

RUNIC SCEATTAS READING *EPA*, TYPES R1 AND R2

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THE substantive issue of runic sceattas of Types R1 and R2 is a close imitation of Series C, except that the runic legend in front of the bust is *epa* in place of the original *æpa*. R1–2 always has a distinctive reverse design, by which specimens can be recognized at a glance. The two letters I of the votive formula TOT II are placed vertically (Fig. 1), rather than slanting outwards towards the base, as invariably seen in Series A and C.



Fig. 1. Type R1 (enlarged $\times 2$).

Types R1 and R2 have been something of a bone of contention because they were seen as transitional between the essentially east Kentish Series C and the East Anglian Series R. It was questioned whether they belonged to Kent, along with Series C, as their fabric and general style suggested, or to East Anglia, like the rest of Series R. This paper will argue that their distribution-pattern can now be seen to be significantly different from either, which creates the presumption that they were minted elsewhere – presumably further to the north or west. The pattern is extremely scattered and lacks any very clear regional focus, but it shows what look like small concentrations in south Lincolnshire and also in Wessex, which is puzzling, as these two regions are so far apart. And it still has to be explained why Type R3 and subsequent East Anglian types should continue the *epa* legend, if R1–2 is not East Anglian. The problem is complicated by the existence of various copies or imitations of R1–2 which are, broadly speaking, in primary-phase style (although some of them may well be of early secondary date). Most of them may be assumed to be opportunistic and thoroughly unofficial. As usual, the die-cutting of these ranges widely from deplorable to really quite good, and they could have been made anywhere and all in different places. Two or three have been found at Domburg, almost certainly unofficial imitations. Indeed, the types with vertical I, I in TOT II could in principle have been made in several places, which might be a way of explaining their very scattered distribution. The distinctive reverse would, after all, be very easy to copy. One of the purposes of constructing a die-corpus is to show the internal stylistic coherence of Types R1 and 2. By the time that three or four dozen specimens have been rounded up and are, so to speak, standing shoulder to shoulder, the elements of stylistic uniformity become clear, and any specimens which fail to comply begin to look conspicuous. In the event, the die-corpus creates a strong presumption that (imitations apart) the main body of R1–2 originated in just one place. That conclusion is reinforced by die-linked specimens found sometimes hundreds of miles apart. But there are also some rather more regular imitations, in particular a little series of R/C2 ‘mules’, which have not too much in common, stylistically, with R1–2, except that they look like primary-phase coins, and that they read *epa*. The *epa*, however, reads outwards not inwards. With this obverse which would seem, in a general sense, to be copied from R1–2 they associate a reverse that, on its own, would be judged perfectly

acceptable as part of Series C. The question is whether these could be 'the missing link', providing continuity between Series C and R. Another of the gains from constructing a die-corpus is that it demonstrates that there is no question of stylistic affinity or transition from R1–2 to the R/C2 'mules'. They are not true mules, but imitations. Nor are their provenances noticeably either Kentish, or East Anglian. We should almost certainly take them out of the C-R sequence altogether. As for their mint-place, that is a question to be considered separately, on its own merits. They might be from Essex. The distribution-patterns of the 'mules', etc. are perfectly astonishing, as will be seen below.

The coins of the main R1–2 series are careful copies of Type C1, not C2, i.e. always with the tufa at the top of the reverse design (never with four crosses in the margins, like C2, and never inverted, as C1 often is). Another distinctive feature is that the runes face inwards, and are retrograde. Types R3 onwards, also reading *epa*, have outward-facing runes, as does Series C (and the R/C2 'mules'). Sometimes an *epa* obverse is imitated in combination with a quite different reverse design, e.g. cross-with-annulet-terminals; if the runes are inward-facing, we can safely say that the prototype was R1–2, not R3. There is such a coin in the Garton-on-the-Wolds grave finds, from the East Riding of Yorkshire, and a die-duplicate of it from Lincolnshire. The fact that typologically R1 and R2 branch off from the main sequence contemporaneously with C1, or at least that they choose to imitate C1, is a strong argument against their being transitional between C and R (unless C2 were the type that branched off; but its distribution-pattern seems to be no different from that of C1). In any case, it is the contrasting distribution-patterns that are the bedrock of the argument.

Types R1 and R2 are of late primary-phase date, that is, around 700 to 710, both types being fully represented in the Aston Rowant hoard. It seems, from the detailed classification proposed below, that the whole or virtually the whole sequence of R1–2 was complete when Aston Rowant was deposited. As its introduction date was necessarily later than the beginning of Type C1, its date-span will have been not much more than a decade. R1–2 and C were thus at least partly contemporaneous (C1 may have begun some years earlier), and it may be of practical interest, therefore, to compare their ratio at particular sites or in different regions. Over all, Series C is about twice as plentiful as R1–2 among English single finds. In Aston Rowant, however, R1–2 exceeds that ratio (twenty-two, against thirty-one specimens of C), either because the hoard is weighted with recent coins, or perhaps because its owner had better access to the home region of R1–2 than that of C. The weight-standard of R1–2 is very much the same as that of Series C, accurate figures as usual being difficult to obtain because hoard coins tend to be a little heavier than stray finds. Six specimens of R1–2 have been chemically analysed,¹ showing 'silver' values (silver plus lead plus gold) ranging from 95.4 down to 88.1 per cent: a very respectable standard, but perhaps not quite as reliable as Series C.

There were, as already mentioned, twenty-two specimens of R1–2 in Aston Rowant (compared with thirty-one of Series C),² and there are at least twenty-eight provenanced single finds from England, plus single specimens in the Kings Lynn grave-find and in the Rodings hoard,³ and in a putative hoard from Humberside, referred to here as the 'Flixborough' hoard, although the provenance is far from certain.⁴ Straightforwardly imitative coins add another five single finds. There are a couple of twinnings with finds from Domburg.⁵ The die-corpus, below, which includes a fair sprinkling of die-identities, suggests that Types R1–2

¹ Metcalf 1994, 674–5, analyses nos 391–5 and E.031.

² The figures are based on the coins originally acquired by the British Museum, plus four subsequent auction sales. They exclude some stragglers sold separately. I would like to record my grateful thanks to Dr Anna Gannon, who kindly allowed me to see the relevant pages of her forthcoming British Museum catalogue of sceattas, and facilitated my examining the coins.

³ Rescued for science through the good offices of Mr Joe Bispham.

⁴ The site of the Flixborough excavations was disgracefully plundered by rogue detectorists. A large body of material was at least seen as it passed by (although asking questions was pointless), and recorded and photographed by responsible students. A summary list of 100 sceattas and twelve stycas was published by Bonser 1997. Mike Bonser rightly cautions us that 'despite extensive enquiries it is still not certain where this site is located – or even which side of the Humber'. The proportion of stycas to sceattas, if it is the whole story, would favour Lindsey. It is possible to compare the composition of the assemblage of the excavation coins with that of the illicit material, and that leads the present writer to think that the finds included a hoard of late primary or very early secondary date. The finders would, of course, be unlikely to admit this.

⁵ References are to Op den Velde and Klaassen 2004.

were normally produced with a one-to-one die ratio, and that the official series was originally struck from something like 90 to 100 pairs of dies (plus margins of statistical error). It seems that the mint, wherever it was, had access to significant amounts of silver, and was moderately active.



Fig. 2. Single finds of R1-2 (dots) and imitations (triangles), plus hoards in which they occur (squares), and R/C2 'mules', etc. (crosses).

Moving Types R1 and 2 sideways, away from the line between Series C and R, does not dispose of the problem of continuity. It merely relocates it, because the question then is to explain why Type R3 (which is certainly East Anglian) copies the runic legend of R1–2. Now, the copying of types in the primary phase can sometimes be a quite illogical and unpredictable affair, witness for example ‘Vanimundus’ or Series F, each copied from distant prototypes. But we should at least ask whether there is any rhyme or reason that we can detect. Could there, for example, have been any question of a political alliance between two of the kingdoms or sub-kingdoms, reflected in a shared coin type?

If R1–2 were, for example, from a westerly, inland mint, it would be difficult to understand why it should have been chosen as the model for the earliest East Anglian coins of Series R. Of course, logically it need not have been imitation. If *epa* were the hypocoristic personal name of the moneyer, he might simply have migrated to East Anglia at the beginning of the secondary phase, and found new employment there. But that would imply the coin design was in some sense his personal property, which one doubts.

The simplest solution one can think of (which will not necessarily be the true one) would be if R1–2 were East Anglian, but from elsewhere than Ipswich or the Gipping valley. Excavations in Ipswich have yielded a large number of sceattas, among which, however, there are remarkably few from the primary phase – and none of R1–2. We know that that does not signify a late start to commercial activity at Ipswich. The town was certainly functioning as a *wic* in the seventh century, as imported goods testify. And a distribution map for the locally manufactured pottery, Ipswich ware, helps to define the town’s hinterland, coinciding with the whole of the East Anglian kingdom, and even a little beyond. There are four coins of Pada (struck in the 670s or thereabouts) from graves in the Buttermarket cemetery. But then, it seems, there is a gap. Could the town have been severely hit by some disaster in the 680s, such as plague, or fire, from which it took a decade or more to recover? We have no archaeological evidence such as an ash layer (except the negative evidence of the absence of primary sceattas), but if something like that happened, might the East Anglian kings have seen fit to establish a mint elsewhere in their kingdom? They might, perhaps, have located it further up the Gipping valley, in the vicinity of Coddendam, from where it seems that there are plenty of finds of primary-phase sceattas.⁶ But that hypothesis would not account for the sharp distributional difference between Types R1–2 and R3. (About half of all single finds of R3 are from East Anglia.) The same objection would apply to the thought that Ipswich in the primary phase was much smaller in extent than the late Saxon town, and that primary-phase sceattas (including R1–2) are waiting to be excavated in the waterfront sector, which at present is little explored archaeologically. Essentially, Types R1–2 are very thin on the ground in East Anglia, especially so in Ipswich and its vicinity. If they were from another East Anglian mint, elsewhere in the kingdom, one might still have expected them to find their way back to the Gipping valley. That is the dilemma. We know well enough that sceattas had a commercial context and, in so far as they were under royal control, there was a political context too, but what the balance was between commercial and political is a big question, to which the answer will have varied from time to time, and which is difficult to address. Are we to say that R1–2, minted somewhere with access to the Wash, was carried far and wide everywhere in England, but rarely into East Anglia? The drift of coinage was always inland, starting from the North Sea coasts. But that would be elevating the commercial context over the political with a vengeance. Pushing R1–2 towards the north-western quadrant of East Anglia also raises wider numismatic questions, because that seems to be home ground for Series Q, I–III. Why was R1–2 carried so much further and wider than Q, I–III? It has been tentatively suggested that Series R was a royal coinage, whereas Q was more ecclesiastical. The problem with that is that, even if it were true as regards the issue of the coins, once they had entered circulation one would expect that they went wherever the currents took them, regardless of type. Another explanation would be that, with the break between the primary and secondary phases, a sharp contraction took place in the nation-wide circulation which is a feature of the

⁶ See the note on cat. no. 18 below – perhaps it is not absolutely certain.

primary phase. R1–2 lies on the earlier side of that divide, Q on the later side. That is probably the main perspective. One may add that the concentration of Q, I–III in the north-western quadrant of the kingdom sits ill with any theory that it was minted by the bishop or bishops of East Anglia. There is much that is unknown in the regional aspects of East Anglia's political history in the eighth century, and that uncertainty extends through into the Fens. Type BZ seems to belong thereabouts, and Type BII is concentrated there, and the political problem surfaces again with the late type Q(R). We must not use western Norfolk and the Fen edges as a dustbin for our unsolved numismatic problems.

A mint-attribution for R1–2 somewhere with access to salt water via the Wash would chime in with the recovery of no fewer than four specimens from the South Lincolnshire productive site (against three of Series C), and others from nearby Swaton, from Burnham Market, and in the Kings Lynn grave-find. (Note that the South Lincolnshire site is not in Lindsey, but in what seems to have been a corridor of territory giving Mercia access to the North Sea.) But that is only a guess. The archaeology of north-west Norfolk doubtless still holds many secrets.⁷

Another possible solution: could Types R1–2 really be peripheral? One is reminded of the problem of attributing the coins in the 'Hwiccian' style in Series L. Although they are found widely, they have a markedly peripheral distribution, with a distinct concentration in the West Country and the west Midlands, while at the same time being London-connected.⁸ Documentary evidence of large-scale sheep-farming in the Cotswolds, and of the land-owners' commercial privileges associated with export through London suggest a context.⁹ The Hwiccian attribution has been contested, as new finds have come to light which show that the so-called Hwiccian style occurs elsewhere as well. The complexities and interrelationships of Series K and L are numismatically challenging. The argument has swung back and forth: the writer was disposed to accept that the new finds of 'Hwiccian' coins precluded a westerly mint-place. In any case, inland minting seemed problematic. But regression analysis has revived the claim of the coins to have a special connection with Hwiccia.¹⁰ Their distribution-pattern is certainly different from that for the rest of Series L. Could something analogous be true of Types R1–2? A long-distance link between the Wash and Mercia?

Or yet another solution: could R1–2 belong to London? Could London, already in c.700–710, have developed a long-distance trade reaching out towards the periphery, including Wessex, the Cotswolds, and Old Mercia (as represented among the provenances for R1–2)? We know little enough about the commercial history of London at specifically this time. Bede's famous remark about London as 'the market-place of many peoples coming by land and sea' was written two or three decades later, during which time the *wic* above the Strand was doubtless growing. Mercian overlordship was asserted from the 660s onwards, perhaps sporadically; the kings of Kent had a hall in London in 686, and Kentishmen 'who had bought cattle in the city' enjoyed certain legal privileges.¹¹ If the hypothesis raises difficulties, they lie rather in the knock-on numismatic effects, in particular that Series B would have to be accommodated elsewhere, in Essex. Among the corollaries would be that London coins were not being much carried eastwards, to east Kent (although the relative strength of R1–2 in West Kent compared with East Kent would be a favourable argument). But it is counter-intuitive that London did not participate in the 'money-go-round' of the south-east. The stray finds from London itself, while offering no particular encouragement, are neutral. R1–2 are represented there, among a very limited number of primary-phase finds, but they are not significantly over-represented. If the sceattas were essentially an inter-regional trade currency, perhaps that does not weigh heavily as an argument. Compare the representation of Series A and C at Canterbury, which is similarly neutral. But Series B is a major series, and

⁷ Rogerson 2003.

⁸ Metcalf 1976.

⁹ Kelly 1992.

¹⁰ Two contrasting regression analysis maps, for the 'Hwiccian' style and for the rest of Series L, are published in Metcalf 2003, 44 and 46.

¹¹ Stenton 1971, 55–8.

finding a home for it elsewhere north of the Thames, while leaving London the much less plentiful R1–2, does not seem sensible. Where would we be looking to locate B (and Vanimundus)? Colchester? Colchester's hinterland would hardly sustain it. The case is by no means self-evident.

One other solution should perhaps be mentioned. Could B and R1–2 both be from London? We tend to think of 'one *wic*, one coin type', but could London be the exception that proves the rule? If the kings of Kent had a hall in London, might they for example also have been allowed to have a moneyer there, striking Kentish-type sceattas? This is, of course, pure speculation, and it is difficult to foresee how it could become anything else.

The map of single finds of R1–2 shows a pattern that is so diffuse that the verification of any hypothesis is difficult. London looks to be the best option, but one certainly would not insist on it. The interpretation of the Aston Rowant hoard (in which R1–2 is somewhat over-represented) as the money of a merchant travelling up the Thames valley, out of London, has its attractions. And C/R2 imitations seem to be best understood in the context of the Thames valley axis. Why the East Anglian coinage, after the break, should have chosen to model itself on R1–2 rather than on C remains a mystery. Perhaps the future was looking bright for London, even before the rise to power of King Æthelbald.

What archaeology can tell us, even the state-of-the-art excavations of Middle Saxon London, is limited when we want to ask questions about a particular decade, namely 700–10. The problem seems set to be intractable. Yet R1–2 must have been minted somewhere, and on a scale which suggests an active trading centre, with access to supplies of bullion.

Regional analysis

If the single finds are allocated to the eleven regions used in previous analyses,¹² the outcome (and comparison with Series C) is as follows. Imitations are identified separately, e.g. 4 + 1 means four official coins plus one imitation. Hoards and grave-finds are omitted, as are the R/C2 imitations.

TABLE 1. Numbers of single finds of Series C and Types R1–2, and their proportions among all primary sceattas.

	Primary coins	Series C coins	%	Types R1–2 coins	%
North of Humber	42	5	12	3	7
Lindsey	45	3	7	1	2
Norfolk	104	9	9	2	2
Suffolk	112	10	9	3	3
Essex (north)	35	3	9	0	0
The south-east	190	22	12	4 + 1	3
Sussex	11	0	0	1	(9)
Wessex	41	3	7	5 + 1	15
Upper/middle Thames	45	5	11	1	2
Middle Anglia	91	6	7	3 + 2	5
Severn/Trent	77	6	8	6 + 1	15

Note that the percentage numbers are not directly comparable between C and R, because C is based on seventy-two single finds, whereas R1–2 is based on thirty-three, or about half as many. One should look in the first instance at the gradient between adjoining regions (Fig. 3, two maps).¹³ In Series C the gradient is downhill in all directions out of the South-East. In R1–2 it is by no means similar.

¹² In *BNJ* 2003, etc.

¹³ The map for Series C is reproduced unchanged from *BNJ* 2004, and the same base-list of all primary sceattas is used to calculate the percentages of R1–2.

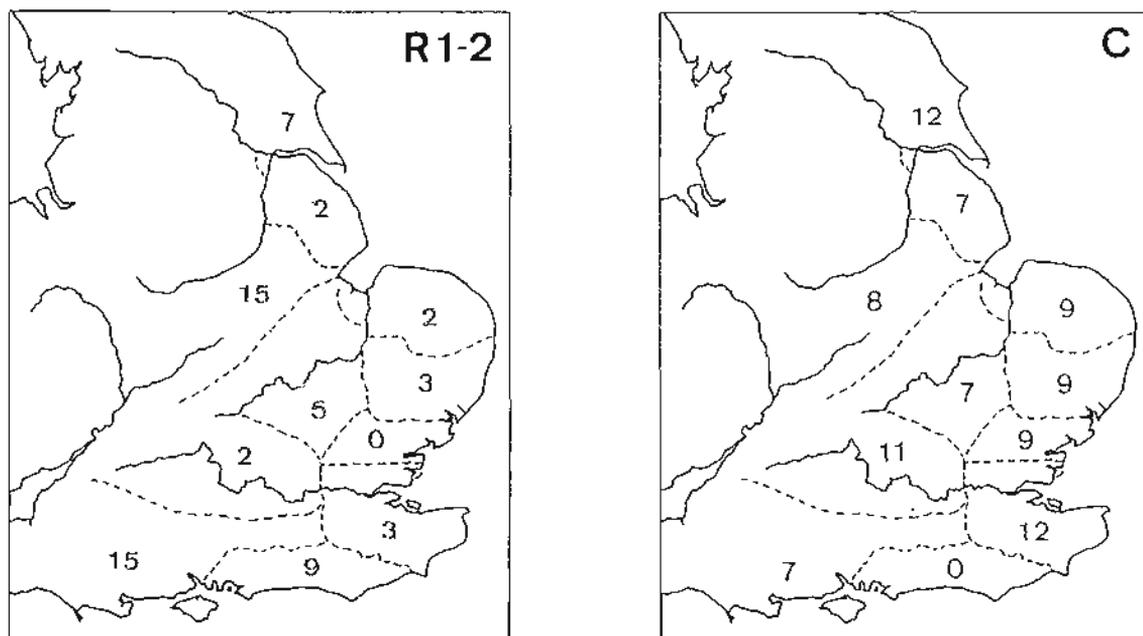


Fig. 3. Regional distribution of single finds of C and R1-2.

Regression analysis would scarcely be profitable in the present state of our information. One can see by inspection of the main map (Fig. 2) that the topographically more exact method would pick up the fact that most of the finds of R1-2 in the south-east are at the western end of that region (Godstone, Surrey, more or less on the border, has been treated as south-eastern), whereas Series A and C are generally assumed to belong to east Kent. There would also be a strong focus around the Wash, because the total number of primary-phase finds there is quite modest.

Classification

Although most of the coins of R1-2 manifestly form a stylistically coherent group, there are in fact a dozen different formal varieties, involving the letters behind the bust, the presence or absence of an annulet before the runes, and so on. They are summarized in the diagram (Fig. 4). The existence of so many formal varieties simplifies the task of checking for die-identity, especially among the obverses, which is no small benefit when the dies are larger than the flans.

The neatest and best specimens have < > to left and right of the standard on the reverse (this is derived from the design of Type C1) and something looking like a letter I diagonally at each corner of the standard. Coins with a reverse like this account for about half the known specimens of R1-2. On the rest, the symbols < > are flanked by the letters T, T, so that the reverses appear to read TAT, or even (using the corner symbols) ITATI to left and right. Often, the symbols < > are larger than the letters T, and these are occasionally raised, as if superscript. (Note the superfluous T, T, I, I which occurs on many specimens of Series F. Is there any connection?)

The obverses have a large, inverted chevron-barred A (>) behind the head, (again inherited from Series A and C). Very often, one might say echoing the reverses, but actually beginning sooner, there is also a T, or two Ts, reading T V, or T V T, or (rarely) V T. On the neatest, most careful dies there are pellets between the triangles of the radiate crown, as well as a pellet in each triangle. This detail is found both on the variety with just > behind the

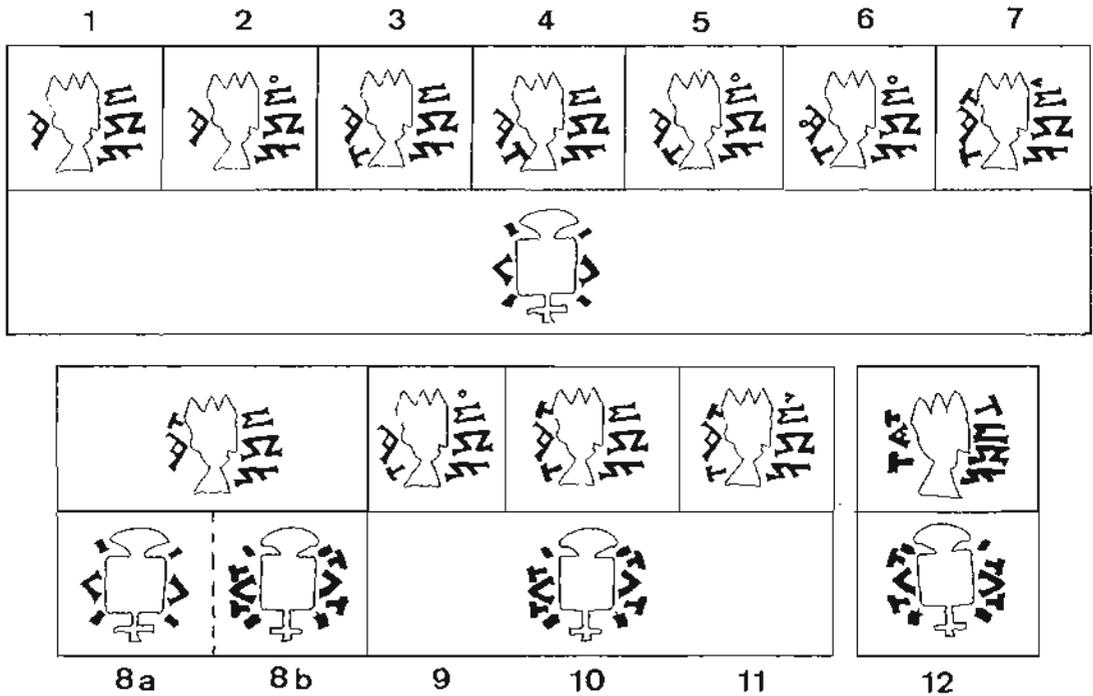


Fig. 4. Distinguishing details of Varieties 1-12.

head, and on that with T V, i.e. Varieties 1-3. Other specimens, in both varieties, lack the extra pellets. It is not clear, therefore, that there is a chronological progression from 1 to 3. Perhaps both varieties were produced concurrently. The standard tends to be rather smaller in the variety with >, and larger in that with TV. There could have been two moneyers; or the difference could be meaningless.

There is a die-link involving an obverse with the scarce V T, which occurs with two reverses, which have A and TAT respectively. Moreover, the A reverse is again linked to another, extremely similar (or the same?) obverse. Whether this is the moment of transition from A to TAT, or whether the reverse designs with A and TAT were in use concurrently, is not yet apparent. Just one other instance has been observed so far, where two reverses were used with the same obverse die, namely the North Essex find and an Aston Rowant coin. The evidence that has accumulated so far suggests that the die-ratio was normally one-to-one, but the survival-rate per obverse die is still too low to preclude the occasional obverse die-link. A few obverse dies in the early stages of R1-2 seem to have been relatively heavily used, and it would not be without precedent in other series if evidence of a one-to-two ratio turned up there in the future.¹⁴ But already one can say that, where more than one specimen is known from an obverse die, the reverse is normally the same.

Sometimes the runes in front of the face are preceded by an annulet (again inherited). It is found both with V and with T V, and also with reverses with either A or TAT. Sometimes one can be sure that there is no annulet, but on other specimens it could be present but off the flan. Again, there is no positive encouragement to suppose that the annulet is any kind of secret-mark, or indicative of a double sequence. One specimen has, very clearly, a small < in place of the annulet. In intention, however, it could be a tiny but badly-formed letter T. (A much larger T appears in Variety 12.)

The latest part of the series has A (not inverted) behind the head and, as just mentioned, a large T (once again inherited) preceding the runes. These two details correlate completely,

¹⁴ It happens in Type BII.

except for one or two specimens which are manifestly imitative. The A / *Tepa* coins constitute about a quarter of the whole. Their workmanship soon becomes coarser, using fewer and larger pellets to outline the standard, for example. The symbols behind the head are inserted untidily, and eventually with extra, duplicated symbols. There need be no doubt that the break between the two kinds of A behind the head, inverted and not inverted, is the major dividing line in the classification, nor that the coarse coins are late.¹⁵ Aston Rowant includes the full range of varieties, up to the A / *Tepa* coins, i.e. the sequence was complete or almost complete when the hoard was concealed. There is no observable decline in the weight-standard in the latest group, but it is possible (not certain) that the alloy became slightly less reliable.

Sporadically, right through to the end, the standard has horns (as in Series A). This detail is quite usual in Variety 3, but it is rarely found in Variety 1. It is an interesting glimpse into the mentality of the die-cutter(s) that they were aware of the 'horns' as part of the proper content of their design, but did not always bother to include it.

On the basis of the variations that have been described, there are a dozen formal varieties, of which the last is rather variable (Fig. 4). Varieties 1 and 3 include dies of particularly careful workmanship. The middle part of the sequence includes several varieties which are very close to each other in style. Variety 12 is late. That is about as far as the available material encourages us to go.

Die-linked or stylistically very similar specimens have been found hundreds of miles apart, as the catalogue (below) reveals. There is no sign that any of the varieties is associated with a particular region of England. In particular, Variety 12 has been recorded from far and wide, no differently from Varieties 1–11. There is just a possibility that the early varieties are more focused on Middle Anglia than those that followed (Linton, Cambridgeshire; the Rodings; Kings Lynn; Pampisford, Cambridgeshire) but a larger database would be needed for this to be confirmed.

CATALOGUE

The catalogue descriptions consist mainly of comments towards a classification, or serve to draw attention to distinctive features of the dies. wnr = weight not recorded. Die-adjustment is irregular. Metal analyses are by Dr J.P. Northover. The great majority of the specimens catalogued have already been illustrated photographically, often in the Coin Register (CR), or elsewhere in *BNJ*, or in sale-catalogues. EMC = Early Medieval Coins web-site (<http://hwwww-cm.fitzmuseum.cam.ac.uk/coins/emc/index.html>). 'British Museum' numbers refer to Dr Gannon's forthcoming catalogue of sceattas, while *BMC* indicates the original catalogue number. Selected line-drawings (enlarged $\times 1.5$) are included here as an aide-memoire, and to bring the coins together side by side for comparison. The drawings were prepared from $\times 4$ enlargements. Die-identity (or its absence) was judged from photographs or from the actual coins.

Variety 1. With > behind the head, no symbol before *epa*. Reverse with < >.



Fig. 5. Variety 1: Nos 1a, 2a, 2b, 2c, 5.

¹⁵ The writer was previously inclined to reverse the order of R1 and R2, which would mean that the flan size tended to increase, towards R3. He now wishes to retract that view.

1. *Obv.* Boldly pelleted eye, lips, and hair-line. The ear is finished with two pronounced pellets. The crown seems to have been cut as a row of three triangles, i.e. the band of the crown is not a single straight line. Widely splayed A.

Rev. The tufa is wide and flattened. The right-hand > is asymmetrical (copied from Series A) – a very unusual and presumably early feature. Large pellets, and the large cross in the lower margin has block serifs. Central annulet with tiny central pellet.

a) Linton, Cambs., (near), September 1996. 1.15 g. CR 1999, no. 54. EMC 1999.0023. Other sceattas from the same site.

2. *Obv.* The line of pellets representing the hair bends upwards over the forehead. The eye is almond-shaped vertically. Ear with pellet terminals, usually feint. The pyramidal neck is asymmetrical, sloping further outwards at the back.

Rev. Small standard. Die-flaw between the two letters T, T. (The reverses are difficult to check, but would seem to be all from the same die.)

a) British Museum 624 (1971, 12–16–24), ex Aston Rowant, Oxon., hoard, 1971. 1.27 g. (Five specimens were acquired by the Museum not long after the discovery. They are referred to in Kent 1972. See below, nos 11, 17, 40a and 41.)

b) The Rodings, Essex, hoard, c.1994. wnr.

c) Kings Lynn, Norfolk, grave-find, 1991. 1.17 g.

d) Hamwic (Stadium) excavations, 1998–2000, no. 13. 1.02 g. (Almost certainly the same obverse die, in a worn state, and almost certainly the same reverse.) Context: domestic rubbish pit. Birbeck 2005, 133 and 135 (illus.).

3. *Obv.* Pellets within and also between the triangles of the radiate crown (early detail?). Asymmetrical pyramidal neck, the inner pyramid sketchy and imperfectly aligned. Recutting of left-hand limb of A? The line of pellets representing the hair bends upwards, cf. no. 2.

Rev. Larger standard. Widely spreading tufa. Some technical defects in upper right corner of standard. Note the die-link with 4(a).

a) Ashmolean Museum 393, ex Aston Rowant hoard (Sotheby, 17 July 1986, 181 (part)). 1.25 g. 91% 'silver'.

4. *Obv.* Very similar in general style to no. 3, in particular the angle of the lips. The rune *p* is very wide, and its main limb points towards the tip of the nose, thus definitely not the same die as no. 3.

Rev. From the same die as no. 3(a), with the distinctive damage in the upper right corner of the standard.

a) Aston Rowant hoard (Glendining, 13 March 1975, 212). wnr.

5. *Obv.* The hair-line rises over the forehead. Pointed nose. Eyebrow runs diagonally. Asymmetrical neck.

Rev. Standard with horns.

a) Nether Poppleton, Yorks. (North Riding), September 1989, in a field at Millfield Lane, near the present York-Boroughbridge road (a 'productive site'). 1.11 g. Information and photograph courtesy of Mrs M. Woodford. Reported by Peter Seaby in *The Yorkshire Numismatist* 2, 117, mentioning various other specimens of Type R2, but these are Rigold R2, not Metcalf R2 (Metcalf 1994 had not yet been published when *YN* 2 appeared).

6. *Obv.* Generally similar in style to nos 3–4, e.g. the modelling of the cheek, and position of the lips.

Rev. Small standard.

a) British Museum 625, ex Barnett bequest (1935, 11–17–290). 1.10 g. Die-flaw below nose.

b) Ashmolean Museum 391, ex Aston Rowant hoard (Sotheby, 17 July, 1986, 181 (part)). 1.23 g. 95% 'silver'.

Now much larger die-flaw diagonally across face

c) Ashmolean Museum 392. Same provenance. 1.22 g. 93% 'silver'. Same die-flaw.

Variety 2. With > behind head, annulet before runes.



Fig. 6. Variety 2: Nos 7a, 7b

7. *Obv.* Small head, without much modelling. Large die-flaw over the rune *p*. The lower band of pellets appears sharply curved.

Rev. Neat standard.

a) Pampisford, Cambs., 7 November 2003. 1.11 g. CR 2005, no. 69. EMC 2004.0053.

b) Urchfont, Wilts., 2006. 1.1 g. Information and photograph courtesy of Mr Brian Read. (Certainly the same obverse die, very probably the same reverse die.)

Variety 3. With T > behind head.



Fig. 7. Variety 3: Nos 8d, 13a, 14a, 16a.

8. *Obv.* Pellets within and also between or above the triangles of the crown. Linear nose, of which the horizontal sections both slope upwards, finished (at lower left) with a pellet. Lips vertically aligned.

Rev. Larger, widely spreading tufa. The central annulet encloses a tiny pellet.

a) Aston Rowant hoard (Sotheby, 18 July 1985, 496). wnr.

b) Presumed to be from the Aston Rowant hoard, although this is not stated in the sale catalogue. 1.231 g. Certainly from the same dies as (a). See (d) below.

c) North Essex, c.1980–3. wnr. *BNJ* 56 (1986), p.7 (illus.). From the same obverse, and a very similar reverse. Note the upper left corner and upper border of the standard, where there is a curlicue, then two pellets, then a thin central line.

d) Glendinings, 17 February 1988, 276 (illus., pl. 3 and on the cover of the sale catalogue). Exactly the same flan shape and the same positioning of the dies on the flan as (b), but the surface of the coin is not as clean, and with larger serifs generally. Could this be a deceptive effect of the photography? The bar of the letter T is differently aligned. On the reverse, the upper left I is closer to the corner of the standard, as is also the upper serif of the left-hand <. Baldwins, who catalogued this parcel of seventy-seven sceattas for Glendinings, kindly sent them to the writer on 16 December 1987, allowing him to photograph and weigh all the coins prior to the sale. His photograph of (b) is from the polaroid he took at that time. It is difficult to convince oneself that (b) and (d) are one and the same coin. The weight of the specimen illustrated in the sale catalogue would probably remove the uncertainty. In any case, (b) and (d) were not both in the parcel of seventy-seven coins, which is fully accounted for. The draft lot descriptions sent forward by Baldwins were annotated, 'Suggest all illustrations are $\times 2$ '. Any substitution would have had to be before the photography. The problem is baffling.

9. *Obv.* Obscure (weathered), but certainly by the same hand as nos 8a-b. The bar of the T is aligned as on that coin. Only the shape of the rune e is clearly different.

Rev. The standard has a larger central pellet.

a) Gravesend, Kent, September 1993. 0.99 g. CR 1993, no. 175.

10. *Obv.* The bottom section of the linear nose slopes steeply upwards and tapers to a point.

Rev. Widely spreading tufa. Standard with horns. Large letters T, T, I, I.

a) British Museum 630 (*BMC* 38). 1.01 g.

b) Sotheby, 17 July 1986, 180 (part), ex Aston Rowant hoard.

11. *Obv.* Closely similar in style to no. 10.

Rev. Standard with (small) horns. (?)Faint letters T, T in margin.

a) British Museum 632, ex Aston Rowant (1971, 12–16–22). 1.26 g.

12. *Obv.* Extremely similar to no. 11.

Rev. Standard with horns.

a) Bidford-on-Avon, Warks., XV. May 1996. 0.98 g. Information courtesy of finder, Mr R. Laight.

13. *Obv.* The letter A has an upper serif, triangular in shape.

Rev. Standard with horns. The central annulet encloses a tiny pellet.

a) Subjack sale 73 (Italo Vecchi, Nummorum Auctiones 11, 5 June 1998. Ex CNG sale 41, 1997, 2890; Stacks, 7 December 1994, 2283). Fine grey tone. A beautiful, fully struck specimen.

14. *Obv.* The rune *p* has an unusually fat upper bar, connected to the lips by a thin line. The two bars of the rune *a* are very close together.

Rev. Lop-sided tufa. The standard has a very short horn on the left side and a thin horn on the right side, almost vertical.

a) Carlyon-Britton 146 (Sotheby, 17 November 1913). wnr.

15. *Obv.* The triangles of the crown are rounded. Large runes. Boldly dotted hairline. Unbarred *A*?

Rev. Standard without horns.

a) Aston Rowant hoard (Glendinings, 13 March 1975, 211). wnr.

16. *Obv.* Very similar to nos 14–15. The *A* is unbarred, but has a serif at the apex.

Rev. Standard with horns. Flattened, spreading tufa.

a) Swaton, Lincs., autumn 2002. 1.20g. Information courtesy of Mr E.J. Patterson.

Variety 4. With *AT*, inverted (i.e. the *T* also is, unusually, inverted).

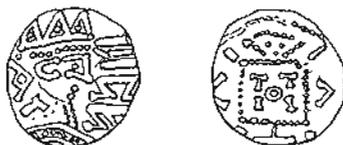


Fig. 8. Variety 4: No. 17a.

17. *Obv.* Lower section of nose is finished with a pellet. Broad rune *M* with middle vertical limb added.

Rev. Small standard.

a) British Museum 629, ex Aston Rowant hoard (1971, 12–16–20). 1.26g.

Variety 5. With *T*> behind head, annulet before runes.



Fig. 9. Variety 5: Nos 18a, 19a, 20a, 21a, 22a.

18. *Obv.* Large runes, with apparently an extra vertical between *e* and *p*, attached to the *p* by a horizontal bar at mid-height. Large, very neat crown with pellets between as well as within the triangles. Large, clear annulet. The symbols behind the head are indistinct (weak striking/off the flan), but there is the merest hint of a small *T* just below the band of the crown. (Is this a new variety – or an imitation?)

Rev. There is a second row of pellets at the right-hand side of the standard (apparently not double-striking).

a) Coddtenham, Suffolk, ex J. Linzalone. wnr. (Mr Linzalone, who at the time was building up an impressive collection of sceattas, acquired a group of primary sceattas understood to be from Coddtenham which were offered to him as a consolation prize, so to speak, for having failed in his bids at the auction for the Coddtenham thrymsas.) Quite a large flan, the striking more than usually off-centre. Neat as it is, quite a lot stacks up against the official character of this specimen. Information and polaroids courtesy of Mr Linzalone.

19. *Obv.* Right-hand side of right-hand triangle is at right angles to the band of the crown. Right-hand side of pyramidal neck in line with tip of chin. No lips. Behind the head, parts of *T*> can be made out.

Rev. Tiny pellet in central annulet. The bottom edge of the standard is not very straight.

- a) Carlyon-Britton 147 (Sotheby, 17 November 1913). wnr. Well struck up and complete.
 b) Same dies, but the reverse is positioned differently on the flan. Plaster casts assembled and mounted on cards by Dr Philip Hill. The card on which this pair is glued is headed 'Sceattas dupls cont.', and the coin is annotated (Gr. 229F). Several other specimens on the card are also annotated with Gr numbers. wnr. Same coin as no. 20a?

20. *Obv.* Front triangle of crown is again vertical to right, cf. no. 16. 'Nutcracker' profile, and neck attached awkwardly to chin, as on no. 19. No lips.

Rev. Normal.

- a) Domburg 45. wnr. De Witte van Citters bequest, 1870. The specimen cannot now (2004) be found. It seems quite possible, in so far as one can judge from a nineteenth-century line-drawing, that this is the same coin as no. 19b. The dotted borders, partly on the flan, coincide. If not the same, it is certainly by the same hand.

21. *Obv.* The rune *e* is in line with the band of the crown. The letter T, behind the head, interrupts the pyramidal neck.

Rev. Asymmetrical tufa.

- a) Hunterian Museum, *SCBI Hunterian*, no. 11, ex Hunter, but see the note about provenance on Plate I. 1.12g.

22. *Obv.* Extremely similar in general to no. 21, but the left-hand triangle of the crown is incomplete, and the letter A appears to be slightly smaller and less splayed. One wonders whether it could be the same obverse die with some recutting.

Rev. This die is also problematic, possibly the same as no. 18a?

- a) Stanton St John, Oxon., 1.08 g. Information courtesy of finder.

Variety 6. Behind the head, T >, with an annulet added to the left of the chevron. Annulet before the runes.



Fig. 10. Variety 6: Nos 23a, 23c.

23. *Obv.* The angle made by the letter A is less than 90 degrees. The annulet below the A is perhaps from the same punch as that before the runes. Large pellets in the triangles of the crown.

Rev. Neatly aligned, with wide tufa. Right side of the standard bulges outwards.

- a) Wouldham, Kent, in the 1990s. Found on or near the line of the Pilgrims' Way, on the North Downs. 1.23 g. Ashmolean Museum. Information courtesy of finder and Mr E.J. Patterson.
 b) Patrick Finn fixed price list 4 (spring 1995), item 46. wnr.
 c) South Lincolnshire productive site, CXVI. 1.19 g.

24. From a poor photocopy, the coin appears to have an annulet below the A, and to conform with no. 23 above. It could well be a fourth specimen from the same dies.

- a) York (Fishergate) excavations, 1985–6. 9. 4909.

Variety 7. T V T behind head, and (apparently) V before the runes. *Rev.* with < >.



Fig. 11. Variety 7: No. 25a.

25. *Obv.* This die looks in many ways quite early, e.g. the hair-line rises above the eyebrow, as in variety 1. Small head, large neck. Cf. also varieties 5 and 10. The mark preceding the runes is unfortunately not clear in the photograph, and must be regarded as uncertain for the time being.

Rev. The relatively large standard leaves room for only quite short letters I at the corners.

a) From the putative Flixborough hoard, 1285. 1.19g. Information and photo courtesy of Mr M.J. Bonser. Although there is no die-link between this coin and *SCBI Hunterian* 10, the stylistic similarity is such that a future die-link between the varieties would not be surprising – thus repeating the pattern of Variety 8.

Variety 8A. With V T behind the head. Reverse with < >.



Fig. 12. Varieties 8A and 8B: Nos 26a, 26b, 27a.

26. *Obv.* The rune *e* is squat, to accommodate it to the space available.

Rev. Neat, regular work.

a) T. Abramson coll. (Abramson 2006, 95, no. R100).

b) Eling, Hants., c.2003. 1.19g. This coin has a dry, chestnut brown patina (plus a clay incrustation) which suggests that it is severely debased. Whether this could be explained, or partly explained, by the soil conditions in which the coin lay, is unknown, in default of a chemical analysis. The die-identity with the Abramson coin confirms that it is, in any case, an official issue. Eling is directly opposite Southampton, on the Test estuary, i.e. the western branch of the estuary. Information and enlarged photograph courtesy of Dr Gerald Dunger and the finder.

Variety 8B. As 8A, but reverse with TAT.

27. *Obv.* From the same die as no. 26. Faint pellets between the triangles of the crown. Note that the pellet for the lower lip is replaced by a horizontal dash. A die-flaw is developing over the rune *a* (visible on both specimens).

Rev. One looks to see whether the letters T might have been inserted after the die had been used to strike variety 8A, but this is not so.

a) Coddtenham, Suffolk, ex J. Linzalone coll. wnr. Same commentary as no. 18 above.

Variety 9. T V behind the head. Annulet before the runes. Reverse with TAT.



Fig. 13. Variety 9: No. 28a.

28. *Obv.* Generally similar to Hunterian coin, *SCBI Hunterian*, no. 11 (= variety 5). Annulet positioned as on no. 29.

a) British Museum 631 (= *BMC* 37). 1.19g.

29. *Obv.* Bulbous nose. The general style appears to be less careful. There is no sign of a second letter T to the left of the crown.

Rev. To the left, the A appears to be barred. No obvious affinities with the dies of variety 5.

a) South Lincolnshire site XCV. 1.13 g.

30. From a not very clear illustration in CR one can nevertheless see that the dies are different from no. 28.

a) Godstone, Surrey, (near), 1999. 1.07 g. From a productive site. CR 2000, no. 65.

Variety 10. T V T behind the head. Reverse with TAT.



Fig. 14. Variety 10: Nos 31a, 32a, 33a.

31. *Obv.* T V T in letters of roughly equal size.

Rev. Compact group of three dots in tufa.

a) Hunterian Museum, *SCBI Hunterian*, no. 10, ex Hunter (but see note on provenances).

b) British Museum 633 (= *BMC* 36). 1.19 g (worn). Probably the same dies.

32. *Obv.* Very large A. ? unbarred.

Rev. Very similar lay-out to no. 31, but the upper right T appears to be differently positioned.

a) West Caister, Norfolk, excavations, 1978. 1.06 g. From an area of crop-marks near Caister Castle. Illus. by Sherlock in Darling 1993, 69f. (Could this coin be imitative?)

33. *Obv.* Similar, but the letters T V T are pelleted, rather than seriffed. The bar of the upper T is just visible.

Rev. Heavily engraved cross in lower margin. The three pellets in the tufa are again close together. Very similar to no. 31, but a different die.

a) South Lincolnshire site CXXX, broken piece weighing 0.76 g.

Variety 11. T V T behind the head. Small symbol > (or badly executed T?) before the runes.



Fig. 15. Variety 11: No. 34a.

34. *Obv.* Behind the head, larger A and smaller T, T.

Rev. TAT composed of larger, unbarred A and smaller T, T.

a) South Lincolnshire site XCVI. 1.12 g.

Variety 12. TAT behind the head (A now facing inwards). T before the runes. On the reverse, TAT, with a tendency for the T, T to be raised. Extra letters may be inserted on the obverse, e.g. TTAT, or ITAT.



Fig. 16. Variety 12: Nos 35a; 36a, 37a, 38a, 40a, 41a, 42a, 43a.

35. *Obv.* The hair-line is curved, sagging down in the middle. As well as the outer border, there is another concentric arc of pellets to the left of TA.

Rev. Small standard.

a) *NCirc* 91 (1983), item 3889. wnr. One has some reservations about this piece, which is post-Aston Rowant in date. The spacing of the outer borders, the outer border, the sagging hair-line, the sharply-defined line from nose to chin, and the absence of the second T in TAT, all raise the spectre of possible modern forgery.

36. *Obv.* TTAT. The rune *p* is exaggeratedly tall. The triangles of the crown are shown as loops.

Rev. Slightly asymmetrical > to right of standard. Note the small spikes at the top of I, I (exactly as on no. 37, which is however definitely a different die). Die-flaw or technical defect to the right of the tufa.

a) British Museum 635 (= *BMC* 39). 1.15 g.

b) Malton, Yorks. (North Riding). 1.07 g. Chris Rudd, fixed price list 34 (1998), item 25. EMC 1998.0054. (An interestingly different state of the die).

37. *Obv.* Tall neck. Large pellets in crown. The hair is shown by a row of six large pellets. The ear is likewise large and coarsely engraved.

Rev. The sides of the standard are composed of five or six large pellets.

a) Telscombe, Sussex, July 1985. wnr. Found on the line of a trackway on the South Downs, on Highdole Hill. *BNJ* 56 (1986), 9, no. 30 (illus).

b) Grendon, Northants., 28 February 2004. 1.12 g. CR 2005, no. 70. EMC 2004.0053.

38. *Obv.* Triangles of crown shown as thinly-engraved loops. Much shorter and squatter neck. Otherwise similar in style to no. 36.

Rev. Similar to no. 36.

a) Congresbury, Somerset, c.1997. CR 2002, no. 74. EMC 2001.1024.

39. *Obv.* Weathered, but appears generally similar to no. 37.

Rev. Larger T at 10 o'clock.

a) London, excavations at Drury Lane (DRY 90), 1990. 0.85 g. Context: pit 18/46.

40. *Obv.* Large pellets in tall crown.

Rev. Small letters T, T.

a) British Museum 634, ex Aston Rowant hoard (1971, 12-16-21). 1.15 g.

b) Ashmolean Museum 395, ex G.E.L. Carter coll., 1.03 g. 95 per cent 'silver'. Heavily weathered and obscure, but very possibly the same die.

41. *Obv.* TA close to the back of the head, plus IIAT nearer the edge of the die. Tall triangles on crown.
Rev. Standard with horns. The three pellets in the tufa are widely spaced.
 a) British Museum, 636, ex Aston Rowant hoard (1971, 12–16–23). 1.25 g.
42. *Obv.* ITAT, with additional small T above the A.
Rev. Standard with horns. The letters TAT are at different levels.
 a) Ashmolean Museum 394, ex G.E.L. Carter coll., 1.22 g. 88 per cent ‘silver’. The high points of the obverse, including the cheek, have been rubbed flat.
43. *Obv.* Chevron-barred A facing inwards, close to the back of the neck, plus T, T, T nearer the edge of the die. Tall crown.
Rev. Standard with horns. Tall, narrow tufa, in which only one pellet is clearly visible.
 a) West Stafford, Dorset, October 1998. 1.11 g. CR 1998, no. 52. Could this be imitative? – the unseriffed A, T, T are the main concern, but too many of the details correspond with, for example, no. 41 for serious doubts to be entertained.

Coins not assigned to a variety

- 44–8. Sotheby’s sale catalogue, 18 July 1985, 496 has been listed above (no. 8a). The next lot, 497, is described as follows: ‘others of similar type to the last but of slightly coarser style, a die linked group of five pieces comprising two pairs of die-duplicates and a transitional “mule” (Rigold 1x, reverse type [C1])’.
49. Burnham Market, Norfolk. November/December 1990 1.26 g. ITAT. Information courtesy of Dr Blackburn.
50. Flixton, Suffolk. 0.99 g. corroded and mended. *Proc. Suffolk Arch. Inst* 37/4 (1992), 373 (not illus.).

Modern forgery

Doubts are expressed above about no. 35.

Die-duplication

Catalogue nos 1–43 (sixty-two specimens) include the following duplicates:

2a–d: four, of which one is a little uncertain because weathered; 6a–c: three; 7a–b, the obverses certainly the same, the reverses very probably; 8a–d: two obverses and two reverses, but note that (d) is problematic – score as three; 10a–b; 19a–b (and possibly also 20a, but score as two); 23a–c, and possibly also 24a, score as three; 26a–b and 27: three from the same obverse, two reverses; 31a–b (probably); 36a–b; 37a–b; 40a–b (very possibly – the second is weathered).

On the basis of thirty non-singletons in a sample of sixty-two, from forty-three dies, and using Good’s formula, the central estimate is an original total of eighty-nine dies. The calculations for obverses and reverses are sufficiently similar as to indicate that a one-to-one die ratio was normal. If one based a calculation on Aston Rowant coins only, it would be lower, because of the common phenomenon of ‘clustering’ of duplicates in a hoard. In that connection, note the five die-linked coins, nos 44–8 above (not included in the estimation). They would accentuate the phenomenon. Stripping out the Aston Rowant coins would push the estimate of eighty-nine somewhat higher.

It is theoretically possible that imitations had a lower average die-output. If one assumes that any individual coin had the same chance of being accidentally lost irrespective of how many other coins its dies had produced (i.e. the imitations had not been thrown away in disgust), the best way to assess the volume of imitation is from the numbers of single finds *pro rata* with the official coins. As there are round about forty single finds (omit Domburg, and allow for one or two Aston Rowant coins that have lost their provenance) and, say, ten imitations (not counting R/C2, etc.), the volume of imitation is a rather surprising 25 per cent (roughly), and the ‘series’ total for R1–2 probably lies between 110 and 120 ‘equivalent dies’.

Metrology

In the histogram below (Fig. 17), weights of Aston Rowant coins are shaded. They tend to be heavier than the stray finds – a general phenomenon. The true modal weight (at point of issue) probably lies somewhere between 1.17 and 1.25 g. There is quite a sharp upper cut-off (see nos 52 and 55 below). The ‘tail’ of the histogram, or negative skewness, is probably caused mainly by corrosion and leaching. Later in the Middle Ages hoarders sometimes selected heavier specimens selectively. Might the same be true here? The phenomenon is identified in Metcalf 1993, 87, apropos the (unreliable?) contrast between Types A2 and A3. A histogram for Series C is also printed there. The same step-interval of 0.04 g has been used here.

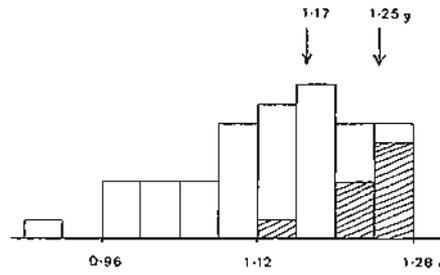


Fig. 17. Histogram of weights of Types R1-2. Aston Rowant coins shaded.

No deterioration was detected between Varieties 1-11 and 12.

Imitations of R1-2

There is no logical order in which to arrange contemporary imitations, because there is no presumption that they originated from the same source. Those that are manifestly imitative have been listed first. At the other end of this short list there is, inevitably, a 'grey area' including poorly-preserved specimens and others which may or may not be imitative.



Fig. 18. Imitations: Nos 51a, 52a; 53a, 58a, 59a, 60a, 63a.

51. *Obv.* The band of the crown curves down in front of the hair-line and the eyebrow. The radiate triangles appear to be replaced by a row of pellets. The chin is pointed. The upper part of the runes is broken up, and the first rune is illegible. TA behind the head.

Rev. Large letters in the standard, but the (matching) T, T are thin and clumsy. The central annulet is solid.

a) Lichfield, Staffs. wnr. CR 2002, no. 73. EMC 2001.0053. A fair copy of Variety 3, the crown apart.

52. *Obv.* Very weakly struck and obscure. TA behind the head. The band of the crown almost certainly curves down slightly at the front, cf. no. 51.

Rev. To left and right of the standard, instead of matching < >, there is a very large > to the left, and to the right, two serifs in the lower half (a small >, mostly off-flan?) and a curve above. In the standard, the right-hand T is thin and with a surplus serif above. Large annulet.

a) Aston Rowant hoard (Glendining, 17 February 1988, 279a). 1.29 g. Very weak striking. (Described as *epa*, about fine.)

53. *Obv.* The head is large and deep. The eyebrow projects beyond the nose, which is large and clumsy. The pellet of the lower lip is on a stalk. The lines of the neck are parallel, not pyramidal, and no lower band of pellets is visible. Behind the head, TA.

Rev. Untidy work, and the bars of the letters T, T are thin and uncharacteristic.

a) Walton-at-Stone, Herts. 0.88 g. Metal-detector find by Alan Cracknell, reported as 'about 4 miles SE of Stevenage'. Information courtesy of finder and Dr G.T. Dunger. The outward-facing A on the obverse is a late feature, whereas < > on the reverse is early. Cf. no. 57 below, in rather similar style.

54. *Obv.* The modelling of the head has drooped grotesquely, and the chin is separated from the cheek. Wide angle between diadem and lower band of pellets.

Rev. Thin strokes make up the letters T, T, I, I, which are pelleted at the ends.

a) British Museum 626 (= *BMC* 40), bt Sir H. Russell (1850, 3–6–9). 1.24 g.

55. An adequate copy, but in a rather plain, basic style.

a) British Museum 627 (= *BMC* 41), ex Cuff (1839, 5–6–3). 1.30 g. Heavy, but too good to be a forgery of the 1830s?

56. *Obv.* Similar, but more blundered.

Rev. The letters I, I in the standard are joined by a line.

a) British Museum 628, ex Woodham Walter hoard (1994, 11–24–78). 0.95 g.

57. *Obv.* By the same hand as no. 53? Projecting eyebrow, prominent nose. Compare the rune *e*. and the lips. The lower band of pellets is at a wide angle to the crown. Lettering behind the head is off-flan.

Rev. Large but sketchy T, T. < > to left and right of the standard. Thin, elongated cross below.

a) Patrick Finn fixed price list 4 (spring 1995), item 50. wnr.

58. *Obv.* Large, roundly modelled head, leaving room for only a short neck. TAT. T before runes.

Rev. Standard with horns. To left, TA; to right, (? barred) A, with exaggeratedly long serif above.

a) Wollaston, Northants., 1967. 0.97 g. *BNJ* 47 (1977), pl. 1,7. In most formal respects, this coin is quite acceptable, but T before *epa* does not normally occur with inverted A behind head. The head is much too large, and cf. no. 59. A Low Countries imitation? The surface is pitted, possibly because the alloy is sub-standard.

59. *Obv.* Probably by the same hand as no. 58. TAT.

Rev. The tufa is, most unusually, to the right of the standard. i.e. the margins (which are otherwise formally correct) are rotated through 90 degrees. (Evidence of imitation!)

a) Domburg 46. 1.09 g. KPK no. 179, ex De Man.

60. *Obv.* 'Nutmacker' profile, cf. no. 20 above (Domburg 45). Annulet before *epa*? Inverted A, T behind head (chevron bar just visible).

Rev. Obscure, but apparently all as Type R1.

a) Domburg 43. 0.39 g. ZG no. 29. AT (rather than TA) is unusual (see Variety 8).

61. Obscure, but note the large head and nose.

a) Hamwic 1. 0.87 g. Mis-described by Metcalf in 1988 as Series C. Context: SOU 36/183, from pit 20, in (? close) association with Hamwic 57 (Type 49, var. 2).

62. *Obv.* Head with large, curved, beak-like nose, and (?) curved eyebrow above it. Tiny eye. Large ear. The hairline is discontinuous. Small pellets in the lower band.

Rev. All as variety (a).

a) East Kent. wnr. Information and photograph courtesy of Mr N.G. Rhodes.

63. *Obv.* The nose is attached to the pellet at the end of the hairline. Annulet before the runes. The *e*, in particular, is large. The *a* is large and confused, but there is room for it because the lower band of pellets is at a wide angle to the crown. Any letters behind the head are off-flan, except for a thick stroke below the jaw-line, which might be a flattened A.

Rev. The reverse die is perfectly presentable, although the tufa is rather large and spreading for variety 12. It could be a Variety 8B die.

a) Chris Rudd, fixed price list 34 (1998), item 26. 1.05 g. Possibly an official coin using a makeshift obverse die?

R/C2 'mules'

A small group of imitations has outward-facing runes, preceded by T, with OAO behind the head. The large annulets are taken from Type C2, where especially large ones can sometimes be found. (One needs to be able to read the first rune, in order to distinguish a regular coin of Type C2 from these R/C2 'mules'.) The best of the mules might in principle be from the same workshop as C2 and in direct continuation: the 'missing link'. Most of them, however, are clearly by another hand. A proper assessment of the better specimens will probably have to await a full die-study of Series C. This ambiguity does not affect what has been said about their place in the sequence of Types R1–2.

In the main group of 'mules', which seem not to be by the same hand as C2 and are certainly not by the same hand as R1–2, the pyramidal neck has devolved into four parallel lines of pellets. The eyebrow is distinctive, rising diagonally into the hairline. There is an additional large annulet at the front end of the band of the crown. The

reverse, with four crosses in the margins and letters T (not I) at the corners, is entirely characteristic of Type C2, except that the central annulet is sometimes pelleted. The flans are usually rather small for the dies, with the result that the radiate crown and the letters behind the head are often incomplete.

Another style of obverse, again with outward-facing runes, has a hairline and diadem that are strongly curved. The bust is half-moon-faced, with a large, crudely executed nose. Behind the head, the lettering or pseudo-lettering is distinctive. The reverse is a fair imitation of Type C2.

Another variety, with an obverse in somewhat the same vein, replaces TOT/I I with the VICO design of a primary porcupine. The runes, however, face outwards.¹⁶

Provenances are widespread in all categories, and often highly intriguing. Thus, in August 2004 Mr Laight found two specimens of the first group at Bidford-on-Avon, die-duplicates, found three weeks apart and only a couple of hundred yards from each other. From the same pair of dies, Ms Valerie Macrae had found another specimen at Kingston Deverill, and yet another, also from Kingston Deverill, was found by her friend Mr Brian Read. It is quite extraordinary that four die-duplicates in pairs at two sites eighty miles apart should have been found; and even more so that there should be yet another specimen from the same dies, in the Woodham Walter hoard. (Echoes of the 'Hwiccian' pattern?) Thus the question of modern intervention simply does not arise, and the coins are in any case authenticated by yet another specimen, in the Hunterian collection. The die-duplicates usefully complete the details of the die, which are off-flan in various directions.

Another kettle of fish altogether concerns a pair of coins that are not only die-duplicates, found within a few miles of each other, by the same detectorist, but are identical in outline and positioning on the flan. Both have appeared in the Coin Register: both were found by Mr G. Bell, the first near Chelmsford in 1990 (reported in CR 1989), the second nearby at Great Waltham, 'earlier than 2002'. The weights are reportedly different (1.01 g and 1.12 g respectively). The second coin is altogether crisper. Yet again, a specimen in the nearby Woodham Walter hoard is extremely similar to the Great Waltham coin. Although one should hesitate to reach a verdict merely from photographs, the second and heavier coin is on a slightly fuller flan (unless the earlier photo was cropped badly). One hopes that no offence will be caused if one concludes provisionally that one at least of these coins is genuine, and expresses the hope that the uncertainty can be resolved. One must admit to having wondered ignobly whether the Great Waltham coin was an escapee from Woodham Walter.

The second category is also widely scattered, with one find from Coventry, c.1850, another from extremely similar dies coming from Sutton Court Farm near Deal, Kent, and a third, die-identical specimen from Bradenham, Norfolk.

The R/C2(E) 'mule' is from Woolstone, Berks., and again there was a similar coin in the Woodham Walter hoard.



Fig. 19. Mules: Nos 64a, 65b, 66c, 66d, 66e, 67a, 68a.

First group

64. *Obv.* T *epa*; behind the head pellet, inverted A, O. Thin, spidery runes. Thinly-outlined nose without eyebrow, runs into the hairline. Below the lower pelleted panel, pellet and annulet, partly off-flan. Die-flaw over the rune *a*. Pyramidal neck.

¹⁶ Ashmolean 213, found at Woolstone, Berks., 1987. The same variety is represented in the British Museum collection (653, different dies, ex Woodham Walter, and 654).

Rev. As Type C2, but the marginal crosses are unconnected to the standard, and have four serifs.

- a) From the putative Flixborough hoard (1481), wnr. Information and photograph courtesy of Mr M.J. Bonsler.

65. *Obv.* Similar. Pyramidal neck.

Rev. Similar, but fewer pellets outlining the standard. A seriffed bar (rather than a T) at each corner of the standard.

- a) Chelmsford, Essex, near. 1990. 1.01 g. CR 1989, no. 63. Found by Mr G. Bell.
b) Great Waltham, Essex, by 2002. 1.12 g. CR 2002, no. 75. EMC 2002.0241. Found by Mr G. Bell. Absolutely identical with (a), but apparently in sharper condition.

66. *Obv.* T *epa*; behind the head O, inverted A, O. Curved hairline. Eyebrow runs diagonally upwards, to terminate in a small pellet which interrupts the hairline. Small pellets within and above the radiate crown.

Rev. Annulet with central pellet; long letters I, I in standard. Letter T at corner of standard composed of two separate wedges.

- a) British Museum 652, ex Woodham Walter hoard (1994, 4–24–75). 1.28 g.
b) Kingston Deverill, Wilts., 1.20 g. 20 September 1997. CR 2002, no. 76.
c) Kingston Deverill, Wilts., 1.03 g. Kindly shown to DMM by the finder, Mr Brian Read.
d) Bidford-on-Avon, Warks., 1.20 g. August 2004. Matt chestnut-brown patina. Kindly shown to DMM by the finder, Mr R.J. Laight.
e) Bidford-on-Avon, Warks., 1.14 g. August 2004. Same as (c).

67. Extremely similar to no. 66.

- a) Hunterian Museum, *SCBI Hunterian*, no. 5, ex Hunter. 1.20 g.

Second group

68. *Obv.* Half-moon face, with curving hairline. Runes, *epa*, face outwards. Short neck. O > behind bust, with a third, unexplained symbol below.

Rev. As Type C2, with T at each corner of standard.

- a) Coventry, 1850. *SCBI Midlands*, no. 63.

69. *Obv.* A near-identical die, with taller neck.

Rev. An extremely similar die, but the marginal crosses are seriffed at the foot, and not attached to the standard.

- a) Bradenham, Norfolk., 1995, site 30636. 1.15 g.
b) Sutton Court Farm, Sutton, near Deal, Kent (TR331 486). September 1990 (during rally). wnr. CR 1998, no. 53.

A related type: Rigold R2z

A coin in the Garton-on-the-Wolds grave-find has an obverse based on Types R1–2, but with a large annulet behind the bust which may derive from R3.¹⁷ To judge by the excellent style of the Series J coins in the grave-find, it appears to be of very early secondary date.¹⁸ Another specimen, from the same dies, was found in the spring of 2001 by Mr David Bailey, in Lincolnshire. The triple dotted border may derive from Series J. A northerly origin is hinted at. Note a similar coin from Harston, Cambs., in 2001 but with runes facing outwards.



Fig. 20. Related type: No. 70b.

70. *Obv.* Copy of Types R1–2 (inward-facing runes), but with large annulet behind head.

Rev. Cross with four annulet terminals. Pellets in field. Triple beaded border.

- a) Garton-on-the-Wolds grave-find, 1959. 1.07 g. *BNJ* 30 (1960), 49 and pl. 4. Line drawing in Metcalf 1994, 510.
b) Lincolnshire, 2001. wnr.

¹⁷ Metcalf 1994, 510 (illus.).

¹⁸ Metcalf 1994, 346 and 351–2.

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