THE TWO PRIMARY SERIES OF SCEATTAS

By S. E. Rigold

This investigation began when, by the good offices of my colleague Mr. G. C. Dunning, Mr. R. H. M. Dolley, Mr. L. R. A. Grove of Maidstone Museum, and Dr. and Mrs. H. M. Raven of Broadstairs and I had the opportunity to examine two small hoards of sceattas, which, though discovered and briefly recorded some decades ago, had never properly been described. Both (nos. I and II in Appendix F) comprised two types only:

A (B.M.C. 2a): radiate bust; in front of face-TIC / standard with recognizable votive inscription.

B (B.M.C. 27 (a and b—the distinction is shown below to be of small significance): diademed head or bust / bird on cross.

Afterwards, by courtesy of Mr. L. Helliwell of Southend Museum, I examined another hoard (no. VI), again only recorded in general terms, which contained, beside these types, a third, clearly stemming from A:

C (not distinguished in B.M.C. from other Runic varieties): as A but with 'æpa' in Runes, in place of the I C of TIC.

Then, most opportunely, thanks to Mr. G. Teasdill and Messrs. Grantham of Driffield, a fresh hoard (no. VIII) was brought to my notice, here described for the first time, apart from Mr. Teasdill’s local report; it was of more various composition, but contained an evolved form of type B, and is significant as a terminal point.

These led me to the published records of other finds of similar composition, one of which (no. VII) was found to be intact, and to comparable material in public and private collections, in which pursuit I am most grateful for the help and cooperation of the Ashmolean, British, Canterbury, Hunterian, London, and Norwich Museums, the Royal Cabinet at The Hague, and the Cabinet des Médailles at Paris, and of their curators, as well as of Messrs. A. H. F. Baldwin, C. E. Blunt, F. Elmore Jones, Commander R. P. Mack, and Mr. and Mrs. J. R. Pritchard, and of the principal London coin dealers. For freshly excavated material and for information about discovery in advance of publication I am indebted to Miss V. I. Evison, Mrs. S. Hawkes, Mr. C. Green, and Group-Captain G. M. Knocker.

It was at once apparent that types A and B were broadly contemporaneous and antedated all or most other varieties of sceat, and that they had a strongly Kentish distribution, associated with burials in a pagan manner. The hoards in question provide the soundest base of known fact from which the whole problem of sceattas may be reappraised. Only the appearance of the ‘London’ type and the Thames hoards² offer a comparable security for the later sceattas. This study only concerns the earlier phase.

¹ A list of abbreviations will be found after the text and before the Appendixes.
² At least two hoards, but differing little in composition: one (1860) = I.B.C.H., no. 252, all
Previous Studies

Considering the importance of these coins in a larger archaeological context, they have received surprisingly little attention. Fortunately two such giants at J. Y. Akerman and C. Roach Smith lived in the days of railway-building and miscellaneous collection. To CRS we owe the only two hoards (nos. III and VII) to be recorded in detail, as well as several other find-spots, to JYA by his careful republication of pagan Saxon material, at least the negative evidence that nothing else was known to scientific recorders. Little more followed except C. F. Keary's *B.M.C.* and a general discussion by G. Baldwin Brown, until the valuable studies by the late P. Le Gentilhomme, with whom I am in almost complete agreement, by Dr. C. H. V. Sutherland and Col. N. T. Belaiew on distribution, and by Mr. P. V. (Blake-)Hill, on typology. These are pioneering studies and I beg their authors' patience if I repeat much of what they said, while radically revising other parts. Mr. Hill's assessment of the Frisian evidence is particularly useful.

Discovery and Distribution in England

The hoards are given in detail in Appendix F. Of the eight certain hoards and one probable, with recorded provenances, five are definitely from graves and there are variously strong reasons for suspecting that this may be true of all except no. IX. A revised list of finds of single coins and pairs, of types A, B, and Pada, follows in Appendix H: here again there are several instances of grave-finds. Even when the exact circumstances are unknown the names of Christian sacred sites—Bradwell, Burgh Castle, Minster, Reculver, Richborough, Whitby—are prominent among the provenances of these and allied types, and where evidence is available it points to the church or cemetery. Nor was the practice confined to England; the second-hand, but eminently credible, report of Mej. de Man locates at least two hoards from Domburg (Walcheren) in a cemetery disturbed by sea-erosion. In most cases the coins or most in BM (*B.N.J.* xxviii (1956), p. 36: R. H. M. Dolley, 'Coin Hoards from the London area', in *T.L.M.A.S.* xx (1960), pp. 41, 47); the other in AM, ex Evans and Franks. Those reported by CRS in *C.M.L.A.* and *C.A.* i, p. 168 look too diverse to constitute one hoard.

There have been, at most, two or three English archaeologists to compare with him since, in breadth of experience, including numismatics. The value of *C.A.* is incalculable and his drawings identify individual scattered coins beyond question.

especially in *Remains of Pagan Saxaudom* (1855). He gives an independent report of Hoard III. He was the first secretary of the (Royal) Numismatic Soc.

* A.E.E. iii, pp. 56–113. Although flowery and discursive, this has been the most readily available source for much important material. The value of his comparisons of the later, more Teutonic designs with other genres is vitiated by the wildest chronology (e.g. sceattas allotted to the sixth century). I prefer Mrs. Morehart Baker's more modest study of the same material, which led her patiently and surely to the eighth century, and which she has kindly communicated to me.


* N.C. vii (1942), pp. 42 ff.


* Que sait-on de la plage de Domburg?* in *Tijdschrift v. Munten en Penningkunde*, vii (1899–1900). See page 32, also plans.
are unmounted and to be distinguished from coin-pendants. Where noted, they lie beside or beneath the body, perhaps in a purse. It is significant that they occur with ornaments, but (with one uncertain exception) never with weapons, other than small knives. I suggest that they represent the purchase-price paid by someone who had acquired arms or other costly possessions of the deceased d'occasion and were buried so that the ghost should not feel he had been robbed. Certainly coins are among the most lingering of grave-goods or substitutes for grave-goods; their deposition outlasts the abandonment of pagan-type cemeteries.

The hoards are all small: one consists of twenty, three of eight (but one of these may originally have been twenty), and two of five. Those from Domburg were of twelve and six respectively. The precise significance of these clearly intentional sums is beyond conjecture. Twenty was a Kentish shilling, but there were other sums of account and round figures are to be expected if the internal function of money was chiefly for legal and ceremonial payments, including nominal valuations of grave-goods.

Appendix G contains details of three die-linked runs of coins of both types, A and B, each perhaps totalling twelve, and with a similar coloration, which appear either to be intact hoards or samples from larger hoards. That in the Hunterian Museum, and untouched since the eighteenth century, is of almost identical composition with another from the Barnett collection. The third, from the ancien fonds of the British Museum, is apparently a shade earlier. It, or all of them (?), may come from one of the (two ?) late eighteenth-century hoards from Thanet. There are many early coins of both types in nearly mint condition, and it does not look as though all came to light at the same time.

All the fully authenticated hoards consisting of types A and B only are from Kent—more precisely from East Kent (archaeologically a far more distinctive region than the whole county). The proportion of the types in all the hoards approaches that of two of A to three of B, a fact which would of itself suggest that the hoards were concealed within a short period. The two (nos. VI and VII) containing the earliest Runic coins (type C) are scarcely of wider distribution—Birchington, Kent, and just over the Thames in Essex. There is nothing to suggest that this early group of Runic coins is other than of Kentish or possibly East Saxon origin, but the presence at Birchington of an almost certainly Netherlandish imitation (R3) of these implies that sceattas were already travelling widely. It is possible then that all the English Runic pieces (except of course Pada's) are East Anglian. The latest hoards (VIII, IX) are much farther-flung, their composition more various, and the Runic

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1 Two sceattas and a spear-head from Out Elmsted in Barham, Kent. The spear-head remains; the sceattas have not been traced and no one who saw them when they were briefly exhibited during the war can describe them.

2 So in the seventh-century laws: a freeman's wergild was one hundred, which was advantageous in comparison with its West-Saxon equivalent of two hundred shillings of five pence each. Notice, there is one Kentish hoard of five. See H. M. Chadwick, Studies in Anglo-Saxon Institutions, pp. 78 ff. The Kentish shilling was theoretically a gold shilling, to be compared with the gold solidus, tariffed at forty denarii, that subsisted as a money of account among the Franks. At this rate the comparable silver shilling, if there was any parity with the apparent usage of Franks and Alleman in the mid-eighth century, should have been six pence or sceattas: in fact, it seems to have been four (Chadwick, op. cit., pp. 17 ff.), which fits the hoards of eight well enough.
content more warrantably East Anglian. The final criterion of East Anglian mintage is the Cambridge find (IX).

The single finds tell much the same story. Coastwise movement of type B to Selsey and Caister-by-Yarmouth only brackets the point of distribution which is reinforced by Akerman's testimony that both were frequently found 'in East Kent, especially the neighbourhood of Canterbury', and by the many specimens in the Ashmolean that derived from the Rolfe collection, which was formed in Sandwich, largely from local material. The only real outliers are Compton, Staffs. (A) and Ilchester (B).

The recorded Runic finds are more difficult to appraise, partly because the B.M.C. classification is inadequate. As will be shown below, there are three main classes, but the available descriptions may not distinguish them:

R1. Primary Runic pieces (type C)—distribution centred on the Thames estuary.

R2. Secondary Runic pieces, including, as Mr. Hill observes, the so-called B.M.C. type 2b; usually much lighter—distribution almost exclusively East Anglian and never found in Kent.

R3. Low-country imitations of R1, with a different (cross-and-pellets) reverse, including the so-called B.M.C. type 2c; of good weight—overwhelmingly the commonest Runic type from every continental source; the few English finds are scattered but not particularly East Anglian.

The large continental hoards will be considered later, but the single finds on the mainland coast do not alter the picture. Both A and R1 have occurred at Domburg, and Duurstede, B at Domburg, and at Utrecht, and R1 at Domburg.

Another type from Domburg is B.M.C. type 37. A Frisian origin has been suggested for this, but it is quite unequivocally a domestic derivative of type B and has a similar coastal distribution centred on Kent—Dale Hill near Brighton, to Caister-by-Yarmouth. The general pattern is this: types A, B (including B.M.C. 37), and R1, originating in or near Kent, with a wide coastal movement on both sides of the sea; R2, East Anglian and less exportable.

Sources of the Types

Both types A and B have a high degree of uniformity within the issue: in the case of A no more variation than would be expected in any hand-made coinage, in B a longer evolution and what looks like a deliberate and controlled differentiation in miniatiae. In either case there is a marked contrast

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1 Arch. xxx (1844), p. 56.
2 R.B.N.s, ii (1870), pl. F, nos. 9, 10, 11 (all subtype A3), and 6 (subtype R1). Compare D.G.M.M., no. 5825.
3 R.B.N.s, ii (1870), pl. E, nos f. (A3) and e (R1).
4 Several, mostly middle period (B II); see Appendix E.
5 A. E. v. Giffen, Vollgraff and Hoorn, Oprevingen op het Domplein te Utrecht, iii, p. 115, fig. 72 (late-B IIIA, 8/ii).
6 R.B.N.s, ii (1870), pl. F, no. 12 = D.G.M.M., no. 6215.
7 Quoted by Mr. Hill (T.L.M.A.S. xix).
8 Coin in Brighton Museum, doubly pierced.
9 Excavated by Mr. C. Green; from the cemetery, perhaps in the top-filling of a grave, but not with the body (16.2 gr., 1.05 gm., a very typical weight).
with later issues of sceattas, where the die-sinker could indulge his fancy more freely.

Both types show, at least in their earlier stages, a depth of relief and a sculptural quality unusual in sceattas and rare anywhere in the Anglo-Saxon coinage, apart from Offa's. The sharp and precise technique differs from the gentle rotundity of many later sceattas, and punches were evidently employed for the smaller details. The technique looks backward to that of the finest thrymsas and contrasts with the scratchy engraving of most other thrymsas, whether English or Frisian.

Type A is a remarkable eclectic design, composed of elements taken, almost without alteration, from four different types of electrum thrymsa (see Fig. 1): the curious, large, broken 'A', behind the bust from the relatively common 'two emperors' type (Sutherland, II, v,—all references are to tremisses only); the radiate crown with pellets from the now rare 'Carausius' type (Sutherland, II, i); the drapery and the inscription before the face from one Pada type (P II) and the standard reverse from another (P I), replacing 'pada' by 'P I'. The treatment of the features and the use of pellets is common to all these (except the worse examples of II, v), suggesting a common place of origin, for which distribution would point to Kent. (The most plausible alternative, London, has little to commend it, since the fabric of all certainly London pieces is quite different; East Essex is just possible and the possibility applies also to type A and, with a little more force, to type C.) But the implications of the type A design are wider than this; not only were the component types current simultaneously in the same area but they had suddenly ceased to be readily available and type A was introduced deliberately to combine the goodwill of them all. It is a 'restored' currency, almost in the

\[A.S.G.C.\]x (catalogue of all types); the large A, with the rest of the so-called inscription on type II, v, comes not from a Roman prototype but from Frisian issues, as \[A.S.G.C.\], pl. v, x.
Roman sense; only the metal is poorer. The component types will be discussed in more detail below.

Type B on the other hand has no precise antecedents. To call it ‘Anglo-Merovingian’ only does it partial justice. The generalized late-Roman head, with a straight double diadem, is only equalled on the finest Austrasian tremisses (of Metz, &c.). The weather-cock bird found on a small group of tremisses attributed to Laon¹ is not very like the neat bird-on-cross of type B; if a prototype must be sought, it could be the transformation of the Parisian croix-ancrée, or the upending of a cross to expand the globe beneath it into the round-cropped bird, but I prefer to regard the design as original. The bird is of no recognizable species: stylized doves and peacocks are at home in sub-antique sculpture—the bird does not come from the bestiary of Teutonic Tierornamentik. The transformation of the inner ring into a serpent is also unprecedented. On one, not certainly the earliest, piece (B I E, I), the reverse ring has the ‘vertebral’, as distinct from pearled, form found on a few tremisses of Metz² and vicinity, which may have suggested a serpent. The inner ring on this side, in genesis a wreath, calls for no comment, but the obverse inner ring is exceptional at this date: a few late Visigothic pieces, similar pieces, with facing busts, from le Puy-en-Velay³ (an interesting connexion because the type may have influenced B.M.C. type 37), and tremisses probably from Antre (Savoie)⁴ are apparently the only continental examples; but there is an English precedent on the strange and badly engraved thrymsas with Runic or Latin reverse legends (Sutherland, I, vi), absent from Crondall, but early if the metal is anything to go by. I suspect that there may have been better pieces of this kind, and that the inner ring is in origin a nimbus. Their general resemblance to type B is slight.

The Post-Crondall Thrymsa Coinage

Omitting the York group (V) and the very dubious miscellanea grouped as VII, only the following varieties of thrymsa in Dr. Sutherland’s corpus are unrepresented in the Crondall hoard:

I, i—the unique EVSEBIIDOROVERNIS piece.
I, ii—the difficult pieces with the nimbed (?) head, mentioned above.

² D.G.M.M., nos. 2950, 2953–6, 2958, M.M.B.N., no. 933–5; all of Theudelenus.
³ Engel and Serrure, T.N.M.A., fig. 254.
⁴ D.G.M.M., no. 231 = M.M.B.N., no. 1260.
II, i—‘Carausus’ type.
II, ii—so-called ‘Constantine’ type, with the lyre-shaped object on reverse.
II, iii—‘Crispus’ type, with runes, apparently ‘deliana’.
II, v—‘Two emperors’ type.
VI, iii—Pada, an inadequate selection. Besides expanding this representation, another type can be added, in sequence to Dr. Sutherland’s numbering:
II, vi—the type numbered 55 by Mr. Hill, in sequence to B.M.C., certainly occurring in pale gold; helmeted bust in toga picta r., shouldering cross-staff/cross in wreath.

All these types except the first two are in pale gold, the two last sinking to silver, and must be placed after Crondall. There is already a hint of debasement in one or two of the Crondall pieces, and the interval need not be long, since one Crondall type (II, iv—‘Licinius’) would appear to be the immediate precursor of II, iii. Crondall may in fact be a ‘debasement hoard’.

I, i and I, vi are anomalous and perhaps pre-Crondall. At least the reverse inscriptions of I, vi seem to be sense, if only they were complete—BERN . . . and apparently two abbreviated names in runes. The obverses have SCHVOT and . . . . TARE . . . . It is tempting, remembering that Hlothhere (Chlotarius) reigned in Kent from 673 to 685, to put these together as CHLOTARE, but it must be resisted.

II, i and II, v, are among the ingredients of type A. Their treatment (e.g. of the nose) is closer than might appear at first. Neither is more than distinctly inspired by its Roman prototype. II, i has a probable Kentish provenance (Strood); II, v, occurred at Reculver and Lympne. II, v was also found at Domburg, while specimens of both in old continental collections suggest further exportation, as does the piece in the Bordeaux hoard, reproducing the reverse of II, v (rather than vice versa). Whether there are reasons, other than decorative, for the concordia motif of both types is unknown. II, v was a large coinage, getting progressively paler; Dr. Sutherland has noticed twelve obverse dies—there are at least two more.5

II, ii, with its triple-beaded ring, is allied to II, iii and to the Crondall type II, iv, but the design is closer to the ‘monstrance’ type of Rouen than to anything of Constantine’s; this would appear to be the source of the raised hand, holding a cross, on the obverse and the lyre-shaped object on the reverse.

2 A.S.G.C., note to 23a. There was a cemetery at Strood (V.C.H. Kent, i, p. 377; C.A. v, p. 129. A.C. ii, p. xli).
3 CRS, R.R.L., pl. vii, 10; AR, pl. vii; F. Syll, no. 218. It is from yet another pair of dies. Another probable Kentish find-spot is the Maidstone-Hollingbourne area—coin in Maidstone Museum, ex Pretty coll. (189/1-22) with strong presumption of local discovery (similar to, but not identical with, to A.S.G.C., no. 43).
4 B.M.C., no. 4, see B.N.J. xxviii (1956), p. 36. Acquired in 1854 from Mr. Hills, doubtless W. Hills, curator of Chichester Museum, who had acquired, and perhaps excavated himself, many grave goods from a cemetery at Bellevue, Lympne, c. 1828 (R.R.L., pp. 263-4). This is surely the source; were there more? 5 Two examples: A.S.G.C., note to 33a.
7 D.G.M.M., nos. 3812-17.
Another link with Rouen occurs in II, vi, which actually occurred in the Rouen hoard. Prou and Le Gentilhomme\(^1\) have suggested that the type might be English, and Mr. Hill admitted some examples, on grounds of workmanship. But there is a continuous gradation of fabric; if one is English they all are, and the technique is precisely that of II, ii, iii, iv, v, and vi, iii—note the use of annulet and concentric semicircles. Apart from the helmet, the obverse stems from a fifth-century consular solidus (Leo?);\(^2\) but the reverse changes from a long cross, flanked by the now meaningless CA, to the Rouen type of a short expanding cross in a wreath.\(^3\) What prevents their ascription to Rouen or any other Frankish mint is the obverse inscription: ‘OTIANTUS’ (Belfort) or ‘OTAGIUS’ (Engel and Serrure) are not only unidentifiable but in the nominative case instead of the regular locative or ablative—the O is a mere annulet and the inscription seems to carry over from the reverse, \textit{VANIMVIDVS MOINE/TARIVS}. This legend appears to be the prototype of the garbled versions on type B, which may stem from another type of the same moneyer. ‘Vanimundus’ is assimilated to ‘Tuanimundus’ by confusing the cross, or the V, with a T. Aunimundus would be a more normal name. That he was a Frank need cause no surprise; that he had no \textit{civitas} as though potentially itinerant may be significant not only for the conditions of the Kentish goldsmithery in general, but for the tradition of personal responsibility and relative mobility that was to survive into the later Old English coinage. (Pl. II.)

Both the helmet and the general technique (note the use of annulet punches) of the finer examples of II, vi remind us of II, ii and of the type of Pada which provides the obverse of type A. In fact therefore, types A and B both evolve from the same inter-related groups of thrymsas—Frankish in fabric perhaps, but not particularly close to any Merovingian types or styles, and all (except a few of Pada’s and of II, vi) having a visible gold-content, however small. Pada and closely related pieces will be considered separately.

\textit{The Coinage of Pada (Pl. II)}

Of the recorded English finds one is from London,\(^4\) the rest all from East Kent;\(^5\) the collaterals and descendants of the coinage are tied to the same area, and it is here, surely, that Pada struck. The hoary argument that Pada was a Mercian, because Offa apparently imitated one of his standard types,\(^6\) would not be affected, even if it were valid, since Offa also used Canterbury. But the point is not worth making: to equate Pada with Peada is as unwarrantable philologically as it is chronologically.\(^7\)

\(^1\) \textit{R.N.}\(^2\) i (1937), p. 81; compare Prou on \textit{M.M.B.N.}, nos. 2730, 2731. Le Gentilhomme recognized the connexion between the legends on this type and on type B (‘les fameuses sceattas a l’oiseau posé sur une croix’). Another resemblance with type B is in the light (c. 18·5/1·20) weight of most type VB.

\(^2\) e.g. Sabatier, \textit{Monnaies Byzantines}, pl. vi, 19; possibly Honorius (cf. J. W. E. Pearce, \textit{Roman Coinage}, 364–423, p. 13, no. 9); but all these busts face left.

\(^3\) e.g. \textit{D.G.M.M.}, nos. 3830-4, 3840, 3854.

\(^4\) \textit{C.M.L.A.}, p. 107, no. 562 (not called Pada, but description adequate).

\(^5\) And all from cemeteries: Finglesham (pale gold), Sarre and Dover—two each. See Appendix A.


\(^7\) I am assured by Dr. R. I. Page of Nottingham University that there are no certain examples of the rune here transliterated ‘a’ used for the reflex of the Germanic AU (which would normally produce EA in Old English).
Pada's coinage was a large one: of two dozen specimens I have examined, all but three (all silver) are from completely different dies. The coinage has been absorbed even more thoroughly than the nearly contemporary II, v, where die-links do exist. Furthermore, it covers quite a period of progressive debasement, starting at a lower standard than the highest of II, v. Three types are known, of which two have subtypes, the obverse of the earliest being substantially that of II, iii (the one example of which is slightly yellower than any Pada). The VOT inscription now appears for the first time as TOT, and we must be prepared to read any T as V.

Type PI A, helmeted head of mid-Constantinian form/'pada', in runes on standard, terminal cross ends in annulets (cf. II, iii).

Type PI B, same obverse/ votive inscription on standard, 'pada', in runes, at side, terminal cross plain, as on type B.

These types occur in electrum only and may begin before the other two. The retrograde obverse inscription is CNS ATC, probably for CONST AVG? rather than the CRISPVS NOB CAES of II, iii, which better suits the VOT XX, which Crispus did not attain. Some of the letters of VIRTVS EXERCITVM come through.

Type II A, laureate bust, the wreath usually made with a special cloven punch used also on the reverse, the infilae prominent (again mid-Con­stantinian) / within a circle, 'pada', in runes, dotted line below, 'cloven' line above; outside the circle, the 'fantail' with three pellets, as on a standard. A variety, II B, made with the same cloven punch, has a cross on steps in place of Pada's name.

Both are found in silver. The complete obverse legend ends ... I TNC i.e. IVNC, for (CONSTANTI NVS) IVN N C? The interest in Constantinian types is maintained.

Type III, diademed bust / plain cross, short at first, but longer on evolved dies, over saltire terminating in annulets, which finally get detached.

Two examples are in pale gold, the rest look like silver, and even that not of the finest (see following section). The arrangement of the pearls on the shoulder of the earliest specimen suggests a late fourth-century prototype, as do the legends on both sides, which appear to derive from Gratian or perhaps Valentinian. As the metal grows baser the legends are hacked down and the bust assumes a Visigothic aspect, imprinted with a cross or pellets, while the hair, with its fringe and curious lump over the forehead, foreshadows that of type B. A table of Pada's dies is given in Appendix A.

All the 'post-Crondall' coins, except the latest Pada and II, vi, show, pace Mr. Hill, a visible trace of gold. In view of the chemical analysis (see next section) the doubtful primacy in issuing sceattas should rest with Pada or possibly 'Vanimund'. But, though there was probably no change in denomina­tion, there is a difference: while theirs are the exhausted end of a gold issue, series A and B would seem from their appearance not to claim to be more than silver. It will be suggested below that type A probably began a trifle earlier than type B (except perhaps B X). It is unlikely that the end of Pada overlapped with A and B; the designer of type A would hardly have made such
an odd use of Pada’s motives while he was still in business, nor is there any hoard evidence that Pada’s silver circulated in England with type A, though the weights would not have prevented it. Rather it would appear that Pada was faced with a crisis to be met by catastrophic debasement, and then all his coins, of whatever metal, were swept off the board and a fresh coinage issued, a process that could not be done by the statutory recoinage, as it was when a royal monopoly had been established; it indicates a second catastrophe.

The Metal of the Primary Sceattas

By courtesy of Mr. L. Helliwell and the authorities of the Southend Museum, Mr. Forbes, Deputy Warden of Goldsmith’s Hall, has analysed the entire Thorpe Bay hoard (VI), which contains types A, B, and C. His findings are abstracted in Appendix I, but certain points are relevant to the argument here.

In hoard VI: (a) The composition of each type, admittedly not the earliest of A and B, is remarkably similar.

(b) The gold content is nowhere more than that of an impurity—it was neither visible to the eye, nor could it probably be detected or isolated by the methods then available. It is unthinkable that the moneyers would maintain a small gold content to satisfy their own consciences, when it could not be tested. Gold is not usual as an impurity in silver ores. The most likely reason for its presence is as a relic of base thrymsas melted down or imperfectly refined.

(c) The fineness of the silver exceeds the later sterling standard (in contrast to that of the secondary Runic coinage, R2).

(d) The scarcity of lead is consistent with what we would expect at this period, that the Welsh, West Welsh, and Midland mines, so important in the later old English coinage, were not yet exploited.

Mr. Forbes has also analysed the two Pada coins from the Dover cemetery, which Miss Evison has kindly submitted for the purpose. This is certainly a most useful check on the other evidence, since the coins are typologically ‘gold’ thrymsas.

The results confirm the visual appearance of the debased Pada coins: they are not merely silver, but bad silver. The gold content is as low as, in the case of the P III coin lower than, that of the subsequent sceattas, and the copper content, in either case, is far higher. Nothing could prove more conclusively that Pada’s career ended in a panic debasement and that the ‘primary sceattas’ re-established credit.

Type A (BMC 2a, Brooke Class 5) (Pl. II)

This gives the appearance of a brief and intense issue, of extremely regular execution. It ceases abruptly and the Runic derivatives form a quite distinct coinage. There is one mint, one style, and very few contemporary imitations. In contrast with type B, there is no deliberate differencing of the dies, and the evolution in detail is of the simplest. Die-linking would be tedious and difficult, and I have not attempted it. But this uniformity is deceptive, as is
Mr. Hill’s overall mean weight of 19.04 gr.¹ The weights are most revealing: there is a heavy and a light coinage as distinct as those of Henry IV. In all, four categories can be distinguished:

A1, one specimen only examined (19.0 gr. / 1.23 gm.); legend still T1IC (cf. ITNC or ITIIC on Pada, type II), crown high and close to thrymsa model, no pendant pearls, annulets small; ‘fantail’ of standard narrow.

A2, legend T1C; crown moderate, few, or usually no, pendant pearls, features often negroid, drapery (a dotted band with annulets below) nearly straight; annulets in field small to medium; fantail narrow to medium. A sample of twenty-four coins in good condition showed an astonishingly regular weight (mean: 19.6 gr./1.27 gm.; mode: 19.5 gr./1.26 gm. standard deviation: 0.3 gr. each way, i.e. about 0.15 per cent. This is the full thrymsa weight, higher than either of the strictly maintained weights of type B. Twenty-two obverse dies appear to belong to this group, including one or two marginal ones.

A3, legend as before; head and crown smaller and simpler, pendant pearls behind head generally conspicuous, ‘drapery’ in an arc; annulets medium to large, fantail much more spread. Weight more variable and definitely lighter, though perfect specimens are fewer; a sample of eight good ones produced;—mean: 18.8 gr./1.218 gm.; mode: 18.9 gr./1.225 gm. which is nearer to the lighter weight of type B (i.e. B IA) but there are a few around 17.45 gr./1.13 gm. Seventeen obverse dies detected.

A4, imitations (un-English?), of good weight; a very rough thing from Richborough, and another with crosses on all four sides of the standard which allies it to one group of primary Runics; both weigh 18.9 gr./1.225 gm.

In the relatively early hoards II and III there is one, filed, example of A2 and the rest are all A3, but in the die-linked ‘runs’ type A2 predominates, while the type B coins are scarcely less advanced, though in fresher condition. Hoard I may lie between them, but the dating is close. The impression remains that the type A was issued in large quantity at the higher weight slightly before B, and very soon reduced to the standard of B, but that the hoards represented by the ‘runs’ were buried before the reduction. Most of A2 then disappeared. This has some bearing on the number of dies: in the certain hoards the proportion is roughly two of A to three of B, which matches that of the known A3 obverses (at least seventeen) to those of the earliest of series B (twenty-six?), with an adjustment for survivors of A2, whereas the total of A2 and A3 is at least thirty-nine, which would reverse the proportions (assuming the dies lasted about the same time).

The diameter (12–14 mm.) and thickness of type A, particularly A2, is visibly greater than the later thrymsas, as the same weight at a reduced specific gravity would necessitate. The dies seem to maintain the four alternative right-angled positions required by a square casing.

It is this moment of reduction, when the pretence of a gold tremissis is

¹ See table in B.N.J. xxvi (1952), p. 262. I have found this table very useful, but means are only really significant in the case of an absolutely freshly struck sample.
finally abandoned, that the sceatta, i.e. denarius, must be said to begin, and thereby above all lies the primacy of types A and B. It may be that this was to prevent an outflow across the Channel and that the saige was on its way to the weight of about 1.08 gm. at which Pippin the Short found it. English evidence may help to determine the stages in this reduction.

**Runic Sceattas (type C, &c.)**

The various coinages with Runic legends, or attempts thereat, form a difficult and artistically unrewarding group; here they will only be treated perfunctorily and in so far as concerns the main hoards, but, being the direct successors of type A, they will be taken before type B. The three main classes have been outlined above. In each class the typical members will be considered first, and then the marginal and uncertain ones.

**Primary Runic (Pl. II)**

R1 (type C). Represented in hoards VI, VII. Good relief and quite delicate style, but not that of type A. Short triangular neck on moderately arched drapery; head medium-sized; annulets quite small as though the prototype were A2, but no indication that A3 was still being issued. Inscrn. T—‘æpa’ or T—‘æpæ’—all letters with light serifs. Two varieties of the reverse (this persists): (a) complete standard, with ‘fantail’, (b) standard with crosses on all four sides. Weight variable, but on the average up to that of type B.

**Variants**

Rlx. Long conical neck and small head; sharp tight style; standard small, strokes (representing XX) vertical; legend ‘æpa’ or ‘epa’, reading inwards or outwards, behind head TAT, or similar. High weight maintained.

Rly. Similar but coarser, approaching style of R3; legend on standard recognizable, with oblique strokes, to chaotic, like that on the ‘porg Pepsi’s: legend ‘æpa’, ‘epa’, ‘lepa’ (for T’epa’), &c. High weight maintained.

Rlz. Looser style; large heads. Only the high weight separates these from R2. Rlx has no English provenances: it, and perhaps Rly as well, look like Low Country antecedents or collaterals of R3.

**Secondary Runic (Pl. IV)**

R2. Many East Anglian provenances, but rarely found in Holland. Coarse, linear technique with little relief. Head left or right, large, with a very characteristic rectangular outline on mature coins; annulets large and prominent; conical neck usually absent (except on the earliest (?) which can be distinguished from R1 variants—especially R1y—by their reverse); below head arched drapery, trellis-pattern (not the rune for ‘η’), or radial strokes, like a beard. Legends: garbled variations on the ‘epa’ theme; ‘spi’ (this seems deliberate); ‘wigred’ or ‘wigr’d’ (not ‘wigud’). All letters, Runic or Latin, end in knobs, not serifs. ‘Inscription’ on standard recognizable, but T’s of ‘gamma’ form. Metal poor, weight much reduced. There seem to be stages in the decline, notably one around 13.5 gr./0.88 gm. but even in
hoard IX there is much irregularity. Most of this group seem to be very late—after the general adoption of the ‘London’ weight, which took place about the time of hoard VIII which contains the variety R2z. The only recorded hoard with the normal form is Cambridge (IX), where it is associated with an animal type, which is found muled with it and presumably also East Anglian.

**Variants**

R2y. Reverse—saltire with pellets.

R2z. Reverse—cross ending in annulets (some influence from type B or from saigas of Bourges). The example from the Garton hoard (VIII) is a relatively heavy and early coin. Both these reverses are found, (a) with an early obverse with a conical neck, like R1y, (b) muled or combined together (Hill type 70), (c) muled with a normal R2 reverse, and R2y is also muled with the East Anglian animal type (v.s.). A variety of R2y is used by Beonna. Clearly both are persistent and equally East Anglian.

*Frisian Runic* (Pl. IV)

R3. With its distinctive reverse of a cross and four pellets and its heavy technique, this group is now widely recognized as foreign. The weight is variable but generally high—above the standard of type B. A sample of twenty-four gave a mode of 19·2 gr./1·25 gm. with a standard deviation of 0·6 gr., but several aberrants, five below 14·5 gr./0·94 gm. There may have therefore been a light issue at the very reduced standard of R2. This type began very soon after R1; it is found in the Birchington hoard (VII), and in huge numbers in all the continental hoards.

**Type B (B.M.C. 27, Brooke Class 11) (Pls. III and IV)**

This is perhaps the most beautiful and civilized of all the series of pre-Carolingian denarii. It comes as something of a shock that its legends do not make sense, since it has signs of systematic control that is very different from the fanciful inventiveness of some sceattas or the barbarous repetition of others. It proceeds majestically through several phases, providing a relative chronology for other series, and inspires the other sceattas, which are beyond the terms of this study. But the beginning is a mystery. If phase B X (B.M.C. type 26) is the earliest it is not really archetypal, as the type is essentially complete. The legends, however garbled, all reflect the name of VANIMVNDS or AVNIMVNDS, who signs the otherwise unrelated but equally eccentric thrysta type II, vi. We may yet find prototypes for both, in pale gold, with legible inscriptions, made in England by the same inventive Frankish moneyer.

On B X coins, as on the others, there are minor differences, not blindly repeated, after the organic habits of barbarous coins, but deliberately varied from die to die and often shared by both obverse and reverse. Nothing like these differing signs, which prefigure in a surprising way the privy-marks of later medieval coinage, is known on any other sceattas. Examples are: annulet before face and as initial and terminal on both dies; two annulets flanking the medial letter on both dies; two annulets base, instead of three, on all reverse dies of one of several very similar obverses; pellets in the field
THE TWO PRIMARY SERIES OF SCEATTAS

on all reverses of another of them; annulets, crosses, saltires, pellets, in field of obverse or reverse or both. The cross before the face, that distinguishes B.M.C. type 27a, is simply one of these: it occurs on occasion at all periods and is nothing to do with the cross-in-hand found on certain other types. The distinction is better ignored. We cannot tell whether the issues with extra annulets, for instance, were struck for the Abbot of St. Peter and St. Paul (later St. Augustine), on the analogy of the Petrine issues of York and Peterborough. But the question is not frivolous; the abbot's right to a moneyer was ancient. Concurrent subtypes and recurrent marks of difference suggest that the moneyer or moneyers of type B served several masters, and worked mainly, but perhaps not solely, at Canterbury.

The obverse axis is not always easy to determine, but the relative positions of the dies seem to conform to the four-way pattern, except in the last phase (B III). The sharp technique is distinctive and remarkably uniform, though there is a slow but progressive coarsening. The few really anomalous dies stand out clearly. Fairly consistent characteristics include: the well-drawn eye, with pupil; the ear without a dot to represent the concha; the rounded chin and the swelling beneath the hair above the forehead. All these details ally it to thrymsas of type II, vi and some of Pada, rather than to type A.

Three distinct phases of type B proper may be detected. Assuming the absolute priority of B.M.C. 26 (B X), this can be prefixed as a fourth. Within the phases are subtypes some of which appear to run concurrently.

Phase B X. A very elusive group. I have only examined one specimen, B.M.C. no. 123, but the weight and colour suggest a very base thrymsa, more convincingly than any other of type B for which a similar complexion is claimed (with a single exception). The characteristic is a base of three steps to the cross, but B X 4 (another heavy coin), if rightly assigned to this phase, has an annulet in this position. The head is very small. The fringe is like that on some later Padas, the nose and eye made with one punch, like an altered V. The inner ring is a torque with triangular ends, the bird, small and undernourished, leans forward to peck at an annulet. There are complexities of annulets and pellets on the reverse, as on B Ib, and this rather meagre design might appear to derive from B Ib, but since the latter revives a heavier weight it more probably also revives the type appropriate to this, with a bust, in place of a head, as on B X. I know of no hoards but one provenance—Minster (in Thanet?), and no die-identities. This rarity suggests that it is in fact a base thrymsa issue, contemporary with the late Pada and late II, vi and was swept away at the same time. But the schematized basic legend, VAN-MVA/VAN-IIIVA, of the survivors looks some way off the archetype.

Phase B I. Subtype B IA. This is farther from BX than the next subtype, but there is little doubt that it begins earlier: the first of subtype B IB links the reverse of subtype B IA with its proper reverse, in that order, and the 'run' in the B.M. (App. G.) contains subtype B IA only. Furthermore the weight is below that of B X or any thrymsa, below those of type A 2, and of B IB, and below most of its BII successors. In other words, it was reduced too severely, though it drove type A down to its level in A3. A sample of 24, in
good condition, produced: mode: 19·0 gr./1·23 gm.; median 18·93 gr./1·227 gm., standard deviation: 0·35 gr., i.e. nearly as regular as type A2. The characteristics are: obv. head (not bust) with double pearl diadem, small and neat but grosser on later dies; serpent-circle on both sides, head of serpent always left, diameter of obverse circle 7 mm. increasing to 8·5 mm.; rev. tidy, upright bird on Latin cross (2·2·5 mm. by 3·3·5 mm.), two annulets only, more or less on line of cross-bar (for the only exception see B Ib). Basic legend: obv. TAVMVANV(A), rev. TAVHMVANV(A), a clear echo of (T)VANIMVNDVS (rev.) MONE-TARIVS (obv.).

Eleven obverses with up to four reverses apiece. No links, but style and detail indicate the probable succession, with a short break at the introduction of subtype B Ib.

**Subtype B Ib.** This is a return to something nearer B X both in detail and in weight. A sample of fourteen fine specimens was hardly enough to produce a mode, but the median pointed to 19·33 gr./1·253 gm., the mean was about the same and the deviation 0·5 gr. The later ones show a remarkable parallelism in minor details to later dies of B IA, which may attempt an improved weight. The earliest of subtype B Ib has the reverse of subtype B IA; the first of B IA after the apparent gap has a variety of the B Ib reverse. The conclusion is that B IA was interrupted and then restarted, running concurrently with subtype B Ib. *Plus ça change... we still have a florin and a half-crown!*

The characteristics are: obv. bust, ornamented with V's or with other devices, head of variable size (small at first, like B IA, then large and acro-megalous, finally close to B IA again); rev. serpent-circle, with head left or right, longer and looser bird on Greek cross (4·4·5 mm.); two annulets at first, then, after the second die had been re-cut, extra annulets or ex-quisite stars, finally and regularly two annulets, unevenly aligned about the upper quarters and two pellets below. Basic legend: obv. TAVMVANV(A); rev. VAMVANV(A). The ∞ is consistent.

Nine obverses, including the one that was re-cut, with up to four reverses apiece.

**Subtype B Ic.** This again appears to run concurrently with the two previous subtypes, but to begin a trifle later yet. Not enough examples to generalize about weight. The characteristics are as subtype A, but pearl diadem a single row and cross either Latin (2·5 by 3 mm.) or Greek (3·3·5 mm.). Legend as subtype B IA. The bird is getting loose and ungainly, but no more so than on late examples of the other subtypes.

Six obverses.

**Subtype B Id.** Transitional pieces: really late and coarse examples of subtype B IA, but some have reverses more proper to B Ib. On all except one the serpent head is missing on one or both sides making the pearl-circle continuous. The circle is large (8·9 mm.), the head generally fat and filling the field, the bird pot-bellied, the legend as on B IA.

Seven, rather various, obverses.

All the above show a general continuity of technique, though it undoubtedly grows less careful. The following are all more or less anomalous:
**Subtype B Ie.** An extraordinarily fine piece; may in fact be the earliest of subtype B IA, but is of low weight. The minute precision contrasts with the boldness of normal dies. The serpent consists of 'vertebrae', not dots; crosses as terminals to legend. Certainly early, but how early?

**Subtype B If.** Coarse dies, sharply executed, with spiky hair. Obverses with bust or head, but both reverses have an extra annulet before the bird, like Phase B II. These are probably late and almost qualify for subtype B ID.

**Subtype B Ig.** Very odd engraving. Bust with almond eyes and no pearls on diadem, cross in front; bird, like a gannet, on a Greek cross, with no annulets whatever in the field. Lettering neat but 'legend' quite abnormal.¹ One obverse with two reverses and a similar reverse with a different, ill-preserved, but equally strange, obverse. Fairly early—found in hoard I.

As far as is known, fresh coins of phase B I are found with type A only, never with type C (Runic). Clearly, this phase covers a considerable development, but the transition to phase B II appears to be uninterrupted.

**Phase B II.** A return to uniformity, with no recognized subtypes. The recorded weights vary, but nearly half are between 19·6 and 20·2 gr./1·27 and 1·31 gm. Possibly the standard actually rose and then fell, but the dies are not easy to set in order. The workmanship is uniform but getting a little sketchy. The characteristics are: head rather thin and pushed towards the left of the field, serpent-head left, no longer beneath chin but pushed up behind ear; bird somewhat pot-bellied; almost always one extra device only (annulet, cross, saltire, &c.) in front of bird, above the two annulets on the axis of the cross-bar. The descent is from subtype B IA. The legend except on the earliest, is reduced to AVAVAV... &c. Eleven obverse dies are known, but very few identities. Probably it was an intensive issue, and other dies remain to be found. Phase B II coins are found with type C (primary Runic) and Frisian imitations (R3) but no others, except worn survivors of type A.

**Phase B III.** This shows a catastrophic fall in style and weight. The high standard, maintained with slight variations throughout the previous phases, appears to be adjusted somewhat in the rare subtype B IIIA and to collapse completely in B IIIb. In the succeeding types, however, it recovers, at the so-called 'London' weight, but it does not seem that B IIIA represents the final attempt to rehabilitate the discredited type. A complete change of fabric suggests an interval of some years between Phase B II and the sad decline in B III. This is strongly supported by the hoard evidence, English and foreign.

**Subtype B IIIA.** Around 17·2 gr./1·13 gm. which is still a respectable weight, and there is an attempt at an inscription, but the technique is already abominable—three lines and a dot make the eye and nose and a few

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¹ The usual legends, however garbled, are in broad uncial letters—note particularly the m—, perhaps not unrelated to the contemporary Anglian uncial MSS.: the curious lettering of BIf reminds one of certain inscriptions from the Celtic fringe, e.g. the epitaph at Santon, Isle of Man.
bristles make the bird, which may face either way. Always some device—
cross, three pellets, or both—before the caricature of a face.
At least five, various, obverses.

**Subtype B IIIb.** Weights very unstable; some, e.g. those from hoard
VIII, are up to the 'London' standard of about 16 gr./1.04 gm., like *B.M.C.*
type 37; others are much lower. Like the secondary Runic, they seem to
have several stages in the decline, notably one around 14 gr./0.91 gm.
Schematic face as on subtype A—dots for lips, nose often huge. No device
before face. Inner circle, with no trace of serpent-head, up to 10.5 mm. in
diameter and usually double, leaving no room for an inscription. Bird
reduced to one spiral line and three dashes. Groups of pellets, most com-
monly three, in one or more angles of the cross.
At least eleven obverse dies, with up to three reverses a piece.

**Subtype B IIIc.** As subtype B IIIb, but the bird, reduced to three strokes,
resembles those on *B.M.C.* type 37. Two obverses, one incredibly bad;
pellets in the annulets on reverse.

For other types, associated in hoards with this poor skeleton of type B,
see the following section.

**Kentish Successors of Phase B III and beginning of 'London' Standard (Pl. III)**

Hoard VIII contained, besides B IIIb and R2z:
*B.M.C.* 37 (trident-cross between two facing heads/‘flower’ of four birds.
*B.M.C.* 32a (bust with knotted hair/beast-spiral), much more advanced-
looking.
*B.M.C.* 3a (bust with cross before/square pattern, i.e. bi-axially sym-
metrical standard), well-executed and distinctly heavier (around
19 gr./1.23 gm.)

Northumbrian royal sceattas are absent; this is hardly surprising—they are
essentially 'London-derived', and in any case cannot begin until after (prob-
ably some years after) 737.

Varieties typologically transitional between *B.M.C.* types 37 and 32a are
also unrecorded from this or any other hoard. There are several in this cate-
gory, all perhaps ephemeral rather than substantive—e.g. Hill type 72 (as
*B.M.C.* type 37, but with one or two birds only); *B.M.C.* type 36 (with the
same reverse, but a single obverse head, not far off B IIIb); and above all,
Hill type 70 (bird- or beast-spiral on reverse, close to *B.M.C.* 32a, but head
precisely as B IIIc—an absolute link is yet to be found). They must all belong
to the age of hoard VIII.

Less surprisingly, there is no hoard evidence for another queer and probably
alien child of type B, viz. *B.M.C.* type 29 (with facing head and forked
cross); it was not found at Woodbridge.¹

¹ The details of the Woodbridge finds quoted by Dr. Sutherland from the sale-catalogue
G. 1:8:1934, lot 44, do not quite agree with those from the Lawrence sale (G. 14:3: 1951, lot 193),
and the latter are preferable. In any case I consider that the finds are too diverse to constitute one
hoard.
The three types from hoard VIII need individual consideration: *B.M.C.* type 37 is relatively common. Its roots in type B are obvious, and distribution has been considered in that context. The trident-cross, in fact the dismembered arm of a Christogram, looks back to early Kentish thrymsas.\(^1\) The facing busts have Visigothic precedents—of Egica and Wittiza (697–700)\(^2\)—and conceivably may symbolize another dyarchy, since the Kentish throne was divided, as if by gavelkind, for some decades from 725. Furthermore, the type itself was copied on a *saiga* (RM = Rouen?), of nearly Carolingian fabric,\(^3\) towards the middle of the eighth century. *B.M.C.* 37, a backward-looking type in all but weight, evidently followed closely on B IIIb, not long after 725: other types in the same vital hoard point the way to more radical innovations.

*B.M.C.* type 32a is represented by one of the heaviest, and presumably earliest, of a long series with reminiscences of type B (bird or snake motifs) and, in some cases, with clear ‘London connexions’. The respective shares of London and Kent in their production await a detailed analysis beyond the scope of this paper, but all the initiative will not be found to lie in London. Knotted hair, arched ‘drapery’, and guilloche borders may prove to be Kentish signs in a ‘London-connected’ series. Find-spots confirm this.\(^4\)

*B.M.C.* type 3a is even heavier (some exceed 19 gr. /1.23 gm.). The smooth, rounded fabric, suggesting the use of a drill, looks near to that of the signed ‘Lundonia’ coins (*B.M.C.* type 12), and I would tentatively suggest that *B.M.C.* 3a may be a London product, immediately preceding them and only distantly related to earlier ‘standard’ types.

Both *B.M.C.* 37 and *B.M.C.* 12, with its near relatives (i.e. the most closely ‘London-connected’), tend to group around 16 gr. /1.04 gm. and *B.M.C.* 37 seems to be the earlier. If so the ‘London weight’ begins in Kent, as do some elements in the designs that go with it, but not the style of die-cutting. It is not, however, absolutely certain that *B.M.C.* 3a is English at all.

Two foreign hoards, Cimiez and Hallum, also lie on this critical watershed in the sceatta series and confirm the picture established by Garton. They are, however, fractionally later. The probable dates of 737 (with a little time for coin-drift from England) and 734 (or soon after) will be discussed below, but the internal evidence is more germane: besides *B.M.C.* 3a (both hoards—it is also known from Étaples\(^5\)), *B.M.C.* 37 (Cimiez, not fresh) and subtype B IIIb (Hallum), they contain true ‘London-connected’ coins. That three out of four of these are imitations only lessens the danger of too late a dating. The

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\(^1\) Compare *A.S.G.C.*, tremisses of types I, ii and IV, i, ii, iii.


\(^3\) Engel and Serrure, *T.N.M.A.*, p. 176, fig. 311. A rough thing, put among the Anglo-Saxons, but certainly incorrectly. For RM denarii, see *D.G.M.M.*, nos. 3786–93. Haigh noticed this in *N.C.* ii (1869), pp. 171 ff., and by queer reasoning reached a somewhat similar conclusion.

\(^4\) B.M.C. 32a has the same coastwise distribution Whitby–Thames–Southampton. There is one in Canterbury Museum (no. 8083), from near Stourmouth church, Kent, found c. 1880. The derived *B.M.C.* type 38 is only recorded from Kent—*Rich.* ii, p. 227; *R.R.L.*, pl. vii, no. 4.

\(^5\) *C.A.* iv, p. 16.
The dividing line in the sceatta coinage must be sought not far from 730, and for its most noteworthy manifestation, the LVNDONIA legend, there is some oblique evidence from documentary sources.

In an early Anglo-Saxon context a coinage that proclaims its mint is usually an exceptional one. In 731, when Bede completed his history, London, as far as he knew, was still an East Saxon city, though not without interest to the Mercian king. In 732 Æthelbald was confirming particular liberties at the port of London, as enjoyed under his predecessors unnamed. Two similarly worded charters to this effect are known—to the convents of St. Andrew of Rochester and of St. Mildred of Thanet. It would appear that Æthelbald, though in the seventeenth year of his reign, was then first in a position to issue them. In other words, he had just taken absolute lordship over London as Mercia’s outlet to the world. May not ‘De Lundonia’, without mention of a moneyer, advertise this as surely as Egbert’s similarly worded pieces? It makes no difference if the London coinage had in fact begun a year or two earlier with B.M.C. type 3a.

**The Continental Hoard Evidence**

Whereas the English hoards are small and valuable chiefly for the relative chronology of the English issues alone, several large hoards with a small English content, from Gaul and Frisia, provide a relative chronology with many more series to check from, and, in some cases, can be plausibly set in an absolute historical context. Two of these, Cimiez and Hallum, have already been quoted in connexion with the lower limit of primary sceattas.

**A: Pale gold (probably ‘debasement’) hoards:**

1. Bordeaux (1803). The gold content is more noticeable in the southern coins and that in spite of the facts that the dateable coins of Marseilles are already pale under Sigebert II (d. 656) and that the Frankish coins from Crondall, which are of quite good metal, are mostly northern and eastern. This suggests that the hoard should be placed after Crondall. It has an absolute terminus post quem in that the fairly numerous Visigothic coins end with fresh ones of Wamba (672–80): whether or not le Gentilhomme’s date of 675–7 can be sustained, it can hardly tolerate a date much after 680. *Crux ansata* coins of Paris and monogram coins of Rodez are very akin to examples from Crondall, but the Rouen pieces seem closely behind thrymsas of type II, vi, and an unplaced, but probably Aquitanian, coin seems to copy the ‘two emperors’ reverse of II, v. Whichever copies which, they are close enough to suggest contemporaneity—that II, v and its English contemporaries flourished c. 680, and that Crondall fell in the preceding decade.

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1 In his final summing-up of the state of the country (HE, V, xxiv) Bede calls Ingwald bishop of London or of the East Saxons indifferently. Under Wulfhere, in the 660s (may this not be the date of the Londonia coins in Crondall?) Mercians took both the civil and ecclesiastical administration of London over (HE, II, xxx), but there is no implication that this continued after the re-establishment of the see under Earecnwald (of the Kentish royal house?), c. 675. For Wulfhere, successor of Earecnwald, and the ealdorman of Middlesex acting under the East Saxon king but consulting the interests of the Mercian, see Birch, C.S., nos. 111, 115.

2 Textus Roffensis, ed. Hearne, p. 66; Birch, C.S., nos. 149, 150.

3 Le Gentilhomme in R.N. (1936), pp. 87–113. For Rouen coins see esp. no. 9 (Ennebert).

4 Ibid., no. 138, pl. ii, 40 (Baudulf).
2. Dronrijp I and II (1876), Friesland,¹ contains the Rodez type,² also in Crondall and Bordeaux, and several but rather more degraded examples of a Frisian type found at Crondall.³ The date generally given (not before c. 690) is argued in isolation; I feel it is too late⁴ and would again suggest c. 680.

Though not strictly a hoard, the Sigebert/Eligius (before 656) found with an early Pada at Finglesham may be considered in this context; the grave-goods suggest the previous generation to that of sceatta-types A and BI, on grounds of general content, and Mrs. Hawkes hesitates to place this second generation later than c. 700. A date for post-Crondall coinage in the late 670's and 680's will alone satisfy all these conditions. If the hoards leave the lower limit for gold still open, it cannot be supposed that, with all this international movement of coin, England could long resist a change to silver by the Northern Franks. Not only are there dateable saigas by c. 700,⁵ but internal evidence tends to show that the change in Kent had taken place by the same date.

B: Predominantly silver hoards:

Four decisive French hoards are most accessible in M. Le Gentilhomme’s excellent summary.⁶ He assigns them all, and rightly, to the early eighth century, but there is an appreciable lapse of time between each of them, as evinced by the progression in the coins of Rouen and Poitiers which they all contain. This is sufficient for M. Lafaurie to have suggested to me a date c. 690 for the earliest of them, but on the English evidence alone this cannot be sustained: a longer interval is absolutely demanded between the beginning of these hoards and the post-Crondall coinage, or, in French terms, the Bordeaux hoard (i.e. c. 680). On the other hand, the intervals between the hoard must not be underestimated; the two earliest may be relatively close, but the interval between these and the last one is very noticeable and confirms the impression, gained from English material, that there was a considerable gap between phases B II and B III. The English content (excluding ‘porcupines’, which are assumed to be foreign unless proved otherwise) of these hoards, in chronological order, is:

3. St. Pierre-des-Étieux, Cher (1882),⁷ including one pale tremissis: Primary Runic coins (R1a);⁸ type B II;⁹ also, Frisian Runic (R3).

¹ J. Dirks, De Vrije Fries, xvii (1887), pp. 145 ff.; J. Boeles, Catalogue of . . . Fries Museum (1909), p. 70; Friesland tot de Xlde Eeuw, pp. 309–11 and 591; part of the hoard was first published in this work, tables of contents, ibid., pp. 515 ff.
² D.G.M.M., nos. 3887–3946, a prolific issue with little variation, most being pale gold. Compare Sutherland, A.S.G.C., no. 2, pl. v, x; and Boeles, Friesland tot de Xlde Eeuw, pl. xi, 13.
³ Sutherland, op. cit., no. 20, pl. v, x; Boeles, op. cit., pl. xi, 11.
⁴ The argument depends on the view of Hooft v. Iddekinge (Friesland en de Frieten in de Middeleeuwen) that the Madelinus coins of Duurstede (of which there were two in Dronrijp II) could not begin before the occupation by Pippin of Herstil in 689. But why? See Boeles, as above.
⁵ Herr P. Berghaus evidently has doubts on the same score: see Die Kunde (Niedersächs. Landesverein für Urgesch.), xii (1961), p. 58.
⁶ e.g. the still heavy saiga assigned to Chaine, Abbot of St. Denis, 696–706 (D.G.M.M., no. 1486).
⁸ D.G.M.M., no. 5823; ‘CSGM’, fig. 4.
⁹ Probably two specimens, since the reported legends do not agree; see Appendix E.
4. Plassac, Gironde (1839): a clipped, transitional, type B I'd also Frisian Runic (R3) and its combinations.

5. Bais, Ille-et-Vilaine (1904): types A2, B Ic (late) and B II, all worn; Frisian Runic in plenty, also the Bourges type that may inspire R2y (cross-ending in annulets).

6. Rouen (or environs): a small hoard, containing II vi (VAN IMVND), but generally later and lighter material, close to that of Bais.

7. Cimiez, Alpes Maritimes (1851): contains other pieces, as far back as Pada, but the significant terminal date, as already mentioned, is set by B.M.C. type 37 and the two ‘London-connected’ coins.

Of the Frisian hoards only one has a truly English content:

8. Hallum (1866): already mentioned for its parallels with Cimiez and Driffield.

Of the other Frisian hoards, Franeker (1868), Terwispel (1863), Kloster Barte and Lutje Saaksum, are surely not, as Mr. Hill suggests, from different regions of circulation but simply rather later than Hallum—the ‘porcupine’ and ‘Woden’ coins are that much more ‘degraded’. I mention this because the crises that caused their abandonment must be later than Hallum, which must be put correspondingly farther back from the final invasion of Carolingian money and men.

The context of all these hoards is the tempestuous genesis of the Carolingian empire, the mayoralty of Charles Martel, perhaps the summa pericula rerum of western Christendom. When he came to full power in 719 the Saracens were establishing bases in Septimania, north of the Pyrenees, from which they straightway raided deeper into Gaul, the Lombards were profiting from the Muslim successes in East and West to expand in all directions, and the Frisians were growing bolder and supporting Charles’s rivals in Gaul. With an energy as astonishing as his grandson’s the mayor hammered them in turn. In 732 the Saracens were finally hurled back from Poitiers. Plassac may be a waif from one of the earlier raids, c. 720. In 734 the Frisians, driven out of Gaul, were attacked by sea; this suits Hallum, the earliest and most coastal of the hoards, well enough. Cimiez was sacked in the course of the Lombard wars, in 737. I see no reason to question this long familiar dating. In any case we are too near the first tentative towards Carolingian types for these dates to be appreciably too early. St.-Pierre-des-Etieux, then, would seem to come in the second decade of the century, and even that will seem to some surprisingly late.

It is noteworthy also that the Dutch finds become much more numerous in this phase of Primary Runic and type B II. This same second decade, or
thereabouts, in spite of the troubles which drove Willibrord from his see at Utrecht, was marked by an increased intercourse with England and by that close imitation of coinage which would betoken an assimilation of culture. Frisia, hitherto a barbarian mission-field, was entering a brief period of identity with the Anglian world, before passing into the Frankish orbit.

Summary of the Numismatic Evidence

We are thus left with two securely dated phases, which seem to me incapable of adjustment by more than a decade:

(a) The post-Crondall pale gold coinage in the 680's, if not also the 670's.
(b) An advanced stage in Phase RI, in which Frisian imitations are already familiar and which corresponds to a comparable stage in Phase BII, in the 710's.

Between these we have to fit:

(a) The final debasement of Pada's and other post-Crondall issues.
(b) The sweeping away of these, good and bad.
(c) The whole varied and experimental period of type A and all aspects of type B I, with their changes of standard and prolific output.
(d) The beginning of the Runic coinage and of B II.

It is a tight, but not impossibly tight, programme. The interval is one of economic decline and then of remarkable recovery, and between these is a moment of devastating impoverishment. Anyone can divide the interval into aliquot fractions and allocate rough dates to these events, but fortunately the known history of the kingdom of Kent provides an exact correspondence with this purely numismatic evidence and allows a more specific dating for the stages in what could well be called the 'Kentish miracle'.

Vicissitudes of the Kingdom of Kent in the Late Seventh and Early Eighth Centuries

The events are best summarized, with a numismatic commentary, stage by stage.

673–85. Reign of the Frankish-named and francising King Hlothere, apparently in peace after a Mercian ravaging in 676.¹ This is probably the age of the various and once plentiful post-Crondall thrymsas, including the earlier issues of Pada. Hlothere was used to money; one of his acts was the redemption of a prisoner from Friesland, after a release considered miraculous.²

685. Hlothere dies of wounds received in a rebellion of his nephew, Eadric, who calls in the still pagan South Saxons. Eadric seizes the throne but is displaced next year by a West-Saxon claimant, Mul, supported by the turbulent Caedwalla of Wessex; these lay the land waste and give some of the spoils to religious houses.³ In 687 Mul is treacherously killed but is followed by at least three other adventurers from other kingdoms who

¹ In the 'Parker' text (A) of A.S.C. only.
² Bede H.E. IV, xxii.
³ A.S.C. sub anno; the Peterborough text (E) records the tradition about one religious endowment.
behave in the same way. These circumstances are not favourable to coinage, but perhaps the rapidly declining later efforts of Pada and type II, vi (Vanimund) should be put here.

691. Wihtred, a brother of Eadric, expels the invaders and three years later risks his hard-won popularity by an act of faith and statesmanship, which alone would place him among the best and greatest of the heptarchic kings. He agrees with the like-minded Ine, who has recently succeeded Cadw alla, to lay down arms and pay a massive wergild for Muil, and thus buys Ine's friendship for life (and both fortunately lived long), a balance of power in the south which halted any Mercian advance for forty years, and a reign of peace for his kingdom unparalleled throughout the Saxon age.

This sum, variously recorded as 'thirty thousand ... ', must have entailed (to use a later term) a heavy 'aid' on his exhausted subjects. Here surely is the final disappearance of the old thrymsa coinage and the occasion for the new. Both types A and B begin shortly after 694.

695. Council of Berghamstede. This is notable not only as a measure towards recovery and good government, but as the first of its kind that we hear of, the prototype of all Great Councils and Parliaments (as that of Bapchild was of church councils). In the code here enacted sceattas are first mentioned by name, since the earlier laws are but rehearsed as a preamble to Wihtred's and perhaps recast in the language of his day.

Whether or not the 'mildest' king had any direct initiative in it, the conditions for the excellent new coinage are already there to testify to the swift recompense of peace.

725. Obitus Wihtredi gloriosi regis Cantiae. If not quite a golden age, this silver age of Kent was still something to conjure with in later centuries, and its coinage is a monument to it. The multiplicity and the lowered standards that accompany phase B III typify the relative confusion that followed.

Summing-up

The 'sceatta-problem' is simpler than generally realized: in the primary phase, which covers the first quarter of the eighth century and just, but only

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1 Dubii uel externi reges: Oswine (from Northumbria?), Sihere, Withheard and Sebb (?), from Essex. Thorne's chronicle records endowments of St. Augustine's ascribed to these.
2 Bede, H.E. IV, xxvi, gives no accession date, but A.S.C. says he reigned thirty-four years. Berhtwald was appointed archbishop in 692, after a vacancy of two years. Whitred originally had a colleague, Withheard; or was this his rival Withheard, still in the field?
3 The manuscript tradition varies: the better ones give no denomination, but several eleventh-century manuscripts read 'pounds'. See Chadwick, op. cit., pp. 17 ff., but D. Haigh in A.C. (1876), pp. 29 ff., is still interesting. Pace Chadwick, I do not think that a silver shilling, be it four, five, or six sceattas, is intended at this relatively early date. Assuming that the sum was in fact 30,000 sceattas, or base thrymsas, and that even the latter could be reckoned at forty to a gold shilling, we have 1,500 shillings. This could have been an agreed sum, rather a king's wergild according to the customs of either kingdom, but note that in Textus Roffensis, 'by folk-law among the English' (repeated in an eleventh-century compilation in English Historical Documents, i, ed. White- lock, no. 52, p. 431, as that of the 'Northleod') a king's wergild is in fact '30,000 thrymsas'.
4 Probably Bearsted, but possibly Bursted in Bishopsbourne. See English Historical Documents, no. 31, pp. 362-4.
5 Ibid., nos. 29, 30; pp. 357-61.
6 Thus, the highly selective bilingual Canterbury chronicle. For an important and apparently contemporary charter of Whitred, see A.C. xv (1947), pp. 1 ff.
just, extends into the seventh, the major varieties are few, easily systematized and entirely Kentish. Whatever complications arise in the succeeding phase the pattern of issue and the distribution of finds are like those of the first century of 'broad' pennies: Kent still predominates; East Anglia is rough in execution, if steady in output; London and Wessex issue only sporadically; Northumbria is a latecomer and Mercia proper is blank.

The 'primary sceattas' themselves are the coinage of the reign of Wihtred.

ABBREVIATIONS

A.C. Archaeologia Cantiana (Kent Archaeological Soc.).
AFB Collection of A. H. F. Baldwin, Esq.
AM Ashmolean Museum, Oxford.
A.R. J. Battely, Antiquitates Rutupiae (1711, 1745 (Ed. used), 1774).
Arch. Archaeologia (Soc. of Antiquaries of London).
BM British Museum.
BM, B British Museum, Barnett Bequest (1935).
B.M.Q. British Museum Quarterly.
BN Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris (Cabinet des Médailles).
C.A. C. Roach Smith, Collectanea Antiqua (1848, ff.).
CEB Collection of C. E. Blunt, Esq.
CRS. C. Roach Smith and his collection (see C.M.L.A.).
C.S. W. de G. Birch, Cartularium Saxonum (1885-93).
D.G.M.M. A. de Belfort, Description générale des monnaies mérovingiennes (1897-5).
EANEK Sonia E. Chadwick (Hawkes), 'Early Anglo-Saxon sites in N.E. Kent', appendix to account of Finglesham cemetery in Medieval Archaeology, ii (1958), p. 63.
FEJ Collection of F. Elmore Jones, Esq.
G+date Sale at Messrs. Glendining and Co.
Gran Former collection of Lord Grantley.
Hag Koninklijk Kabinet van Munten, Penningen, &c., The Hague.
HAP Former collection of H. A. Parsons.
HM Former collection of H. Montagu.
J.B.C.H. J. D. A. Thompson, Inventory of British Coin Hoards, 600-1500 (1956).
Note on Plates

(i) The first specimen (a) of each pair of dies is figured, unless otherwise described.
(ii) The die-numbers are as in the tables, but the initial letter is omitted after the first specimen in each row where the coins follow in series.
(iii) Sources are given, where known, in abbreviated form: for full details see the relevant appendix.
APPENDIX A

THE COINAGE OF PADA

Pale gold issues c. 680?, silver issues c. 685?

Type PI

All pale gold (PI B 2 not examined). Obv. helmeted bust r., legend always ΚΩΛΩΛΝΩ. Rev. legends read clockwise from 'fantail'.

PI A

1. Plump head
   (i) 'pada' on standard, cross-terminals annulets ΤΤ\(\Lambda\)Τ - -
   (a) 20/3/1:32 B.M.C. Peada 1.
   (a) — I —† c/o Mrs. S. Hawkes, from Finglesham cern.

2. Smaller head
   (i) 'pada' on standard, upside down, no cross (?) ΤΤ\(\Lambda\)Τ - - Β

PI B

1. Broad head
   (i) m 'pada' ΤΤΔΕΜ, ΤΩΤ level
   (a) 19/0/1:23 AM, ex HM (S.19.11.95, lot 173).

2. Upright head
   (i) m 'pada' ΤΤΔΕΜ, ΤΩΤ nearly level, pellet in Ο
   (a) 19/5/1:26, —, ex LAL (G. 14.3.51, lot 197).

3. Smaller, upright head
   (i) m 'pada' ΤΤΔΕΜ, ΤΩΤ level, o small
   (a) 18/4/1:19, BN, from Cimiez, CSGM, no. 1, A.S.G.C., no. 83.

4. Rounder head, legends less regular
   (i) m 'pada' ΤΤΔΕΜ, Ο of ΤΩΤ in centre of standard
   (a) 17/5/1:13 B.M.C. Peada 2.

Type PII

PIIA 1 and 2 pale gold, the rest silver. Obv. laureate bust r., legend to r. only—'ΤΗΣΣ Π (PI A), or ΤΝΣ (PII B) Rev. legends read clockwise from 'fantail' which is to l. when 'pada' is read horizontally (PIIA), or from apex of cross (PII B, on which Pada is not named).

PIIA

1. Fine engraving, drapery in arc
   (i) ΜΖΩΤΩΤΤΑΤΜ
   (a) 19/7/1:28 F.Syll. no. 219.

2. Less fine, drapery in arc
   (i) ΜΖΩΤ - - ΑΤΜ
   (a) 17/0/1:10 BM. A 13, ex HM (S. 19.11.95, lot 172).

3. Coarse work, drapery flatter
   (i) ΜΖΩΤΩΤΑ - -
   (a) 18/7/1:21, —, ex RCL (G. 16.6.55, lot 275) and Gran (lot 747).

4. Still coarser, drapery bent
   (i) ΜΖΩΤΩΤΑΤΜ
   (a) 19/2/1:24, RPM, ex HAP (lot 104).

5. Coarser yet, drapery bent
   (i) ΜΖ - - - ΑΤΜ
   (a) 19/3/1:25 BM. from Cimiez, CSGM, no. 2.

PIIB

1. Large head, but quite fine
   (i) - - ΑΤΩΤ - -
   (a) 16/7/1:08† c/o Miss V. I. Evison, from Dover cern.

2. Similar but coarser
   (i) ΜΝΩΝΟΩΙΩΤΜ
   (a) 18/5/1:20 BM. R.H.R., pl. xiv, no. 12 (as Merovingian).

* Coin worn or reduced.
† Coin mounted.

(cont. on p. 32)
**APPENDIX A (continued)**

*Type P III*  
P III 1 and 2 pale gold, the rest silver. *Obv.* diademed bust r.

P III  
1. Bust with 2 annulets, **IIICATI VNDV**  
   (i) short saltire, **NOVII 'pada' ANVSPFDV**

2. Bust with 2 pellets, **CNDV VNDV**  
   (i) long saltire, **NOI 'pada' ANVSPFDV**

3. Squat bust, **CIIIV VNDV**  
   (i) detached annulets, II 'pada' **AVIIIVS**

4. 'Visigothic' bust, with 2 pellets, **CIV - VNDV**  
   (i) detached annulets, O 'pada' **AVIIIVS**

5. As 4, but more prognathous, **CIV AVNDV**  
   (i) short saltire, 'pada' **AVIIAVNS**

6. 'Visigothic' bust with cross, **QII - AVNDV**  
   (i) light saltire, 'pada' **VIIVAV**

7. As 6, but narrower bust, **CIIIO AVNDV**  
   (i) detached annulets, 'pada' **AVOAV**

* Coin worn or reduced.  
† Coin mounted.
APPENDIX B

THE COINAGE OF VANIMUND (AUNIMUND?)

Type II, vi (in sequence to Sutherland), or 55 (Hill, in sequence to B.M.C.). Has every appearance of another ultimate Kentish thrymsa coinage, parallel with Pada's, in spite of the number of coins (? a French hoard) from PdA and ultimately from Siward de Beaulieu.

**Type VA**  
Rev. long cross with pellets and ΟΛ, all pale gold.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Numeral</th>
<th>Description</th>
<th>Date and Details</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

**Type VB**  
Rev. short expanding or paty cross; generally described as silver, but VBI, 2, 3, at least, have a visible gold content.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Numeral</th>
<th>Description</th>
<th>Date and Details</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>(rev.) +ΤΜΥΛΟΝΥΛΟΝΥΕ (obv.) ΟΤΛΛΗIVS</td>
<td>-/-, -, PdA and Beaulieu, D.G.M.M., no. 3302.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>(rev.) - - - ΝΥΛΟΝΥΕ (obv.) - - - ΥΙΟ ANNULET BEFORE FACE</td>
<td>13-4/0-87, H.Syll. no. 77. N.C. xiii (1953), vii, 1.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>(rev.) +ΤΜΥΛΟΝΗΜΕ (obv.) ΟΥΛΟΛΥΟ</td>
<td>18-5/1-20, -, PdA and Beaulieu, D.G.M.M., no. 3303.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>(rev.) ΜΙΛΟΝΟΜΙΛΟΝ (obv.) ΟΤΝ - ΑΝΟ (sic)</td>
<td>16-2/1-05, -, PdA and Beaulieu, D.G.M.M., no. 3305.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* Coin worn or reduced.
APPENDIX C

TYPE A (B.M.C. 2a) c. 695–705?

List of obverse dies only (with references, where possible, to published corpora of public collections); order within subtypes not determined. General descriptions in text.

* Coin worn or reduced.

A 1. 1 (a) 19·0/1·23, AFB.

A 2. 1 (a) 19·5/1·26, B.M.C. 17; (b) 18·3/1·18, MM, Hd. II, 1. 2 (a) 19·9/1·29, AM; (b) 19·5/1·26, AM (Barnett dup.). 3 (a) 19·6/1·27, H.Syll. 3; (b) 19·5/1·26, AFB. 4 (linked annulets): (a) 20·0/1·30, B.M.C. 15; (b) 19·2/1·24, B.M.C. 16; (c) 19·8/1·28, H.Syll. 2; (d) 20·0/1·30, F.Syll. 223; (e) 19·5/1·26, BM—B, 216; (f) 19·6/1·27, AM (Barnett dup.). 5 (linked annulets): (a) 19·5/1·26, Hd. I. 6 (a) 19·9·1/1·28, F.Syll. 227. 7 (b) 16·9/1·00*, F.Syll. 227. 8 (a) 20·2/1·31, H.Syll. 6; (b) 20·0/1·30, Hd. I, 2. 9 (a) 18·3/1·18, AM. 10 (a) 19·5/1·26, F.Syll. 224. 10 (a) 19·9·1/1·29, F.Syll. 224. 12 (a) 17·7/1·14*, F.Syll. 225. 13 (a) —/—; ex RCL, lot 209, 1. 14 (a) 19·9/1·29, B.M.C. 19; (b) 19·8/1·28, B.M.C. 20; (c) 19·0/1·23, BM—B, 217. 15 (a) 20·2/1·31, B.M.C. 18. 16 (a) 19·5/1·26, B.M.C. 13. 17 (a) 19·5/1·26, B.M.C. 14. 18 (a) 20·0/1·30, B.M.C. 11. 19 (a) 19·5/1·26 F.Syll. 229. 20 (a) 19·8/1·28, H.Syll. 1. 21 (pendant pearls, looks transitional): (a) 19·4/1·26, B.M.C. 10; (b) 19·0/1·23, BMC 22; (c) 19·0/1·23, BM—B 218; (d) 19·3/1·25, H.Syll. 4; (e) 15·6/1·01*, F.Syll. 230. 22 (a) 19·0/1·23, ex Grantley, lot 702.

A 3. 1 (transitional?): (a) 19·5/1·26, F.Syll. 221; (b) 19·0/1·23, RPM. 2 (a) 17·0/1·10, B.M.C. 21; (b) 17·6/1·14, AM. 3 (a) 19·8/1·28, BM, ex Brookes; (b) 17·6/1·14, AFB. 4 (a) 17·2/1·11, AFB. 5 (a) 19·5/1·26, B.M.C. 12; (b) 18·3/1·18, AFB; (c) 16·9/1·10*, F.Syll. 226. 6 (a) 19·0/1·23, Hd. I, 3. 7 (a) 17·6/1·14, MM, Hd. II, 2. 8 (a) 18·8/1·22, MM, Hd. I, 3. 9 (a) 16·8/1·09, MM, Hd. II, 4. 10 (a) 18·4/1·19, MM, Hd. II, 5. 11 (a) 17·4/1·13, MM, Hd. II, 6. 12 (a) 19·0/1·235, AM; (b) 18·9/1·23, MM, Hd. II, 7. 13 (a) 5·9/0·38*, Hag. 14 (a) 18·1/1·17, SoS, Hd. VI, 1. 15 (somewhat barbarous): (a) 14·8/0·96, AM, from Compton, Staffs. 16 (akin to 9, 12) (a) 19·3/1·25, BN, CSGM no. 5, from Cimiez. 17 (a) 17·9/1·16, ON, CSGM no. 6, worn, from Bais.

A 4. 1 (barbarous, but style unlike R1; rev. has crosses on all four sides of standard, like R1 (b); (a) 18·9/1·22. AFB. 2 (very barbarous): (a) 18·9/1·22, BM, from Richborough, Rich. II, p. 227.

APPENDIX D

RUNIC COINS

Pending a study of dies, it must suffice to give, as typical examples, a selection only, from known finds and from the published corpora of public collections. The BM collection is ill-balanced, and the much more representative AM collection has not yet been syllogized.

R1 (type C): Hoard VI, no. 4, 18·2/1·18 (a); ibid. 5, 16·97/1·098 (a); ibid. 6, (c. 705–15 ?) 18·46/1·196 (a); ibid. 7, 18·53/1·202 (b); ibid. 8, 18·37/1·19 (b); Hoard VII, 2, 15·9/1·03 (b); B.M.C., no. 43, 19·7/1·28 (a); ibid. 45,
THE TWO PRIMARY SERIES OF SCEATTAS

15-9/1-03 (b); ibid. 46, 8-6/1-21 (b); BM, B 293, 20-2/1-31 (b); 
H. Syll., no. 9, 17-0/1-10 (b).

R1x: B.M.C. no. 36, 18-2/1-18; ibid. 37, 18-3/1-19; ibid. 38, 15-3/1-00; 
ibid. 39, 17-7/1-15; ibid. 40, 18-8/1-22; H. Syll., 10, 18-4/1-19; ibid. 
11, 17-3/1-12.

R1y: B.M.C., no. 44, 18-0/1-17; ibid. 48, 17-8/1-16, legible reverse; ibid. 
49, 18-6/1-21; all illustrated in B.M.C.

R1z: H. Syll., no, 12, 16-2/1-05; F. Syll. 233, 19-6/1-27; ibid. 232, 18-0/ 
1-17—a marginal example, approaching R1y—this classification is 
not exhaustive.

R2: Early, near R1z: B.M.C., no. 33, 13-5/0-87; ibid. 34, 15-2/0-98; 

inc. R2z, 
Normal, ‘epa,” &c.: Hoard IX, no. 4, 13-5/0-87; ibid. 5, 13-25/
c. 725—Normal coins 
0-85; ibid. 6, 15-7/1-02; H. Syll. 16, 15-1/0-98; B.M.C. no. 25, 10-2/
c. 735 and 
0-66; ibid. 27, 13-5/0-87; ibid. 29, 10-5/0-68; ibid. 30, 11-5/0-75; ibid. 
32, 9-7/0-63; ibid. 35, 10-1/0-65.

Normal, ‘wiged’, &c.: Hoard IX, no. 8, 14-5/0-94; ibid. 9 12-5/ 
0-81; H. Syll., no. 17, 13-7/0-89; F. Syll., 235, 12-9/0-84; ibid. 236, 

Normal, ‘spi’; Hoard IX, 7, 17-0/1-10; from Caister, no. 138, 
13-0/0-84.

‘Bearded head’: (e.g. AFB, 11-5/0-75).


R2z: H. Syll., no. 15, 16-5/1-07; Hoard VIII, no. 6, 16-5/1-07. BM (A. 7), 
14-4/0-936. The Burgh Castle example (N.A. v, p. 233) was normal, 
but with standard superimposed on cross ending in annulets. From 
the same site, R2z, var. b, 15-7/1-02, BM ex RCL.

R3: Hoard VII, no. 3, 18-0/1-17; from Caister, no. 680; F. Syll. no. 231, 
from Reculver, 19-3/1-25; from Kingston Down Cemetery, 17-1/
1-11; B.M.C., no. 28, 12-1/0-78; BM B219, 13-4/0-87; BN, CSGM, 
os. 7-23, from Cimiez, Plassac, and, above all, Bais, more than two-
thirds weigh between 18-1/1-17 and 20-4/1-32 (mean: 19-2/1-24), but 
one is as low as 12-7/0-82; 66 examples, ‘good to barbarous’ at The 
Hague, as against only three of other Runic types.
### APPENDIX

#### TYPE I

Dimensions in millimetres; legends read from right to left.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Obv. die</th>
<th>h-head, or b-bust (design on bust in brackets)</th>
<th>Symbols in field</th>
<th>Diam. of circle</th>
<th>Jaw of serpent</th>
<th>Legend</th>
<th>Rev. die</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>B X, 1</td>
<td>b. (annulet)</td>
<td></td>
<td>6½</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B X, 2</td>
<td>b. (???)</td>
<td>Annulet r.</td>
<td>7</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B X, 3</td>
<td>b.</td>
<td>+ r., An. r.</td>
<td>8½</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[? might be B II]</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B X, 4</td>
<td>h.</td>
<td>2 pellets r.</td>
<td>9</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

#### PHASE B I (c. 695–705)

**Subtype B IA:**

| B IA, 1  | h. round                                        | 7½               | i.              | yOTAVMVAHVAlTO |       |
| B IA, 2  | h. smaller                                      | 7                | i.              | yOTAVMVAHVAlTO |       |
| B IA, 3  | h. similar                                      | 7½               | i.              | yOTAVMVAHVAlTO |       |
| B IA, 4  | h. similar                                      | 7½               | i.              | yOTAVMVAHVAlTO |       |
| B IA, 5  | h. larger                                       | 8½               | i.              | - - - - - HMOVAlH - - - - - |       |
| B IA, 6  | h. broader                                      | 8½               | i.              | yOTAVHO+OHVAToo |       |
| B IA, 7  | h. similar                                      | 8                | i.              | - - - - - AVMH - - - - - |       |
| [? short interval for introduction of B Ia] |         |                  |                |              |         |          |
| B IA, 8  | h. as B IA, 5                                   | 8½               | i.              | - - - - - LHVAToo |       |
| B IA, 9  | h. dotted                                       | 9                | i.              | yTA - - - - - AViOo |       |
| [cf. B Ia 9, B Ic, 2] |                   |                  |                |              |         |          |
| B IA, 10 | h. similar, large eye                           | 9                | i.              | yOTAV+MVAlH - - - |       |

[near B Ic]

| B IA, 11 | h.                                              | 8½               | i.              | - - - - - IIiO |       |

* Coin worn or reduced.
### The Two Primary Series of Sceattas

**E**

*(B.M.C. 26–27)*

clockwise from serpent’s jaw or from bust

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Size of cross</th>
<th>Ditto of symbols in field</th>
<th>Jaw of serpent</th>
<th>Legend</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>3 x 3, st.</td>
<td>pellets 3, 9</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4 x 3, st.</td>
<td>pellets 3, 4, 7, 9</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4 x 3½ steps</td>
<td>r.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(a) 20·0 / 1·30, *B.M.C.* 123.
(b) 19·0 / 1·23, *B.M.C.* 129.
(c) 19·0 / 1·23, *B.M.C.* 127;
(b) 19·5 / 1·26, *H.Syll.* 67.
(d) 19·0 / 1·23, *B.M.C.* 251.
(e) 18·8 / 1·22, *H.Syll.* 69.
(f) 18·8 / 1·09, *B.M.C.* 252.
(g) 18·8 / 1·22, *B.M.C.* 131.
(h) 18·0 / 1·17, *B.M.C.* 134;
(i) 19·5 / 1·26, *FEJ* 30;
(j) 17·8 / 1·15, JRP.
(k) 17·8 / 1·23, AM, Barnett dup.
(l) 18·8 / 1·22, *B.M.C.* 130.
(m) 18·8 / 1·22, *B.M.C.* 128.
(n) 18·5 / 1·20, *B.M.C.* 80;
(o) 18·3 / 1·20, *CEB*.
(p) 18·3 / 1·18, AM.
(q) 18·3 / 1·17, *B.M.C.* 136.
(r) 18·5 / 1·20, *B.M.C.* 128.
(s) 18·5 / 1·20, *B.M.C.* 252.
(t) 17·8 / 1·15, JRP.
(u) 17·8 / 1·20, *B.M.C.* 252.
(v) 17·8 / 1·20, *B.M.C.* 130.
(w) 17·8 / 1·20, *B.M.C.* 128.
(x) 17·8 / 1·20, *B.M.C.* 130.
(y) 17·8 / 1·20, *B.M.C.* 128.
(z) 17·8 / 1·20, *B.M.C.* 130.

---

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Size of cross</th>
<th>Ditto of symbols in field</th>
<th>Jaw of serpent</th>
<th>Legend</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2½ x 4</td>
<td>8 dots in 2nd q.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 x 4</td>
<td>7 dots in 2nd q.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 x 3½</td>
<td>6 dots in 3 quarters</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(a) 18·7 / 1·21, *B.M.C.* 132.
(b) 19·0 / 1·23, *B.M.C.* 129.
(c) 19·0 / 1·23, *B.M.C.* 127;
(d) 17·8 / 1·22, *H.Syll.* 69.
(e) 19·0 / 1·23, *B.M.C.* 251.
(f) 18·8 / 1·09, *B.M.C.* 252.
(g) 18·8 / 1·22, *B.M.C.* 131.
(h) 18·0 / 1·17, *B.M.C.* 134;
(i) 19·5 / 1·26, *FEJ* 30;
(j) 17·8 / 1·15, JRP.
(k) 17·8 / 1·23, AM, Barnett dup.
(l) 18·8 / 1·22, *B.M.C.* 130.
(m) 18·8 / 1·22, *B.M.C.* 128.
(n) 18·5 / 1·20, *B.M.C.* 80;
(o) 18·3 / 1·20, *CEB*.
(p) 18·3 / 1·18, AM.
(q) 18·3 / 1·17, *B.M.C.* 136.
(r) 18·5 / 1·20, *B.M.C.* 252.
(s) 18·5 / 1·20, *B.M.C.* 128.
(t) 17·8 / 1·15, JRP.
(u) 17·8 / 1·20, *B.M.C.* 252.
(v) 17·8 / 1·20, *B.M.C.* 130.
(w) 17·8 / 1·20, *B.M.C.* 128.
(x) 17·8 / 1·20, *B.M.C.* 130.
(y) 17·8 / 1·20, *B.M.C.* 128.
(z) 17·8 / 1·20, *B.M.C.* 130.

---

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Size of cross</th>
<th>Ditto of symbols in field</th>
<th>Jaw of serpent</th>
<th>Legend</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>3 x 4</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4 x 3½</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(a) 19·4 / 1·25, *H.Syll.* 68.
(b) 18·2 / 1·18 *MM*, *H.D. II*, 13.
(c) 19·4 / 1·25, *AFB*.
(d) 17·0 / 1·10, *AM*.

---

† *B.N.J.* xxvi (1951), pl. iii, 27, and xxvii (1953), pl. iii, 22.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Obv. die</th>
<th>Subtype B In</th>
<th>Symbols in field</th>
<th>Diam. of circle</th>
<th>Jaw of serpent</th>
<th>Legend</th>
<th>Rev. die</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>B In, 1</td>
<td>b. small (ΛΝΑ)</td>
<td>7</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>ΤΑΨΛΜΨΗΒΨΑ</td>
<td>i</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B In, 2a</td>
<td>b. long chin (ΛΝΑ)</td>
<td>9</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>ΤΑΨΛΨΛΜΨΗΒΨΑ</td>
<td>i</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B In, 2b</td>
<td>[same die, retouched]</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>ii</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B In, 3</td>
<td>b. long chin, large jewel (--)</td>
<td>9</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>ΠΛΨΛΨΛΜΨΛΙΤιИ</td>
<td>i</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B In, 4</td>
<td>b. (ΛΝΑ)</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>8½</td>
<td></td>
<td>ΠΛΨΛΨΜΨΛΙТИИ</td>
<td>i</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B In, 5</td>
<td>b. (*)</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>8</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>i</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B In, 6</td>
<td>b. smaller (ΛΝΑ)</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>7</td>
<td></td>
<td>ΠΨΛΨΛΜΨΛΙΙΛΑΙ</td>
<td>i</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B In, 7</td>
<td>b. large eye (ΛΝΑ)</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>8</td>
<td></td>
<td>ΠΨΛΨМΨΛΙИΣΤ</td>
<td>i</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B In, 8</td>
<td>b. as B In, 6, but larger</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>8</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>i</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B In, 9</td>
<td>b. large eye (*)</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>8</td>
<td></td>
<td>ΠΨΛΨΛΜΨΛΙΛΤΛΨΛ</td>
<td>i</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[cf. B In, 10, B In, 2]</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[cf. B In, 7, 8]</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Obv. die</th>
<th>Subtype B Ic</th>
<th>Symbols in field</th>
<th>Diam. of circle</th>
<th>Jaw of serpent</th>
<th>Legend</th>
<th>Rev. die</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>B Ic, 1</td>
<td>h. single diadem</td>
<td>7½</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td>ΟΤΑΨΛΜΨΛΗΒΨΙΟ</td>
<td>i</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B Ic, 2</td>
<td>h. ditto, large eye</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td>ΟΤ - - - - ΛΗΨΙΟ</td>
<td>i</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* Coin worn or reduced.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Size of cross</th>
<th>‘Clock’ positions of annulettes</th>
<th>Ditto of symbols in field</th>
<th>Jaw of serpent</th>
<th>Legend</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>3×3</td>
<td>3, 9</td>
<td></td>
<td>I.</td>
<td>(a) 19-3/1 25, H.Syll. 65; (b) 16-2/1-05, H.Syll. 66; (c) 19-5/1-26, AM.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[Same die as B1B, 1-i]</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>(a) 19-5/1 26, RPM; (b) —-—, RCL, lot 238/3.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4⅔×4½</td>
<td>1⅓, 3, 4⅓, 7½, 9, 10 (3 &amp; 9 smaller)</td>
<td></td>
<td>r.</td>
<td>(a) 19-1/1 24, B.M.C 135; (b) 19-3/1 25, H.Syll. 64; (c) 17-3/1-12, F.Syll. 250; (d) 19-6/1 27, PC-B, lot 165/b; (e) 19-2/1 25, MM, Hd. II, 14; (f) —-—, RCL, lot 238/5.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4×5</td>
<td>2½, 9½</td>
<td>pel. 4½, 7½</td>
<td>I.</td>
<td>(a) 19-8/1 28, H.Syll. 74; (b) 18-8/1 22, H.Syll. 75; (c) —-—, RCL.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4×4½</td>
<td>2½, 10</td>
<td>pel. 4½, 7½</td>
<td>I.</td>
<td>(a) 17-3/1 12, a MM, Hd. II, 16; (b) 18-4/1-19, a FEJ, 51; (c) —-—, RPM.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4×5</td>
<td>None; stars 2, 9½</td>
<td></td>
<td>I.</td>
<td>(a) 19-6/1 27, BM, B, 250; (b) 19-6/1-27, H.Syll. 63.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3⅔×4½</td>
<td>2, 4, 7½, 9½</td>
<td></td>
<td>I.</td>
<td>(a) 16-4/1 06, a BM, B, 255; (b) 15-7/1-02, a MM (Farningham).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4×4½</td>
<td>3, 4½, 7½, 9½</td>
<td></td>
<td>I.</td>
<td>(a) 19-0/1 23, Hd. I, 4; (b) 20-0/1 30, Hd. I, 5.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3½×4</td>
<td>2, 9</td>
<td>pel. 4½, 7½</td>
<td>I.</td>
<td>(a) 18-1/1 17, B.M.C 137.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3½×4</td>
<td>2½, 10</td>
<td>pel. 4½, 7½</td>
<td>I.</td>
<td>(a) 19-3/1 25, B.M.C 126 (not as B.M.C. description).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3¼×4</td>
<td>2½, 9</td>
<td>pel. 4½, 7½</td>
<td>I.</td>
<td>(a) 17-5/1 13, Caister, 562; (b) 19-0/1 26, RCL (Hd. III, 3).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4×4½</td>
<td>2½, 9½</td>
<td>pel. 4½, 7½</td>
<td>I.</td>
<td>(a) 16-5/1 07, a B.M.C. 136.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4×4½</td>
<td>2½, 8½</td>
<td>pel. 4½, 7½</td>
<td>I.</td>
<td>(a) 16-2/1 06, a BM, B, 253.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3×4</td>
<td>2½, 8½</td>
<td>pel. 4½, 7½</td>
<td>I.</td>
<td>(a) 19-4/1-26, AM.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2½×3</td>
<td>3, 9</td>
<td></td>
<td>I.</td>
<td>(a) 19-5/1 26, Hd. I, 6.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3⅔×3½</td>
<td>3, 9</td>
<td></td>
<td>I.</td>
<td>(a) 17-0/1-10, BM, B, 254 (Hd. III, 4).</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The Two Primary Series of Sceattas

**Obv. die** | **h-head, or h-bust** (design on bust in brackets) | **Symbols in field** | **Diam. of circle** | **Jaw of serpent** | **Legend** | **Rev. die**
--- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | ---

**Subtype B Ic (cont.)**

| B Ic, 3 | h. similar | | 7 | l. | o o | i
| B Ic, 4 | h. ditto, upright | ... | 7 | l. | -- -- HANTA -- | i
| B Ic, 5 | h. similar | ... | 8 | l. | oTAV VAHVA o | i

[near B II]

| B Ic, 6 | h. hooked nose | 2 pellets ? | 8 | l. | -- -- MVA -- | i

**Subtype B Id**

| B Id, 1 | h. dot for eye | 8 | r. | oT -- -- AVHT | i
| B Id, 2 | h. ditto, large ear | 9 | r. | o -- -- LII o | i
| B Id, 3 | h. similar, broad | 8 | r. | -- -- HAMM -- | i
| B Id, 4 | h. ditto, very fat | 9 | l. | -- -- -- -- -- | i
| B Id, 5 | h. very similar | 9 | none | oTlVI -- MVHAV o | i
| B Id, 6 | h. smaller, with neck | 8 | none | -- -- -- -- MVHAV o | i

[near B II]

| B Id, 7 | h. coarse, larger eye | 8 | none | o o VI IV MVA o | i

**Subtype B Ie**

| B Ie, 1 | h. very fine | | 8 | two? | o -- -- MAVAH -- | i

**Subtype B If**

| B If, 1 | h. dot for eye | | 7½ | r. | oOIIAAHAY - AYO | i
| B If, 2 | b. dot for eye (+) | | 7½ | ... | TVAMVAHA | i

**Subtype B Ig**

| B Ig, 1 | h. with striations | cross, 1½ x 3 | 7½ | ... | CII I NOMAIHO | ii
| B Ig, 2 | h. round | pellet r.? | 7 | r.? | AALII -- | i

**PHASE B II (c. 705-15)**

| B II, 1 | h. | | 7½ | l. | AANNM -- | i

[copy of B Ia2?]

| B II, 2 | h. long chin | cross, 1½ x 2½ | 7½ | l. | -- AVMVA -- | i

* Coin worn or reduced.
### Table: Size of cross and clock positions of annulets

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Size of cross</th>
<th>&quot;Clock&quot; positions of annulets</th>
<th>Ditto of symbols in field</th>
<th>Jaw of serpent</th>
<th>Legend</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>3×3</td>
<td>3, 9</td>
<td>1.</td>
<td></td>
<td>(a) 15·1/0·98,* BM (Ex B &amp; M Dept. 1937).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3×3½</td>
<td>3, 9</td>
<td>1.</td>
<td></td>
<td>(a) 18·0/1·17 —, after CRS (Hd. III, 5).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2½×3½</td>
<td>3, 8½</td>
<td>1.</td>
<td></td>
<td>(a) 19·5/1·26, AM, has a pale gold tinge.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3×3½</td>
<td>3, 9</td>
<td>1.</td>
<td></td>
<td>(a) 18·5/1·20, B.M.C. 133.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3×3½</td>
<td>3, 9</td>
<td>1.</td>
<td></td>
<td>(a) 16·4/1·06, F.Syll. 249.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4×4</td>
<td>3, 9</td>
<td>1.</td>
<td></td>
<td>(a) 19·3/1·25, BN, CSGM, no. 67 (Bais).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3×4</td>
<td>3, 9</td>
<td>6 and 5 dots in 3 quarters</td>
<td>1.</td>
<td>(a) —/—, ex de Man, A.E.E. iii, pl. iv, 11 (Domburg).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3×4</td>
<td>2½, 9</td>
<td>3 pel., 2½</td>
<td>none</td>
<td>(a) 19·9/1·29, BN, CSGM, no. 69 (Plissac).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3×4</td>
<td>3, 9</td>
<td>none</td>
<td>1.</td>
<td>(a) 19·3/1·25, SER.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3½×3½</td>
<td>2, 10</td>
<td>pel. 4, 8</td>
<td>1.</td>
<td>(a) 15·6/1·01,* AM.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3½×3½</td>
<td>2, 10</td>
<td>pel. 4½, 8½</td>
<td>none</td>
<td>(a) —/—, R.R.L. pl. vii, 6 (Reculver).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4½×4½</td>
<td>3, 4, 8, 9</td>
<td></td>
<td>1.</td>
<td>(a) 17·7/1·15, H.Syll. 71; (b) —/—, RCL, lot 238/1.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3½×3½</td>
<td>2, 4, 8, 9½</td>
<td></td>
<td>r.</td>
<td>(a) 19·3/1·25 H.Syll. 72.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2½×3½</td>
<td>3, 9</td>
<td></td>
<td>1.</td>
<td>(a) 16·0/1·04, MM Hid. II, 17.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3½×4½</td>
<td>2, 3, 9</td>
<td>(Annulet, 2)</td>
<td>r.</td>
<td>(a) —/—, RCL, lot 237/5.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3½×3½</td>
<td>2, 3, 9</td>
<td>(Annulet, 2)</td>
<td>l.</td>
<td>(a) 18·8/1·22, PC-B, lot 164/c., from Hd. IV (Ozengell).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3½×3½</td>
<td>none</td>
<td></td>
<td>l.</td>
<td>(a) 19·0/1·23, B.M.C. 124.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3×3</td>
<td>none</td>
<td></td>
<td>l.</td>
<td>(a) 18·0/1·17, Hid. I, 7.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3×3</td>
<td>none</td>
<td></td>
<td>l.</td>
<td>(a) 16·5/1·07,* AM.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2½×4½</td>
<td>3, 9</td>
<td>4 pellets, 2</td>
<td>r.</td>
<td>(a) 19·9/1·29, BN, CSGM, no. 68 (Bais).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3×3½</td>
<td>2, 3, 9</td>
<td>(Annulet, 2)</td>
<td>l.</td>
<td>(a) 9·5/0·61,* Hag. D.G.M.M., No. 6215.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
## PHASE B II (cont.)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Obv. die</th>
<th>Symbols in field</th>
<th>Diam. of circle</th>
<th>Jaw of serpent</th>
<th>Legend</th>
<th>Rev. die</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>B II, 3</td>
<td>h.</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>1.</td>
<td>ΛΑΛΑΛ, &amp;c.</td>
<td>i</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B II, 4</td>
<td>h.</td>
<td>7(\frac{1}{2})</td>
<td>1.</td>
<td>ΛΑΛΑΛ, &amp;c.</td>
<td>i</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B II, 5</td>
<td>h.</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>1.</td>
<td>ΛΑΛΑΛ, &amp;c.</td>
<td>i</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B II, 6</td>
<td>h.</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>1.</td>
<td>ΛΑΛΑΛ, &amp;c.</td>
<td>i</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B II, 7</td>
<td>h.</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>1.</td>
<td>- - - -</td>
<td>i</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B II, 8</td>
<td>h.</td>
<td>9(\frac{1}{2})</td>
<td>1.</td>
<td>- - - -</td>
<td>i</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B II, 9</td>
<td>h.</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>1.</td>
<td>ΛΑΛΑΛ, &amp;c.</td>
<td>i</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B II, 10</td>
<td>h.</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>1.</td>
<td>ΛΑΛΑΛ, &amp;c.</td>
<td>i</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B II, 11</td>
<td>h.</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>1.</td>
<td>ΛΑΛΑΛ, &amp;c.</td>
<td>i</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

## PHASE B III (c. 725-30; B IIIA might be barbarous coins of a little earlier)

**Subtype B IIIA**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Obv. die</th>
<th>Symbols in field</th>
<th>Diam. of circle</th>
<th>Jaw of serpent</th>
<th>Legend</th>
<th>Rev. die</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>B IIIA, 1</td>
<td>h. fine strokes</td>
<td>3 pellets</td>
<td>9(\frac{1}{2})</td>
<td>?</td>
<td>none? (double circle)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B IIIA, 2</td>
<td>h.</td>
<td>cross, 3 pel.</td>
<td>9(\frac{1}{2})</td>
<td>r.</td>
<td>- III - III -</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B IIIA, 3</td>
<td>h. coarse strokes</td>
<td>cross, 3(\frac{1}{2})×3(\frac{1}{2})</td>
<td>9(\frac{1}{2})</td>
<td>?</td>
<td>III (&amp;c.?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B IIIA, 4</td>
<td>h.</td>
<td>3 pellets</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>r.</td>
<td>(illegible)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B IIIA, 5</td>
<td>h.</td>
<td>1 pellet</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>1.</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Subtype B IIIB:**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Obv. die</th>
<th>Symbols in field</th>
<th>Diam. of circle</th>
<th>Jaw of serpent</th>
<th>Legend</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>B IIIB, 1</td>
<td>h.</td>
<td>10(\frac{1}{2})</td>
<td>none</td>
<td>none</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B IIIB, 2</td>
<td>h.</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B IIIB, 3</td>
<td>h.</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B IIIB, 4</td>
<td>h. large nose</td>
<td>9(\frac{1}{2})</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B IIIB, 5</td>
<td>h.</td>
<td>9(\frac{1}{2})</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B IIIB, 6</td>
<td>h.</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* Coin worn or reduced.
### The Two Primary Series of Sceattas

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Size of cross</th>
<th>Clock positions of annulet</th>
<th>Ditto of symbols in field</th>
<th>Jaw of serpent</th>
<th>Legend</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2 x 3½</td>
<td>3, 9</td>
<td>3, 9, 2</td>
<td>L.</td>
<td>ΛVΛV, &amp;c.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 x 3</td>
<td>3, 9</td>
<td>3, 9, 2</td>
<td>L.</td>
<td>ΛVΛV, &amp;c.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 x 3½</td>
<td>3, 9</td>
<td>3, 9, 2</td>
<td>L.</td>
<td>ΛVΛV, &amp;c.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 x 3½ x 3½</td>
<td>3, 9</td>
<td>3, 9, 2</td>
<td>L.</td>
<td>ΛVΛV, &amp;c.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 x 3</td>
<td>3, 9</td>
<td>3, 9, 2</td>
<td>L.</td>
<td>ΛVΛV, &amp;c.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

#### Legend

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Size of cross</th>
<th>Clock positions of annulet</th>
<th>Ditto of symbols in field</th>
<th>Jaw of serpent</th>
<th>Legend</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>4 x 5</td>
<td>3, 9</td>
<td>3, 9, 2</td>
<td>L.</td>
<td>ΛVΛV, &amp;c.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4 x 4½</td>
<td>3, 9</td>
<td>3, 9, 2</td>
<td>L.</td>
<td>ΛVΛV, &amp;c.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 x 5</td>
<td>3, 9</td>
<td>4½, 7½</td>
<td>L.</td>
<td>ΛVΛV, &amp;c.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5 x 6</td>
<td>3, 9</td>
<td>2½ (?)</td>
<td>r.</td>
<td>ΛVΛV, &amp;c.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3½ x 4</td>
<td>3, 9</td>
<td>3, 9, 2</td>
<td>L.</td>
<td>ΛVΛV, &amp;c.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

#### Memoires de la Société des Antiquaires du Centre, xi (1884), Bourges, no. 26 (p. 286).
### APPENDIX

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Obv. die</th>
<th>h-head, or b-bust</th>
<th>Symbols in field</th>
<th>Diam. of circle</th>
<th>Jaw of serpent</th>
<th>Legend</th>
<th>Rev. die</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Subtype B IIIb (cont.)</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B IIIb, 7</td>
<td>h. large nose</td>
<td>9½</td>
<td>none</td>
<td>none</td>
<td></td>
<td>i</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B IIIb, 8</td>
<td>h.</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td></td>
<td>i</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B IIIb, 9</td>
<td>h.</td>
<td>9½</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td></td>
<td>ii</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B IIIb, 10</td>
<td>h.</td>
<td>9½</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td></td>
<td>i</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B IIIb, 11</td>
<td>h.</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td></td>
<td>i</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B IIIb, 12</td>
<td>h.</td>
<td>9½</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td></td>
<td>i</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

| **Subtype B IIIc** | | | | | | |
| B IIIc, 1 | h. v. sharp nose | 3 pellets | 9 | " | " | i |
| B IIIc, 2 | h. rather better | 9½ | " | " | | i |

(Almost a die link with BM, B 259 (15·0/0·97) and H.Syll.)

* Coin worn or reduced.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Size of cross</th>
<th>'Clock' positions of annulets</th>
<th>Ditto of symbols in field</th>
<th>Jaw of serpent</th>
<th>Legend</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>3 x 6</td>
<td>3, 9</td>
<td>4 pel. (2nd q.), 3 pel. (3rd &amp; 4th q.)</td>
<td>No serpent</td>
<td>No legend, spiral-winged bird</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 x 6</td>
<td>4, 9</td>
<td>4 pel (2nd q. only)</td>
<td>''</td>
<td>''</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 x 6</td>
<td>3, 9</td>
<td>2 pel. (2nd q. only)</td>
<td>''</td>
<td>''</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2⅔ x 4½</td>
<td>3, 9 (pel. in ann.)</td>
<td>2 pel. (2nd q. only)</td>
<td>''</td>
<td>''</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 x 3</td>
<td>3, 9</td>
<td>No pel.</td>
<td>''</td>
<td>''</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3⅔ x 5</td>
<td>3, 9</td>
<td>No pel.</td>
<td>''</td>
<td>''</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 x 7</td>
<td>3, 9</td>
<td>3 pel. in 3rd &amp; 4th q.</td>
<td>''</td>
<td>''</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>cross in 2nd, pel. in 1st annulet</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3¼ x 6</td>
<td>3, 9</td>
<td>3 pel. in 3rd &amp; 4th q.</td>
<td>''</td>
<td>''</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>only, pel. in annulets</td>
<td></td>
<td>Bird as type 37</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4 x 4½</td>
<td>3, 9</td>
<td></td>
<td>''</td>
<td>''</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

§§ Opgravingen op het Domplein te Utrecht, pt. iii (1936), fig. 72, p. 115.
APPENDIX F

CHRONOLOGICAL INVENTORY OF HOARDS

Note: weights in this section are given in grains only, where they have only been weighed to the nearest half-grain; where both standards are given they have been weighed to the nearest centigramme. Top of rev. on type A determined by votive inscription.


(Thompson, I.B.C.H., no. 58 = no. 59; Sutherland, ASSE, p. 54; both references; S. Hawkes, EANEK, no. 29 = no. 28; c.f. Baldwin Brown, A.E.E. iii, pp. 84, 108, 132.)

Found 1911, by Broadstairs and St. Peter's Archaeological Soc., in a Saxon cemetery overlying a Bronze Age funerary circle. The grave (L) contained a bronze buckle, small knife and 'keys' (girdle-hangers (?), if so the subject was hardly male, as reported); coins near left arm. See H. Hurd, Some Notes on Recent Archaeological Discoveries at Broadstairs (1913), pp. 18-27, figs. 11, 12.

8 coins (7 examined); 3 type A, 5 type B; mean weight 19·3 gr. In family ownership since discovery. Weights by kindness of Mrs. H. M. Raven.

Type A: (1) A2, 5 (19·0) →. (2) A2, 8 (20·0) ↑. (3) A3, 6 (19·0) ↓.

Type B: (4) BIB, 5 (a) (19·0) →. (5) BIB, 6 (a) (20·0) ↓. (6) B IC, 1 (a) (19·5) →.

7) B IC, 1 (a) (18·0) →. (8) Another, subtype unknown.

Condition, fresh; buried soon after introduction of A3 and B IC.

II. Milton Regis, Nat. grid: 51/907/648 (?).

(Thompson, I.B.C.H., no. 269; Sutherland, ASSE, p. 54.)

Found 1916, by R. Mills, a brickfield worker, near Milton Old Court Hall. The nearest brickfield is 300 yds. east of the Hall. This information and the grid-reference of the suggested find-spot is from Mr. L. R. A. Grove. There was certainly a cemetery, perhaps extensive, in the vicinity: G. Payne, in Coll. Cant., p. 124, reported grave-goods, found 1889, including a crystal ball, which he believed came from about the same position, though the exact spot was withheld; in 1959 Mr. D. A. Ponton excavated a cremation and disturbed inhumations in the immediate surroundings of the Court Hall. Coins found with three gold filigree pendants, with cruciform design (BM, 1921, 10-20, 1; 1926, 4-10, 1-8); see Ant. J. vi (1926), p. 446, from which the description of the unexamined coins comes. The pendants suggest a female interment.

20 coins (14 examined); 8 type A, 12 type B; mean weight 17·9 gr. The 14 coins bought for MM, 1958, from Mills's grand-nephew. Weights from BM.

Type A: (1) A2, 1 (b) (18·29/1·185) ←. (2) A3, 7 (17·62/1·142) →. (3) A3, 8 (18·76/1·216) ↑. (4) A3, 9 (16·82/1·09) ↓. (5) A3, 10 (18·41/1·192) ↓. (6) A3, 11 (17·43/1·129) →. (7) A3, 12 (b) (18·92/1·226) ↑. obv. identity only with A3, 12 (a). (8) A3, 5 (or similar).

Type B: (9) B IB, 1 (iv) (a) (18·99/1·231) ←. (10) B IB, 3 (a) (16·77/1·087) ←. (11) B IB, 4 (or similar). (12) B IB, 5 (a) possibly B IA, 6 (18·52/1·20) ↑. (13) B IA, 9 (a) (18·18/1·178) ←. (14) B IB, 2b (c) (19·21/1·245) ↑. (15) apparently as (14). (16) B IB, 3 (ii) (a) (17·27/1·119) ↑. (17) B IE, 1 (a) (16·04/1·037) ←. 18, 19, 20 'as B.M.C. 126'; ought to be B IB, but the inadequate description in B.M.C. need imply only some B I subtype.
Condition, good; some wear, corrosion and clipping, particularly on the earlier coins. The latest BI issues are absent, including the large-eyed dies found in Hoard III. Noticeably later than Hoard I.

III. BARHAM (Breach Down), Nat. grid: 61/207/490.

(Thompson, I.B.C.H., no. 34 = no. 54; Sutherland, ASSE, p. 54—under both locations; cf. Baldwin Brown, A.E.E. iii, pp. 108-9; also Akerman, Arch. xxx, p. 56.)

Found 1841 (not 1843), by J. P. Bartlett, in excavating a cemetery of small barrows. The grave contained small 'brass' ornaments, a ring, decayed wood and (?) leather; coins on right side of body. See C.A. i, p. 7; all coins shown on pl. vi. This was not the same burial as that containing the well-known cross-headed pin (A.E.E. iii, pl. x, 5), of which Bartlett gives a complete and different inventory in J.B.A.A. i, p. 317; in the former case the subject was less certainly female.

5 coins; 2 type A, 3 type B; mean weight 17-6 gr. Coins dispersed: one in BM, one formerly Lockett coll., rest untraced. Weights from CRS (no. 4, in BM, has been checked).

Type A: (1) A3, 10, or similar (17·0). (2) A3, 5 or 13 (?) (17·0).

Type B: (3) BIB, 9/i (b) (19·0) †. (4) B Ic, 2/i (a) (17·0) †. (5) B Ic, 3/i (a) (18·0).

(Nos. on C.A. i, pl. vi: 14 = 1, 15 = 2, 11 = 3, 12 = 5, 13 = 4.)

Condition, fresh; though the coins are a trifle more advanced than the latest of Hoard II, the date of burial may be much the same.

IV. RAMSGATE (Ozengell), Nat. grid: 61/361/654.

(Sutherland, ASSE, p. 55; S. Hawkes, EANEK, no. 24.)

Found 1845-7, when the Deal–Ramsgate railway was made, in a cemetery 500 yds. south-east of Ozengell Grange. Apparently found by navvies, so the hoard may have been larger; not from one of the thirteen graves excavated by W. H. Rolfe. See C.A. iii, p. 15 and pl. v, 16 for the coins (part of a general account of the cemetery, for which also see J.B.A.A. i, p. 242, ii, p. 338, iii, p. 246).

3 coins recorded, all type B, only one illustrated; this reappears in the Carlyon-Britton sale (S. 17:11:1913, lot 164/c), whether the others were in this or the next lot cannot now be determined.

Type B: (1) B Ia, 2/i (a) (18·8). (2) and (3) Type B, subtype unknown.

Condition of known coin, fresh; records inadequate, but probably late in phase BI.

V. SANDY (Beds.), Nat. grid: 42/177/487 (?).

(Sutherland, ASSE, p. 51.)

Found before 1898, perhaps 1850, during extension of G.N. Railway. Near and particularly, just west of the station, grave-goods from an important cemetery of long duration, including cremation-urns, came to light both in Battely's time (late seventeenth cent.) and 1850. See V.C.H. Beds. i, p. 184; C.A. ii, p. 34; P.S.A. ii, p. 109. This is at least a possible site for the coins.

4 (?) coins; 2 type B (S. 14:3:1898, lots 172, 174); 2 type A (or just possibly R1) in immediate sequence in sale-catalogue, though not specifically described as from Sandy. Hoard might be early (cf. Hoard I).

Type B: (1) and (2) B Ia or B Ic or possibly B Id (no symbols in field).

Type A: (3) and (4), not guaranteed.
VI. SOUTHEND (Thorpe Bay), Nat. grid: 51/922/855.
(Thompson, I.B.C.H., no. 336; Sutherland, ASSE, p. 52.)

Found 1929, in Thorpe Hall brickfield, with or near a skeleton. Evidence of other burials, or other grave-goods, lacking. Accounts vary: one report gave 20 coins (cf. Hoard II), another 81 (?) a misprint), but the preservation of eight (cf. Hoards I, VIII) suggests that the hoard may be complete. See W. Pollitt, Southchurch and its Past (Southend Museum Handbook no. 11).

20 (?) coins (8 examined); 1 type A; 2 type B; 5 type C (R1); mean weight of undamaged coins, 18.2 gr. (1.179 gm.). 8 coins in SoS (Prittwell Park Museum). Weights from M.O.W. laboratory.

Type A: (1) A3, 14 (pendant pearls, T‘s on rev. canted) (18.1/1.173) ↑.
Type B: (2) B II, 3/i (a) (18.53/1.201) ↓. (3) B II, 3/i (b) (15.4/0.998 scraped) →.
Type C (R1a, standard right way up): (4) 2 pendant pearls, annulet below chin, T‘æpa’ (18.21/1.180) ←. (5) 2 pearls, T‘æpa’ (16.97/1.098) ↑.
(R1a, standard inverted): (6) 2 pearls, annulet below chin (?), T‘æpa’ (18.46/1.196) ←.
(R1b, crosses on all sides of standard). (7) 3 pearls, annulet below chin, T‘æpa’ (18.53/1.202) →. (8) 2 pearls, standard small (5 mm.), T‘æpa’ (18.37/1.190) →.

Note, only on no. 7 can the reading ‘æpa’ be taken as certain; on all the others any ‘a’ might possibly be ‘æ’ and vice-versa.

Mr. Forbes’ numbers: 1 = 9489, 2 = 9487, 3 = 9488, 4 = 9490, 5 = 9494, 6 = 9493, 7 = 9491, 8 = 9492.

Condition fresh but rather corroded, except no. 1 somewhat worn and no. 3 scraped. Features, e.g. nose of no. 1 suggest it is in fact late and approaching the technique of R1, which is very similar on all the Runic coins in this hoard, in spite of the various reverses. All have the same blunt chin, but the neck is longer on R1b. R1 is in fact a scarce and probably brief issue; the extra annulet found on both varieties is very exceptional. The identical early B II coins fix the context narrowly. Buried soon after introduction of B II.

VII. BIRCHINGTON, Nat. grid: 61/302/690 (?)
(Thompson, I.B.C.H., no. 43; Sutherland, ASSE, p. 54; S. Hawkes, EANEK, no. 33.)

Found before 1848 (railway not built until 1863), acquired from finder by W. H. Rolfe. There was a cemetery at Minnis Bay, but nothing to associate the coins with it or with a grave; the exact site is unknown, but analogies would suggest a burial. See CA, i, p. 64, pl. xxiii, A.C. ix, p. 164. A coin in MM, from Birchington, combining the rev. of R3 with a degenerate standard (cf. H. Syll, nos. 50–54), seems too late to be a stray from the hoard.

5 coins, including an Epillus (Mack, The Coinage of Ancient Britain, no. 307—might be the same coin, but reported weights different—CRS gives 18 gr.); there is no reason to doubt that a coin of this weight could have passed as a sceatta—indeed the PI on Mack no. 309 could have influenced type A; 1 type B; 1 type C (R1); 2 R3. Saxon coins now in AM, ex Evans.

Type B: (1) B II, 4/i (a) (16.7/1.08), clipped, ←.
Type C: (R1b): (2) close to Hoard VI, no. 7, but 2 pearls and no extra annulet (15.9/1.03) →.

Frisian Runic (R3): (3) a degenerate piece, though no worse than one from Plas-sac; runes a meaningless ligature (17.0/1.10). (4) even worse, and plated (8.5/0.55).
Condition of no. 2, fresh, others worse. Insufficient for dating, but evidently R3 followed closely on R1 and soon ‘went to the bad’.

VIII. GARTON ON THE WOLDS (Yorks.), Nat. grid: 44/987/577.


8 coins, including 2 of the latest of type B; weights, from Mr. Teasdill, too diverse for the mean to have any significance. Most reverses bi-axially symmetrical so disposition cannot be given, but it seems to be right-angled in every case. Coins in Grantham coll., Driffield.

Type B: (1) B IIIB, 5/i (a) (17·0). (2) B IIIB, 6/i (a) (17·5), both with the most usual arrangement of pellets, but weights high for this sub-type.

BMC type 37: (3) (17·0), (4) (16·5); the dies of this type are extremely uniform, but the weights are rather high (the mode seems to be just above 16 gr.).

BMC type 32 a: (5) traces of beard on obv., monster completely serpentine. Full identity with H.Syll. 98. (19·0), again, high for issue (mode seems to be about 17·5).

All the above are most probably Kentish.

Runic type: (6) R2z, ‘epa’ read outwards, knobs, not serifs, and technique, not far off that of the Kentish issues above; triangular neck and curved, dotted drapery repeated above and below head. Cf. H.Syll. 15, but less ‘degraded’.

Clearly early in phase R2 and close to R1z. (16·5, same weight as H.Syll. 15); presumably East Anglian.

BMC type 3a: (7) rev.; pellet in central annulet and four saltires, c.f. B.M.C., no. 50 (19·5). (8) as previous but three saltires and group of three pellets (19·0). The rev. of this elusive type has its nearest parallel on definitely Frisian ‘porcupines’ and it may be foreign (found e.g. at Cimiez and Etaples); one thing is quite clear from the continental hoards: type 3a is not a distant prototype of the porcupines, but contemporary. No. 7 is reported to have a visible trace of gold.

Condition, fresh; this hoard is discussed in the text; it is of the highest importance for comparative chronology. The chief conclusions are: (a) the later Kentish issues, e.g. no. 5, begin earlier than expected; (b) the fully developed R2 issues, as in Hoard IX, are yet to come. Buried about the conclusion of Phase B III (c. 730?).

IX. CAMBRIDGE (or vicinity).

(Thompson, I.B.C.H., no. 68; Sutherland, ASSE, p. 52.)

This hoard, 9 coins of which are thoroughly described and illustrated by J. Evans in NC*, xiv, pp. 18 ff., pl. ii, is summarized here for comparison. It appears to have been larger than 9 (see F.Syll.). Some coins in AM, ex Evans.

Runic types: R2, typical ‘mature’ coins with ‘quadrilateral head’:

Evans No. 4 (13·5) ‘ep’, no. 5 (13·25) ‘ep’, no. 6 (15·75) ‘ep’, no. 7 (17·0), ‘spi’, no. 8 (14·5) ‘wigr’d’, no. 9 (12·5) ‘wigr’d’.


F.Syll. 234, (11·0) earlier type with obv. diagonally symmetrical and triangular neck (? from hoard), ‘epa’, and others?
East Anglian animal types: Evans no. 1 (13-75) smooth as B.M.C. type 44. No. 2 (15-25) rougher work. No. 3 (16-75), triquetra above bird.

As Evans noticed, the animal type is a close prototype of some of Eadbert’s of Northumbria. This confirms the very late date of ‘mature’ R2 coins (? 740’s). Evans quotes another East Anglian find-spot for this type (somewhere in Suffolk), E. J. Shepherd sale (1885), no. 9 (bird and triquetra).

**APPENDIX G**

**NOTE:** Weights in this section are given in grains only, for purposes of internal comparison. Both standards are given in Appendixes C and E.

‘Runs’ of coins, the appearance of which suggests a common source; possibly all three are part of one single find.

A. BM, undated, i.e. acquired before 1838 (see B.N.J. xxviii, p. 37). The one coin with a provenance, B.M.C. 10 (Thanet), is not certainly part of the ‘run’, but Mrs. J. S. Martin considers that one of the elusive Thanet hoards is a likely source. In this context two false trails should be ‘scouted’: (i) the plate of sceattas in Withy and Ryall’s _Twelve Plates of English Silver Coins..._ (1756) does not show these types but _later_ sceattas, purporting to have been found in and near Thanet; (ii) the ‘Saxon’ coins said to have been found at Telegraph Hill, Minster in Thanet, and quoted by Mrs. S. Hawkes in EANEK, no. 23, were in fact, according to the Ordnance Survey index of Archaeological sites, a seventeenth-century find of _Roman_ coins.

12 to 14 coins, 6 to 8 type A, 6 type B—all subtype B IA, except B.M.C. 124. This is important in establishing the subsequent introduction of B IA and the early date of the anomalous B IG.

**Type A:** B.M.C., nos. 17, A2, 1 (19-5), probable; 16, A2, 4 (19-2); 19, A2, 14 (19-9); 20, A2, 14 (19-8); 13, A2, 16 (19-5); 22, A2, 21 (19-0); 10, A2, 21 (19-4), not certain; 12, A3, 5 (19-6), not certain, but colour close to B.M.C 19.

**Type B:** B.M.C. Nos. 132, B IA, 1/i (a) (18-7); 127, B IA, 2/i (a) (17-2); 131, B IA, 4/i (a) (18-8); 130, B IA, 5/i (a) (19-0); 128, B IA, 6/i (a) (19-0); 124, B IG, 1/i (a) (19-0).

B. BM and AM, ex-Barnett bequest (1935), ‘duplicates’ to AM. Unfortunately the records of the pedigree of the Barnett material were destroyed in the ‘Blitz’. 11 or (?) 12 coins; this number and the uncanny resemblance to the next and absolutely inviolate ‘run’ suggests that both are either picked samples of the same eighteenth-century hoard or grave-deposits of twelve, buried at very much the same time.

**Type A:** BM, B, nos. 216, A2, 2 (19-5), and duplicate in AM (19-6); 217, A2, 14 (19-0); 218, A2, 21 (19-0); AM, A2, 2 (19-5).

**Type B:** BM, B, 251, B IA, 2/i (a) (19-8); 252, B IA, 2/i (a) (19-0); AM, B IA, 4/i (a) (19-0); BM, B, 249, B IB, 3/i (a) (19-8); 250, B IB, 4/i (a) (19-6); 253, B IA, 9/i (a), very doubtful, well below weight.

C. Hunterian Museum, engraved in sequence by Taylor Combe (who had no particular reason to associate types A and B, unless they formed one parcel), except that a Vanimund coin (VB 7) comes between them (Ruding, pl. 2, no. 26); the others are nos. 22 to 36). Acquired before 1783; the accounts of purchases in the introduction to the Greek _Sylloge_ of the Hunterian Museum show
'Saxon' from Bartlet in 1782, and from White in 1778 and 1779, the latter 'from Hamb.' Miss A. Robertson has kindly confirmed this reading.

12 coins, 4 type A, 8 type B, but the Vanimund (H.Syll., no. 77) and one or two worn type B might just possibly be associated.

Type A: H.Syll., nos. 3, A2, 3 (19·6); 2, A2, 4 (19·8); 1, A2, 18 (19·8); 4, A2, 21 (19·3).

Type B: H.Syll., nos. 67, B IA, 2/i (b) (19·5); 69 B IA, 2/ii (b) (18·8) 70, B IA, 3/ii (a) (18·8); 65, B Ib, 1/i (a) (19·5); 64, B Ib, 2b/ii (b) (19·3); 74, B Ib, 3/i (a) (19·8); 75, same die, (b) (18·8); 63, B Ib, 4/i (b) (19·6).

APPENDIX H

SUMMARY OF FINDS OF SINGLES AND PAIRS OF THE RELEVANT TYPES

NOTE: (i) Some may be parts of small grave-hoards. In any case the relevance for local circulation, of single finds and small grave-hoards is similar, in contrast to that of large and miscellaneous trade-hoards.

(ii) For details of individual coins, where not repeated, see the foregoing appendices.

(iii) For details of BM coins not in B.M.C., see P. V. Hill in N.C.8, xii, p. 92 ff.


LONDON: P III, 3/i (probably C.M.L.A., no. 562), and P III, 4/ib (?).


COMPTON, Staffs.: A3, 15.

D. Primary Runic. R1, LONDON (C.A. ii, pl. xlv, 9); WOODBRIDGE, good early Rly, as B.M.C., no. 48, ex LAL (lot 193, c): RECLULVER, Rlz, F.Syll. 233, A.R. pl. vi).

Secondary Runic. East Anglia: BURGH CASTLE—early, near R2z, but clear votive legend, probably from area of early Christian church, found when motte was demolished, c. 1850 (N.A. v, p. 233; also R2zb (Hill, type 70, e) BM, ex RCL. CAISTOR by Norwich—2 (S. 1:6:09). CAISTER by Yarmouth—2, both fairly early: no. 138 (from near the Anglo-Saxon hut-site) and another (NCM, noted in ASSE). IPSWICH—(CEB, ex Rashleigh, lot 23). THETFORD, from interior of early church site, under the 'Red Castle' (publication by Gp. Capt. Knocker forthcoming)—mature 'Wigraed'. WOODBRIDGE—fairly early, as B.M.C., no. 33, ex LAL (lot 193, b).

LONDON (C.A. ii, pl. xliii, 3).

WHITBY—early, obv. identical with B.M.C., 33, BM.

Frisian Runic. R3. KINGSTON DOWN cemetery, Kent, grave 15; REculver, F.Syll., no. 231, AR, pl. vii; Dunstable, N.C. xv (1852) p. 95: CAISTER by Yarmouth, No. 680, from western sidewalk of Roman harbour, close to Saxon cemetery.

E. Type B. Kent: Farningham—MM, ex Ashenden, found 1870's—B Ia, 4/4ib; Reculver—B Ia, 5/ia (R.R.L., pl. vii, 6), B II, 10/ia, B IIIa, 3/ib, B IIIb, 7/ia (all A.R. pl. vii and F.Syll.); Minster in Thanet, BX (ASSE, but coin not in BM, note only).


East Anglia: Caister by Yarmouth, No. 562, from modern sewer-trench—B Ia, 9/ia; Woodbridge—ex LAL (lot 193a) B I (?).

(The Brentford find (ASSE) is not authenticated—see B Ia, 10/ia, LM no. 1087, ex Layton and Brentford Mus. but not marked as local.)

F. Related later types, as in Hoard VIII.

B.M.C. type 3a: Pyecombe, Sussex, BM; Wakering, Essex, SoS (J.R.S., xvi (1926), p. 230); Dunstable (S. 17:11:13, lot 154); Whitby, BM.

B.M.C. type 32a: Stourmouth, Kent—Canterbury Mus. no. 8083, ex Newington and Arnold, found c. 1880; Reculver—F.Syll., nos. 254, 255 (A.R., pl. vii); Whitby, BM; Thames—B.M.C., no. 152.

B.M.C. type 37: Dale Hill, Sussex, Brighton Museum; Woodbridge, ex LAL (lot 193d); Caister by Yarmouth, No. 614, in or over top-filling of a grave.

APPENDIX I

SPECTROGRAPHIC ANALYSIS OF HOARD VIII AND THE PADA COINS FROM DOVER

A SPECTROGRAPHIC analysis of the coins has very kindly been carried out by the Assay Office, Goldsmiths' Hall. In sending the following results Mr. J. S. Forbes, the Deputy Warden of the Assay Office, makes the proviso that the results must be treated with reserve and they are in no way comparable with those obtained from other coins which are published elsewhere in this volume.

Nevertheless, since no other analyses of sceattas have been made and such coins are not often likely to be available for a complete test, I consider the results should be published. It is thought that the gold content would be unlikely to be effected by the cleaning.

The following results were obtained on scrapings taken from the edges of the coins. It should be stressed that the coins were originally corroded and had been subjected to a prior electrolytic cleaning treatment before they were received. The cleaning treatment may have altered the composition of the coins and the results must therefore be treated with reserve.
### HOARD VIII (Southend)

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<th>Sb</th>
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<th>Zn</th>
<th>Cu</th>
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<td>0.22</td>
<td>0.03</td>
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<td>0.68</td>
<td>0.011</td>
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<td>N.D.</td>
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<td>0.006</td>
<td>0.06</td>
<td>N.D.</td>
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<td>0.01</td>
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<td>0.33</td>
<td>0.004</td>
<td>0.04</td>
<td>0.02</td>
<td>1.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9492</td>
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<td>0.006</td>
<td>0.01</td>
<td>0.01</td>
<td>2.4</td>
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<tr>
<td>9493</td>
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<td>0.01</td>
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<td>0.005</td>
<td>0.14</td>
<td>0.05</td>
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<tr>
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<td>0.007</td>
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<td>0.02</td>
<td>2.2</td>
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* Approximate figures only. N.D. = 'Not Detected'.

### COINS FROM DOVER (in the form of pendants)

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<th>Pb</th>
<th>Sb</th>
<th>Sn</th>
<th>Zn</th>
<th>Cu</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>P IIb, 1 (= 467)</td>
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<td>0.33</td>
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<td>0.17</td>
<td>&lt;0.01</td>
<td>12*</td>
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<td>P III, 7c (= 468)</td>
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<td>0.06</td>
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* Approximate figures only. < Signifies 'less than'.

* Approximate figures only. N.D. = 'Not Detected'.