THE TWO PRIMARY SERIES OF SCEATTAS:
ADDENDA AND CORRIGENDA

By S. E. RIGOLD

This is an appendix to the writer's paper in BNJ, XXX (1960), 6 ff. It covers:—

(a) material discovered or published since 1960;
(b) reconsiderations of, or reservations about, certain of the arguments, which do not, however, modify the basic contentions and chronology of the original paper;
(c) Corrections of minor errors in description.

These will be treated in the order in which they modify the original text, and the same abbreviations (BNJ, XXX, 29–30) will be used, with two additions—

A.N.S. American Numismatic Society.

Introductory

The convenient term 'sceatta' will continue to be used, without prejudice to the questions whether, or at what stage in their development, the coins are more properly called 'pennies'. The possibility (v.i., p. 3) that all 'Primary Sceattas' were originally gilded reinforces the contention that 'thrymsas' and 'sceattas' form a single series, representing a single denomination. It may prove that 'Secondary' sceattas were called pennies and the 'Primary' known by another name.

Discovery and Distribution in England (BNJ, XXX, 7)

(I) In 1965 yet another grave-hoard of eight specimens, all of types 'A' or 'B', was excavated by Mrs. Sonia Hawkes in the cemetery at Finglesham, Kent, which had previously yielded a pale gold 'Pada' (BNJ, XXX p. 51; Appendix H). Mrs. Hawkes immediately communicated the discovery to the writer and has kindly authorised its description here, in advance of full publication of the cemetery. This hoard (Hoard X), in the remains of a leather purse with small metal fittings (c.f. Hoard III), apparently attached to a belt, accompanied a male burial without other grave-goods. It is the first Kentish hoard of its kind to have the benefit of modern archaeological recording, though that of Hoards I and III was creditable for the time. The new hoard is early and similar in composition and weight to Hoard I.

(II) While preparing a summary of the Anglo-Saxon finds from Richborough for Rich. V (forthcoming), the writer became convinced that the engraving in Roach Smith, R.R.L., 157, represented the only known coin of Type A1.

(III) Dr. M. Metcalf kindly brought to the writer's notice a find at Wintringham, Lincs., containing Type B III B and its derivative BMC 37 and a single BMC 37 from Banbury.

(IV) A coin like BMC, Pl. II, 3 (an East Anglian(?) variation of the porcupine/standard type) from Selsey (1845), in the Ashmolean can hardly be that reported as a Type B.

(V) A BMC 33, which is much the same as 32a, was found at Reculver in 1964.
The Post-Crondall Thrymsa Coinage (BNJ, XXX, 11)

(I) What was apparently another 'Two Emperors' piece (S. II, v) but a poor, pierced specimen with unintelligible rev. (unless something was welded to it, which might account for the absurdly high weight reported), came from Otterham Creek, Upchurch, Kent (CA., VI, 260). The Maidstone specimen may be that reported on the 6 in. O.S. map from Eyhorne Green Hollingbourne (c) as from Hollingbourne, unless it is the Frisian (?) tremissis, also at Maidstone, first recorded in 1914, (A.C., xxxi (1915). These would bring the Kentish findspots to four:—Lympne, Reculver, Upchurch, Hollingbourne (?), or vicinity.

Four obv. and five rev. dies of the type can be added to Dr. Sutherland's twelve and fifteen. The coins concerned, integrated into Sutherland's list, are:

1. O2 bis/R3 bis (F. Syll., no. 218, 1.28 gm.).
2. O5/R7 bis (close to R8) (C. Syll., no. 19, 1.30 gm.). This means there may be up to four revs. to one obv., as in sceattas of Types A and B.
3. O6 bis/R9 bis (RCL, no. 202, ex Rashleigh).
4. O10 bis/R13 bis (a, Maidstone Museum 1.22 gm.; b, C. Syll., no. 21, 1.28 gm.).
5. O12/R16 (C. Syll., no. 20, 1.29 gm.).

Sutherland no. 42 (08/R12) is probably that in Arch. J., I (1845), 385 (Rev. G. M. Nelson, Bodicote, Banbury). Is not the winged centauress (BMC type 47) a distant reminiscence of this type? Her head is Victory's and her breasts are the emperors' heads!

(II) The 'coinage of Vanimund' (S. II, vi, in sequence to Sutherland: tabulated in Appendix B), though it still appears to be entirely of English production, is not, as was suggested, the explicit coinage of a moneyer Vanimund or Aunimund, but a hybrid imitative coinage, difficult to account for in detail. The rev. of the earlier type, VA (reading VANIMVNDVS MONE, or -MOIE) is taken from a coin, bearing the same unusual form of cross and CA, of the moneyer VVARIMVNDVS (= MONE or MONI) from a minor and uncertain Austrasian mint, named on the (totally different) obv. as MALLO MAT(I)RIACO (M.M.B.N, pp. 198-9). The English obv. has a 'Constantinopolis' head; the legend—OTIANIVS or OTIANTVS—can hardly represent the TARIVS of monetarius, as was suggested: more probably it is some echo of IVS—T(IN)IANVS.

The style places the Frankish prototype in that restricted area of Austrasia, around Metz, which furnished such a large proportion of the later tremisses that reached England and the Netherlands. But why was a coin of such an obscure mint—not a civitas, or even a vicus, but a mallum (place of assembly or fair-ground) chosen to copy? The most plausible, but not altogether satisfactory, indentification is Mairy (Meurthe-et-Moselle); the various places called Mezière(s) are not acceptable. A second moneyer is known at this mint, using the same peculiar cross on the rev., THEVEDLENS (M.M.B.N., nos. 915-6) (possibly the same as Heudelemin of Metz). Both use the typical late form of bust, with thick neck and skull-cap-like outline to the diadem, in the final form, with a six-pointed star on the drapery, found at Metz, at Marsal and the near-by BODESIA (Vie-sur-Seille), to the S.E., and at the mysterious MALLO ARLAVIS. Mairy, just E. of the Longuyon-Briey road, may be too far N.W., and all these mints may be on the salt-ways to the S.E. of Metz. Whereas Theudelmin's issues are not reported as conspicuously pale, those of Warimundus (e.g. M.M.B.N., no. 917), and some others, as described as 'or blanc'. The whole 'six-pointed-star phase' seems to be subsequent to the latest Austrasian element in Crondall, and to span the most visible stage of debasement, which was already complete when the first English 'Vanimund' imitations were made. This argues a considerable interval between Crondall and an early phase of the post-Crondall
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thrymsas. If it proves necessary to move Crondall some way before 660, it does not follow
that the early phases of the post-Crondall coinage antedate the later 660s (see review of
Continental hoard evidence). The scale of the 'two emperors' coinage alone might call for a
longer period than the twelve years of king Hlothere (674–686; for the adjustment of certain
dates—c.f. BNJ, xxx, 27—by one year, see D. P. Kirby, 'Bede and Northumbrian chron-

The Coinage of Pada (BNJ, XXX, 13).

The other silver Pada from Sarre (P III, 6/i(a)) has come to light (FEJ), and new dies of
both the electrum and silver phases are noted in the appendix.

The Metal of the Primary Sceattas (BNJ, xxx, 15).

The new Finglesham hoard (Hoard X) was largely encrusted with iron and copper from the
purse fittings. It was gently cleaned by the excavator in a weak solution of citric acid, and
this process was repeated by the author, and the coins washed in distilled water. Any soluble
salts of Cu or Ar would have been removed, and it is difficult to believe that a metallic surface-
enrichment of Cu would have been unaffected by any soil-action on the adjacent Cu purse-
fittings. Yet after cleaning and washing the coins all showed an apparently stable yellowish
surface, except at points of highest relief, though on those of type A it was very slight.

A distinct gold colour had been previously noticed on certain primary sceattas. The writer
had remarked on it in describing B I C, 4, and Dr. Galster describes a B III B coin (C. Syll.,
no. 22) as 'gilded'. Mr. B. H. I. H. Stewart had brought several instances of it on coins of
types 'A' and 'B' to the writer's attention, but he had been inclined to dismiss it as a patina.
However, in view of the known low Cu and lower Au content of the Southend hoard (Hoard
VI), of the apparent resistance of the yellow surface of the Finglesham coins to such natural
action as had affected the purse-fittings and to artificial action on cleaning, and, after close
examination, of the presence of a comparable yellow surface on many well-preserved Primary
sceattas from various sources, he began to suspect that all Primary sceattas had received
a gold wash and were intended to be assimilated to their thrymsa archetypes. He sought
confirmation from the British Museum laboratory, but hitherto they have not felt prepared
to give a definitive answer.

If the hypothesis is correct, it may be that Primary sceattas were tremisses or 'shillings' (?)
while Secondary sceattas were, like certain explicitly marked Frankish denarii, pennies.
The economic implications of this are beyond the scope of this paper, and the question is
complicated by the fact that the transitional Hoard VIII, which obviously contained eight
of the same unit, yet included some that might be reckoned 'Secondary'. Certainly there
seems no fast distinction in weight, and the gilding, if so it is, was not regular enough to
make them immediately distinguishable. To the Franks and Frisians sceattas were denarii;
to the English none of them may have been pennies.

Type B and its Kentish Successors. (BNJ, XXX, 18, 22)

(1) The Finglesham hoard contained six of Type B I: only one obv. die was new, but only
one rev. die was already known. Without claiming a statistical validity from so small a sample,
it looks as though the series of obv. dies of B I is nearing completeness, while the rule of up
to four rev. dies to one obv. leaves many rev. dies still to be discovered. With B III and
especially with B II, less well represented in hoards, it is probably otherwise.
(II) Recently Dr. D. M. Metcalf, while admitting the continuity of type B III and *BMC* type 37 and its close relatives, has suggested (*Cunobelin*, XII (1966), 26-39):—

(a) that certain slightly anomalous coins, not only in subtype B III A, but in earlier subtypes also, are imitations;

(b) that the whole series of mature B III coins, together with *BMC* 37, etc., are non-Kentish derivatives;

(c) that this derivative series comes from Mercia, excluding London.

Taking the points separately:—

(a) may be true in a few cases, and any that are imitations may well not be English; but a different engraver does not make a different mint.

(b) seems an unnecessary hypothesis, though Dr. Metcalf does not mention one possible cause of misgiving about complete continuity with the rest of type B—the fact that Hoard VIII shows these late and roughly executed sub-types (B III B, etc.) as perhaps overlapping in time-series the much better produced *BMC* type 32a, etc., which also seem apperarent to type B and perhaps Kentish. If type 32a is the legitimate successor to B I and B II, is B III somehow less official? Certainly the B III 'connexion' constitutes a large and compact issue, and its coastwise distribution, with one or two Mercian outliers, proves nothing. Not only do earlier Primary sceattas have a coastal as well as a Kentish distribution, but the movement also works the other way, in E. Anglian and even Northumbrian coins on the Kentish coast. Note also that the apparent gilding (v.s.) is found on B III coins as well as B I.

(c) seems most unlikely. The B III 'connexion' is not W. Saxon, and almost certainly not from London. Dr. Metcalf seems to imply somewhere properly in Middle Anglia, and there was no mint there, or in Mercia proper, in the later 8th century. The most plausible locations for the 'connexion', if it is not Kentish, are somewhere in the progressive East—Lindsey, or even E. Anglia. It is worth noting that some of the odder 'R2' coins, e.g. that from Hoard VIII, combine E. Anglian motifs with a handling of pellets much as in B III. This, with the Rouen and Frisian (cf. C. Syll., 49, 50) affinities of *BMC* 37, takes us back to the coast. Essex, apart from London, was a poor area compared with wealthy Kent, and the simplest hypothesis is to leave the B III 'connexion' with its archetypes in Kent.

(III) Dr. Metcalf (*op. cit.* 31) demonstrates that B IIIC is not transitional between B III B and *BMC* 37, but 'conflationary', i.e. begun after the introduction of the latter (as Hoard VIII would suggest) and copying some of its features.

*The Continental Hoard Evidence (BNJ, XXX, 24)*

I. Bordeaux. Le Gentilhomme's reconstruction of this hoard has been questioned. The main issue is not in the precise composition, but whether there were in fact two hoards—a Visigothic hoard, which certainly ended with Wamba (672–680), and a Frankish hoard. Le Gentilhomme admitted that the description of individual coins was only approximate, but there is no reason to doubt the general complexion of each of the suggested two hoards. The Frankish part clearly contained some old material (so did Cimiez), but nothing that need antedate the debasement already perceptible before Dagobert's death (639); on the other hand, if the Childeric of Marseille is correct, it was not buried before 662; in other words, the later limit of the Frankish hoard is a decade earlier than that of the Visigothic. Some Western elements can be paralleled at Dronrijp and Crondall, but there are items that seem to reflect Austrasian coins of a trifle later. Taking the Baudulf coin as the *archetype*, not the
derivative, of the English ‘two emperors’ type, there is nothing inconsistent with a burial in the early 660s, allowing the English ‘two emperors’ to begin soon afterwards.

II. Dronrijp I and II (BNJ, XXX, 25) Dronrijp, Nietap, Crondall, Bordeaux and a small group from Alterwalde are essentially of the same generation, but (with the possible exception of Nietap) the Frankish content of Crondall appears to be the earliest of them. If this proves to be around, or soon after, 650, with the others following in the next dozen years, the effect is to allow the development of the large post-Crondall thrymsa coinage to cover the period c. 665–685, i.e. to let the proposed chronology out where the seams are tightest. The extra decade produced by splitting the Bordeaux hoard is welcome. Therefore amend the statement in BNJ XXX, 27 to ‘(a) the post-Crondall pale gold coinage between the later 660s and the early 680s’.

III. Predominantly silver hoards (ibid.) These are in no wise affected. There still remain three stages of development between the post-Crondall thrymsas and St. Pierre-des-Etieux and its followers:— the ultimate (base silver) Padas and ‘Vanimunds’ and probably BX; the Primary series, A and B I; B II, Primary Runic (R Ia) and, after it, Frisian Runic (R 3)— these three already represented at St. Pierre.

IV. Prof. Zadoks-Jitta points out that there is no evidence that the Frisians invaded Gaul to support the rivals of Charles Martel, and does not think his Frisian raid of 734 serious enough to explain the concealment of Hallum or other hoards.

APPENDIX A (Pada)
Type P I: insert after P IA 1:—
(obv) 1 bis. Intermediate head, regular legend
(rev) (i) ‘pada’ on standard, longer cross with annulet terminals, maTT—M
(a) 18-6/1-20, C.Syll., no. 23, EL.

Type P II: after P IIA, 2 (I)a add:—
from near Namur (R.B.N., 1854, p. 269). The true weight is 1-155gm.; the s.g. 10-41.

Type P III: insert after P III 4 (on which final c of obv. approaches r):—
(obv) 4 bis. ‘Visigothic’ bust with two pellets, IIVA-VII
(rev) (i) detached annulets, ‘pada’ AVIXVAVX
(a) 19-7/1-28 Messrs. Baldwin, R (Pl. xiv).

APPENDIX B (‘Vanimund’)
Type VB: add:—
VB 10. (rev.) AVIV — 17-0/1-10, AM (Christ Church coll., Oman cat. 3/11).

APPENDIX E (Type B)
Phase BX: add:—
BX 3, ii (b) —/—, Heesse sale, 14: vi: 1922, lot 307.
BX 5 (perhaps between BX I and BX 2) / b. 8 pellets or small annulets / pellets r. / 8 /.. / cTAV—VhT
(rev.) i / 3 x 3 / 2, 9 /... / cvANvAvHIO
(a) 19-9/1-29, C. Syll., no. 38, ex f d a.

Phase B I
Subtype B I A: add:—
To B I A, 10, new rev: (iii) 3 x 3/3, 9/-1/0 AVIM — N(reverse-barred)AOO
(a) 19-6/1-274, Ed. X, 3.

B I A, 12 (like B I A, 8, but serpent’s head up behind ear, as B II) h. /—/ 8 / 1. / cyAvInVAvA —
ITIOO
(rev.) (i) 3½ x 3½ / 3, 9 /.../ 1./—/ AVInVAvA — 0
(a) 16-6 / 1-076*, Ed. X, 4.
Subtype B I B: add:—

To B I B, 1, rev.  
(i) = of B I B, 2A, (d) 19-3/1-25, C. Syll., no. 39.

To B I B, 5, new rev:  
(ii) 2$\frac{1}{2}$ x 3 / 3, 9 / none, really a B I C rev. / 1. / ơ tavimvaHVao  
(a) 19-3/1-248, H.d. X, 5.

To B I B, 6, new rev:  
(ii) 3$\frac{1}{2}$ x 4 / 2$\frac{1}{2}$, 9 / pel. 4$\frac{1}{2}$, 7$\frac{1}{2}$ / 1. / -mavHiaV  
(a) 15-5/1-00, C. Syll., no. 40.

To B I B, 8, rev (i)  
(b) 19-1/1-234, H.d. X, 6.

Subtype B I C: add:  

To B I C, 1, correct obv. legend, ơ tavimvaHVao,  
and new rev:  
(ii) 2$\frac{1}{2}$ x 3 / 3, 9 / - / 1. / ơ tavimvaHVao  
(a) 19-3/1-248, H.d. X, 7.

To B I C, 4, correct obv. legend, ơ tavimvaHVao,  
and new rev:  
(ii) 2$\frac{1}{2}$ x 3$\frac{1}{2}$ / 3, 9 / - / 1. / ơ tavimvaHVao  
(a) 19-0/1-228, H.d. X, 8.

Phase B III  
Subtype B III B; add, not in chronological order:—  

B III B, 13, h., slight chin as B III B, 1–3 / - / 10 / none / none  
(rev):  
(i) 3 x 6 / 3, 9 / 4 pel. (2nd q.) / 3 pel. (3rd & 4th q.) / no serpent / no legend, spiral winged bird.  
(a) 18-6/1-2, C. Syll., no. 22 ('gilded')

B, 14, h., nose as B III B, 3 / - / 11 / none / none  
(rev):  
(i) 3 x 6 / 3, 8$\frac{1}{2}$ / no pel. ? / rest as B III B, 13  
(a) 17-1/1-11, A.N.S. (Pl. xiv).

APPENDIX F (Hoards)  
Hoard II (Milton Regis). See article by Mrs. S. (Chadwick) Hawkes and L. R. A. Grove in A.C., LXXVIII (1963), 22. The pendants in B.M. and another group of pendants now in M.M. were neither of them from the same burial as the sceattas.

Hoard VIII (Garton on the Wolds). The finder reports the correct map-ref. as 959/618, not 987/577.

Add Hoard X. FINGLESHAM, Nat grid: TR 326/534:  
Found 1966, by Mrs. S. Hawkes, in excavating the cemetery which had already produced a Pada (P I A, 2 (a)) and a Sigebert of Marseille. The grave (145A) contained a male burial and the hoard was in the remains of a leather purse with small bronze fittings (cf. Hoard III), attached to a loosened belt, by the right arm. The hoard was close in content and date to Hoard I. (pl. xiv, 1–8).

8 coins; 2 type A, 6 type B; mean weight of undamaged coins 19-37 gr., of type B alone 19-25. Property of Lord Northbourne. Weights from B.M.

Type A:  
(1) A2, 4 (rev. ident. with F. Syll, no 223; obv. die retouched?) (19-6/1-268) . (2) New obv. close to A3, 11 (rev. not ident. with Hoard II coin) (19-7/1-281) ←

Type B:  

APPENDIX H (Single Finds and Pairs)  
Type A: For RICHBOROUGH—A2, read RICHBOROUGH—A1.

Type B: Lindsey, WINTRINGHAM. B III BMC, type 37: WINTRINGHAM (as above); RANBURY.

APPENDIX I (Spectrographic Analysis)  
For Hoard VIII (Southend) read Hoard VI (Southend)

Plate III. BII, 4/i; for Hoard VIII read Hoard VII.