cross before, R: Standing man, looking r., in a boat-shaped curve, with a cross and a falcon, below the falcon a T. 0.977 gr.
 Aufhäuser - München 1992.
 Series L / BMC: 18.
 The T is sometimes interpreted as perch for the hawk.
- S 225 A: Diademed bust, latin cross, on a triangular base, before, R: Standing man, looking r., with a cross and a falcon. 0.733 gr.
 Spink - London 1986.
 From: NC.1986, no. 6035.
 No boatshaped curve.
 Series L / BMC: 18.



226

227

- S 226 A: Diademed bust, cross before, R: Standing man, looking right, in a boat-shaped curve, with a cross and a falcon. 1.103 gr.
 Baldwin - London, Auction 18 (1998), no. 1619.
 Series L / BMC: 18.
- S 227 A: Diademed bust, vine with berries before, R: Standing man, looking r., in a boat-shaped curve, with a cross and a falcon. 0.861 gr.
 Finn - Kendal 1998.
 From list 14, no. 48.
 The curved line looks like a real boat.
 Series L / BMC: 16.



- S 228 A: Diademed bust, latin cross before, R: Standing man, looking l., in a boat-shaped curve, with a cross and something else. 0.861 gr.

Vecchi - London, Auction 14 (1999), no. 1695.

Ex: Subjack collection no. 50.

Series L / BMC: 18.

An interesting coin. Its diameter is larger than usual, its weight is that of a sceatta. The bust obviously stems from another type. The reverse male figure is not wearing the usual helmet. The interesting part is the object he is holding in his right hand. It looks like the ornament crowning mosques nowadays, indicating an Islamic reference. If this coin, on the grounds of its deviating design, is to be interpreted as the precursor to the later pence, it would have to be placed at the end of the series, in Offa's time. Offa became king of Mercia in 757 and the first penny is from around 784. Only the Arabic dinar with the inscription OFFA REX is known from the time between (on a dinar of 774). This sceatta would then have to be dated to between 757 and 784, which would also put into perspective the Islamic reference.

For another possible of a sceatta from Offa's first years of office, see the article of Archibald - Dhénin: A sceat of Offa of Mercia in: BNJ 74 (2004), p. 20.

Subgroup 3

Characteristic: Diademed bust with chalice and cross. Standing man with cross and hawk.



- S 229 A: Diademed bust r., before chalice with cross, R: Standing man with cross and falcon, below falcon a T. 0.822 gr.

Spink - London 1984.

From: NC 1984, no. 3572.

Series L / BMC: 20 (BMC 20 has a chalice but not the cross).

For the meaning of the T cf. note at no. S 224.

- S 230 A: Diademed bust r., before chalice with cross, R: Standing man with cross and falcon, below falcon a T. 0.878 gr.

Finn - Kendal 1997.

From list 9, no. 38.

Series K / BMC: 20/18.

See line drawing in Metcalf (p. 404), the one on the right. This variant was published by Hill (1953, pl. 6, no. 5).

BUST / DIFFERENT REVERSES

Subgroup 1

Characteristic: Bust with runes combined with annulet-cross.



- S 231 A: Crowned bust r., before EPA in runes, R: In two circles four annulets connected with a cross. 1.069 gr.

Spink - London 1989.

From: NC 1989, no. 1034.

On page 510 T&S give a line drawing and refer to BNJ 30 (1960-61), p. 49, Pl. 4.

Series R2z / BMC: 79.



232

S 232 A: Crowned bust l., before EPA in runes, behind zigzagline between two lines, R: In two circles four annulets connected with a cross. 1.178 gr.

Spink - London 1988.

From: NC 1988, no. 126.

From a hoard.

Both no. S 232 and S 231 featured in an article by Blackburn (Type "F") in 1991, p. 177-78. The BM owns a specimen of both.

This coin illustrated in Gannon fig. 2.30b and 5.5e.

Subgroup 2

Characteristic: Bust, combined with bird on cross.



233

S 233 A: Crude head r., two rings in front, R: Cross with one pellet in each angle, above bird r. 1.133 gr.

Spink - London 1994.

Unknown type.

The reverse very much resembles the types of series B, but the cross is potent now and the obverse is different entirely. As the "bird on cross" is a distinctly Christian symbol, the coin could have been struck under a secular ruler (without the Christian symbols), with a Christian message on the reverse (illegible).

Subgroup 3

Characteristic: Bust, combined with a standard.



234

235

S 234 A: Large realistic head r., cross in front, R: Pellet-in-ring and four right angles within standard, three pellets on each side. 0.813 gr.

Finn - Kendal 1994.

Presumably unique.

The head on the coin looks somewhat like the head on the last coin, no. S 233.

S 235 A: Crowned bust with large jaw r., APA and annulet in front, A behind bust, neck made of twice two lines, R: Ring and four lines within standard, four crosses and four T's on the edge. 1.044 gr.

Finn - Kendal 1997.

From list 12, no. 53.

Unrecorded.

In view of the APA text and the specific A behind bust this type must be placed early on in the C series. The only thing that does not fit this series is the shape of the head.



- S 236 A: Head r., V . T V in front, spiky hair, R: VvoIC, two pellets and one stripe within standard, two crosses and two zigzaglines on the edge. 1.255 gr.

Rudd - Aylsham 1999.

From list 42, no. 36.

Ex: Subjack collection no. 27.

The Vecchi catalogue described this coin as a Vernus imitation. While there are vague echoes of both Vernus and Saroaldo types in the obverse, the reverse seems to be a crude copy of the VICO "porcupine", with little in common with either the VERNVS or SAROALDO reverses. Both these latter types thought to be English, so this coin can hardly be. However, the obverse and reverse styles are so different to each other that a "mule" seems likely. There is an unpublished find from near Bedford that has a similar obverse, the reverse though is different (Bonser).

- S 237 A: Head in shape of a triangle, CXV (?) in front, R: Two T's and two lines around central pellet within standard, pellets and V's on the edge. 1.213 gr.

Vecchi - London, Auction 14 (1999), no. 1693.

Ex: Subjack collection no.14 (where it is described as an imitation of the A series, which I believe to be incorrect). Presumably unique.

Subgroup 4

Characteristic: Bust. Combined with a celtic cross.



- S 238 A: Diademed bust r., long cross in front, some pellets behind, R: Cross-crosslet superimposed on celtic cross, with small rosettes of pellets in angles, 4 pellets around the cross. 0.686 gr.

Spink - London 2005.

From NC: 2005, no. HS2065.

Series L / BMC: 34b.

This cross-crosslet reverse variety appears to be unrecorded.

CARIP

This group to some extent stands apart from the rest. The obverse is always a bust, with letters in front of it. The reverse varies greatly in its imagery.

On specimen reads C ARIP, its meaning is unclear. The C is kept on for a brief period, but then is dropped, and the ARIP lettering becomes more and more blundered.

The fact that neither of the present coins are mentioned in T&S (p. 418-421) conveys an idea of how large the variety in reverses really is.



- S 239 A: Diademed bust r., CARIP in front, R: Seated figure looking r. with staff and long cross. 0.922 gr.

Finn - Kendal 1996.

From: list 7, no. 35.

Unrecorded with sitting figure.

The CARIP is totally blundered and does not fit any of the varieties summed up by Metcalf (T&S p.419).

This coin is illustrated in Gannon fig. 3.22a.



- S 240 A: Diademed bust r. with no legend, R: Porcupine-like figure r., with numerous finely drawn quills. 0.912 gr.

Finn - Kendal 1997.

From list 11, no. 33.

Unrecorded.

The obverse bust is very close to no. S 239, but that had the CARIP legend; the reverse obviously relates to Metcalf 340 with the porcupine-like figure left.

This reverse is very reminiscent of the reverses of the SEDE coins, though they clearly show a snake where this has a porcupine-like creature. What's more, they have a cross in the centre and the coin in hand has a dot.

The porcupine we find also at S 270, where it is combined with a celtic cross.

DE LVNDONIA

This group comprises the coins that show the legible text DE LVNDONIA as well as the coins that have the same legend in a more or less legible rendering.

The reverse predominantly shows the standing man with crosses, yet only on the specimens with the blundered legend. The ones that clearly read DE LVNDONIA either have a porcupine (strikingly, the types with LEL always have a porcupine as well) or a celtic cross.

The types have been subdivided according to legibility of the DE LVNDONIA legend.

Subgroup 1

The inscription DE LVNDONIA is fully legible.



- S 241 A; Diademed bust r. E LVNDONIA, R: Porcupine, three lines below. 1.071 gr.

Spink - London 1993.

Found in 1993 in Bedfordshire.

Just four specimens exist:

a. Fries Museum (ex Hallum).

b. Ashmolean (ex Baldwin collection), T&S no. 264.

c. and d. nos. S 241 and S 242.

All four are from the same die.

There is an additional deviating type: obverse showing DE LVNDONIA, reverse also showing text (see NC 1988, no. 4606).

- S 242 A; Diademed bust r. E LVNDONIA, R: Porcupine, three lines below. 1.130 gr.

Vecchi - London, Auction 11 (1998), no. 49.

Ex: Subjack collection no. 49.

BMC: 12/5.

See comment at no. S 241.



- S 243 A: Diademed bust r. DE LVNDONIA, R: Celtic cross, centre pellet and one pellet in each limb, rosettes in the angles. 0.958 gr.

Finn - Kendal 1998.

From list 13, no. 39.

Metcalf (T&S p. 428, see line drawing) knew of two other specimens, he illustrates one and the other is from the same die, but this one (found in Cosham) has a fully unblundered legend reading DE LVNDONIA.

BMC: 14.

Subgroup 2

From here onwards, texts are blundered to a greater or lesser extent.



- S 244 A: Diademed head r. LVNDONIA, R: Man looking r. standing in boat-shaped curve with two crosses. 1.036 gr.
 Finn - Kendal 1996.
 Series L / BMC: 12.
- S 245 A: Bust r. LUNDONIA (blundered), R: Man standing in boat-shaped curve with two crosses. 0.861 gr.
 Glendining - London, Auction 4 (1979), no. 204.
 Ex: Mack collection (Syll. 340), Glendining - London, Auction 5 (1977), no. 15. (Mack II).
 Ex: Lockett collection I (230).
 Ex: Mann collection (127).
 Ex: P. W.P. Carlyon-Britton collection (161).
 Found in the River Thames.
 Series L / BMC: 12.



- S 246 A: Diademed bust r., with cross-hatched hair and three wreath ties, blundered LUNDONIA legend (VNOONA), R: Man seated on chair with elegant scrolled back, holding cross with l. hand and looking back over his shoulder at a hawk on his r. wrist. 1.060 gr.
 Finn - Kendal 1997.
 From list 11, no. 39.
 Metcalf: Type 13 was unique up to 1992, when a second specimen was found. This is the 3rd known specimen.
 Series L, BMC: 13.
 This coin is illustrated in Gannon fig. 2.40 and 3.22b.
- S 247 A: Bust l., V I I LVNDONIA, R: Man standing facing (looking l.), holding bird and cross, all in curved base line. 0.801 gr.
 Finn - Kendal 1997.
 From list 10, no. 39.
 Unrecorded variant.
 Unpublished with bust and legend left and with this reverse. A coin of good Hwiccian style, obvious low silver content.



- S 248 A: Bust l., blundered legend ? | |?, R: Celtic Cross, one rosette in each angle, cross within the celtic cross. 0.833 gr.
 Spink - London 1989.
 From: NC 1989, no. 3996.
 From Wangford, near Bury St. Edmunds, in 1983 or earlier.
 Found in two parts. Line drawing in T&S p. 430.
 Series L / BMC: 14.

BUST LEL / PORCUPINE

These all have a diademed London-based bust on the obverse. In front of the bust are the letters LEL, preceded by a cross of varying shape. The meaning of these letters (sometimes followed by a V and/or what looks like a comma (S?)) is unclear.

The reverse porcupine is always to the left, the arc is always terminated by a dot and always shows four lines within the arc.



S 249 A: Diademed bust r., + LE.L in front, R: Porcupine, inside the arc a pellet. 1.134 gr.

Spink - London 1994.

The cross preceding LEL is made up of four connected dots.

Metcalf suggested a subdivision (T&S p. 546/7), which however does not accommodate the present coin.

Series T / BMC: 9.

S 250 A: Diademed bust r., + LEL N(?) comma in front, R: Porcupine. 0.954 gr.

Spink - London, Auction 56 (1986), no. 751.

L E V M S means *Lev monita scorum* (monita = admonition or word of advice, oracle).

Ex. Norweb collection (751), SCBI (Norweb) no. 58.

Bought from Baldwin - London April 1955.

Hill, Num. Chr., p. 98, type 9a.

The cross preceding LEL is made up of four connected dots.

In Metcalf's subdivision this is 2a. In footnote no. 10 of T&S this coin gets the reference SCBI Norweb 58 (which is incorrect for it is this coin) "Ashm. 1.17g". The latter is correct. Ashm. 1.17 refers to no. 444 (Bt. 1986, found Tilbury) and that is the one illustrated with a line drawing.



S 251 A: Diademed bust r., + LCL V comma in front, R: Porcupine, row of dots within the arc. 1.134 gr.

Spink - London 1994.

Hier L C V instead of L E V.

Metcalf: type 2 / 1.

On p. 546 of T&S, Metcalf provides a line drawing exactly matching this coin, even down to the shape of the flan (but Metcalf's reference is to the West London Nat. Gall. Site).

INSECT-LIKE

The reverse of this group shows some likeness to the dragon, though both the mouth and the body are entirely different.



S 252 A: Bust l., body formed as a triangle, between four potent crosses, R: Insect-like animal with tripled tail. 1.047 gr.

Finn - Kendal 1995.

The obverse as well as the reverse dies of nos. S 252 and S 253 are different.

Unpublished.

S 253 A: Bust l., body formed as a triangle, cross in front and two crosses behind, R: Insect-like, V-shaped tail and three pellets between the claws. 1.036 gr.

Spink - London 1990.

Unpublished.

WOMAN'S HEAD IN PROFILE

The obverse is characteristic: a head with long hair to the right (sometimes to the left) in one or two borders of dots, between them a meaningless text. This obverse is combined with one of the following four reverses: small bird, standing figure with two crosses (not in this group), dragon and standard.

Subgroup 1

Reverse: small bird.



- S 254 A: Head r., pellet-in-circle below, R: Bird r. within circle of pellets and crescent. 1.044 gr.
 Finn - Kendal 1996.
 From list 8, no. 37.
 Series O / BMC: 38.
- S 255 A: Head r., pellet-in-circle below, R: Bird r. within circle of pellets and crescent. 1.025 gr.
 Spink - London 1992.
 Ex: Num. Circ. 1992, no. 5931.
 Series O / BMC: 38.

Subgroup 2

Reverse: dragon.



- S 256 A: Head r., pellet-in-circle below, turned up nose, R: Dragon l., head turned backwards, five pellets below, curly tail. 0.872 gr.
 Spink - London 1994.
 Metcalf (T&S p. 475) knows of four specimen.
 Series O / BMC: 57.

Subgroup 3

Reverse: standard with three dots in every angle. The design is much more stylized than the last group, its style differing from sub-group 1 and 2. The head to the left constitutes yet another difference to sub-groups 1 and 2.



- S 257 A: Stylized head l., pellet-in-circle below, between the two circles of pellets meaningless text, R: Cross with pellet in centre and at the end of each limb, three pellets in each angle, all within standard. 1.079 gr.
 Spink - London, Auction 65 (1988), no. 298.
 Ex: Erika Sieber collection.
 Line drawing in T&S p. 475 (type IV). This is the only specimen known to Metcalf.
 Series O / BMC: --.
- S 258 A: Stylized head l., pellet-in-circle below, between the two circles of pellets meaningless text, R: Cross with pellet in centre and at the end of each limb, three pellets in each angle, all within standard. 0.993 gr.
 Spink - London 2001.
 From NC 2001, no. 795.
 Die-duplicate of no. S 257.
 From a detector hoard, offered at Spink's in February of 1999 (See NC 1999, no. 2036).
 No. S 257 and no. S 258 are possibly the only 2 known specimens (of the same die).
 Series O / BMC: --.

DOUBLE STANDARD WITH CROSS

Characteristic: a double standard with a saltire, in the angles three dots. Reminiscent of the Saroaldo type. There are however some differences in the cross within the (single or double) standard. The normal cross (two perpendicular lines S 262), the same save for the distinct dot terminating the arms (saltire S 259, S 260 and S 261), also the same save for a triangular end (SAROALDO, S 152) and lastly two perpendicular dotted lines (S 263).

All types with these characteristics are listed here, with the exception of the SAROALDO type (see the FITVR-SAROALDO group).

Subgroup 1

The coins in this group are characterised by sharing the reverse: single standard with saltire, three dots in the angles. On the sides alternately . V . , . o . , resp . . .

This sub-group is related to the R series because it has the usual runes in front of the bust.



- S 259 A: Crowned bust r., O XPA in front, R: Cross with pellet in centre and at the end of each limb, three pellets in each angle, all within standard, V o . on the edge. 1.063 gr.

Finn - Kendal 1997.
From list 12, no. 52.

Analogous sceattas can be found in T&S on p. 531-32. Still, those are clearly different types (even if there is reference to the R series). Sometimes the bust has a cross before it, and other times the reverses show tufas.

- S 260 A: Crowned bust r., O XPA in front, R: Cross with pellet in centre and at the end of each limb, three pellets in each angle, all within standard, V on the edge. 1.089 gr.

Finn - Kendal 1997.
From list 9, no. 46.



- S 261 A: Crowned bust r., O XPA in front, R: Cross with pellet in centre and at the end of each limb, three pellets in each angle, all within standard, . V . . V V . on the edge. 1.031 gr.

Sotheby - London, Auction L09443 (1999), no. 211.

Ex: Stack collection.
Ex: Aston Rowant Hoard.
Bought Spink 12-7-79.

Subgroup 2

Characteristic: two perpendicular lines in a double standard.



- S 262 A: Bust r., long cross in front, pellets in field, behind the neck A, the neck is formed by two lines and a cross, R: Cross with pellet in centre and at the end of each limb, three pellets in each angle, all within double standard, dots on the edge. 0.965 gr.

Finn - Kendal 1997.
From list: 9, no. 45.

Metcalfe knows of one specimen, Ashmolean, no. 435 T&S p. 532.

Subgroup 3

Characteristic: two perpendicular dotted lines in a double standard.



- S 263 A: Two figures standing, each with a staff, one facing and one looking l., both with a flat head, genitals visible, R: Cross with pellet in centre and at the end of each limb, three pellets in each angle, all within double standard (Tufa). 1.045 gr.

Spink - London 1991.

Metcalf knows of a number of specimens (T&S p. 530-31).

Subgroup 4

Characteristic: two perpendicular dotted lines, extending into the rim, in two concentric circles.



- S 264 A: Four hearts in circle, one pellet in each angle, R: Cross with three pellets in each angle within double circle of pellets. 0.825 gr.

Finn - Kendal 1999.

From list 16, no. 59.

Metcalf describes this as "double croix ancrée". I, however, see four small hearts. He knows of three specimens, each with a recorded hoard site (T&S p. 531).

It is a moot question whether this coin should be listed with the double-standard group (as was done in T&S). This coin should much more be regarded as an early precursor of the English coins appearing much later (which however, in the spirit of the age, have a legend girding the field).

This coin illustrated in Gannon fig. 5.9a and 5.22b.

TRIQUETRAS

A group with a special reverse: a cruciform interlaced pattern, with pellets or/and rosettes.

This interlaced pattern consists of four knots, ending in the corners of a square. The other sides of the knots together form the bordering circle. Booth (Bar (1984) p. 77) views the triquetra as possibly a Northumbrian royal symbol.



- S 265 A: Bust facing, "Saddleback" drapery and wreath-ties with ornament below, R: Interlace with five single pellets. 1.091 gr.

Finn - Kendal 1995.

Die-duplicate of BMC no. 198 (pl. IV, no. 18), this one is drawn as no. 9 in T&S p. 425.

BMC: 52.

- S 266 A: Facing bust with knotted wreath ties, R: Interlace pattern, with four rosettes and one pellet. 1.020 gr.

Spink - London 1998.

From NC 1998, no. 1005.

Metcalf (T&S p. 424, nos. 5 - 7) identifies 3 specimens, figures 5 and 6 identical to this one.



- S 267 A: Standing man, looking r., with two long crosses, R: Interlace pattern, with four rosettes and one pellet. 1.010 gr.

Spink - London 1994.

Metcalf gives a line drawing in no. 2 (T&S p. 424-425), which is Ashmolean no. 342 (though that has both the head and the feet to the left). The Ashmolean's specimen no. 341, of a more delicate style, does have the head and the feet to the right, as the coin in hand.

VICTORY

A small series, of which few known specimens exist. The obverse: a Victoria with a wreath, distinctly reminiscent of Roman coins (but also of later ones). The Victoria is winged and in the light of the christianisation practised in this period should be considered an angel. The reverse of one of the two subtypes very much resembles Roman coins and the thrymsa (S 5) with an angel with displayed wings over two heads, two crosses here. The other group's reverse clearly derives from the L series.

Both groups have three runes in front of the victory, which however have not been deciphered to date.

Subgroup 1

The reverse shows the angel with displayed wings.



- S 268 A: Winged Victory r. holding wreath, three very legible runes, R: Standing figure with spreaded wings and between two crosses in a boat-shaped curve. 1.124 gr.

Spink - London 1991.

From: NC 1991, no. 7945.

T&S (p. 442) lists only three specimens, this one not included.

BMC: 22.

Subgroup 2

The reverse shows a standing figure with two crosses.



- S 269 A: Winged Victory holding wreath with cross, three runes, R: Standing figure with spreaded wings and between two crosses in a boat-shaped curve. 0.980 gr.

Vecchi - London, Auction 11 (1998), no. 52.

Ex: Subjack collection no. 52.

The obverse is a die-duplicate of BMC: 110 (pl. II, 26).

Metcalf (p.442) lists 3 specimens, this one not included.

BMC: 22.

"PORCUPINE" AROUND CROSS

The obverse of this type is reminiscent of the coins of the SEDE group. Nevertheless, here we encounter something very different, this is no snake but a porcupine terminated by a large dot, which does surround a cross.

It is not clear when or where this type originated, but it is in fact the precursor to the great porcupine series, on which a few lines replace the (Christian?) cross (contemporary Frisians had no cause to use a Christian symbol). The same form is found in no. S 240 (with a bust on the obverse related to the Carip group (see Carip)).



- S 270 A: Porcupine-like figure r., with numerous finely drawn quills, around a cross pommée, R: Celtic cross with four rosettes and five pellets, V's on the edge. 1.171 gr.
 Finn - Kendal 1997.
 From list 10, no. 34.
 Presumably the second specimen known.

STANDARD / STANDARD

Where the place of origin of this group must be looked for is not clear (T&S p. 527), nor in which period it should be placed.

Remarkably, the obverse always shows the same form: a standard with an empty tufa. In the standard a saltire with a dot in every angle. Beside the standard on both sides a cross or a line, underneath always three dots. The reverse however shows a greater variety in design, within the standard as well as without.

Metcalf provides various combinations (T&S p. 533).



- S 271 A: Cross with one pellet in each angle within standard, cross, three pellets and two lines on the edge, R: Small standard with ring in centre, four lines and three times three pellets on the edge. 1.037 gr.
 Spink - London 1987.
 From: NC 1983, no. 3870.
 Similar to Bird (Glendining, Auction 17 - 1974) lot 15 (reverse).
 BMC: 70.
- S 272 A: Cross with one pellet in each angle within standard, cross, three pellets and two crosses on the edge (empty tufa), R: Standard with ring in centre, two right angles and two inclined lines, four crosses and four pellets on the edge. 0.908 gr.
 Finn - Kendal 1996.



- S 273 A: Cross with one pellet in each angle within standard, two lines, three pellets and an empty tufa on the edge, R: Large standard with ring in centre and two right angles, four T's on the edge. 0.784 gr.
 Spink - London 1995.
 From NC 1995, no. 6162.
 As no. S 272 but of a more coarse style.

"AETHELRED"

A coin on its own, beyond the groups. Blackburn and Bonser in: BNJ 56 (1986), p. 85 take stock of the specimens they know (16) and demonstrate that there is no certainty as to when this coin was struck. It could just as well have been struck at the beginning of sceatta coinage as at its end.

Assuming it was struck early, the name mentioned would be that of the moneyer. It seems highly improbable however that a (royal) coin would so prominently state the name of the moneyer. Around the turn of the century, King Aldfrith of Northumbria (685-704, cf. no. S 422 and S 423), had a coin struck bearing his name. Apparently this had not been a success, for the next issue in Northumbria bearing a royal name was that of Eadberth (737-758). Would a King Aethelred for instance not have tried his luck? Apparently without result either, because this coin found no continuation. The only possibility left is that King Aethelred of Mercia (675-704), same period as Aldfrith.



- S 274 A: Porcupine ending in pellet, four lines and zigzagline below, R: AETHILIRAED (retrograde) in two lines within three circles of pellets. 1.085 gr.
 Spink - London 1986.
 Ex: NC 1986, no. 3209.
 This specimen is referred to in T&S p. 124 and finds more elaborate description in Blackburn and Bonser: Single finds of Anglo-Saxon and Norman Coins - 3 (BNJ 56 (1986)), p. 85 under no. 95B (illustrated on pl. 3).
 Remarkable in zigzag line under the lines in the arc. This zigzagline also encountered in Frisia, with the Dronrijp type (see Friesland, Part I, no. 711).
 The term boustrophedon has been in use since Marie de Man, however it is inaccurate (T&S p. 120).
 Series E / BMC: 105.

SPIRAL BRANCH WITH BERRIES

This series shows hardly any similarities to other series.

Metcalf (T&S p. 453) knows of a score of specimens, which he assumes to be from a small studio in East Kent. Coinage would be dated in the late secondary phase as a result. The reverse always shows a spiral branch with berries: Metcalf distinguishes two types (the first type is no. S 275, but no. S 276, which is supposed to be the second type, clearly shows side branches).



- S 275 A: Winged monster r., curved tail and long curved tongue, pellets in field, R: Spiral branch with berries. 1.002 gr.
 Spink - London 1988.
 From: NC 1988, no. 5414.
 From: NC 1983, no. 3888.
 Ex: Mack Syll. 364.
 Bought Spink August 1951.
 This coin matches sub a) in T&S p. 455 under sub a), line drawing from it (left above).
 Series M / BMC: 45.



- S 276 A: Winged monster r., curved tail and long curved tongue, pellets in field, forely under the body, R: Spiral branch with berries. 0.860 gr.
 Spink - London 1991.
 From: NC 1991, no. 3885.
 This coin matches sub f) in T&S p. 455.

"PLUMED" BIRD / STANDARD

In literature, the bird of this group occurs under "plumed bird", for its tail always ends in three plumes as a range of three lines terminated with a dot.

The hoards are predominantly English. This is one reason for us not to consider the plumed bird series as a sub-group of the large E series (which *is* however the case with Metcalf, see T&S p. 206).

Subgroup 1

The bird is slender and its neck progresses from elegant (no. S 277) to rectangular (no. S 279). First there is a cross under the neck, later nothing more than dots.

The reverse has always a standard of the same shape.



- S 277 A: Bird with "spiky hair" r., cross and three pellets below, R: Pellet-in-ring, twice three pellets and four lines within standard, crosses and pellets on the edge. 1.242 gr.

Spink - London 1995.

From: NC 1995, no. 5502.

Series E / BMC: 6.

- S 278 A: Bird with "spiky hair" r., cross and one pellet below, R: Pellet-in-ring, twice three pellets and four lines within standard, crosses and pellets on the edge. 1.066 gr.

Spink - London 1992.



- S 279 A: Bird with "spiky hair" r., two crosses below, R: Pellet-in-ring, twice two pellets and four lines within standard, crosses on the edge. 0.801 gr.

Spink - London 1983.

From: NC 1983, no. 3869.

Ex: Mack collection (Syll. 336).

Bought Spink Sept. 1953.

Ex: Hill collection.

Ex: Grantley collection (712).

- S 280 A: Bird with "spiky hair" r., cross below, R: Pellet-in-ring, twice three pellets and four lines within standard, crosses and pellets on the edge. 1.319 gr.

Spink - London 1995.

From: NC1995, no. 6159.



- S 281 A: Bird with "spiky hair" r., cross below, R: Pellet-in-ring, twice three pellets and four lines within standard, crosses and pellets on the edge. 1.058 gr.

Coin Investment - Lisse, Auction 50 (1995), no. 3080.

- S 282 A: Bird with "spiky hair" r., cross and pellet below, R: Pellet-in-ring, twice two pellets and four lines within standard, crosses and pellets on the edge. 0.828 gr.

Spink - London 1997.

The bird is particularly primitive, its legs are straight lines and the workmanship is very crude.

Subgroup 2

The bird now has a plumper body and the long neck is elegantly curved. The standard on the reverse is of a different pattern than in sub-group 1, though consistently the same.



- S 283 A: Bird with "spiky hair" r., pellet-in-ring and pellets below, R: Five pellet-in-rings within standard, four times three pellets in field. 0.966 gr.
Spink - London 1992.
From: NC 1992, no. 7412.
- S 284 A: Bird with "spiky hair" r., pellet-in-ring and T below, R: Five pellet-in-rings within standard, four times three pellets in field. 0.811 gr.
Holleman - Enschede 2001.

BIRDS

All coins in this group have a bird on the reverse. The obverse designs vary greatly.

As for the identity of the bird, the long legs and beaks indicate waders, appropriately, considering a coastal attribution. Backhouse, discussing the birds in the Linderfarne Gospels, suggested that they were given "characteristics with which [the artist] felt at home". The birds, whilst undoubtedly inspired by Mediterranean models, were "credible in a Northumbrian setting". This observation is no doubt relevant also with regard to the iconography of the coins, where we are justified in discerning discrete species of birds (Gannon, p. 113-14).

Subgroup 1

Characteristic: Bust right.



- S 285 A: Bust r., cross and six pellets in front, two pellets behind, R: Walking bird l. with wing formed as a hocky stick, ten pellets in field. 0.793 gr.
Spink - London, Auction 63 (1988), no. 308.
Ex: Spink, Auction 31 (1983), no. 82.
Ex: Agricola collection (82).
Found in Lakenheath (Suffolk).
See Hill NC 1953, pl. VII.15 (same die).
Series Q Ie / BMC: 67b.
- S 286 Bust r., cross and six pellets in front, three pellets behind, R: Walking bird l. with wing represented as a porcupine, 13 pellets in field. 1.457 gr.
Spink - London 1995.
The nose is a lot sharper and the eye is more pronounced than in no. S 285.
In the Ashmolean there is a specimen (T&S no. 383) that probably is a die-duplicate of this coin. The Ashmolean specimen was found in Lakenheath.
Series Q Ie.



- S 287 Bust r., cross and three pellets in front, R: Walking bird l. with strong bent wing, 20 pellets in field. 1.107 gr.
Finn - London 1994.
The nose is even sharper, the eye even more pronounced.
Series Q Ie / BMC: 35.

Subgroup 2

Characteristic: Standing figure with two crosses.



- S 288 A: Standing figure with two crosses between four pellets, R: Walking bird l. with wing represented as a porcupine, 15 pellets in field. 1.361 gr.

Spink - London 1995.

Ex: NC 1995, no. 2607.

Ex: NC 1983, no. 3879.

Line drawing of this coin in T&S p. 491.

Hill (1953) knew three specimens (a. Ex Baldwin, ex. Montagu, now Ashmolean, b. Found in Domburg, Op den Velde - Klaassen (2004), no. 60, c. Ex. Lockett).

Series Q If / BMC: 71.

Subgroup 3

Characteristic: Quadruped. The quadruped is not only combined with birds but with all manner of images. The types that combine the quadruped with a bird are listed here, all other combinations can be found under the next group (Quadruped). The Quadruped in general has a raised foreleg.

The quadruped of this sub-group looks a lot like a horse. This is also the general character of the group: quadruped. The quadruped of sub-group 4 is entirely different.



- S 289 A: Quadruped l., tail downwards, 12 pellets in field, R: Bird l. with wing as an angle, between two crosses, five pellets in field. 1.045 gr.

Vecchi - London, Auction 11 (1998), no. 68.

Ex: Subjack collection no. 68.

This coin is illustrated in Archibald and Dhémin: "A sceat of Offa of Mercia", in: BNJ 74 (2004), p. 20-27.

The tail of the bird on this coin is represented as forked, as the Offa sceat (Pl.1, nos. 10-11). Recently David Owen has identified the bird as a Black-tailed Godwit, a member of the sandpiper family. It is one of the largest of the waders with the characteristic body shape.

Series Q IIc.

- S 290 A: Quadruped l., triple tail, 13 pellets in field, R: Bird l. between two crosses, nine pellets in field. 1.043 gr.

Elsen - Brussel 1997.

From list 195, no. 93.

A similar specimen is found with Op den Velde - Klaassen: fig. 61 (a die-duplicate perhaps), found in Domburg.

Series Q IIId.



- S 291 A: Quadruped l., tail downwards, wing formed as a straight line, nine pellets in field, R: Bird l., cross on head, in front of the bird an animal (dragon with turned head), the body oscillate between the legs. 0.874 gr.

Spink - London 1995.

From: NC 1995, no. 6161.

This subtype is not in T&S. Perhaps a unique.

Series Q II.

- S 292 A: Quadruped l., triple tail, 16 pellets in field, R: Bird l. standing on branch, latin cross in front, 16 pellets in field. 1.044 gr.

Finn - Kendal 1996.

From list 8, no. 39.

The shape of the bird points towards QIII.

Series Q II.



- S 293 A: Quadruped l., triple tail, 13 pellets in field, R: Bird l. standing on branch, cross in front, 11 pellets in field. 1.065 gr.

Finn - London 1994.

From list 2, no. 30.

The bird's body is less plump than on no. S 292. This tends to QII.

Series Q II.

- S 294 A: Quadruped r., triple tail, 14 pellets in field, R: Bird r., wing vertical, trident in front, nine pellets in field. 0.838 gr.

Spink - London 1994.

From: NC 1994, no. 7130.

This type is not in T&S.

Series Q II.

Subgroup 4

The quadruped is now replaced by a quadruped with a sharply bent body and a "long-snouted" head that is turned.



- S 295 A: Quadruped l. with turned long snout, tail ending in triquera, r. foreleg not lifted, 10 pellets in field, R: Bird r., 13 pellets in field, triquera above. 1.027 gr.

Vecchi - London, Auction 2 (1996), no. 1127.

Metcalf knows one other specimen (Birmingham Museum).

Series Q IIIa.

- S 296 A: Quadruped l., head turned backwards, 15 pellets in field, R: Bird r., triquera above, pellets in field. 0.969 gr.

Spink - London 1996.

From: NC 1996, no. 1465.

The body is more bent as that of no. S 295. The triple tail oscillet arrow leg as body. Wing the same as S 295. The right foreleg is designed in an orthopaedic inaccurate manner.

This coin illustrated in Gannon fig. 4.7b and 4.38a.

Series Q III?



- S 297 A: Quadruped l., head turned backwards, R: Bird r., triquera above, pellets in field. 0.711 gr.

Spaar-en Voorschotbank - Surhuisterveen 1990.

Design identical with no. S 296.

Subgroup 5

The bird is now combined with a standard.



- S 298 A: Ring, two right angles and two lines within standard, four crosses and four lines on the edge, R: Bird l., pellets in field, between head and wing two triangles with pellets inside. 0.952 gr.

Finn - Kendal 1996.

From: list 7, no. 45.

Apparently found in Suffolk 1995.

Averse unrecorded. This type is not in T&S.

The bird looks vaguely like a pelican.

Series Q / R8.

- S 299 A: Pellet-in-ring and eight pellets within standard, four crosses on the edge, R: Bird r., pellets in field. 1.048 gr.

Finn - Kendal 1997.

Averse unrecorded. This type is not in T&S.

Series Q / R8.

Subgroup 6

Now the bird is combined with a hen.



- S 300 A: Hen l., vine below, R: Bird l., head turned backwards, crescent above the wing, below two interconnected branches. 1.122 gr.

Finn - Kendal 1996.

Unrecorded type.

This coin illustrated in Gannon fig. 4.17a and 4.22a.

Subgroup 7

Coins with an entirely different character, also in terms of style. Moreover, they have a silver-like colour. They do not fit in with the previous types, to my mind, despite the fact that they also show a different bird.



- S 301 A: Quadruped l. (like deer), with long tongue, legs as a bird, R: Bird r. snaps at two interconnected branches (vines?). 1.071 gr.

Spink - London 1994.

From NC 1994, no. 7129.

Series Q IVa.

- S 302 A: Quadruped l. (lion?), R: Bird r. snaps at two interconnected branches (vines?). 0.982 gr.

Spink - London 1995.

From NC 1995, no. 5506.

not in T&S.



303



- S 303 A: Quadruped l. (lion?), twice three pellets in field, R: Lion (?) with birds' claws. 0.794 gr.
Spink - London 1991.
The obverse of this coin very much resembles the obverse of Mack (Syll. 363) and Mack II no. 26 (Auction Glendinning No. 5 (1977)), no.26, though the reverse is altogether different.
Series Q IVe.

BEAST

Both sides now show a beast.



304



- S 304 A: Monster l. with large curl on the head, raised foreleg and visible genitals, R: Curved beast with raised claw. 0.999 gr.
Spink - London 1979.
Found in Berkshire.
Was classified as series M, though it has no spiral branch with berries (however the obverse does show some characteristics of the series M, S 340).

QUADRUPED

All types that have a quadruped are listed here, except those that have a bird on their other side (see under "Birds").
The quadruped often looks like a horse.

Subgroup 1

The quadruped is combined with a deer.



305



- S 305 A: Quadruped l., triple tail, 18 pellets in field, R: Deer l., 18 pellets in field. 0.959 gr.
Finn - Kendal 1997.
From list 11, no. 42.
Presumably only two known specimens.
Series Q.

Subgroup 2

This combines the quadruped with a standard.



306



- S 306 A: Quadruped r., triple tail, six pellets in field, R: Ring, two right angles and two lines within standard, four crosses on the edge. 0.719 gr.
Finn - Kendal 1999.
From list 17, no. 54.

Subgroup 3

This combines the quadruped with a bust with runes (or what remains of them).



- S 307 A: Quadruped r., triple tail, 11 pellets in field, R: Crowned bust r., E R (in runes) in front, A behind. 0.839 gr.

Spink - London 1994.
From: NC 1994, no. 4084.
Type Q(R), BMC: 73.

- S 308 A: Quadruped l., triple tail, nine pellets in field, R: Bust r., E R (in runes) in front, A behind. 0.924 gr.

Spink - London 1991.
From: NC 1991, no. 3883.
I cannot make out a crown.
Series Q(R).
For the degenerate runes MEC suggest EU (cf. S 51).



- S 309 A: Quadruped r., triple tail, 12 pellets in field, R: Bust l., E R (in runes) in front, residue A between two rings behind. 0.599 gr.

Finn - Kendal 1996.
From: list 7, no. 44.
I can just make out a crown.
The rune for the E is very clear here, contrary to the two last numbers which have been substantially deformed.
The line drawing of Metcalf (T&S p.498) fits in respect of the bust-side (die-duplicate), but the reverse is entirely different.
Series Q(R).

- S 310 A: Quadruped r., tail ending in four pellets, eight pellets in field, R: Bust l. runes in front, V with pellet in it behind (residue of A?). 0.724 gr.

Baldwin - London 1996.
I cannot make out a crown. The runes could be the same as on the last few coins (E R). The legs of the quadruped are rendered in a strangely clumsy style.
Series Q(R).

Subgroup 4

This group's quadruped is more of a horse, but the triple tail is hard to explain in that case.



- S 311 A: Quadruped r., triple tail, R: Cross within standard, symbols on the edge. 0.986 gr.

Baldwin - London, Auction 2/3 (1994), no. 608.
The letters show, albeit not in the right order the combination XAZO, which is also encountered on the porcupines (cf. S 132 and S 133).
The reverse brings to mind the Saroaldo type, which however has three dots in each angle and the writing is different too.

Subgroup 5

This sub-group shows the same quadruped as in sub-group 4 (here too it might be a horse), but the reverse is altogether different.



- S 312 A: Quadruped r., triple tail, three pellets under head, R: Cross with one pellet in each angle, ... X I V P A ... on the edge. 1.194 gr.
Spink - London 1992.
- S 313 A: Quadruped r., triple tail, three pellets under head, R: Cross with one pellet in each angle, ... T N | > < | M V ... on the edge. 1.137 gr.
Finn - Kendal 1995.
Presumably, S 312 and S 313 are the two only known specimens.
The style of S 312 is cruder than that of S 313.

Subgroup 6

The quadrupeds are even more stylised in this sub-group. No. S 314 still looks like the last sub-group, but on no. S 315 the quadruped is entirely stylised and the triple tail has gone.



- S 314 A: Quadruped r., triple tail, three pellets under head, R: Cross with double lines at the limbs and one pellet in each angle. 1.058 gr.
Finn - Kendal 1995.
From list 5, no. 56.
This is known as the Aston Rowant type.
Other specimens were published in: BNJ 55 (1985) "Single finds Anglo-Saxon and Norman coins - 2" under no. 47 (now Ashmolean T&S no. 144). Three further specimens came up with the Aston Rowant hoard (see Sotheby 17 July 1986, lot 193 (now Ashmolean, T&S no. 143), in BM and in Ashmolean (T&S no. 145, ex Glendining 17 February 1988, lot 305). This last one tends towards no. S 315 in terms of style.



- S 315 A: Two horizontal lines ending in pellets, cross above, four vertical lines below, R: Long cross with pellet in centre and three pellets in each angle. 1.074 gr.
Spink - London 1992.
Found near Coventry.
Line drawing in T&S p. 139 (this coin).
The obverse is still reminiscent of a quadruped (horse).
Second known specimen.
The other specimen is portrayed in BNJ 56 (1986) in "Single finds of Anglo-Saxon and Norman Coins 3" under no. 47, where it is listed as an "unpublished type".
Metcalf suggests it is "a stick-like beast with a tail over its back". Period: 700-740 (?). There is reference to BNJ 55 (1985) "Single finds Anglo-Saxon and Norman coins - 2" under no. 47, But that is the type of no. S 314.
This coin is illustrated in Gannon fig. 4.31b.

LOCAL ENGLISH - ECCLESIASTICAL

Due to the virtual non-existence of any lettering it is extremely difficult to establish whether any series was struck by bishops, abbots or others.

Some substance was provided after the sceattas. To wit, we do know the coins of the archbishops of Canterbury from the penny time (archbishop Icenberth 766-792). The Grateley Decrees, from the early tenth century, when mentioning Canterbury, speak of four dies for the king, two for the archbishop and one for the abbot. It can therefore be assumed that in the period of the sceattas too, archbishops and abbots have minted.

Written sources lacking, only one sceatta shows an explicit episcopal symbol: a benediction hand (Ashm. no. 306). Metcalf ascribes this one to Archbishop Berhtwald of Canterbury 693-731 (see BNJ 58 (1988), p. 124-26). It is a coin belonging to series K, but as all other specimens of this series lack episcopal marks, the K series is classified here under "Local English".

When the christianisation of the leading figures had been as good as completed, the time came to organise the church proper. Episcopacy had reached an all-time low, morally as well as numerically. Only three bishops remained: in London, in York and in Ripon. The organisation was given shape mostly through the efforts of Theodor, the 7th archbishop of Canterbury, on whom Bede reports with enthusiasm (Bede IV.2). He arrived in 669 and from 668 to 690 was archbishop of Canterbury. He was the first archbishop to summon obedience from the entire church. Benedict Biscop, Abbot of the monastery of SS. Peter and Paul in Canterbury, stood by him. This abbot was later to found Monkwearmouth/Jarrow, which formed the centre of Roman influence in the north (as Lindesfarne would be before Irish influence). By the end of the eighth century the Church was firmly established under the control of the bishops whose duties had been laid down by Theodor at the Council of Hertford (see Owen and Williams c.s.). It seems probable that a right of mint was established under these circumstances, which would underscore the conclusions by Metcalf (see above).

Nevertheless, to distinguish episcopal coinage from royal and other coinages, we shall have to consider the coins themselves, the main premiss to my mind being that both obverse and reverse have an ecclesiastical feature. Below several groups have been given a reasoned definition as ecclesiastical.

BIRD ON CROSS

This group is characterised by the image on reverse: a bird to the right on a cross. Except in sub-group 5 et seqq. the bird is not in flight but perched on the cross.

Rigold made an inventory of this group (BNJ 30 (1960/1), p. 6-53) which proved very hard to follow when categorizing the coins in hand. We therefore chose to use our own classification but, where possible, have indicated the corresponding group by Rigold.

Iconographically, two aspects are important: the bird on the cross and the snake biting its own tail (*uroborus*).

Following Early Christian precedents, the bird on the coins can be identified as a dove, in a Christian context a symbol of the Holy Spirit, appropriately set on a cross (Gannon, p.108).

At first it was assumed to be an imitation of a Merovingian coin (Laon, Belfort: 2110). Rigold (1960) rejected this, others however maintain that this is the case. Lafaurie interpreted the bird as a crested phoenix or peacock. Here the Christian element is thought to be of chief concern, thus the dove is proposed (the bird on the Merovingian coin wears a crest, which suggests a hen or rooster). The development of this dove on the sceattas is very characteristic:



The translation of the all-embracing protective snake into Christian iconography is intended to signify Christ's Resurrection (Book of Kells). For the coins the iconography could be interpreted as a celebration of salvation, but we might perceive that the Germanic past also finds an echo in the Christian reading. By analogy to its role as keeper of treasures/protector of the hero in Germanic myths, the snake could be read as Christ the protector of the bird/soul, for a Christian the treasure par excellence (Gannon p. 138).

This series clearly has a Christian character. Should we not assume then that it originated in a church or a monastery? Judging from the hoards a London origin is the most likely (T&S p. 104) and the time should be around 685. Moreover, the coins in this series are well-finished and the weight stayed constant for a long time.

At the end the sceattas appear, which have been taken over by a church/monastery in Northumbria (York?). See there under series J.

Subgroup 1

This is a prototype for the remainder of the series.



- S 316 A: Diademed bust r., below trapezium, four dots inside oIV.....NAIo, R: Cross on three steps, dot at the end of horizontal arms of the cross, bird on cross r. + CVANVSV +. 1.294 gr.
 Spink - London 1989.
 From: NC 1989, no. 3978.
 Literature states that the text on obverse is reminiscent of Vanimundus. I have some doubt.
 Series BX / BMC: 26.

Subgroup 2

In this subgroup the trapezium is adhered to, but the reverse now adopts the form it will maintain throughout: bird on cross and a snake biting its own tail (*uroborus*). The head of the snake is pointed towards the left.



- S 317 A: Diademed bust r., below trapezium (inside dot) below bust ISA....IAV, R: Bird on cross within uroborus, on each side of the cross an annulet, and lower a dot VSAVMVAII. 1.016 gr.
 Finn - Kendal 2000.
 From list 18, no. 33.
 Series BI / BMC: 27.
- S 318 A: Diademed bust r. with annulet before and trapezium (inside crescent) l. below bust, no text visible, R: Bird on cross within uroborus, annulet each side of cross oovAVV....NVAI. 1.259 gr.
 Finn - Kendal 1998.
 From list 14, no. 35.
 Ex: Vecchi, Auction 12 (1998), No. 1215.



- S 319 A: Diademed bust r., trapezium (inside crescent) l. below bust, no text visible, R: Bird on cross within uroborus, annulet each side of cross, lower at each side dotSAVMVA..... 1.163 gr.
 Baldwin - London 1996.

Subgroup 3

The trapezium vanishes. Both sides are now embraced by an uroborus. At the bottom of obverse as well as reverse: three annulets.



- S 320 A: Diademed bust r. in uroborus +AV....., R: Bird on cross in uroborus, at both sides of the cross an annulet T.....VANIT. 1.184 gr.
 Spink - London 1973.
 From: NC 1973, no. 2340.
 Ex: Coll. Elmore Jones.



- S 321 A: Diademed bust r. in uroborus ...VMVAHV..., R: Bird on cross, before bird six dots in pyramidal form, on both sides of the cross an annuletNVA. 1.225 gr.
 Finn - Kendal 1995
 From list 6, no. 44.
 Ex: Chick collection.
 Ex: Mack Auction Glending 23-3-1977 (Mack II), no. 5, Mack: Syll. 316.
 Bought Baldwin 20-1-1960.
 Probably from Hougham Hoard (n. Dover) ca. 1780.
 Cf. Num. Chron. 19 (1979), p. 108-110 (C.E. Blunt).
 Almost certainly the three annulets obverse are left out from this coin on.

- S 322 A: Diademed bust r., in uroborus TAVII....., R: Bird on cross in uroborus, at both sides of the cross an annulet AHA. 1.112 gr.
 Spink - London 1988.
 From: NC 1988, no. 4590.
 Found at Folkestone by Mr R. Piper in October 1985 (BNJ.1985, plate 1 no. 27 (this coin)). Dated 690-700, in London.
 From the same dies as a coin in the British Museum: Ex Barnett bequest (no. 254), illustrated by Rigold (Pl. III, B Ic 2/i).



- S 323 A: Diademed bust r., in uroborusVIOS....., R: Bird on cross in uroborus, at both sides of the cross an annulet ...AVIIAV. 1.135 gr.
 Kölner Münzkabinett - Köln, Auction 65 (1996), no. 1485.

Subgroup 4

Characteristically, here we find the latin cross before the bust. Old motives return in part. The lettering type is altogether different: the dissimilar form of the M is quite striking.



- S 324 A: Diademed bust r., with latin cross in front and crescent of dots before head, below the bust left a trapezium, inside N or M, text illegible, R: Bird on cross, annulet each sideVMVAN... 1.182 gr.
 Finn - Kendal 1997.
 From list 12, no. 39.
 Rigold B3/IIb.
 Series BIII / BMC: 27a.
- S 325 A: Diademed bust r., with latin cross in front ...TIIOIII... R: Bird on cross, three dots each side oTIIIMII..... 0.983 gr.
 Spink - London 1991.
 From: NC 1991, no. 4864.

Subgroup 5

Series B / BMC: The texts are abandoned (or reduced to insignificance). This type is often classified under series J (Rigold (1960) and Stewart (1984 BAR). To my mind the bust fits in better with series B (late) than with series J. Accordingly, these four specimens have been introduced here.



- S 326 A: Diademed bust r. in uruborus, R: Bird on cross, at each side cross annulet, before bird cross, in uruborus. 1.256 gr.

Glendining - London, Auction 4 (1975), no. 242.
Ex: Aston Rowant Hoard.



- S 327 A: Diademed bust r. in uruborus, R: Bird on cross, at each side cross annulet, before bird cross, in uruborus. 1.283 gr.

Sotheby - London, Auction 6-11-97, no. 443.
Ex: Aston Rowant Hoard (Glendining auction 17-2-1988, no. 275).
Ex: D.B. Feather collection.
In no. S 326 as well as in no. S 327 the chin is depicted by a very large dot.



- S 328 A: Diademed bust r. in uruborus, R: Bird on cross, at each side of the cross an annulet in uruborus, surrounded by some symbols. 1.247 gr.

Elsen - Brussel, Auction 85 (2005), no. 587.
On the last number the bird was perched upright on the cross. Here it more or less enters from the left, but is still connected to the cross. In no. S 332 et seqq. the bird comes "flying in" and it is not connected to the cross. No. S 331 is between the two, flying in and connected.

Subgroup 6

A type without text. Before the bust the cross reappears. The uroborus has vanished, on obverse as on reverse. The bird itself is entirely different and no longer perched on the cross.



- S 329 A: Bust r., latin cross before, R: Bird over cross, at the end of the horizontal arms of the cross a big annulet, at each side of the cross a dot, before the bird a dot. 1.255 gr.

Finn - Kendal 1995.

Subgroup 7

Type with the sharp beak. The bird's shape entirely different.



- S 330 A: Bust r., before dot, R: Bird over cross, at the end of the horizontal arms of the cross a big annulet, dot inside, at each side of the cross above a dot, below three dots, before the bird a dot. 0.952 gr.

Vecchi-London, Auction 13 (1998), no. 1664.
Ex: Rudd, List 34, no. 32.
Found in Caistor, Lincs. 1997 (EMC 1998, 0063).
Series BIII / BMC.

Subgroup 8

This subgroup is completely unlike the former subgroups. There is however a certain link with subgroup 9.



- S 331 A: Christ's head facing + . + + V, to the l. and r. of the head the letters D J (which Gannon reads as Domini Christi), R: Bird on forked cross, beside the cross two rings, dots within, some lettering is visible. 1.203 gr.

Spink - London 1988.
Ex: Aston Rowant Hoard. Only specimen in this hoard. Die-duplicate of BM (BMC no. 143, p. III.14), and of BM 1971 (found in Whiby, (BNJ 47 (1977), Pl. I.6. The weight of that one is only 0.83 gr).
Series BZ / BMC: 29a.

Subgroup 9

Probably a continuation of the last subgroup.

The form of the head is reminiscent of a veiled nun. Some see a raised hand to the left and the right, as in an orante posture. This then could only be the case in no. S 336.



- S 332 A: Primitive head facing + . + . + V, R: Bird over forked cross to the r., two rings beside the cross, illegible text. 1.064 gr.

Spink - London 1983.
From: NC 1983, no. 3886.
The first four coins of this subseries are typified by a returning fixed text on obverse + . + . + (three crosses). The head though changes gradually. Here it is depicted in a well-nigh surrealistic style by a vertical line with two rings (nearly a surrealistic design).
Series BZ / BMC: 29b.

- S 333 A: Primitive head facing c + : + : + c, R: Bird over forked cross to the r., beside the cross two rings, illegible text. 1.181 gr.

Finn - Kendal 1997.
From list 11, no. 20.
Here too, the head is made up of a vertical line, but this time the eyes are connected and no longer round.



S 334 A: Primitive head facing V V + + . + + A, R: Bird over greek cross to the r., illegible text. 1.170 gr.
 Spink - London 1993.
 Ex: NC 1993, no. 112.
 The forked cross has been replaced by a greek cross and there are no rings. The eyes are symbolized by a single line.

S 335 A: Primitive head facing V c V + + . + c V V, R: Bird over greek cross to the l., under the bird's head a ring, illegible text. 1.123 gr.
 Spink - London 1993.
 Ex: NC 1993, no. 113.
 The eyes are depicted by two short horizontal lines.



S 336 A: Primitive head facing T V S A + + + under the face a waving line, R: Bird over greek cross to the right, under the bird's head a ring, illegible text. 1.150 gr.
 Finn - Kendal 1998.
 From list 14, no. 36.
 The eyes are depicted by two short horizontal lines. In the last types the bottom part was finished with a line for a chin, here it looks more like a mouth. The lettering is very different from the former types, but the three crosses stay in, albeit in another place.

MONITASCORUM

A series but known in few specimens. They all bear the inscription MONITASCORVM (Archibald, in a catalogue, wrote as follows: "The form *scorvm* is a normal contraction for *sanctorum* (a seventh-century stone inscription from St. Martin's Canterbury gives *Omniv Scorv = Omnium Sanctorvm*) permitting the expansion *monita sanctorum*, "money of the saints". These coins must therefore have been issued in dedication to two saints. The most commonly paired are Saints Peter and Paul, but others are possible" (Catalogue "The Making of England. Anglo-Saxon Art and Culture AD 600-900", BM 1991, no. 56, p. 66).



S 337 A: Diademed roman bust, before latin cross MONITA SCORVM, R: Porcupine l., four lines within, both sides bordered by a circle of dots. 1.125 gr.
 Finn - Kendal 1995.
 From list 3, no. 26.
 This coin illustrated in Gannon fig. 2.66.

S 338 A: Small diademed bust r. MONITA SCORVM, R: Porcupine left, four lines within, both sides bordered by a circle of dots, on reverse outside the dot circle: a zig-zag line. 1.191 gr.
 Spink - London 1995.
 No cross at all on this type.
 This coin illustrated in Gannon fig. 5.28b.



- S 339 A: Small bust r. DE LVNDONIA + behind head several dots, R: Porcupine l., four lines within, both sides circle of dots around, between de circle of dots and the four lines ZCORVM. 1.107 gr.
 Spink - London 1996.
 Found in Kent (1996).
 Metcalf provides another specimen (see line drawing in T&S p. 435 and NC.1988, no. 4606, now in BM), perhaps from Thetford.
- S 340 A: Diademed bust r. MONITAZCORVM +, R: Triquetras, four rosettes and in centre five dots. 1.195 gr.
 Vecchi - London, Auction 11 (1998), no. 85.
 Ex: Subjack collection no. 85.
 Found at Wye (Kent).
 Line drawing of this coin in T&S p. 436.



- S 341 A: Bordering a square of dots, a circle within: x MTZ SCORVM, R: Square of dots, four rings within, connected with a cross, without, three dots on all sides. 1.095 gr.
 Spink - London 1995.
 From a hoard in August 1993 "Woodham Walter TT" (comprising 118 coins). A second die duplicate specimen from this hoard is now in BM.
 The reverse of BMC 188 is also a die-duplicate of this coin, whereas the lettering on obverse is of the same workmanship.
 This coin is illustrated in Gannon fig. 5.23

SEDE

There is a small group that always bears the inscription SEDE (when read in that sequence). Sede means "see" and bearing in mind that Canterbury was the archbishop's see, it seems possible that Canterbury can be seen as the mint place.

The reverse is formed by a snake, a dot in his mouth, a cross in the middle. As is mentioned above, this is again the all-embracing protective snake. The snake could then be read as Christ, the protector of the cross.

There are two types: on reverse one bears the snake with the cross, the other a porcupine.

Subgroup 1

SEDE / Snake around cross.



- S 342 A: SEDE, between the letters and in the middle a cross pommée. Outside the circle of dots a residue of letters (?), R: Snake with dot in the mouth around a cross pommée. Outside the snake "spiky hair". 1.084 gr.
 Spink - London 1995.



- S 343 A: SEDE, between the letters and in the middle a cross pommée, outside a circle of dots the remnants of lettering (?), R: Snake with dot in the mouth around a cross pommée, outside the circle of dots "spiky hair". 1.079 gr.

Spink - London 1998.

Found in Mid-Hampshire, north of Winchester and south of Basingstoke. Information Paul Murawski. It appeared in his catalogue "Valued History" - Dec. 1997, no. 45.

This coin illustrated in Gannon fig. 5.28c.

Subgroup 2

SEDE / Porcupine.



- S 344 A: SEDE, between the letters a ring around a dot, in the middle a cross pommée, R: Porcupine to the l. 1.272 gr.

Spink - London 1996.

Die-duplicate of Ashmolean no. 263 (T&S p. 246. Ex: Bodleian Library, old coll.) Described by Hill: Num. Chr. 1953, pl. 6, no. 27, text on p. 107.

BUST / BIRD ON CROSS

The groups bust / bird on cross, bust / two birds, two busts / four birds, two busts / bird looking back and two busts / two birds are all from the same area.

That would be York and the images would concern the king of Northumbria and the bishop of York.

This requirement is only met by King Coenred (from 716) and bishop John of Beverley.

This group has clearly been derived from the group bust (with text around) / bird on cross (series B).

We find a diademed bust every time, never a crowned bust.



- S 345 A: Diademed bust r., lips in a line to the r., R: Bird on cross, before head of the bird four dots at both sides of the latin cross a ring with dot, and three dots. 1.027 gr.

Finn - Kendal 1997.

From list 11, no. 28.

Found by Mr D. Beer, in March 1989 on farmland West of Fordwich, near Canterbury, Kent.

Metcalf distinguishes different positions of the lips. Most frequent is a crossline that slants to the right in relation to the vertical position. Exceptionally the line slants to the left (see no. S 346).

Series J / BMC: 85.

- S 346 A: Diademed bust r., lips in a line to the l., R: Bird on cross, before head of the bird four dots (which through thin lines form a cross pommée), at both sides of the latin cross a ring with dot, and three dots. 1.095 gr.

Finn - Kendal 1995.

From list 5, no. 28.



- S 347 A: Diademed bust r., lips in a line to the r., R: Bird on cross, before head of the bird four dots, at both sides of the latin cross a ring with dot. 0.754 gr.

Finn - Kendal 1995.

From list 5, no. 30.

The weight is very low and this coin shows copper below. The usual pair of three dots beside the cross is absent here (Rigold BIIIb mentions a few of this type).

BUST / TWO BIRDS

In more that one respect this is a peculiar group. The portrait, at first showing some resemblance with series J / BMC 85, develops. There is always a Latin cross before the bust. The drapery too gradually adopts slowly a different form.

More interesting however is the image on reverse; a large bird with a cross in its beak (the cross slowly changes as well) with a smaller bird on its back. Gannon writes: "The bird with the curved beak characteristic of predators, is an eagle, whose representation passed seamlessly from pagan Germanic iconography to symbolize Christ victorious" (via Imperial Roman and Barbaric numismatic tradition (Hauck 1984)). For Hauck this shows the Christianization of a very "Germanic, and represents a passage from the Old testament ("Like an eagle teaching its young to fly, catching them safely on its spreading wings, the Lord kept Israel from falling" Deut. 32:11), where the eagle is said to encourage its fledglings to fly by carrying them on its back, prefiguring Christ saving souls through his Resurrection and Ascension" (p. 114/5).



- S 348 A: Diademed bust r., before cross, R: Two birds r., the larger carries a latin cross in its beak. 1.004 gr.

Spink - London 1991.

From: NC 1991, no. 3874.

From: NC 1990, no. 2457.

The portrait shows a semblance with that from the last group. The line crosses the lips vertically.

Series J / BMC: 36.

- S 349 A: Diademed bust r., before latin cross, R: Two birds r., the larger carries a cross in its beak. 0.979 gr.

Spink - London 1992.

From: NC 1992, no. 5930.

The portrait has clearly changed with regard to the former no. The line crosses the lips vertically.



- S 350 A: Diademed bust r., before latin cross, R: Two birds r., the larger carries a cross formed by four dots connected with thin line. 0.970 gr

Finn - Kendal 1995.

From list 6, no. 54.

The portrait is completely unlike the former types, especially in the hairstyle. Here the smaller bird definitely rests on the back of the larger one.

- S 351 A: Diademed bust r., before latin cross, R: Two birds r., the larger carries a small cross in its beak. 0.919 gr.

Münzauktion - Essen, Auction 76 (1998), no. 1848.

Roughly carved die. In contrast to the former the large bird has a well-defined head, not depicted by a dot.

An analogous specimen was found in 1967 in North Elmham (Norfolk). BNJ 47 (1977), p. 43, pl. II.20.

Series J / BMC: --



S 352 A: Diademed bust r., before latin cross, R: Two birds l., the larger carries a cross in its beak. 1.334 gr.
 Finn - Kendal 1997.
 From list 9, no. 36 (also list 4, no. 34).
 Unique specimen.
 Here it is evident that the smaller bird rests on the larger one and that the larger one really carries the cross in its bill. For a corresponding drawing see no. S 371 (group: animal mask). The weight is significantly higher than that of the other types.

TWO BUSTS / FOUR BIRDS

Different specimens showing the motive of two heads facing each other have been found. This was already the case in Roman coins. Whether these have been the direct example may be doubted. The following three types from different ranges fit this bill better:

- 1) a celtic coin from Kent (L. Sellwood - D.M. Metcalf: "A Celtic silver coin of previously unpublished type from St. Nicolas at Wade, Thanet: the prototype for Anglo-Saxon sceattas of BMC type 37?" (BNJ 56 (1986), p. 181ev.). Ganno observes: "the sacred symbol of the inverted bucranium between the heads could be interpreted as theoretically equivalent to the cross on the Anglo-Saxon coins",
- 2) a silver merovingian (?) coin from Reims, found in Domburg (W. Op den Velde - C.J.F. Klaassen: "Sceattas and merovingian deniers from Domburg and Westenschouwen" (2004), no. 903. This unique coin must have been found very long ago, for Rethaan Macaré mentions it already in 1832 (III.57) and Van der Chijs in 1866 (VI.8). This obverse is exactly that of type 37, and
- 3) a gold-leaf cross from Ulm-Ermingen (from the grave of a warrior, so probably with a devotional character). Nau (E. Nau: "Ein angelsächsischer Sceatta und das Goldblattkreuz von Ulm-Ermingen" in: Fundberichte aus Baden-Württemberg, 7 (1982), p. 475-479) dates this piece at the first half of the 8th century or before.



The whorl of birds has been interpreted by Morehart as Germanic. On that, Gannon observes the following: "If the design of the whorl of birds can be seen to fit in the Germanistic artistic tradition and cosmology, its message might be translated in a Christian context and used to express an exegetical visualization of quadripartite cormic harmony schemes, with an orthogonal cross as the source from which Redemption flows to the four points of the compass. The composition is conceptually comparable to many Gospel book illuminations where the Evangelists or their symbols are represented together under the arms of the cross. The four birds might represent the spreading of the Gospels to the Four Corners of the World" (p. 110-111).

Obverse and reverse are the same in all three. A: Two heads facing each other, between them a long cross with forked bottom, R: Rose formed of four crude birds clockwise, with cross in center. Both sides with double border of dots.

There is a remarkable parallel between the bird(s) of this group and the group "dragon". The first starts with one bird on the cross, later we see four circling birds. In the dragon (see there) we first observe the dragon with turned head to the left. Then it is reduced to just a head, where after the series ends with three or four circling dragon heads.



S 353 1.106 gr.
 Finn - Kendal 1995.
 From list 6, no. 52.
 Series J / BMC 37.



S 354 0.987 gr.
Spink - London 1982.

S 355 1.094 gr.
Spink - London 1983.
Ex: 12-12-1975, no. 334.



S 356 0.824 gr.
Holleman - Enschede 1995.
Found to the southeast of Franeker (Frisia, the Netherlands).
This type was not found before in Friesland (see Op den Velde c.s.: Sceaata finds from the low countries, in: BAR 128 (1984), p. 117-145).

S 357 1.040 gr.
Kunst und Mnzen - Lugano 1982.



S 358 1.039 gr.
Finn - Kendal 1998.
From list 14, no. 40.
Ex: Booth collection.
Found Cottam B.
The heads are very dissimilar to the usual type. Touching pointed noses. These sharp pointed noses remind one of the group bust right with text (series B).

TWO BUSTS / BIRD LOOKING BACK

A bird is walking to the right and looks back into a great open mouth. Gannon proposed the jaws of a serpent. We follow this hypothesis hereafter, albeit with the annotation that, in view of the equivalence of the serpent and the dragon, it may also be a dragon's head. Metcalf offers no description of this animal at all (T&S p. 355-56).



S 359 A: Two heads facing each other, between them a long cross with forked bottom, R: Bird r., looking back, above the opened mouth of a snake. 1.250 gr.
Finn - Kendal 1996.
Series J, BMC 72.



- S 360 A: Two heads facing each other, between them a long cross with forked bottom, R: bird r., looking back, above the opened mouth of a snake. 0.894 gr.
 Spink - London 1983.
 Ex: Lockett I (1955), no. 253.

TWO BUSTS / BIRD WITH CROSS

The coins of this group show on reverse a combination of the bird with the cross in its beak (BMC: 36) and the open mouth of the serpent, as in no. S 359 and S 360 (BMC: 72).



- S 361 A: Two heads facing each other, between them a long cross with forked bottom, R: Bird r. with cross in its beak, above the opened mouth of a snake. 0.992 gr.
 Spink - London 1983.
 Series J, BMC -.
- S 362 A: Two heads facing each other, between them a long cross with forked bottom, R: Bird r. with cross in its beak, above the opened mouth of a snake. 0,768 gr.
 Elsen - Brussel, Auction 85 (2005), no. 588.
 I assume that nos. S 361 and S 362 are the only known specimens.

WOMAN'S BUST FACING / QUADRUPED

This is one of the few series on which there is hardly any literature. The only article is by Stein: "A Case for Reappraising Stewart Type 59", in: Num. Circ., 1990, p. 273. For a long time only one specimen was known. It had been found in Carlisle (see Spink's Auktion 1, no. 59, the specimen having been stolen, communication Metcalf, Num. Circ. 1990, p. 273). This piece has been described by Creeke in 1905 (BNJ) as: "...having a facing tonsured bust with dots and fantastic animal reverse and attribute the coin to a specific cleric". At the creation of the series Rigond classified it in series Z. Stein proved in his article that it belongs in series Q. This alteration has been adopted by Metcalf in T&S (type Q1g). There are however two varieties of this type, distinguishable on obverse as well as reverse (in Stein's article the two are treated as one). The difference between the two subgroups is formed by the quadruped on the reverse:



Stein wrote his article upon the discovery of a hoard in Thetford in 1986, containing some of these subgroups, which caused him to relocate the probable origin from Northumbria to East Anglia. All subgroups mentioned here have the same reverse, albeit in two varieties. This leads to the conclusion that all these types stem from the same mint (Stein too favours this opinion). On obverse though, we observe consecutively: a female figure resembling a nun, a man with a cross and a warrior (king?) with a sword. What have they in common?

Supposing that the subgroups 1 and 2 show a female portrait, where should we seek the mint? We would do well to look in the Thetford area, here the hoard was discovered. We might consider Ely, where St. Etheldreda founded a monastery and a convent in 673. She was the daughter of King Anna of East Anglia and married the neighbouring prince Tondberct who left her the Isle of Ely after his demise. She then wedded King Ecgrith of Northumbria, who first consented to her becoming a nun, but later regretted this and tried to take her from the convent by force. Etheldreda then fled to Ely where she evaded capture thanks, in part, to the miraculous rising of the tide. There she founded the monastery and was consecrated as first abbess by St. Wilfrid, Archbishop of York and her lifelong trusted friend and led a life of great devotion. A mint may well have been established there. Sub-group 3 might then be this St. Wilfrid and sub-group 4 King Anna.

Subgroup 1

The quadruped has a long tail from the head. Stein dates the sub-groups 1 and 2 between 720 and 725.



- S 363 A: Head facing, l. and r. four dots, R: Quadruped, with long tail from the head, running between the legs. 1.125 gr.

Spink - London 1988.
From: NC 1988, no. 4602.
Hoard of Thetford 1986.
This coin is a die duplicate of the lost coin from Carlisle.
Series Q1g / BMC: 59.
This coin illustrated in Gannon fig. 2.7b.



- S 364 A: Head facing, l. and r. four dots, R: Quadruped, with long tail from the head, running between the legs. 0.944 gr.

Glendining - London, Auction 2/6 (1994), no. 229.
Found in Thetford.
This specimen is also a die-duplicate of the Carlisle coin (and thus of no S 363). The weight is markedly lower than that of the last one. The Carlisle coin weighed 0.97 gr.



- S 365 A: Head facing, l. and r. eleven dots, R: Quadruped, with long tail from the head, running between the legs. 0.973 gr.

Spink - London 1992.
Different die from S 363 and S 364, the garments also differ.

- S 366 A: Head facing, l. and r. seven dots, R: Quadruped, with long tail from the head, running between the legs. 0.837 gr.

Spink - London 1993.
From: NC. 1993, no. 6123 and NC 1993, no. 114.
The attire is very similar to the last number.

Subgroup 2

The portrait is different, coarser; the quadruped is first identical, later dissimilar.



- S 367 A: Head facing, l. and r. four dots, R: Quadruped, with long tail from the head, running between the legs. 1.010 gr.

Spink - London 1980.

The catalogues describing the Carlisle specimen (see for instance the auction catalogue of the coll. Carlyon Britton) always mentioned: a second specimen exists. Presumably this is the one.

This specimen, to my mind, forms the link between the original type and the following number.

- S 368 A: Head facing, l. and r. five dots, R: Quadruped, with a normal long tail running between the legs. 1.047 gr.

Finn - Kendal 1996.

From: list 7, no. 43.

The specimen found in Thetford and depicted in Stein's article is of this type. In my opinion the type in hand is a die-duplicate of Stein's.

Subgroup 3

This subgroup has a very different obverse. Here a male bust to the right holding a Latin cross. The reverse fits in with the last sub-group, with no. S 368 to be precise. Stein dates this sub-group between 725 and 730.



- S 369 A: Bust to the r. holding a cross, in front three dots, head en face, l. and r. eleven dots, R: Quadruped, with long normal tail from the head running between the legs. 1.017 gr.

Finn - Kendal 1996.

Series Qlh / BMC: 98

Of this type, one specimen is found in the Ashmolean Museum (T&S 385), one in York (BNJ 1977) and one in the coll. Stein. No. S 369 is probably a die-duplicate of Stein's specimen.

This coin illustrated in Gannon fig. 2.60.

Subgroup 4

The obverse shows a bust with a sword, but the reverse is as in the original Carlisle coin (reversed).



- S 370 A: Bust with helmet to the l., behind a sword, R: Quadruped, with a long tail from the head running between the legs. 0.843 gr.

Spink - London 1989.

From: NC. 1989, no. 3998.

Unique.

Metcalf (see line-drawing in T&S p. 492) describes this coin as als "thoroughly garbled". To my mind this is indeed a man in a helmet. According to Morehart "the sword is the weapon that marked the king" (Bar (1984), p. 183. The depiction of the arm however is very poor.

Such poor arms we also find on Merovingian coins (cf. Belfort) and on S 150 (the very early series W). The helmet we find at the head of the dragon on no. S 180. Gannon proposed to them the obverse on 180°. Then the "sword" become a "cross", but the figure is much more unclear.

ANIMAL MASK

A remarkable type, of which remains uncertain what beast is depicted on obverse. It has been deemed a cat and a lion. Gannon opted for the lion in view of the body to the left and the existence of similar depictions in miniature art. (see Gannon p. 135, fig. 4.40). It remains a disputed description, for a lion does not have the long ears characteristic for all coins of this type. Metcalf skirted this anomaly with the remark: "Perhaps the lion was intended and the die-cutter, never having seen one, used his imagination" (T&S, p. 446). For now we have used the neutral "animal mask".

In the few specimens known almost all reverses differ. Most have been adopted from other series.



- S 371 A: The mask surrounded by five rings, R: Bird walking to the r. with a cross in its beak. 1.139 gr.

Spink - London 1993.

Found Cheriton (Hants). Line drawing in T&S p. 448.

The bird is the same as we find in the series J / BMC: 36 (cf. no. 348-352). For comments on a bird with a cross in its beak see there.

This Christian element may thus point towards the lion, which, after all, bears Christian significance.

The body of this animal is clearly visible.

This coin illustrated in Gannon fig. 4.39.

- S 372 A: The mask surrounded by five rings, R: Bird walking to the l. with a cross in its beak. 1.079 gr.

Vecchi - London, Auction 12 (1998), no. 1216.

Unique specimen.



- S 373 A: The mask surrounded by four rings, R: In the four segments of a circle, in the middle of the cross a ring, a clover leaf (trefoil). 1.117 gr.

Finn - Kendal 1999.

From list 16, no. 57.

Metcalf describes the trefoils as T's, which is incorrect in my opinion.

- S 374 A: The mask, between the ears a ring, to the r. of the head a curlicue above a ring of dots, a smaller ring within, R: Standing male figure looking r. with a crosier and a bird on the r. hand. 1.116 gr.

Spink - London 1989.

The reverse returns in the series L / BMC: 18 (resp.16).

Unique specimen.



- S 375 A: The mask, between the ears a ring, to the r. of the head a curlicue above a ring of dots, a smaller ring within, R: Standing male figure looking to the r. with a crosier l. and r. 0.754 gr.

Finn - Kendal 1997.

From list 10, no. 41.

Unique.

Ex: F. Baldwin collection.

The reverse returns in series L / BMC: 15a.

BMC 117 similar die (how's this? I thought this coin was unique).

Hill type 76 (this coin). Uncatalogued sceatta, Num. Chron. 1953, p. 92 et. seqq. Pl. VII,29.

Stewart: The denarial coinage, BAR (1984), type 76 (this coin).

BMC: 76.

ARCHER

On obverse a nude male figure with a bow and arrow, that ends in a ball instead of an arrow. Behind him a vine. On reverse a bird and a vine.

This type has been described thoroughly by Morehart (Anglo-Saxon art and the "archer" sceatta, BAR (1984), p. 181 e.v.). Nevertheless, the explanation lies more in the Christian sphere, to wit the following quote by Ó Carragáin (cited in Gannon): "The archer represents the preacher: his arrow, not pointed, but with a rounded final, intended to stun rather than kill, aims God's words and warnings of his punishment at the soul (the bird on the reverse) in order to instil fear, leading to repentance. Linked by the familiar and well understood iconography of the vine-scroll, obverse and reverse combine to deliver an important moral lesson" (The Ruthwell Crucifixion Poem in its Iconographic Liturgical Contexts, Perita (1987-8:42), 6-7, 1-71).

Subgroup 1

Identifying mark: bird with turned head to the left on reverse.



- S 376 0.989 gr.
Spink - London 1988.
BMC: 94.
Line drawing of this coin in T&S p. 438.
This coin illustrated in Gannon fig. 3.29.



- S 377 0.934 gr.
Spink - London 1994.
Before the coin was cleaned it weighed 0.956 gr.

Subgroup 2

Identifying mark: bird with turned head to the right on reverse.



- S 378 1.032 gr.
Vecchi - London, Auction 11 (1998), no. 55.
Ex: Subjack collection no. 55.
Ex: Middle Harling (BNJ 55 (1985), no. 63).
Line drawing in T&S p. 438.
Comments on the Middle Harling Hoard: M.M. Archibald: The coinage of Beonna in the light of the Middle Harling hoard, BNJ 55 (1985), p. 10 et. seqq. This coin depicted as no. 63. This archer was not part of the Middle Harling hoard, but was found in the near surroundings.
Only one other specimen is known with the bird with turned head to the right.: in the Ashmolean Museum (T&S no. 349), found in 1975 in Walburg Camp (S.E. Rigold - D.M. Metcalf: A Checklist of English Finds of Sceattas. BNJ XLVII (1977) p. 49).

LOCAL CONTINENTAL

On a local scale, significantly less was minted on the continent than locally in England. Obviously there was no great need for local currency. Moreover, the advancement of Christendom was impossible as Frisia remained pagan. The first three groups of this section therefore contain not a single Christian element. In contrast to the English coins the Frisian ones are of a much courser stroke.

This is different in the last group, which shows a clear relation with England and is attributed to Quentovic.

PORCUPINE / STEPPED CROSS

This group is characterised by a reverse that exists of a four-stepped cross. Here no. S 381 is a deviation.

In 1985, Blackburn and Bonser catalogued this type as "Single finds of Anglo-Saxon and Norman coins - 2", in: BNJ (1985), at no. 62. But since their number has been raised. Metcalf suggests an origin in East Anglia in T&S on p. 244., but the proportion of specimens found in England versus the Continent suggests a continental origin. (in this respect also consider the zigzag line).

Obverse: porcupine, reverse: stepped cross.

Subgroup 1

This sub-group is characterised by a normal stepped cross (Op den Velde calls this a Keltish Cross).



- S 379 A: Arc, right angle, two pellets and ring below, R: Stepped cross around ring, pellets in the angles, zigzagline on the edge.

Coin Invest. - den Haag, Auction 15 (1982), no. 236.

Ex: Maurik hoard (1972). Cf. Op den Velde, in: JMP 69 (1982), p. 5-19, no. 15.

Series E / BMC: 53.



- S 380 A: Arc with three pellets on it, right angle, two pellets and ring below, R: Stepped cross around ring, pellets in the angles. 1.194 gr.

Coin Investment - Lisse, Auction 52 (1997), no. 339.

Subgroup 2

The stepped cross has been replaced with short lines in the same form, but parallel.



- S 381 A: Arc with three pellets on it, right angle, two pellets and pellet-in-ring below, R: Stepped cross (sun?) around pellet-in-ring. 0.820 gr

Finn - Kendal 1997.

From list 9, no. 32.

Unicum.

PORCUPINE / BUST

The porcupine, forming a face, now has been combined with a bust with a long throat. Obverse as well as reverse letters (runes) appear.

Op den Velde made an inventory of this type: "Escharen 1980" in: JMP 72 (1985), p. 5 and came to a total of 9 to 12.

There is some dispute as to which is the obverse. For the sake of congruence with the other types we chose the porcupine.

Before the porcupine four letters are observed, long read as TILU. This caused Metcalf to attribute it to Tiel. On a specimen in the KPK however, TICU is clearly read (communication Pol in Aug. 1992). Op den Velde suggests Quentovic or Domburg. In view of the proportion of English finds versus those of the continent, a continental find must be decided on. Remarkably enough, the obverse has latin lettering before the porcupine, whereas the reverse has runes before the head.

See for the study by Op den Velde and Metcalf on this group, the remark on page 32.



- S 382 A: Porcupine, TICV in front, A: Head r., seven pellets on the neck, S and F in front (cf. no. S 383), V behind. 1.128 gr.

Spink - London 1987.

From: NC 1987, no. 4356.

Found on the Thames in Wittenham in 1982, by Mr. J.R. Parker. See Metcalf in "Twenty-five notes on sceattas" (note 4), in: BAR (1984), p. 194-195.

Series E / BMC: 10.

- S 383 A: Porcupine, TICV in front, R: Head r., seven pellets on the neck, S and F in front, V behind. 0.963 gr.

Holleman - Enschede 1992.

Found in Wijnaldum.

This coin is a die-duplicate (obverse and reverse) of no. S 382. That one was found in the Thames and this one in Friesland, which may be evidence of trade between these two areas.

Op den Velde reads three runes AEPA on the few specimens known to him (which however do not have the long throat).

STANDARD / CROSS

This too is a combination of series D and series E. This time the reverses have been combined.

Characteristic: on obverse a standard (series E), on reverse a cross, sometimes with four dots (series D). Obviously, here too there is doubt as to which is obverse and which reverse. Officially the cross is on obverse, thus the series D / BMC 8.

Metcalf suggests (T&S p. 193) a mint to the south of Domburg on the Belgian coast or the upper Meuse valley. It should have reached England from there. I believe the exact opposite happened: it was manufactured in England and then brought to the continent, where minting was much coarser, in fact where the only sceattas with such a sloppy finish were produced.

See for the study by Op den Velde and Metcalf on this group, the remark on page 32.



- S 384 A: Ring and four right angles within standard, crosses, V's, lines and pellets on the edge, R: Cross pommée, unknowable text (+ . Λ Λ o V . Λ ?). 1.197 gr.

Henzen - Amerongen 1996.

This coin came from England.

This coin shows good workmanship. This possibly points towards English manufacture.

Series D / BMC: 8.

- S 385 A: Three right angles, line, pellet and pellet-in-ring within standard, crosses on the edge, R: Cross pommée, four pellets in field, V A and other letters on the edge. 1.247 gr.

Holleman - Enschede 1983.



- S 386 A: Three right angles within standard, three pellets and lines on the edge (tufa with three pellets), R: Cross pommée, letters on the edge. 1.145 gr.
 Spaar- en Voorschotbank - Surhuisterveen 1990.
 Crude workmanship.
- S 387 A: Pellet-in-ring and four pellets within standard, R: Cross pommée on two steps. 1.209 gr.
 Holleman - Enschede 1990.
 The cross on the two steps reminds of series F.



- S 388 A: Several symbols around pellet-in-ring, R: Cross pommée with one pellet in each angle, several symbols on the edge. 0.756 gr.
 Holleman - Enschede 1995.
 Found in Dongjum.

BUST WITH CROSS / STANDARD

It was long assumed that this series was English, but in 1986 it appeared to be (very probably) of continental origin (see *Coins of the Anglo-Saxon Period from Repton*, in: *BNJ 56* (1986), p. 16-34). This type was found at the excavation in the abbey of Corbie in Picardy and also in later excavations in Visemaretz. That is why Quentovic was considered.

The exact location of Quentovic has only shortly been known: in the area of latterday La Calotterie (départ. Pas-de Calais), on the south bank of the Canche, 5 km downstream from Montreuil-sur-Mer in the former county Ponthieu near the hamlet of Visemaretz (of old Wis-ès-Maretz) and Monthevis (of old Monthevis). These names all end in "wis" or "vis" which derives from "wic" and "vicus".

There are many known Merovingian coins with the clear indication "wic in pontio". Quentovic had the same function as Dorestad. On those grounds it seems not impossible that sceattas after English example were manufactured in Quentovic. For the British, it was after all the gateway to the continent.

Still, all the coins have a Latin cross before the bust. Could this then be an ecclesiastical issue? The abbey of Corbie might very well be considered. It was founded in 657-661 by Queen Balthild (with the consent of her son, King Chlotarius III). With the founding of this abbey and of Quentovic, North-Gaul experienced an important period of prosperity. The monastery too played a role of political significance. In the years 716-747 Grimo was the abbot of the monastery and he in particular was a notable politician.

Subgroup 1

Probably the prototype of this series. The weight is high, the standard well-nigh retaining its original shape and the workmanship is thorough.



- S 389 A: Diademed bust r., latin cross in front, behind three dots, R: Two right angles, two T's, four pellets and ring-in-pellet within standard, three pellets on each side. 1.234 gr.
 Finn - Kendal 1996.
 From: list 7, no. 39.
 Reverse unrecorded.
 Boat-shaped drapery.
 Series G, BMC: --.

Subgroup 2

Characteristic for this group are the large portrait with the cross in front, the standard with four or three crosses and three dots in the fourth angle.



- S 390 A: Diademed bust r., three pellets in front, also in front a long cross, R: Four crosses, four pellets and pellet-in-ring within standard, cross between two pellets at each side. 1.196 gr.

Finn - Kendal 1997.

From list 12, no. 48.

The line drawing in Metcalf (T&S, p. 272) of a specimen from the hoard of Hallum (Fries Museum, Leeuwarden, no. 269) seems a die-duplicate.

Boat-shaped drapery.

Series G, BMC 3a.

- S 391 A: Diademed bust r., long cross in front, R: Four crosses, four pellets and pellet-in-ring within standard, cross between two pellets at each side. 1.033 gr.

Spink - London 1983.

Boat-shaped drapery.



- S 392 A: Diademed bust r., long cross and four pellets in front, R: Four crosses, four pellets and pellet-in-ring within standard, cross between two pellets at each side. 0.902 gr.

Finn - Kendal 1997.

From list 11, no. 37.

Cruder style than usual.

Boat-shaped drapery.

- S 393 A: Diademed bust r., long cross in front, R: Four crosses, four pellets and pellet-in-ring within standard, cross between two pellets at each side. 1.182 gr.

Finn - Kendal 1995.

From list 5, no. 24.

Drapery with two pairs of lines curved downwards.



- S 394 A: Diademed bust r., long cross in front, R: Three crosses, two pellets, three pellets in triangle and pellet-in-ring within standard, cross between two pellets at each side. 1.242 gr.

Spink - London 1995.

Boat-shaped drapery.

- S 395 A: Diademed bust r., long cross in front, R: Three crosses, two pellets, three pellets in triangle and pellet-in-ring within standard, cross between two pellets at each side. 1.087 gr.

Spink - London 1973.

From: NC 1973, no. 4851.

From: NC 1973, no. 2336.

Cf. BNJ (1950) pl. II,25 (this coin) and BNJ (1951) pl. II.2 (this coin).

Ex: Elmore Jones collection.



- S 396 A: Diademed bust r., long cross in front, R: Three crosses, two pellets, three pellets in triangle and pellet-in-ring within standard, cross between two pellets at each side. 0.797 gr.
 Henzen - Amerongen 1996.
 Crude style, boat-shaped drapery.
- S 397 A: Very crude diademed bust r., long cross in front, R: Three crosses, two pellets, three pellets in triangle and pellet-in-ring within standard, cross between two pellets at each side. 0.506 gr.
 Spink - London 1983.
 From: NC 1983, no. 6642.
 Ex: Mack collection (syll. 329).
 Ex: Hill collection.
 Ex: Grantley collection (737).
 Very unusual in copper.

Subgroup 3

The bird on cross makes a short come-back. Crude execution.



- S 398 A: Large bust r., V-shaped eye, long boat-like drapery, cross before, R: Bird on cross, at both sides of the cross large ring, before bird four pellets. 1.018 gr.
 Finn - Kendal 1995.
 From list 5, no. 31.
 Metcalf (T&S p. 273) knows just one specimen, to wit the one from the hoard of St. Wystan's church in Repton in 1985 (see BNJ 56 (1986), p. 19, pl. fb.6). Time approx. 725.
 Series J / BMC: 85.

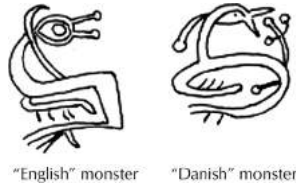
Imitatives



- S 399 A: Bust l. with largely crudely-drawn mouth, four pellets behind, below interlocking C and half-circle of pellets, R: Four crosses, four pellets and pellet-in-ring within standard, cross between two pellets at each side. 0.799 gr.
 Finn - Kendal 1997.
 From list 11, no. 38.
- S 400 A: Bust r. (?), behind cross, R: Four crosses, four pellets and pellet-in-ring within standard. 0.708 gr.
 Mills - London 1987.
 Found in the Thames.
 Both imitations show a very low weight.

DANISH - FRISIAN - ENGLISH

This group is characterised by a facing head with a mass of hair standing out and a characteristical beard. The reverse shows a "monster", which appears to have been derived from the "dragon". There are a few distinct differences that indicate we are dealing with something else (it could also be a dragon rendered in a different fashion). The main differences are: an entirely different head and a clear display of genitalia.



It has long been doubted whether the origins of this group lie in Denmark, Frisia or England. Now consensus has been reached on an attribution to Denmark. On this Metcalf notes "This series fits more persuasively into a context of royal power and initiative such as was capable, two or three decades after the issue began, of undertaking the first Danevirke" (T&S p. 278). To my mind, this attribution is corroborated by the fact that the Danes depicted typically Danish scenes on the reverse of their first independent series of coins (see Malmer: Nordiska Mint Före Ar 1000, Bonn/Lund, 1966), and it included this one as well (see the sections A and B on pl. 3 of the publication mentioned).

Later this "monster" was replaced with other motives, such as the dragon, two men standing, the standard and a grazing creature. These are typically English motifs, so that the coins in sub-group 3 are English in all likelihood. This presumably also includes the Hamwic group (see under "pecking bird"). Within the Hamwic group the pecking bird was considered a reverse, and the same was assumed for the Wodan group. Still, doubt seems justified as to which is the obverse and which the reverse. Metcalf acknowledges this and in this regard notes "Technically, then the coins are probably mostly 'Monster/Wodans' rather than 'Wodan/Monsters'. The conventional arrangement based on typology has, nevertheless, been retained in the text illustrations and on the plates."

Subgroup 1

Characteristic: Facing head with wild hair. A dot at the top and a cross to both sides of the head. Wide flaring beard. Around the edge a border of dots.

The reverse shows a "monster" (as described above), to the left, its head turned back. Extending from the head is an arc which is terminated by a dot. Triple tail, extending into the mouth. The genitalia are invariably on display, as opposed to the "dragon". Several symbols under the head.

Barrett made a study of this type (see the table in T&S on p. 279). This study classifies the types according to the shape of the beard and the head of the monster.



S 401 R: Two pellets under the head of the monster. 1.185 gr.
 Glendining - London, Auction 18 (1976), no. 55.
 I believe this to be the prototype of the entire series (sub-groups 1 and 2 in particular).
 Serie X / BMC: 31.
 Barrett: A.d.



S 402 A: The beard not so wide spread, R: Pellet with line under the head. 0.724 gr.
 Spink - London 1996.
 From NC 1996, no. 3342.
 Barrett: A.b/A.



- S 403 A: Round face, small beard, the two crosses made of four pellets, R: Another shape of monster, cross under head. 0.771 gr.

Finn - Kendal 1995.
From list 6, nr. 43.

- S 404 A: Angled shaped of beard, R: Pellet r. beneath monster, line with pellet under the head. 1.097 gr.

Spink - London 2000.



- S 405 A: Angled beard, R: No sign under the head. 0.747 gr.

Bought 1985 (coll. Dekker).

Ex. Schulman - Amsterdam, Auction 236 (1962), no. 311a.

Specimen probably made of copper, with very little to no silver. The size is smaller than usual. A late specimen?

Subgroup 2

A distinctly different type. The reverse shows the monster to the right with its head turned back, in which an eye is now clearly visible. Triple tail extending into the mouth. Distinct genitalia.



- S 406 A: Round beard, three pellets over the hair, R: Pellet under the head. 0.917 gr.

Finn - Kendal 1999.
From 16, no. 64.

- S 407 A: No sign over the hair, R: Pellet under the head. 0.997 gr.

Finn - Kendal 1994.

From list 3, no. 28.

Metcalf Var. III (insular type, var. C), T&S p. 286 e.v. The monster shows some resemblance to the "dragon" (S 182), which is described as excellent Celtic-Germanic style.

From here onwards the coins should be considered English in my opinion.

Subgroup 3

A totally different type. The obverse is still characterised by the "Wodan" head, but the reverse now shows the "dragon". It is a typical rendering of the dragon (see under dragon): head turned to the left, long snout (sub-groups 1 and 2 clearly had a short snout), the legs in the characteristic style. Triple tail. No genitalia.



- S 408 A: Fine hair, long shoulders, beard in W-shape with pellet, R: Dragon l., head turned backwards, triple tail. 0.943 gr.

Spink - London 1991.



- S 409 A: Great head, long moustache, it is not impossible that there is a small head r. (?), R: Dragon l., head turned backward, triple tail, five pellets r. 1.162 gr.
 Spink - London 1983.
 From: NC 1983, no. 3881.
 Ex: Mack collection (Syll. 359).
 Bought Seaby 3-11-1955.
 Ex: Kent collection.
 Presumably unique.

Subgroup 4

This sub-group shows a head on the obverse that fits in with no. S 408. The reverse now shows two standing men.



- S 410 A: Pellet between the hair above, long moustache, W-shaped beard, R: Two men standing on line facing, holding staff, two pellets between the heads 1.079 gr.
 Spink - London 1997.
 Despite the difference in attire, the figures appear to be men.
- S 411 A: Head with oval eyes, long moustache and W-shaped beard, pellets beneath the head, R: Two standing men, l. facing, r. looking to the l., holding long cross and two staffs. 0.918 gr.
 Glendining - London, Auction 5 (1977), no. 24.
 Ex: Mack collection (Syll. 360), Auction Glendining Nr. 5 (1977), no. 24.
 Bought Baldwin 5-10-1959.
 Ex: Lockett collection I (240).
 Ex: Roth collection (61).
 Ex: Bliss collection (34).
 Ex: Montagu collection (166).
 Ex: Londesborough collection.
 This too shows what looks like two men, but why is the right figure facing the left?

Subgroup 5

Main characteristic: the reverse is formed by four rings, interconnected by a cross. The obverse head is girded by an arc.



- S 412 A: Head facing, small beard, cross l., R: Four pellet-in-rings connected by line with pellets in the angles within circle of pellets. 1.051 gr.
 Finn - Kendal 1999.
 From list 16, no. 65.
 cf. NC 1982 pl. 41, no. 19.
 For reverse see BNJ 1976 (46) pl. 1, 16-17.
 Hamwic p. 51, no. 124.
 Metcalf (T&S p. 292) knows only two known specimens of this reverse variety (Hamwic and a private coll).

Subgroup 6

The obverse is a continuation of sub-group 5. The reverse is now a standard of varying design.



- S 413 A: Head under arc-shaped hair, two crosses beneath the beard, latin cross to the l., R: Four right angles and pellet-in-ring within standard, pellets on the edge. 1.173 gr.

Spink - London 1988.

From: NC 1988, no. 125.

From Spink Auction 1 (1978), no. 51.

Ex: Lockett collection (241).

This coin was unpublished before 1953. Perhaps the only known specimen.

Hill NC 1953 p. 104, (BMC 30b / 8), this coin.

The obverse of this coin barely differs from the obverse of no. S 412, save for the Latin cross on the coin in hand.

- S 414 A: Head under arc-shaped hair, two pellets beneath the beard, R: Four enclosing lines, four pellets and pellet-in-ring within standard, three pellets in triangle on each side on the edge. 1.067 gr.

Spink - London 1994.

Obverse the same as S 413, but more stylized.

Subgroup 7

In a sense this sub-group in terms of its obverse fits in with no. S 409, with a head that fills the entire flan. The heads do not display the "hair" of the last sub-group, but sometimes a few symbols can be seen next to the head. The reverse invariably is an animal with long legs and a long snout.



- S 415 A: Head facing with long hair and long beard XS ... VO, R: Animal browsing with horns (maybe drinking animal considering the zigzagline under the head, suggestion Gannon), ... ANXVF. 1.194 gr.

Spink - London 1993.

- S 416 A: Head facing with long hair and long beard, two crescents along the head, R: Animal browsing with horns, zigzagline above, no symbols below. 1.091 gr.

Spink - London 1992.

The zigzag line is a motif encountered in both England and in Frisia.



- S 417 A: Head facing with long hair, long moustache and W-shaped beard, two crescents along the head, R: Animal browsing with horns, zigzagline and cross above. 0.804 gr.

Finn - Kendal 1995.

- S 418 A: Narrow head facing with small mouth, cross r. and letters (?) l., R: Animal r. 1.053 gr.

Spink - London 1997.

From NC 1997, no. 71.

Subgroup 8

A very special sub-group that became known after a hoard was found in Kings Lynn. Metcalf uses the term "recent" in the part of T&S from 1992. The facing head filling the flan, with a long waving moustache and a W-shaped beard are characteristic of this coin. It is framed by a border of large dots. It never bears text. The reverse is an animal to the right, with a short snout (the animals of sub-group 7 all had long snouts), horns and long legs with claws. The animals show distinct differences.

There is a remarkable difference between this head and the others. This like more the head we find on a Cunobeline coin from Trinovantes/Catuvellani:



See van Arsdell 1963-1. This coin was struck in the area south of the findplaces of the sceattatype.



S 419 A: Broad head facing, R: Animal r., three pellets under head, tail downwards, the legs are mixed.

0.982 gr.

Spink - London 1992.

From NC 1991, no. 4892.

Found Kings Lynn. Line drawing in T&S p. 138 (this coin).

This coin illustrated in Gannon fig. 2.7a and fig. 4.32b.

S 420 A: Broad head facing, R: Animal r., three pellets under head, tail rising and ending in pellet, the legs mixed.

1.038 gr.

Spink - London 1993.

From NC 1993, no. 8407.



S 421 A: Broad head facing, R: Animal r., pellet under head, three pellets under body, tail rising and ending in pellet, legs paralleled.

0.903 gr.

Spink - London 1993.

From NC 1993, no. 6124.

NORTHUMBRIA

Under "Anglo-Saxon" we already mentioned king Aldfrith, a man who advanced the spiritual life as well as the cultural. He was the one under whom the Northumbrian Renaissance took place and that may be why he tried to raise enthusiasm for a coin bearing his name and showing a quadruped on reverse. This attempt was unsuccessful.

Aldfrith was succeeded by six kings of whom little is known. Not until around 740 under Eadberth, coins bearing the king's name were circulated, again with a quadruped on reverse. The other kingdoms were then still in the sceat period. Not just this emission is an exception to the rule: Northumbria never changed to the penny, as the other kingdoms did. Coinage in Northumbria may be summed up in the following periods:

- the period from 740 to 790: the coins were silver and not just a continuation of Aldfrith's coins but also of the sceattas and were therefore also called sceattas,
- 790 to 820 formed an interval from which no coins are known,
- in 820 coinage was taken up again till 840, but with debased silver,
- finally from 840 till the end in 867 copper coins were manufactured bearing the name of "styca".

The succession of the various kings of Northumbria is extremely confusing. Many reigned for a very short time and finally the kingdom Northumbria ended when both Osberth, the last king, and Aelle, the usurper of his kingdom were slain by the Vikings in 867.

ALDFRITH (685-704)



S 422 Sceatta. A: Pellet in circle of pellets + ALDFRITHUS, R: Quadruped with tail ending in trident.
Finn - Kendal 1996. Metcalf: p. 117. 1.127 gr.

S 423 Sceatta. A: Pellet in circle of pellets + ALDFRITHUS, R: Quadruped with tail ending in trident.
Spink - London 1993. Metcalf: p. 117. 1.070 gr.

EADBERTH (737-758)

At this time Eadberth's brother Ecgberth was archbishop of York and he played an important role in the government. Under Eadberth's rule a disturbance occurred when Aldfrith's son made an attempt to win the throne (750). Finally Eadberth abdicated to live as a clerk in his brother's minster.



S 424 Sceatta. A: Small cross . EADBERTHVS|, R: Quadruped r. with long tongue. Booth: A1. 1.048 gr.
Spink - London 1996.
From NC 1996, no. 3344.

S 425 Sceatta. A: Small cross . EADBERTHVS, R: Quadruped r. with long tongue. Booth: A1. 1.058 gr.
Finn - Kendal 1996.
From list 8, no. 44.



- S 426 Sceatta. A: Small cross . EADBEREHTVS, R: Quadruped r. without tongue. Booth: A2. 1.018 gr.
Spink - London 2001.
From NC 2001, no. HS0353.
Ex: Shuttlewood collection.

- S 427 Sceatta. A: Cross with pellet in centre . EOTBEREHTVT, R: Quadruped l. Booth: B1. 1.046 gr.
Finn - Kendall 1995.
Cf. also list 4, no. 58.



- S 428 Sceatta. A: Around cross, enclosed in circle of pellets EOTBEREHTVS, R: Quadruped l., with three pellets under foreleg, four under body and one under tail. Booth: B3. 1.073 gr.
Finn - Kendal 1997.
From list 11, no. 45.

- S 429 Sceatta. A: Cross on pellet EOTBEREHTVT, R: Quadruped r., pellets in field. Booth: B4. 0.905 gr.
Finn - Kendall 1995.
Booth knows only one specimen (B 4) : BMC 9 (ex. Tyssen 1802).
This coin illustrated in Gannon fig. 4.29a and 4.64a.



- S 430 Sceatta. A: Three-armed cross EOTBEREHTVI, R: Quadruped l., cross on tail. Booth: C1. 1.124 gr.
Sotheby - London, Auction 6-11-97, no. 407.
Found at Newbald on 26-1-1980.
Bought 1988.
Ex: D.B. Feather collection (Leeds).
Bt. Blowers 2-1980.
Ex. NC 1983, pl. 20.6 (this coin).
Booth (BAR) 128 (1984) C1 (this coin, illustrated), pl. 4.
On card: Found Sancton = Newbald.

- S 431 Sceatta. A: Cross EOTBEREHTVS, R: Quadruped l., triquetra below and cross under tail. Booth: D. 1.133 gr.
Finn - Kendal 1997.
From list 11, no. 47.



- S 432 Sceatta. A: Cross FVTEREBTOE (retrograde), R: Quadruped r., cross on tail, triquetra below.
 Finn - Kendall 1995.
 From list 5, no. 42. Booth: E1. 1.039 gr.

- S 433 Sceatta. A: Cross in circle of pellets : EDTBERHTVS (S with two pellets), R: Quadruped r., triquetra below.
 Spink - London 1992.
 From NC 1992, no. 7418.
 Cf. Booth BAR (1984), p. 71) => class F1.
 Is there a face within the circle of pellets (eyes and long moustache)?



- S 434 Sceatta. A: Cross with one pellet in each angle EOTBERHTVS, R: Quadruped r., cross within tail, triquetra below.
 Sotheby - London, Auction 6-11-97, no. 413.
 Found at Hayton in may 1982.
 Ex: D.B. Feather collection (Leeds).
 Bt. I.B.
 Booth (BAR) knows only this specimen (illustrated in BAR).

- S 435 Sceatta. A: Strange ornament in centre of pelleted circle EOTBEREHTVS, R: Quadruped r. with tongue, triquetra below and cross within tail.
 Finn - Kendal 1997.
 From list 11, no. 48.
 Extremely rare and interesting variety which appears to be unrecorded.
 "The strange ornament" almost looks like a horned head of a cow / bull or like a face, from certain angles, but maybe it's my imagination (see also S 433).



- S 436 Sceatta. A: Around circle of pellets enclosing a cross with a pellet in each angle EOTBERHTVS, R: Quadruped r., tail formed of dots, triquetra below.
 Finn - Kendal 1999.
 From list 15, no. 57.
 The tail made of pellets ending in a head.

- S 437 Sceatta. A: Cross EOTBEREHTVI, R: Quadruped r., four circle of pellets with pellet in centre within the field.
 Sotheby - London, Auction 6-11-97, no. 415.
 Found at Newbald.



- S 438 Sceatta. A: Cross . EOTBERhTVS, R: Quadruped r., three circle of pellets with pellet in centre and cross within the field.
Booth: G2. 1.072 gr.
Finn - Kendall 1995.
From list 4, no. 60.
Booth knows only one specimen (G 2) SCBI Mack, ex. Lockett 284b, ex. Carlyon Britton no. 784.

EADBERHT - ECGBERHT (737-758)

Ecgerth was a pupil of Bede and was archbishop of York. Shortly after his appointment in 735, York was granted the status of archbishopric.



- S 439 Sceatta. A: Cross EOTBEREhTVT, R: Bishop standing with crosier ECGBERhTII.
Booth: Type I. 0.997 gr.
Finn - Kendall 1995.
Together with Ecgerth, archbishop of York (734-766).
Booth (BAR) knows of 9 specimen.
- S 440 Sceatta. A: Cross in circle of pellets EOTBEREHTVS, R: Bishop standing holding two crosses ECGBERHT.
Booth: Type V. 1.066 gr.
Finn - Kendal 1997.
Together with Ecgerth, archbishop of York (734-766).
From list 10, no. 68.



- S 441 Sceatta. A: Cross EOTBEREhTVF, R: Bishop standing looking l., holding two cross ECGBERhT A.
Booth: --. 0.930 gr.
Spink - London 2001.
Together with Ecgerth, archbishop of York (734-766).
Not in Booth (BAR). Unicum with the bishop to the left.
From NC 2001, no. 87.
Found Greton on the Wolds (Yorkshire) in 2000.

ALCHRED (765-774)

Alchred, a member of the royal family, expelled king Aethelwald Moll (a noble). He furthered mainly that St. Willehad preach to the Frisians. In 774 Alchred was driven out in favour of Aethelred, the son of Aethelwald Moll.



- S 442 Sceatta. A: Cross ALCHRED (retrograde), R: Quadruped r., long tail, cross below.
North: 179. 0.949 gr.
Finn - Kendal 1996.
From list 7, no. 50.

ALCHRED - ECGBERHT (765-766)


- S 443 Sceatta. A: Cross + ALCHRED (retrograde), R: Cross ECGBERHT AR. North: 193. 1.006 gr.
 Finn - Kendal 1996.
 From list 7, no. 52.

AETHELRED I (774-779)

Aethelred had reigned for just five years, when Aelfwald, the son of Oswulf, drove him out. After the murders of Aelfwald and his successor Osred, he returned.



- S 444 Sceatta. A: Cross EDILRED, R: Quadruped r., cross under tail, triquetra below.
 Spink - London 1996. Booth: 1, North: 180. 0.923 gr.
 From NC 1996, no. 3856.
 Cf. Ashmolean no. 469, Metcalf pl. 25.
 Metcalf (p. 592) knows of three specimen: Hornsea (Ashmolean), 1875, Newbald, 1989, in commerce, 1991.

- S 445 Sceatta. A: Cross pommée + EDILRED, R: Quadruped r., cross under tail, triquetra below.
 Finn - Kendal 1997. Booth: 1, North: 180. 0.763 gr.

AELFWALD I (779-788)


- S 446 Sceatta. A: Cross pommée AELFVALDVS, R: Quadruped l. Booth: A, North: 182. 1.103 gr.
 Finn - Kendal 1997.
 From list 10, no. 51.
 Booth knows three specimen: Kopenhagen, Oxford en Booth & Blowers.

- S 447 Sceatta - Cuthhaert. A: Cross + F FEVAFLDVS (F as rune), R: Cross CVDhEART.
 Finn - Kendal 1997. Booth: --, North: 183. 0.816 gr.
 Not in art. of Booth in BAR (1984).
 In art. of Booth in BAR (1987): ca. 790 - ca. 810. Cf. p. 65 last paragraph. There are 7 specimen, one is lost.
 Illustration p. 87 l t/m 7, cat. on p. 76-77.
 Booth: no specimen in BM or in any museum described in SCBI.
 From cat.: 3 in small museums, 2 in private possession, 1 in Grantly coll. and 1 lost (Yorkshire Museum).



- S 448 Sceatta. A: Cross EALFVALDVS, R: Quadruped r. cross below. Booth: C, North: 181. 1.043 gr.
 Finn - Kendal 1996.
 Booth (BAR) knows only one specimen of type C: ex Lockett.
- S 449 Sceatta. A: Cross ASFEVALD (retrograde), R: Quadruped r., ring in circle of pellets above, cross below. Booth: E, North: 181. 0.717 gr.
 Spink - London 1996.
 Ex: W. Talbot Ready (52).
 Ex: G.C. Drabble (294).
 Ex: Spink - London, Auction 1 (1978), no. 73.
 Ex: NC 1991, no. 4898.
 Ex: Dupree.
 Ex: NC 1996, no. 3345.
 In J. Booth BAR (1984) this is illustrated as no. 3.
 Weight is low due to the damaged border.

AETHELRED I (790-796)

After his return Aethelred revenged himself on the sons of Aelfwald and had them killed. In order to secure his realm he wed Aelfflæd, daughter of Offa of Mercia in 791. On March 28th 796 he was killed. Under Aethelred the moneyers' names appeared on the coins.



- S 450 Sceatta - Ceolbald. A: Cross with one pellet in each angle within circle of pellets AEDILRED, R: Great pellet in circle of pellets + CEOBALD. North: 185; P: 20. 1.166 gr.
 Finn - Kendal 1996.
 From list 8, no. 45.



- S 451 Sceatta - Shrine type. A: Cross + . LREDED, R: Cross on triangle CVD CLS. North: 184. 0.869 gr.
 Sotheby - London, Auction 6-11-97, no. 429.
 Ex: NC 1983, no. 2027 (this coin). Could this be Num. Chr. pl. 20.27 ?
 Ex: D.B. Feather collection (Leeds).
 Found at Newbald October 1982.
- S 452 Sceatta - Cuthheard. A: Cross AEDILRED R, R: Cross CVDHEARD. North: 185.1. 1.104 gr
 Finn - Kendal 1996.
 From list 7, no. 53.
 Metcalf (p. 598) knows of 10 specimen.
 Booth BAR (1984), p. 79-80.



- S 453 Sceatta - Tidwulf. A: Cross with one pellet in each angle + EDLREDRE, R: Cross in circle of pellets + TIDVVLV.
North: 185.1. 1.103 gr.
Finn - Kendall 1995.
From 5, no. 44.

AETHELRED I - EANBALD I (790-796)

Aethelred, like Eadberth, struck coin in cooperation with the archbishop of York.



- S 454 Sceatta. A: Cross + AEDILRED, R: Pellet in circle of pellets + EANBALD.
Booth: 54, North: 194. 0.880 gr.
Finn - Kendal 1996.
From list 8, no. 54.
Cf. Ashmolean no. 477 (Metcalf Pl. 28).

EANRED (810-841)

After a long period of disturbances Eanred reigned for more than 30 years. Nevertheless little is known of his kingship. The most significant event is his submission to Egberth of Wessex in 829. Under him the stycas appeared.



- S 455 Styca - Eadwine. A: Cross EVXDI REX, R: Cross + EHDVEI.
North: 186. 1.107 gr.
Marshall Fields - Chicago 1987.
- S 456 Styca - Eadwine. A: Cross EANRED REX, R: Cross EADVIHI.
North: 186. 1.141 gr.
Spink - London 1997.
Card: Baldwin 21-3-1995.



- S 457 Styca. A: Cross + EANRED REX, R: Cross + HVAETRED.
North: 186. 1.264 gr.
Finn - Kendal 1999.
From 15, no. 62.
Ex: Malcolm Shields collection.
The disturbed name of the king we cannot find.



S 458 Styca - Monne. A: Cross + EANRED REX (retrograde), R: Circle with pellet in centre + MONNE.
Schulman - Amsterdam 1983. North: 186. 1.113 gr.

S 459 Styca - Monne. A: Circle with pellet in centre + EANRED REX, R: Circle with pellet in centre + M .
ONNE.
Finn - Kendal 1999. North: 186. 1.176 gr.
From 15, no. 64.
Ex: Malcolm Shields collection.



S 460 Styca - Wilheah. A: Circle with pellet in centre + EANRED REX, R: Circle with pellet in centre
+ VILHEAH.
Spink - London 1972. North: 186. 1.326 gr.

AETHELRED II (841-844)

Eanred was succeeded by his son Aethelred II who probably ruled until 848 or 849. Roger of Wendover records that Aethelred was expelled in 844 and replaced by a king called Raedwulf who fell in the same year in battle against the Vikings, thus allowing Aethelred to return.



S 461 Styca - Leofthegn. A: Round M under pellet + EDELRED REX, R: Circle with pellet in centre
+ LEOFDEGN.
Sotheby - London, Auction L09443 (1999), no. 227. North: 188, P: 9/5b. 0.829 gr.
Ex: Stack collection.
Bought Seaby.
SCBI Northern Museums 422.

S 462 Styca - Broder. A: Cross with one pellet in each angle + EDILRED REX, R: Cross BRODER.
Finn - Kendal 1997. North: 188. 1.074 gr.
From list 9, no. 57.



S 463 Styca - Eardwulf. A: Cross in circle of pellets + EDILRED REX, R: Pellet in circle + EARDVVLFF :.
Finn - Kendal 1997. North: 190. 1.154 gr.
From list 9, no. 60.



- S 464 Styca - Fordred. A: Circle with pellet in centre + EDII- RED REX, R: Circle with pellet in centre + FORDRED.
North: 188. 1.285 gr.
Spink - London 1968.
- S 465 Styca - Leofthegn. A: Pellet in circle of six pellets EDILRED REX, R: Cross + EOFDESN.
North: 188. 0.980 gr.
Holleman - Enschede 1995.



- S 466 Styca - Leofthegn. A: Cross with one line in each angle + AEDELRED REX, R: Pellet within two circles + LEOFDESN.
North: 188. 1.402 gr.
Münzen und Medaillen - Basel 1980.
Cf. Bolton-Percey hoard.
- S 467 Styca - Leofthegn. A: Swastica + AEDELRED REX, R: Circle with eight pellets inside and one pellet in centre + LEOFDESN.
North: 188. 1.004 gr.
Münzen und Medaillen - Basel 1980.
Cf. Bolton-Percey hoard.



- S 468 Styca - Leofufun. A: Wheel with six spokes + EDELRED REX, R: Cross with one pellet in each angle + LEOFVFUN.
North: 188. 1.183 gr.
- S 469 Styca - Monne. A: Cross with one pellet in each angle + EDILRED REX, R: Pellet within circle of pellets + MONNE, l. and r. of E six pellets.
North: 188. 1.047 gr.
Finn - Kendal 1999.
From list 15, no. 65.



- S 470 Styca. A: Pellet within circle of six pellets + EDILRED REX, R: Cross + PIHTRD.
North: 188. 1.052 gr.
Spink - London 2001.
From NC 2001, no. HS0356.
Ex: Shuttlewood collection.

RAEDWULF († 844)

We know this king from coins exclusively.



- S 471 Styca - Alghere. A: Cross + REDVLF REX, R: Cross + AVIIE ... North: 189. 0.887 gr.
 Finn - Kendal 1997.
 From 9, no. 58.
 Cf. Pirie 1703.
- S 472 Styca - Hunlaf. A: Cross + REDVLF RE, R: Pellet within circle of eight pellets + HVNLAF. North: 189. 1.138 gr.
 Finn - Kendal 1999.
 From list 16, no. 75.

HOUAD ? († 860)

Since long the "figure of Houad" has been the subject of a lively dispute. Was he a king? The discussion has been outlined in D.C. Axe: Dating the so-called King Houad stycas, BAR (1987) p. 235, with discussion. The lack of a significant number of specimens prohibited a definitive judgement.

Here are two specimens. On the first resp. the texts HOAVD RE and HVAETRD (the first would be king Hoaud, the second the moneyer) and on the second VAETVA and MONNE. The first name on the second coin is practically identical with the second name on the first coin. That however would be the moneyer. Monne is certainly the moneyer, we meet him frequently. Could these two both be moneyers? In the article by Axe the proposed date is the end of the 850's. This period was so confused that perhaps it is not impossible that three moneyers (Hoaud, Hvaetrd and Monne) issued currency on their own authority. Both specimens mentioned by Axe (die-duplicates) carry the same text as no. S 473 and might fit in with this moneyers hypothesis.



- S 473 Styca - Hvaetrd. A: Cross HOAVD RE, R: Cross HV.....RD. 0.837 gr.
 Finn - Kendal 1997.
 From list 9, no. 63.
 Obverse is a die-duplicate of Rashleigh 145.
 BAR (1987), pl. 22, no.1 and 2 die-duplicate of ob- and reverse.
- S 474 Styca - Monne. A: Cross VAETNA (retrograde), R: Pellet in circle MONNE (retrograde). 0.899 gr.
 Finn - Kendal 1996.
 From list 7, no. 67.
 Cf. BAR (1987), p. 235-243.

OSBERHT (849-867)

Aethelred was killed in 848 or 849 and succeeded by Osberth whose ancestry is not known.



- S 475 Styca - Eanwulf. A: Cross with one pellet in each angle OSVRHT REX, R: Cross EANVVIC. North: 191. 1.161 gr.
 Finn - Kendal 1997.
 From list 9, no. 61



- S 476 Styca - Winiberht. A: Cross in circle + OSBERHT RE, R: Pellet in circle of pellets NWBERHT. North: 191. 1.188 gr.
 Finn - Kendal 1997.
 From list 9, no. 62.
 In my opinion between R and H is another letter visible: L.

YORK

York (Roman name *Eboracum*, Anglo-Saxon name *Eoforwic*) existed as early as Roman times. Constantine the Great was proclaimed emperor here.

The first bishop was Eborius (Synod of Arles 314). Pope Gregory I wanted to grant York the same status as London in 601. However, London went to Canterbury and York reached that status much later. Wilfrid (see under Anglo-Saxon) 669-678 was one of the mightiest bishops of York. In 735 York became an archbishopric.

Politically York did not emerge until 627 when Edwin was king of Northumbria. There is a close relation between the kings of Northumbria and the (arch)bishops of York. Not seldom did the latter play a more important role. Archbishop Ecgberth struck coin together with King Eadberth and with Alchred (737-766), while Archbishop Eanbald I (790-796) minted together with King Aethelred I.

From Eanbald II the archbishops minted themselves. The shape fits in with that of Northumbria.

EANBALD II (796-840)



- S 477 Styca - Eadwulf. A: Cross in circle of pellets + EANBALD.AR., R: Cross in circle of pellets + EADVVLF. North: 194. 1.137 gr.
 Spink - London 1979.
 North knows of three moneyers : CVNWVLF, EADWVLF, ETHELWARD



- S 478 Styca - Edilward. A: Cross in circle + EANBALDAR, R: Cross in circle + EDILVARD. North: 194. 0.943 gr.
 Finn - Kendal 1995.



479

- S 479 Styca - Eodwulf. A: Cross in circle of pellets + EANBALD A B, R: Cross in circle of pellets + EODVVLV.
North: 194. 1.242 gr.

Spink - London 1996.

From NC 1996, no. 3347.

The moneyer EODVVLV is possibly the same as EADVVLV.

On the reverse there are two pellets inside the circle of pellets (secret symbols?).

WIGMUND (837-854)



480

- S 480 Styca - Hunlaf. A: Cross + VIGMVNDER, R: Pellet within circle of eight pellets + HVNLA F.
North: 196. 1.237 gr.

Spink - London 1973.

WULFHRE (854-900)



481

- S 481 Styca - Wulfred. A: Cross in circle of pellets . VYLFHERE AREP, R: Cross + VVLFRED.
North: 197. 1.366 gr.

Finn - Kendal 1995.

North knows of only one moneyer: WULFRED.

Cf. list 2 (1994), no. 32.



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