

## THE 'WOLF' SCEATTAS

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THE basic task in a numismatic study of the later sceat series is still to say where and in what order the coins were struck. The difficulties in doing so arise from the profuse variety of types that have to be accommodated into the first four decades of the eighth century; from the relatively uncontrolled character of the coinage (which is largely anepigraphic) and the prevalence of copying; and from the lack of hoards or grave-finds which might throw light on the chronology of the various issues. The *BMC*/Hill 'Types' that have been listed<sup>1</sup> run to 76, not counting a dozen 'mules' and as many 'varieties'. Some out of this total of a hundred are rarities of one kind or another, and some are imitative pieces, so that the number of substantive issues is less bewildering. Even the common types, however, are problematic: stylistic analysis of some of them has shown that they cannot be assumed to be of a single origin. Provenances are in a few cases sufficient to make out a case for the localization of particular varieties. Once the possibility of imitation is admitted, the question where the sceattas were struck loses the straightforwardness it may once have appeared to have, and the quantity of the available evidence becomes insufficient to set against the new dimensions of the problem. One or two varieties show clearly the east Kentish distribution (familiar to the archaeologist) which points to Canterbury as a mint-place; several have an inscription referring to London; others are localized at Southampton; and there are individual imitative coins with provenances which associate them with Northumbria or old Mercia. The question in what order the coins were struck likewise appeared more straightforward when the types, regarded as units, were arranged into a very restricted number of sequences, and when a largely chronological significance could accordingly be read into the borrowing or devolution of elements in the designs, and the 'muling' of types.

Coins of a single type can no longer be assumed to belong together in the sense of having come from the same workshop, until they have been examined one by one, and the pattern of die-similarities among them carefully assessed. If the prospect of achieving a synthesis and of tracing the history of the English coinage over the period ca. 675-750 has receded as a result of the studies of the last few years, at least one may hope that the numismatic problems are now set in a clearer perspective. The preliminary research still to be completed may be described as the construction of working lists of specimens, in which the style and attribution of each coin is discussed in detail, and with reference to any other coins which exhibit die-similarities with it. Often, the conclusions may need to be limited in character, leaving various possibilities open; but where near-duplicate dies have been put on record, the work once done should not need to be undone.

The most practical way of making progress is to study a type or a number of related types, even though the coins may prove to be a grouping which cuts across the work of more than one mint. The earlier types—*Pada*, *Varimund*, Rigold's A, Runic, B and BIIIb, and *BMC*

<sup>1</sup> P. V. Hill, 'Uncatalogued sceattas in the national and other collections', *NC* xiii (1953), 92-114, numbers the new types in continuation of the numbering in C. F. Keary, *A Catalogue of*

*English Coins in the British Museum. Anglo-Saxon Series*, vol 1, 1887 (hereafter as *BMC*), pp. 2-22. Hill also lists mules and varieties.

Type 37 have been surveyed in this way, as have the 'porcupines'.<sup>1</sup> The later phase of the sceat series, in which the links with Frisia were no longer of consequence, has still to be re-explored. One may conjecture that Frankish ascendancy over Frisia, won in the 730's, disrupted Frisian enterprise and brought to an end the English 'economic boom' of the early eighth century.<sup>2</sup>

As one step towards such a re-exploration, we offer here an essay on the 'wolf' sceattas, *BMC* Types 32 and 33. Their study was prompted by the recent discovery of a specimen of Type 32a, in the archaeological excavation of a Roman villa site at Shakenoak, near Witney, some ten miles west of Oxford.<sup>3</sup> A search through the published catalogues and other available sources yielded 28 examples of Type 32, and a further 23 of the related Types 33 and 42—and it showed that there were, on the one hand, great variations of style among them, and, on the other, the closest stylistic cross-links between some specimens of the two types, and close stylistic connexions also with the 'London' types and with *BMC* Type 42. These connexions make it difficult (bearing in mind the time-scale into which all the sceattas have to be fitted) to envisage that every known specimen of Types 32a and 33 might be arranged as the successive issues of a single workshop. The view that they must be placed into parallel series, for which the minting arrangements were separate, is the central proposition on which we shall attempt to bring evidence to bear. The procedure of recognizing different styles among coins of the same general design, and then looking at the localization of those styles, has already been applied to the 'Bird on cross' (Series B) and 'Porcupine' sceattas.<sup>4</sup> The method of studying the style of the coins can be summarized as a piecemeal search for details which are manifestly by the hand of the same die-cutter, and which enable one to construct little blocks of related coins.

As a first step in the presentation, let us look at the portraiture on six well-struck specimens, representing three styles. The obverses are shown by enlarged illustrations on **Pl. VII, A–F**, in order to facilitate the close observation of a number of aspects which can be recognized from a photograph far more easily than they can be put into words. The reverses, together with the obverses, appear at their natural size, in place in the sequences, on **Pl. VII**. In the first two pairs, one coin of each is of Type 32a, and the other is of Type 33. In the third pair, one coin is of Type 33, and the other is of Type 18. On **Pl. VII, A<sup>5</sup> and B<sup>6</sup>** the head is narrow, with a vertical profile, and is almost confined to the left-hand half of the flan. The cross-sceptre has dots at the ends of the four arms, and a dot at the bottom of the staff. On **Pl. VII, C<sup>7</sup> and D<sup>8</sup>**, the profile is more rounded and the eye is a large circle within an almond-shaped outline. The pointed tip of the nose turns outwards. On **Pl. VII, E<sup>9</sup> and F<sup>10</sup>**, the face is larger, and the planes between the nose and cheek are more subtly modelled. The drapery is quite different; even more striking is the long, rounded bob of hair (interpreted on other coins as the neck, but cf. pence of Offa by Ethelwald) hanging down

<sup>1</sup> S. E. Rigold, 'The two primary series of sceattas', *BNJ* xxx (1960–61), 6–53 is a study of major significance, opening the way for a reappraisal of the entire sceat series. It surveys all the earlier issues, up to BIIIIB. A critique appears in D. M. Metcalf, 'A coinage for Mercia under Aethelbald', *Cunobelin* xii (1966), 26–39, where *BMC* Type 37 is also brought into evidence. The extensive series of 'porcupine' sceattas is discussed by Metcalf in *NC*<sup>7</sup> vi (1966), 179–205.

<sup>2</sup> J. P. C. Kent, 'From Roman Britain to Saxon England', in R. H. M. Dolley (ed.), *Anglo-Saxon Coins*, 1961, pp. 1–22, argues that it is difficult to

protract the sceat coinage beyond 750, if so late a date is possible, and that there was accordingly a gap between the sceat and penny coinage.

<sup>3</sup> D. R. Walker, 'Another Saxon Sceat from Oxfordshire', *Oxoniensia* xxxi, publishes details of the discovery.

<sup>4</sup> Metcalf, op. cit., *Cunobelin* 1966 and *NC* 1966.

<sup>5</sup> Catalogue no. 14.

<sup>6</sup> Cat. no. 15.

<sup>7</sup> Cat. no. 7.

<sup>8</sup> Cat. no. 4.

<sup>9</sup> Cat. no. 30.

<sup>10</sup> *BMC* 103.

at the back.<sup>1</sup> The treatment of the eye is similar to that on **C** and **D**, but the almond shape is more elongated. The hair above and below the diadem is separately engraved, as on **C** and **D**. The cross-sceptre is larger and more delicate than on **A** and **B**. The reader who has looked for himself at the various details that have been mentioned will, we believe, already share our opinion that, in the case of each of these pairs of coins, there can be no doubt that the obverse dies are the work of the same hand and stand in very close relation to each other. This would not, of course, imply on stylistic grounds alone that the three pairs were by three different hands: they could perhaps have been produced, at different dates, by the same die-cutter. Since, however, such a theory would involve, for pairs A-B and C-D, an alternation between the reverse designs of Types 32a and 33, between straight and coiled ties to the diadem, and, in sum, between two mature styles, the straightforward hypothesis will be that which places them in parallel with each other.

The next step is to inspect the remainder of the coins that have been gathered up to see whether any of them are in general similar enough to be provisionally grouped with A-B, C-D, or E-F. The pattern which emerges is that there are two compact blocks of Type 32a, the

Type/Style:	A-B	C-D	E-F
32a	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>{ <i>BMC</i> 153</li> <li>  <i>Fitzw.</i> 254</li> <li>  <i>Copenh.</i> 43</li> <li>  <i>Hunter.</i> 99</li> <li>  Mack</li> <li>  Baldwin Brown</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Grantley 699</li> <li>Canterbury</li> <li>{ Garton</li> <li>  <i>BMC</i> 155</li> <li>  <i>Hunter.</i> 98</li> <li>  Grantley 679</li> <li>  Lockett 247</li> <li>  Carlyon-Britton 167a</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Ashmolean (Evans)</li> <li>(?) <i>BMC</i> 154</li> <li>(?) Ashmolean (Wilcote)</li> </ul>
33	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>{ <i>BMC</i> 158</li> <li>  <i>Hunter.</i> 102</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Lockett 248</li> <li>{ <i>BMC</i> 157</li> <li>  <i>Hunter.</i> 101</li> <li>  <i>Hunter.</i> 97</li> </ul>	<i>BMC</i> 160
42	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>{ <i>Hunter.</i> 94</li> <li>  Lockett 258</li> <li>  Roach Smith</li> <li>  Hill</li> <li>  <i>BMC</i> 181</li> <li>  <i>Copenh.</i> 44</li> <li>  Ashmolean (Bodley)</li> <li>  BM (NC 1953)</li> <li>  <i>Hunter.</i> 96</li> <li>  <i>BMC</i> 180</li> <li>  Lockett 259</li> <li>(?) <i>Hunter.</i> 95</li> </ul>		

FIG. 1.—Provisional list of coins associated by similarity of style. Die-linked coins are bracketed.

<sup>1</sup> On other specimens, of good style, in the 'London' group of sceattas, the same element in the design is clearly meant to be the neck (see, for example, *BMC* pl. ii, 20 and 24), and it is possible that the die-cutter of coins E and F intended to show a neck, but did so ineptly. Our reasons for suggesting that on these two coins the 'neck' should be interpreted as a bob of hair are (i) that

it is continued above the level of the ear, and joins the diadem—which would be anatomically implausible if it were a neck; (ii) that the modelling is such as to make this element stand out in higher relief than the cheek; (iii) that this seems to have been a known hair-style, cf. the coins of Offa by Ethelwald which show a bob of hair and a neck.

one (as A-B) characterised by a wolf with fur, and a double border on the obverse, the other (C-D) by a much simplified wolf-whorl or wolf-serpent, and a single border on the obverse. It will be noticed that there has been quite a high survival-rate, as indicated by the proportion of die-duplicates. The drapery of the bust in both blocks consists usually of hatching within a semi-circle (see Fig. 2).

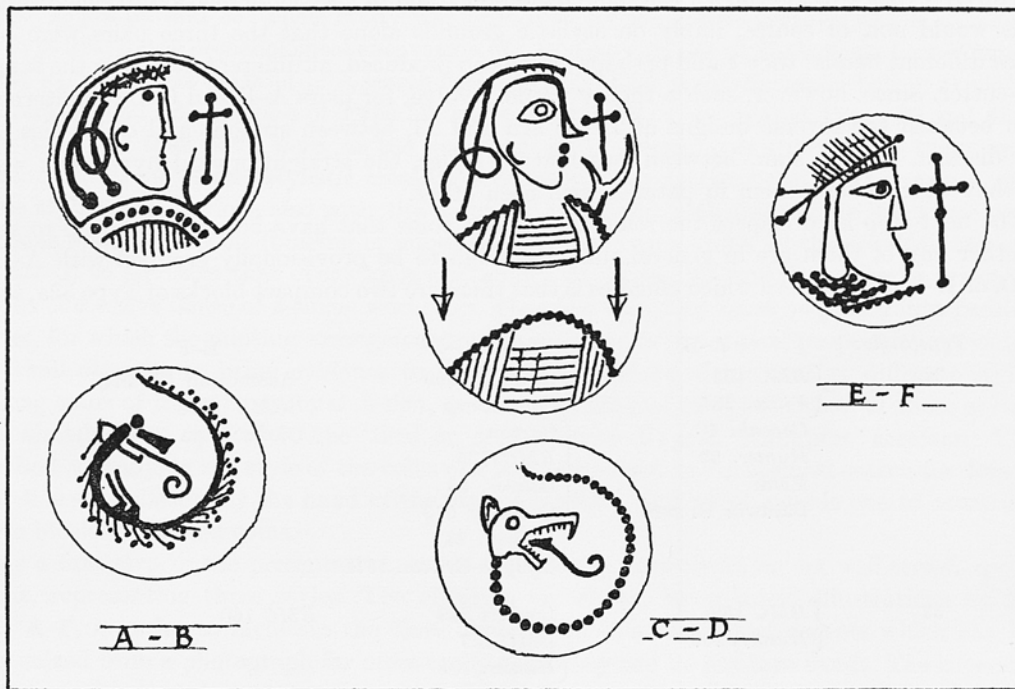


Fig. 2—Diagram to illustrate the styles of Type 32a, etc.

This is repeated for Type 33 in the C-D style; in the A-B group, the more elaborate bust of coin B, and a die-duplicate of it, are the only available specimens of Type 33, and there is thus no basis from which to generalize. So far as one can judge, from the modelling of the head, and the simple, dotted eye, most specimens of Type 42 belong together in terms of their style, and stand with group A-B. There are, all told, enough specimens in groups A-B and C-D to suggest that they were substantive issues, and so to establish a canon of style by which the more eccentric coins can be judged. The few that have been listed under E-F are by no means a compact stylistic group, although a case can be made out for their association. The drapery of the bust is quite different (see Fig. 2) as is the treatment of the wolf's head. The animal on the unique specimen of Type 33 in this style is a sensitive copy of a coin of group C-D.<sup>1</sup> The E-F coins seem to be outliers as far as the 'wolf' design is concerned (as are the more obvious copies, which have been left on one side for the present); and the main topic is the relationship between groups A-B and C-D.

There is clear evidence that they are struck to different weight-standards. Group C-D (the simpler design) is not only heavier, but more exactly controlled: this is an obstacle to

<sup>1</sup> See the note under cat. no. 30.



the theory of stylistic devolution advanced by Keary<sup>1</sup> and Brooke,<sup>2</sup> and accepted with some reserve by Hill.<sup>3</sup> The metrology of the two groups can best be studied from the diagram (Fig. 3), which suggests a modal value of around 17.1–17.2 gr. for C–D, which is thus fully as heavy as Type BIIIb.<sup>4</sup> Its weight is a reason for placing it early in the sceat series.

	STYLE A-B		STYLE C-D
Types:	32/33	42	
19	_____		_____x_____
18	_____	x	_____x_____
17	_____		_____x x x x x x x
16	_____	x x x x	_____x_____
15	_____	x	_____x_____
14	_____	x	_____
13	_____	x	_____
12	_____		_____

FIG. 3—Weights of the coins of groups A–B and C–D listed in Fig. 1.

Are groups A–B and C–D from separate workshops, as their metrology might suggest? There are two coins which are apparently intermediate between them, namely *Fitzw.* 255 and BM (Barnett) 263. Both obverse and reverse of these coins are in the general style of C–D, but there is a double border on the obverse, and the drapery of the bust is also copied

<sup>1</sup> Keary, *op. cit.*, in his description of the reverse design of *BMC* 151–6, implies a stylistic degeneration from *BMC* 151 onwards: 'the hind legs of the wolf have disappeared . . . fore legs of the wolf have also disappeared, and it has become a wolf-headed serpent . . . serpent represented by a single dotted line.' He drew the comparison between *BMC* 151 and the 'wolf and twins' design (*BMC* Type 7)—with the implication, evidently, that Type 32a was derived from, or inspired by, Type 7.

<sup>2</sup> G. C. Brooke, in his classification of the sceattas (in *English Coins from the Seventh Century to the Present Day*, 3rd edn., 1950, pp. 5–9) made the connexion explicit, and carried the theory of devolution further: his Type 21, 'Wolf curved over head to tail, developing into a torque and thence into a wolf's head' amalgamates *BMC* Types 32 and 33.

<sup>3</sup> P. V. Hill, 'The animal, "Anglo-Merovingian", and miscellaneous series of Anglo-Saxon sceattas', *BNJ* xxvii (1952–4), 1–38 gives the fullest analysis hitherto available of the 'wolf' sceattas. He writes, 'the evolution of the Wolf types is seen in types 32a, 32b, and 33, with the Hunterian wolf-standard representing an intermediate stage . . . The sequence itself is clear enough, but it is by no means easy to date.'

<sup>4</sup> Which specimens of BIIIb are original and which are copies is discussed in Metcalf, *op. cit.*, *Cunobelin* 1966. Of the coins accepted there as original, not all the weights are available. Those given by Rigold are 15.3, 17.0, 17.5, and 15.0 gr. The coins in Rigold's list claimed as copies by Metcalf weigh 10.2, 9.7, 14.2, 13.2, 13.9, 12.2, 14.2, and 13.6 gr.

from A-B. On the reverse, the wolf-whorl is laterally reversed; the style of the wolf's head is difficult to judge, but it is not closely in accord with C-D, as the upper jaw is short, the gape is wide, and the lower jaw is parallel with the upper. The weight of these two coins—16.3 and 16.4 gr.—would be appropriate to either group. One of the coins was found at Reculver (see Fig. 4). Are they the hinge which joins the two groups? There seems insufficient reason for such a claim: no stylistic progression can be argued from them to group A-B (it could hardly be in the other direction, for reasons of metrology), and the similarities will perhaps be better interpreted as the result of copying.



FIG. 4—*Fitzw.* 255, as illustrated in Camden's *Britannia*. The irregularities of the flan, etc., are faithfully reproduced, but the reverse design has apparently been laterally reversed by the engraver.

However, since there is only a single, unusual pair of dies representing Type 33 in group A-B, let us consider for a moment longer whether it might after all be possible to arrange the whole of A-B and C-D into a single chronological sequence. Type 33 (style C-D) might stand at one end (chronologically) of the sequence, and 32a (style A-B) at the other. The difficulties raised by such a scheme are, still, that it ignores the metrological difference between the groups, and that the various proximities of style between coins of different types (including Type 42) require too many specimens to be placed close to the point of transition between one type and another. This last is, however, a matter of subjective judgement. One might hope to bring forward more specific evidence, which would dispose of the 'single-sequence' hypothesis, by arguing that groups A-B and C-D can each, separately, be placed into a compact sequence on the basis of stylistic devolution. An attempt has been made below to assess the details which may point to the chronological order of the coins. It is, admittedly, very incomplete as an argument, but, as new coins are brought to light by archaeological excavation or chance discovery, some of the gaps will probably be filled in. Meanwhile, the interpretation of the two groups as parallel rather than consecutive, while it is not proven, is the best working hypothesis.

The principal elements in the design which are variable, and which might be interpreted as being earlier or later, are as follows:

(a) the drapery of the bust. The semicircle may be shown as a single row of dots; an inner wire border and an outer row of dots; an inner wire border and two rows of dots; or a row of dots between two wire borders. On some coins, the treatment is realistic. They are Grantley 699 (Type 32a), Lockett 248 (33), and Lockett 258 and *Hunter*. 96 (42). The most natural explanation of these would be that they were early, and that the stylized version derives from them. As soon as the attempt is made to arrange all the coins in accordance with this explanation, its corollary becomes clear: certain examples of Types 32a, 33, and 42 were in production concurrently by one man. If that should seem extravagant, the alternative explanation is that the die-cutter of the C-D coins built up a repertory of design details, and drew on them from time to time as he wished. He was evidently more inclined than the

A-B die-cutter to introduce small variations of design, but an alternation between realistic drapery and a stylized version of the same is a theory that is not without its own difficulties.

(b) The ties of the diadem. These are coiled or knotted on Types 32a and 42, but merely forked on Type 33. Again, it will seem that the die-cutter kept both details in his repertory, and made the assumption that forked, rather than knotted, ties were a necessary element in the portrait that was to accompany the Type 33 reverse. The stylistic treatment of the knot is, on the other hand, more likely to have been an unconscious trait, and will therefore be a surer guide to the arrangement of the coins. The knot is small and neat on Type 32a, groups A-B and C-D, but more expansive on the specimens of Type 42 with a cross (not a bird) in front of the face. In group E-F the knot is either ineptly drawn, or excessively large. The other types which may have knotted ties are 20 and 52; in both, the treatment suggests borrowing.<sup>1</sup> (See Fig. 5.)

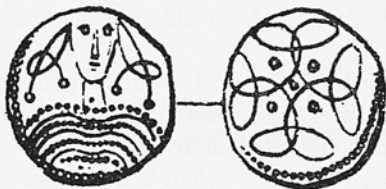


FIG. 5.—*BMC* Type 52, from Camden's *Britannia*. Compare the drapery with pl. VII B; but note that the latter has plain ties. The knotted ties shown here probably derive from a coin of Type 32a or 42.

(c) The cross or cross-sceptre. The differences between coins A-B, C-D, and E-F have been described above. In addition, the cross-sceptre on no. 16 (Type 42) in the catalogue below is a near-duplicate of those on coins A and B. Coins of Type 33 show an exceptionally long cross, with no hand holding it, and here again it seems that the die-cutter regarded a hand as a necessary part of the design of Type 32a, and its absence as a characteristic of Type 33.

(d) The mouth and beard. The mouth is shown by two dots, which are distinctly smaller in group A-B than in C-D. On 4 coins all from one die of Type 32a (style C-D) and on a coin of Type 33, a more realistic mouth is attempted, and a beard is shown.<sup>2</sup>

(e) The animal. The effect of fur is cleverly created (in group A-B) by the use of dots of different sizes, scattered on either side of the radius of the curve. Coin A, on which the wolf has four legs but less ambitious fur, stands at some distance from the rest of the coins. At the other extreme is no. 12, where the wolf lacks even its fore-legs, and is surrounded by two dotted borders. The tongue may curl up or down. In group C-D the more careful dies show the animal's teeth. The exact similarity in the modelling of the muzzle, on coins C and D, is remarkable. Coin D is from an unusually elaborate reverse die, for it includes a plain

<sup>1</sup> Type 20: On *BMC* 106 and 107, etc., a sharp angle is introduced into the knot of the ties. Type 52: the ties of the diadem are borrowed from the profile of Type 32a, duplicated, and used with a facing bust. *BMC* 198, which is illustrated by Withy and Ryall as their no. 7 (see under cat. no. 7a), is from the Isle of Thanet, and the poorer replica published by Hill in *NC* 1953 is a Richborough find.

<sup>2</sup> On Type 33, the beard is not certain. Miss Robertson, in reply to our enquiry, has kindly written, 'I have now had time to scrutinise very carefully the sceatta no. 97. . . (i) there seems to be an attempt to show the mouth (ii) I think there is a beard but the coin is very worn . . .'

wire torque (with a knob at one end), encircling the wolf-serpent. A torque with one or two elegant animal heads as terminals is similarly added to the coins in group E-F.

The search for 'early' details is thus not straightforward. One is left with the impression that the die-cutters would sometimes apply special ingenuity or inventiveness to the production of a die of more than ordinary artistic merit (and that they would then strike carefully from it), but that the 'experimental' coins cannot all stand early in the sequence or sequences, unless the number of the latter were to be multiplied unreasonably. If so, we should incline to the view (while admitting the difficulty of reaching any decision) that the introduction of Type 32a is earlier than that of Type 33, and we would argue in support of it that

(i) the Garton grave-find, which lies at the turning-point between the earlier and later phases of the sceatta coinage, includes one heavy specimen of Type 32a, in very fresh condition. This is not conclusive, since it is well within the bounds of possibility that (if Type 33 had been in currency) it could have been absent from the find—particularly as it seems to have been a small issue.

(ii) Type 32a is perhaps the last of the substantive issues of sceattas to be extensively imitated.<sup>1</sup> If Type 33 had been interposed between Rigold's Series B and Type 3a, and Type 32a, we think that it would have attracted more copies than it did—both in England and in Frisia.<sup>2</sup> Copying must have been to some extent a matter of taste, but the reverse design of Type 33 is striking and, capturing as it does the sense of the animal's straining forward, appeals to the imagination. If it was not copied more often, this may have been because the economic climate had begun to deteriorate.

(iii) In terms of design, a transition from Type 32a to 33 is easier to envisage than the opposite. The wolf's head is enlarged, and a somewhat awkward frill is added to join its neck to the border of the design. Type 32a (C-D), with its strong impression of circular movement, is in the idiom (and the general style) of Types BIIIb, 60, and 37.<sup>3</sup> Had Type 33 been issued first, elements in its design would have been likely to have been carried over into Type 32: for example, there is a subtly graded pattern of dots, thus (·····), above the animal's nose, on coin C, which was evidently regarded as a necessary part of the design, for it was reproduced, in a flatter manner, on coin A, and copied sketchily on an imitative piece in the Thames hoard. The tongue, on Type 33, has to be curled down and back because the enlarged head leaves no room for it in front: this disposition would probably have found an echo in at least some of the better specimens of Type 32a, had they been later in date.

If it be accepted that Type 32a stands first, and that not all the 'experimental' coins can be early, it becomes possible to take a more definite view on the relationship between styles A-B and C-D, in particular by arguing from the hatching of the drapery of the bust. We suggest that A-B is copied from C-D. The dotted semicircle, which is sometimes doubled or trebled in the C-D group, is advanced to greater prominence in the design of the A-B coins: it becomes an ornamental band consisting of a dotted curve between two wire borders. The vertical and horizontal hatching, which is a stylized version of the drapery on coin no. 1 below, is not fully understood and is therefore reproduced as a smaller, unbroken segment of

<sup>1</sup> The evidence on this point is not entirely clear: see below.

<sup>2</sup> Note the Frisian imitations of Type 3a in the Hallum hoard, Dirks, pl. D, 31, of which there were 20 specimens.—J. Dirks, 'Les Anglo-Saxons et leurs petits deniers dits sceattas', *Revue de la*

*Numismatique Belge* 5 ser. ii (1870), 81-128, 269-320, 387-409, 521-541.

<sup>3</sup> Note an imitation, in copper, of Type 60, from Domburg: *Tijdschrift v. Munt- en Penningkunde* iii (1895), pl. ii, 26.



unbroken vertical hatching. The many die-similarities that are to be observed among the 'wolf' sceattas suggest that their issue was limited to a brief number of years. In that context, artistic borrowing between the die-cutters of groups A-B and C-D (leaving aside the irregular imitative pieces discussed below, some of which might have been produced after a certain lapse of time) seems to imply that they had ready access to one another's work, as well as a lively interest in the artistic aspects of die-cutting. If sceattas could be promptly copied as far afield as Frisia, however, this need not imply that they were working in the same city—nor, indeed, in the same kingdom. It is evident that, in the early eighth century, ideas about design, as well as the coins themselves, were travelling quickly from region to region. The available provenances for the 'wolf' sceattas suggest that the two main groups both belong to the south-east. The only indications that they should be given to different mints are the metrological differences between them, and the analogy of Types B and BIIIB. Of the specimens listed under the rubric C-D, one is from Stourmouth (adjacent to Richborough), one is probably from the Isle of Thanet, and one is from the Garton grave-find. The A-B group is recorded from Reculver, and there is a copy from Domburg. Belfort notes that 12 coins of Type 32a have been found at Domburg. Of these, none can now be located in the Zeeuwsch Museum.<sup>1</sup> All the foregoing finds are of Type 32a. Type 42 has been found (again) at Reculver, at Southampton, near Oxford, and at Domburg.<sup>2</sup> The east Kentish localization for the various types considered together is thus pronounced. The two provenanced specimens of the derivative Type 52 are from Richborough and the Isle of Thanet. The Thames hoard (which is heavily flavoured with imitative coins) includes a copy of Type 32a, style A-B; it is the source of the 'London'-style coin of Type 33, which has been used as an example above, and which is itself, in our view, a close copy of a coin of style C-D; and, thirdly, it includes a poor copy of Type 33, which can also be referred to style C-D. The composition of the hoard tallies with a view that Type 33 is later than 32a, and it offers specific evidence (since the second coin is a handsome piece of work, and in fresh condition, while the third is a rough production) that copying took place very promptly. The other imitative coins of Type 32a to which English provenances attach are, except for one more from Reculver, from the periphery of the circulation-area of sceattas: one is from the Whitby excavations, one from Wilcote, and one (probably) from Southampton.<sup>3</sup>

Chronological limits for the 'wolf' sceattas are indicated by the Garton grave-find, which at first sight brackets Type 32a closely with BIIIB and 3a; and by their absence from the Hallum and Cimiez hoards, which suggests that they are later, or at least very little earlier, than the date of deposit of 737 proposed for Cimiez. The high average weight of group C-D speaks in favour of a relatively early date, but there are hardly any fixed points in the chronology of the series by which this can be interpreted. If the ties of the diadem of Type 20 are copied from 32a, the former also must be dated around 740—say within 5 years either way. The Hallum hoard leaves little doubt that the 'Wodan/monster' type is earlier than Type 42, and since it is so much cruder in style, that there is therefore no likelihood of copying. In light of the Garton find in particular, it would be difficult to make the 'wolf and twins' type (*BMC* Type 7) earlier than Type 32, and correspondingly difficult to see it as the prototype (we return to this below).

<sup>1</sup> Miss A. A. van der Poel has very kindly searched through the collection for us, and found only the copy of Type 42, cat. no. 43.

<sup>2</sup> The Domburg find is a copy.

<sup>3</sup> Sutherland, in *NC* 1942, lists a Barnett coin as

part of a probable hoard from Southampton. The Barnett bequest to the British Museum included 2 specimens of Type 32a, cat. nos. 32 and 38 below, but it is not recorded which of them came from Southampton.

Of Garton, Rigold writes, 'this hoard . . . is of the highest importance for comparative chronology . . . the later Kentish issues, e.g. Type 32a, begin earlier than expected . . . Buried c. 730?' Of Cimiez and Hallum he says, 'the probable dates of 737 (with a little time for coin drift from England) and 734 (or soon after) . . . they contain true "London-connected" coins. That three out of the four of these are imitations only lessens the danger of too late a dating.' The 'watershed' in the sceat coinage, he goes on to argue, must be sought not far from 730, with the introduction of *BMC* Type 3a; the *LVNDONIA* legend was introduced probably by Aethelbald c. 731–2.<sup>1</sup> In accordance with this model, the 'wolf' sceattas would seem to be a coinage of five to ten years' duration, in the 730's or early 740's. Their absolute chronology cannot be determined with any greater precision as yet.

Their relative chronology, however, deserves some further consideration, especially since it rests partly on argument *a silentio*. There is a certain tension, on Rigold's model, between the evidence of the Garton grave-find on the one hand and that of Cimiez and Hallum on the other. If Garton is as early as c. 730, it is rather surprising that there were no specimens of Types 32 or 33 in Cimiez, where the English element seems to have a compact age-structure, characterized by late coins of Type B, and *BMC* Types 37, 3a, and 6 ('plumed bird'), or their imitations; the Hallum hoard includes a closely similar range of English types, and the varieties of 'porcupines', too, match those in Cimiez.<sup>2</sup> The presence of a specimen of Type 23e (derivative from 32a) in the Morel-Fatio collection, supposedly from Cimiez, is problematic; but as the collection is known to have included sceattas not from Cimiez<sup>3</sup> we are inclined to disregard it, failing better evidence, and to keep to the view that both Cimiez and Hallum reflect the English (or Kentish) currency as it was at a date just before the introduction of Type 32a. The Garton find consists of chosen pieces, in fine condition—perhaps specially selected by their original owner from the currency at large. It may have a somewhat extended age-structure, for the *BIIB* coins are quite fresh. Cimiez and Hallum, on the other hand, as well as being far larger, are more miscellaneous assemblies of coins. Each element in the equation involves conjecture (age-structure of Garton; time for 'drift' to the Continent; date of deposit of Hallum and Cimiez), but, with the Thames hoard in mind, we should be reluctant to assume that it would take five years for Type 32a to drift to Cimiez. One year seems a sufficient interval. The difficulties are almost as great if Garton is moved to c. 737, let alone 741 (the date Lafaurie has suggested for Cimiez<sup>4</sup>). The English coins in Cimiez might, of course, have been a sum of money hoarded some years before the final deposit of the treasure; or events in Frisia may have caused an interruption in the flow of coinage and coin-types into Gaul. Hallum, however, supports the *prima facie* interpretation of Cimiez—and it certainly included a copy of a 'London' coin. The English coins in Hallum had had a much shorter distance to travel, to Frisia; and there is de Belfort's evidence that a dozen specimens of Type 32a were found at Domburg. To sum up, the English elements in both hoards favour dates for their deposit as early in the 730's as can be sustained. The Garton find is at present an isolated piece of evidence, and may not support a date quite as early as 730 for the introduction of Type 32a.

<sup>1</sup> Rigold, *op. cit.*, at p. 23.

<sup>2</sup> Discussed further in *NC* 1966, 203.

<sup>3</sup> A. Morel-Fatio and A. Chabouillet, *Catalogue raisonné de la collection de deniers mérovingiens des VII<sup>e</sup> et VIII<sup>e</sup> siècles de la trouvaille de Cimiez*, 1890, Introduction, and note on p. 46.

<sup>4</sup> J. Lafaurie, 'Les routes commerciales indiquées

par les trésors et trouvailles monétaires mérovingiens', *Moneta e scambi nell'alto medioevo*, Spoleto, 1961, at p. 266, citing G. de Manteyer's proposed attribution of 5 coins in the Cimiez hoard reading *Obv. KAP, Rev. PAS* (*Karolus Provinciae/Patricius*) to 741 or later.

Observations on the iconography of the 'wolf' sceattas, as on other types, are best kept within the framework of attributions, and datings, which have been argued separately. The profile bust, and cross, of the obverse are another version of the design seen on *BMC* Type 3a. The diadem perhaps indicates a royal personage. The modifications introduced into the design in style A-B may well be derived from the Frisian 'Wodan/monster' type of the variety which dominated the Hallum hoard,<sup>1</sup> and which was contemporary with Type 3a.

It has always been assumed that the reverse of Types 32 and 33 represents a wolf, wolf-serpent, or wolf-whorl, probably because they were seen in relation to Type 7, of which the reverse depicts the wolf and twins. The latter type has, conversely, been supposed to stand early in the sceat series, and to be the prototype of the others, in accordance with the general tendency to think in terms of stylistic devolution and degeneration of designs. No independent evidence for the dating of Type 7 has been advanced. Type 32a, group C-D, we have suggested above, is the earliest of the 'wolf' sceattas: on this view, as the design was developed and borrowed, its small-scale formalism and clarity of conception were overlaid by attempts to depict the animal itself in more detail or more strikingly. The reverses on which the wolf has four legs (nos. 14, 33, and 34) are almost a new design: it is from these, if there is a connection, that the 'wolf and twins' sceattas draw their artistic inspiration—and not the other way round. On no. 13 the wolf is apparently licking itself. The curve of its spine is derived from the original whorl-pattern, and may have suggested the pose in which the wolf is shown. The curved spine of the wolf with twins is similarly copied from an earlier sceat, and not directly, we suggest, from a Constantinian coin. The 'wolf and twins' penny of Aethelberht of East Anglia, by contrast, is a close copy of a Roman original.<sup>2</sup>

The 'wolf-serpent' of Type 32a (group C-D) can hardly be a torque, as the wolf's head is too large, and occupies too central a place. It should be seen in the context of Germanic and Merovingian animal art of the VI-VIII centuries, as a traditional design incorporating the half-remembered pagan symbolism of turning animals. In group A-B the design is treated as a wolf-whorl, or as a wolf with arched back. Salin would describe it simply as a 'curled monster'.<sup>3</sup> The torques which are added to the coins of group E-F are of interest both because they change the scale of the design, and because there is, apparently, no other evidence for the production of this class of ornamental metalwork in the eighth century.

Type 42, usually described as a hound and tree, undoubtedly derives originally from the traditional 'monster looking behind', which is seen also on the Frisian 'Wodan/monster' type.<sup>4</sup> Its iconography may, however, have become confused, and the animal, sometimes with a round ear, and a short tail curled up over its back, may have been interpreted as a dog. In the form in which it occurs on the coins, the design is probably an incomplete section, or 'enlargement of detail', from an 'inhabited vine' ornament. The specimen on which the animal is biting a fruit from the tree is perhaps irregular.

The interpretation placed on individual coins depends very much on the overall view, and we hope that we have succeeded in conveying an impression of the way in which many minute comparisons—usually of one particular detail on two coins—are woven into a fabric, in which a pattern can be seen. It is rarely that one can offer any clear, outright proof: the claim must be, rather, that to disturb the proposed arrangement at one point would involve

<sup>1</sup> Dirks, *op. cit.*, pl. D, 29 (140 specimens).

<sup>2</sup> Kent, *op. cit.*, illustrates the 3 coins in question, side by side, at pl. ii, 6, 7, and 8.

<sup>3</sup> E. Salin, *La civilisation mérovingienne d'après*

*les sépultures, les textes, et le laboratoire*, vol. IV, 1959, pp. 241ff.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, 209-22.



too many consequential changes at others. The comments offered in the catalogue below will, it is hoped, be found to be consistent with the general ideas that have been developed. The entries do not give a full, formal description of what can be seen on the coin, but are designed to draw attention to points which seem to be of significance for the arrangement, and to describe details which, because they are worn or weakly struck, cannot be recorded adequately by a photograph, although they are clear on a cast or on the coin itself.

The 'wolf' sceattas seem to have been a relatively small coinage and to have had a high survival-rate. In the 'official' part of the series, that is to say groups A-B and C-D, it is quite possible that half the original dies are known today; average output per die may well have been lower among the imitative pieces, and the dies (in group C-D) from which 4 coins are known may well have been allowed an unusually long life. Against the background of these estimates of quantity, which it is hoped to discuss more fully elsewhere, the geographical distribution of the finds, and the detailed ways in which the coins were copied, can both be seen in sharper focus. If a current selection of copies of a small, east Kentish currency was present in the Thames hoard, along with 'London' types, this can be understood in terms of a coastwise traffic up the Thames estuary; but it is more intriguing that copies should turn up at places as far away as Whitby, Witney and (perhaps) Southampton—and that they should be copies of what may be a 'London' version rather than of the originals. It is also intriguing that there should be two series on different weight-standards, both apparently east Kentish (although group C-D *could*, on the evidence, be from elsewhere). And the many similarities between some of the copies and their originals suggest in clear terms that the die-cutter had an eye for the smallest details, and that he sometimes sat down with another sceat in front of him, and attempted to reproduce its design in facsimile, almost in the way in which an art student makes an exercise of copying the work of a master. Since the original total of dies was small, it is quite possible that we can examine today, alongside an imitation, a coin from the self-same die from which the copyist's model was struck. We draw attention to the similarities between nos. 7 and 30, and nos. 33 and 34, as discussed in the catalogue below.

In attempting to give a coherent view of the 'wolf' sceattas which takes account of all the available evidence about them, the uncertainties in the scheme are necessarily greater at some points than at others. Thus, we think that the cruder imitative pieces at the end of the catalogue will be readily recognizable as such; and we hope that the distinction drawn between groups A-B with C-D, and all the remaining coins, will not seem controversial. The inner logic of groups A-B and C-D and the relationship between them present more delicate problems. Finally, we would urge that the reader who looks closely at the illustrations, in conjunction with reading the text of the catalogue, will find that the coins themselves are more eloquent, and more rewarding, than any number of dry words.

#### CATALOGUE

Coins marked with an asterisk are illustrated on Pl. VII

##### GROUP C-D: TYPE 32a

- \*1. *Obv.* Details which may be interpreted as early (apart from the realistic drapery) include (a) the unusual treatment of the hair, which is shown by a single, detached, dotted line giving a 'helmet' effect; (b) the realistic modelling of the hand; (c) the absence of a dot at the bottom of the cross.



*Rev.* The wolf's head is larger than on the following coins. The teeth are cut minutely. The root of the tongue is marked by a wedge-shaped thickening.

(a) Grantley 699 (ill.). A cast of this coin, from the Evans cast collection, is marked 'Marsham and Montagu collns.'; it is thus probably Montagu 170.

- \*2. *Obv.* The hair is in the characteristic cross-hatched style. The drapery is apparently surrounded by a single dotted border, and the horizontal hatching fills the central space. The thumb is bent in to hold the cross, which still lacks a dot at the foot.

*Rev.* The wolf's head is smaller, and a wire 'tail', curving outwards, has been added. The tongue is apparently cut off squarely.

(a) 15.75 gr. Canterbury Museum, no. 8083, found c. 1880 at Stourmouth, Kent (i.e. adjacent to Richborough). Published by Rigold, op. cit., p. 52 and pl. IV; weight by courtesy of Miss L. Millard.

- \*3. *Obv.* The hair is cross-hatched as on no. 2. The drapery of the bust is particularly elaborate: the vertical lines separating the panels of vertical and horizontal hatching are dotted; the semicircular border consists of a wire line, a light dotted line, and a bolder, outer dotted line. The mouth is shown with an attempt at realism, and the face is bearded. The nose is thinner than on nos. 1-2. The hand is cut off with a serif. The cross is fully dotted.

*Rev.* The wolf's head is much smaller, while its jaws are longer, and set at a wider angle. The root of the tongue is again wedge-shaped. Outside the dotted border there is a wire border.

(a) 19.0 gr. Private museum of Messrs. C. and E. Grantham, at Driffild. Found 17 May 1959 by T. G. Manby, of the Huddersfield Museum, in excavation of a grave at Garton-on-the-Wolds, Yorks (E.R.); a wooden or partly wooden container with 8 coins, under the left side of the pelvis. Published in *Trans. of the Yorkshire Num. Soc.* 2nd ser., i/5 (1960), at pp. 28-30; by G. Teasdill in *The Yorkshire Arch. Jl.* clxiii (1965), at p. 358; and in Rigold, op. cit., p. 49 and pl. IV.

\*(b) 17.6 gr. BMC 155. Undated, i.e. before 1838.

(c) 17.1 gr. (somewhat worn?) *Hunter*. 98. Before c. 1785.

(d) 17.2 gr. Grantley 679.

- \*4. *Obv.* The diadem is shown by a dotted line, and the hair is marked by lines running in different directions above and below the diadem. (Cf. Type 33, nos. 6-7 below.) The hand and cross are larger and the cross is boldly dotted. The drapery is outlined by an inner wire and an outer dotted border, and the vertical partitions converge slightly downwards. Evidence that the die was cut by the same hand as nos. 1-3 is to be seen in the modelling of the face, and the very flat curve, lightly marked, to represent the ear: these are near-duplicate details with no. 2.

*Rev.* An exceptional die; a fine wire torque, with a knob-head, has been added between the wolf-torque and the outer border. The wolf's head is slightly larger than on no. 3. There are dots representing 4 teeth in the upper jaw and 3 in the lower.

(a) Lockett 247.

- \*5. *Obv.* Bold style; it is by no means certain that this is by the same hand. The hair springs from dotted 'roots', cf. the style of many of the 'porcupine' sceattas. The knotting of the ties is very compressed (in comparison with nos. 1-4) if not actually blundered. The central panel of the drapery has been filled in with vertical hatching at the top. The ear is well rounded.

*Rev.* The wolf's head is unexpectedly large if this coin is to stand late in the sequence. The almost S-shaped line of the tongue should be noted.

(a) 17.2 gr. Carlyon-Britton 167a. (Baldwin Brown, pl. viii, 4).

#### GROUP C-D: TYPE 33

- \*6. *Obv.* Realistic drapery, with a slight convergence towards the neck, cf. no. 1. Diadem and hair as on no. 4, but forked ties.

*Rev.* This die seems to be a less careful version of the same design as no. 7, and yet to stand close to it. The treatment of the tongue is problematic: the leaf-shaped terminal is joined to a line going to the front of the mouth; a semicircle with a dot at each end, around the nose, is a continuation of the horizontal straight line running out from the throat. The dotted border is unusually small in diameter, and there is an outer wire border, as on no. 3.

(a) Lockett 248, ex Londesborough, Montagu and Grantley collections.

- \*7. *Obv.* Diadem and hair as on no. 6. The hatching of the drapery is out of alignment with the vertical axis of the design, and the semicircle itself is in this respect asymmetrical: cf. no. 1 for a parallel (and

origin?) for this mannerism. The cross on no. 1, however, looks like a truncated version of the long cross on no. 6! The modelling of the face presents near-duplicate similarities to no. 1. Outside the dotted border there is a fine pattern, apparently of linked semicircles; cf. the reverse.

*Rev.* Exceptionally careful and artistic workmanship. Five fine dots for teeth in upper jaw, 4 in lower. Pattern of graduated dots above nose. The head is cut off by a dotted curve which continues the curve at the back of the ear. Outside the dotted border there is a fine pattern v.v.v.v.v., etc.

\**(a)* 18.2 gr. *BMC* 157. Attributed by Dolley and Strudwick (*BNJ* xxviii, 36) to the (?) Isle of Thanet finds (1756). The coin is illustrated in Withy and Ryall, as no. 10 in John White's plate of coins found 'near and in the Isle of Thanet'.

*(b)* 16.1 gr. *Hunter*. 101. Before c. 1785.

8. *Obv.* Obscure, but apparently realistic drapery, very much as on no. 1. Realistic mouth as on no. 3; possibly bearded, as on no. 3.

*Rev.* Obscure, but wolf's head seems to be to *left*; tongue curled back as on no. 6; ear very much as on no. 6. No ruff. Apparently a double border of dots. See the drawing in Hill, op. cit., pl. II, 11. (Details confirmed by kindness of Miss Robertson.)

*(a)* 17.1 gr. *Hunter*. 97. Before c. 1785.

#### GROUP A-B: TYPE 32a

\*9. *Obv.* The ear is a semicircle with a dot at each end.

*Rev.* Elaborate fur. The wolf's tongue curls downwards.

\**(a)* 13.8 gr. *BMC* 153. Before 1838. The obverse and reverse dies do not coincide accurately.

*(b)* 14.6 gr. *Fitzw.* 254, found at Reculver before c. 1740. The registration of the dies is similar to that on *(a)*.

10. *Obv.* Extremely similar to no. 9.

*Rev.* Obscure, but apparently extremely similar to no. 9. The tongue curls upwards.

*(a)* 11.7 gr. *Copenh.* 43, ex Bergsoe.

\*11. *Obv.* The semicircular 'ornamental band' is lacking.

*Rev.* The wolf's jaws are set far apart. The tongue curls upwards. This coin is problematic.

*(a)* 16.4 gr. *Hunter*. 99. Before c. 1785.

\*12. *Obv.* Deeply modelled head. Worn die?

*Rev.* The wolf has no legs; it has short jaws. Double outer dotted border.

*(a)* 16.1 gr. Cdr. R. P. Mack, ex Carlyon-Britton 168a.

13. *Rev.* Similar, laterally reversed.

*(a)* Baldwin Brown, *The Arts in Early England*, pl. viii, 3, ex Carlyon-Britton collection.

\*14. *Obv.* The inner wire border around the head is replaced by a dotted border. The central panel of the stylized drapery is filled with 4 dots; the dotted semicircle is omitted. The ties of the diadem are laterally reversed. Note the treatment of the ear—a curve with a prominent dot at each end, cf. no. 9.

*Rev.* A new, simplified, and more spacious treatment. The wolf has hind as well as fore-legs, and is apparently licking itself.

*(a)* 16.8 gr. *BMC* 151. Before 1838.

#### GROUP A-B: TYPE 33

\*15. *Obv.* 'Saddle-back' drapery of wire line plus outer dotted line, repeated three times. The ties of the diadem consist of two straight lines. Modelling of face, cross-sceptre, etc., near-duplicate of no. 14. *Rev.* Wolf's nose presents near-duplicate details with no. 13. Pattern of dots above, cf. no. 7. A dotted line marks the junction of the wolf's head to neck, and another similar line the junction of its fore-leg to body. The tongue is apparently looped around the fore-paw, and ends in a dot.

\**(a)* 15.5 gr. *BMC* 158. Before 1838.

*(b)* 13.3 gr. *Hunter*. 102. Before c. 1785.

#### GROUP A-B: TYPE 42

The figure on the obverse holds a cross, a (?) branch or lily, or a bird. Coins with the cross and with the lily show die-similarities with Types 32a and 33.

\*16. *Obv.* Cross-sceptre near-duplicate detail with nos. 14–15. Cross-hatched hair, single dot for eye, and modelling of face, as on no. 14, etc. Lightly drawn, simplified hand. Large knot in ties, reversed as on no. 14.

*Rev.* Realistic treatment of tree.

(a) 14.7 gr. *Hunter*. 94. Before c. 1785. The obv. and rev. dies do not coincide accurately.

\*(b) Lockett 258. A similar discrepancy, but in a different alignment.

17. A similar coin to no. 16. On the obverse, the ties are perhaps badly drawn. The reverse die is better centred, and the tail is more roundly curled.

(a) C. Roach Smith, *Reculver*, pl. vii, 2. Found at Reculver. Roach Smith states that the coins on his pl. vii are either re-drawn from Battely (and this is so) or 'from a few preserved in the collection of Dr. Faussett of Haddington, where they are marked as having been procured from Reculver'. As this coin is not in Battely, it presumably belonged to Faussett.

18. A similar coin to no. 16. The figure holds a cross-sceptre.

*Rev.* Animal with bird-like head and 'beak'.

(a) Mr. P. V. Hill. *BNJ* 1952, pl. ii, 21.

- \*19. *Obv.* Down-curved drapery within a semicircle, the line of which cuts lightly across the neck; one band of ornament represents the arm. A cross replaces the cross-sceptre of no. 16. The large knot associates the die with no. 16; and the modelling of the cheek is a near-duplicate detail with no. 16. The ear is smaller, but characteristic.

*Rev.* Carefully-drawn animal, with a complicated, knotted tail. The top of the tree still has three modelled 'buds', but they are minimized in favour of the tail.

(a) 15.0 gr. *BMC* 181. Purchased Mr. Eastwood, 1862.

20. *Obv.* The general style is close to nos. 16 and 19, but the hand holding the cross is replaced by a hand holding a (?) branch or lily, with one leaf or petal erect and two drooping to the right.

*Rev.* Carefully-modelled animal, with small ear; cf. no. 16. Three 'buds' at the top of the tree, and two branches with groups of 3 dots, below the animal. The animal has a long tail, which curves back, across the trunk of the tree, to end in a group of 3 bold dots near its neck. There are dots at the points where the branches join the trunk; and the intersection of the tail and the trunk is also marked by a dot.

(a) 18.2 gr. *Copenh.* 44.

21. *Obv.* Worn and obscure, but very similar to no. 20. The drapery shows that this is a different die, although the intended pattern is perhaps the same. The object held in the hand is obscure, but might be as on no. 20.

*Rev.* Extremely similar die to no. 20.

(a) 16.1 gr. Ashmolean, ex Bodleian Library.

22. *Obv.* Similar general style. The drapery shows traces of a V-shaped neckline, cf. no. 16. The hand holds a (?) branch or lily, of which the central leaf or petal is erect and pointed, while those falling to the left (certainly) and right (probably) are rounded.

*Rev.* Near-duplicate, or same die, as no. 20.

(a) 15.8 gr. British Museum, found at Southampton.

- \*23. *Obv.* The head is larger, and there is not much reason to associate the die with the foregoing ones, except that the eye is represented by a single dot, rather than an almond-shaped outline. The long protruding chin and the lips are reminiscent of coins E and F. The inner of the two ties is bent so that the knot looks more like a letter A. Wire-line drapery, with dotted ends. The bird's neck is bent back.

*Rev.* There are dots where the branches of the tree join the trunk. The animal's fore-leg is elaborately modelled. Its tail is apparently very small.

(a) 13.4 gr. *Hunter*. 96. Before c. 1785.

- \*24. *Obv.* Head in the same style as no. 23. The drapery is obscure, but is apparently composed of wire lines only. The bird holds its neck straight.

*Rev.* Similar in style to no. 23. The animal has a large ear; and a short, curved tail with a dot at the end. The tree is smaller and has single dots for leaves, and there are dots where the branches join the trunk.

(a) 16.4 gr. *BMC* 180. Before 1838. Badly centred on flan.

- \*25. *Obv.* The drapery is in the tripartite style of group C-D. The eye, the modelling of the face, the ear, and the treatment of the hair are all appropriate to group A-B. The bird is similar to that on no. 24, and there are perhaps also similarities in the drapery.

*Rev.* Animal with pointed ear, and short, curved tail. Groups of 3 dots to represent leaves.

(a) 14.8 gr. R. P. Mack, ex Lockett 259, evidently the same coin as one formerly in the Londesborough collection, found near Oxford. *Coll. Ant.* vol. ii, p. 108, and pl. XLIV, 2.

- \*26. *Obv.* Very large head, with single dotted eye, and wire line drapery. The area between the ties of the diadem is cross-hatched, i.e. it seems to have been misunderstood. The bird looks upwards.  
*Rev.* Animal with large ear; open mouth, biting a fruit from the tree; curled tail. There is in one case a group of 3 dots to represent the leaves of the tree; there are no dots where the branches join the trunk; the branch from which the animal is biting the fruit is curved as though it is being pulled down.

It is questionable whether this coin belongs with the main series. The biting of the fruit may relate it to the 'bird in vine' obverse of *BMC* Type 7.

- (a) 16.4 gr. *Hunter*. 95. Pedigree uncertain, but possibly from Hunter's collection.

#### GROUP E-F: TYPE 32a

The proximity of style between no. 30 (= E) and coin F (*BMC* Type 18) is much closer than that between any except no. 27 of the other coins which have been tentatively arranged here, largely on the strength of the torque, which is not found in groups A-B or C-D.

- \*27. *Obv.* Cross-sceptre, held perhaps by a hand, although there is little trace of a thumb. The nose is cut off by a straight horizontal line, and the tip is pointed: this is a detail which apparently links the die with coins E and F. The neck is shown, rather than a bob of hair; cf. *BMC* 101. The lips are extremely similar to those on coin F, which is generally similar in style. The ties of the diadem are obscure, but in any case very small.

*Rev.* The wolf's head has a wide gape, but the jaws are parallel with each other. The tongue curls downwards and ends in a dot. The wolf- or serpent-tail curves outwards at its tip. Between the wolf and the outer dotted border there is a wire torque, facing the opposite way; it too curves outwards at its tip, symmetrically with the other tip. At the other end of the torque is an elegantly-engraved wolf's-head.

- (a) 16.1 gr. Ashmolean (Evans bequest).

- \*28. *Obv.* Large, tall bust with 'shawl' drapery, hand holding cross-sceptre, and long ties with an awkward knot, which is laterally reversed. The treatment of the nose and forehead suggest that they are copied (although not very skilfully) from a group A-B obverse. The face is deeply modelled, and apparently showed the eye in an almond-shaped outline, and also the ear, but these details have been obscured either by wear or by a developing weakness in the die.

*Rev.* Laterally reversed. Large wolf's head, with wide gape, somewhat as on no. 27, but the jaws are not parallel. Teeth are indicated by 5 dots in the upper jaw. The muzzle and fangs are marked by prominent serif-like lines. The tongue curls upwards and ends in a dot (cf. no. 27). Large pointed ear. There is a wolf-headed torque very much as on no. 27, but it is not facing the opposite way. The outer dotted border is uneven and the reverse die is much smaller than the obverse die.

- (a) 17.2 gr. *BMC* 154. Before 1838. Possibly plated?

- \*29. *Obv.* The modelling of the head and neck is similar to that on no. 27. The hand holds a cross-sceptre (the dot at the bottom of the cross is indistinct). The knot of the ties is blundered. The drapery consists of two side panels, each with a dotted line between two wire lines; in the centre are two similar (but shorter) panels arranged as a V, with a horizontal line joining them at the top. The side-panels are joined by a curve which forms the neckline.

*Rev.* Similar to no. 28, but the wolf's head is not reversed, and is smaller. Small ear; the tongue is curved downwards and ends in a dot. Wire torque with wolf's head at each end.

- (a) 14.5 gr. Ashmolean, found at Shakenoak, Wilcote, near Witney, 1967.

#### GROUP E-F: TYPE 33

- \*30. *Obv.* Elegant style, discussed above as coin E.

*Rev.* Laterally reversed, but the design is closely based on no. 7, as may be seen for example from the way in which the muzzle or fangs are drawn. The neck is shown as 3 hatched triangles, again as on no. 7. The tongue curves upwards, over the muzzle, behind the upper jaw and down, to end in a large, outlined tip. The ear is in the same style as the tip of the tongue, and there are 3 small dots inside it. There are (?)9 teeth in the upper jaw and (?)6 in the lower. There are numerous dots in the field.



It is open to question whether this die could be by the same hand as the reverse of no. 7, as it is so similar to it. The style, however, seems to be different, e.g. the flatter treatment of the ear and tongue, and the dots in the field; and there is a large dot part-way along the tip of the tongue, which perhaps reproduces the dotted tip of the tongue on the prototype. Since the design is, in addition, laterally reversed, we submit that this is a sensitive imitation of no. 7 or a related die.

(a) 15.5 gr. BMC 160. Thames hoard.

#### COINS NOT ASSIGNED TO A GROUP: TYPE 32a

##### (i) coins apparently intermediate between groups A-B and C-D

31. *Obv.* Design appropriate to group A-B; style of group C-D? The central panel of drapery seems to be horizontally hatched right to the top. The eye is bold; the lips are large.

*Rev.* Design appropriate to C-D, but laterally reversed. The style of the wolf's head is perhaps more like that found in group E-F. Tongue curls upwards.

(a) 16.3 gr. *Fitzw.* 255, ex Battely, found at Reculver.

32. *Obv.* Extremely similar to no. 31. Dot for chin.

*Rev.* Very similar to no. 31.

(a) 16.4 gr. BM 263 (Barnett bequest).

##### (ii) coins related to group A-B, no. 14

- \*33. *Obv.* Linear, 'shawl' drapery. Cross-sceptre? Obscure, but the head may be close in style to no. 14. Double dotted border above head.

*Rev.* Extremely similar to no. 14, except that the wolf's tongue ends in a group of 3 dots.

This coin is almost certainly plated, yet the reverse die is to every appearance by the same hand as that of no. 14. It thus raises difficult questions: did the 'official' series include a proportion of plated coins?—or were dies occasionally misappropriated, or re-used at a date when the quality of the sceat coinage had declined? We beg the questions by describing this as a 'reproduction' of a group A-B coin. *Post scriptum.* The results of analysis by X-ray fluorescence spectrometry, which are to be published elsewhere, show that this coin is in fact of good silver, in spite of the 'flaking' of its surface.

(a) 16.0 gr. Ashmolean ex Bodleian Library. Oman catalogue no. 20 (1894).

- \*34. *Obv.* Copy of E-F or 'London'-style head, with drapery somewhat as on no. 26, but separate short lines with dotted ends. Unintelligible inscription, *nyro*. No cross or cross-sceptre.

*Rev.* Laterally reversed, and in a slightly coarser style, but a very exact copy of no. 33 or a similar die. Note the tongue ending in 3 dots.

(a) 17.4 gr. BMC 152. Thames hoard. Base silver.

##### (iii) coins related to group E-F

- \*35. *Obv.* Copy of E-F or 'London'-style head, closest, perhaps, to no. 29. Cross-sceptre; blundered ties; rounded drapery as on no. 27.

*Rev.* Wolf's head very similar to that on no. 27. The tongue and torque have degenerated into a pattern of lines with dotted ends.

The low weight and northern provenance support the view that this is an imitative piece. It has captured the style represented by no. 27 quite exactly.

(a) 9.1 gr. BM, from the Hon. Mrs. Tatton Willoughby, ex Whitby excavations.

- \*36. *Obv.* Very similar to no. 35, with slightly smaller and narrower head. Hand (as on no. 35) holding cross-sceptre. Only the two dotted ends of the ties can be seen clearly, but the knot seems to be of the same shape as on no. 35. The drapery is obscure, but there is apparently a band of ornament to mark the arm, as on no. 19. Two faint dots mark the lips.

*Rev.* Laterally reversed wolf-serpent, with wide gape and parallel jaws, as on nos. 35 and 37. The lower jaw is 'seriffed'. The serpent's body is composed of dots, and is re-curved towards the tail. There is apparently no ear. The wolf-serpent is surrounded by a wire line, which is obscure in front of the head, but which is probably a torque, with a small animal's head at the right end (two faint dots represent the ears?), and plain at the left end; cf. no. 28. The tongue curls downwards, as on no. 27. Outer border of fine dots.

This coin is perhaps by the same hand as no. 35.

(a) 15.1 gr. C. E. Blunt. Base metal.

## (iv) Type 32b

- \*37. *Obv.* Laterally reversed bust, with short nose, pointed chin and conspicuous ear. The style of drapery suggests group E-F as the prototype. The hand and cross are omitted from the design, and the field is occupied by 3 rosettes, of which 2 are in front of the head and one behind. They consist of 8 dots around a larger central dot.

*Rev.* Laterally reversed wolf-serpent, surrounded by a wire torque. Closest in style to no. 29; wolf with wide gape. The tongue, however, curls upwards.

This extremely interesting coin is matched in style by a specimen of Type 16, now in the Glasgow cabinet (pl. VII, G). The rosettes on *BMC* Types 39 (pl. VII, H) afford an obvious parallel. These types are localized, occurring especially at Southampton, and the question is whether no. 36 could be a copy made in Hamwih or in Wessex, at a date when Type 39 was already current.

(a) 14.3 gr. *BMC* 156. Before 1838.

## (v) poor copies of Type 32a

- \*38. *Obv.* Poorly modelled head; hand holds cross-sceptre; the outer tie is straight.  
*Rev.* Laterally reversed. The wolf's tongue is knotted. The 'serpent'-tail is reduced to a wire line, of the same thickness as the tongue, with which it forms an interlace pattern.  
 (a) 14.2 gr. *BM* (Barnett bequest) 264. This coin or no. 32 is reported by Sutherland (*NC* 1942) as a Southampton find.

- \*39. *Obv.* Coarse copy of style C-D (curved line of brow and nose; semi-circular outline of drapery). Cross. No hand or ties visible.

*Rev.* Laterally reversed, with traces of wire torque around the wolf-serpent (therefore probably related to E-F). The wolf's upper jaw is apparently replaced by a beak. The lower jaw is a line ending in a large dot. The tongue curls upwards.

(a) Ashmolean cast collection, marked 'The Hague. 0.8 gm.'

- \*40. *Obv.* Copy, perhaps in 'Wodan/monster' style, of group A-B. Zig-zag line for hair, and blundered ties.  
*Rev.* Copy of group A-B.

(a) de Belfort, *Monnaies mérovingiennes* 5786, stating that 12 examples had been found at Domburg. The illustration is evidently taken from Rethaan-Macaré, vol. i (which was not available to us at the time of writing) since it is reproduced by Lelewel in 1851, as well as by Van der Chijs (pl. iv, 33). The type is absent from de Man's *Catalogus* of 1907.

## COINS NOT ASSIGNED TO A GROUP: TYPE 33

- \*41. *Obv.* Small head, poorly modelled. Faint traces of hair above the line representing the diadem. Semicircular dotted outline of drapery; horizontal hatching in central portion, evidently modelled on group C-D. Cross-sceptre.

*Rev.* Small, round head, looking much the same as that on the obverse. The curled-back tongue, the hatched triangles for the neck, and the group of dots above the nose, are all clearly copied from a coin of group C-D like no. 7. A (?) cross-sceptre has been added in front of the wolf.

(a) 14.5 gr. *BMC* 159. Thames hoard. Base silver.

## COINS NOT ASSIGNED TO A GROUP: TYPE 42

- \*42. *Obv.* Indistinct head, uncertain object in front, possibly a cross. Blundered ties.  
*Rev.* (?) Horned animal, looking forward; long tail curled over back. Tree with two drooping branches, undotted. Several dots in field below animal.

(a) 11.5 gr. Belfort 5781, citing Rethaan-Macaré ii, p. 49, and pl. ii, 14. Found at Domburg. Now in the Zeeuws Museum, inv. no. Domburg 195.

- \*43. *Obv.* Traces of dotted border. Central design scraped away.

*Rev.* Animal walking to right, and looking forward. Tree. Cross to right (= 'H-shaped tree'). Groups of dots in field.

(a) 8.5 gr. Ashmolean, ex Bodleian Library.

- \*44. *Obv.* Head without hair. The nose is modelled as part of the face. Large bird, looking back.

*Rev.* Animal biting fruit. Tree with branches at right angles. Short curved tail, attached low down. The surface of the reverse is slightly convex.

(a) Lockett 260, ex Grantley; cast in Ashmolean cast collection labelled 'ex L. A. Lawrence coll.' We are not altogether satisfied that this is an eighth-century production.

