

THE ANIMAL, "ANGLO-MEROVINGIAN", AND MISCELLANEOUS SERIES OF ANGLO-SAXON SCEATTAS

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I. THE ANIMAL SERIES

INTRODUCTION

IN a previous paper¹ we considered the sceattas of the Standard and London Series in an attempt to establish, however roughly, a chronology and to form some estimate of their significance. We have next to study the even larger and typologically more interesting series formed by the coins with various animal designs, each of which is carefully delineated in the charming Early English idiom, even though in many cases the genus of the creature represented is left in doubt. Often an animal type is used in conjunction with one in the Standard or London Series, thus giving us some useful pointers for dating purposes—assuming that our chronological conclusions in the former paper are correct.

ARRANGEMENT AND RELATIONS BETWEEN THE TYPES (See App. I)

We find that the main difficulty in dealing with this series is that it does not fall into either the typological pattern of the Standard types or the clear-cut divisions of related groups of the London coins. Indeed, it is a thoroughly miscellaneous lot and we can do no more than arrange its coins into groups according to the animals depicted on them—dragons, wolves, a centaur, hounds, birds, and uncertain animals. Nevertheless, four type-sequences exist, and although so few in number they provide interesting evidence of the ingenuity and individualism of the Early English die-engravers.

THE DRAGON TYPES

A motif in common use was a monster of doubtful genus which is generally described as a dragon and it is by no means unlikely that this is what it was meant to represent. As any reader of *Beowulf* will know, dragons were the guardians of buried treasure in Teutonic and Nordic heroic verse and folk-lore, and it is to this tradition that its popularity as a coin-type must surely have been due.

The dragon is invariably depicted with its head turned back—an attitude which is, of course, made necessary by the small circular flan. Its jaws are large and wide open and it is frequently snapping at its tail, which is very often forked or ending in one or more pellets. In a few instances the foreleg is curved upwards around the head and sometimes a touch of realism is added by the bristles under the belly.

The formalized style in which this type is usually represented may probably have originated in the nightmare monsters of Scythian art,

¹ *B.N.J.*, 1951, pp. 251-79.

whence many Saxon motifs have been derived. An ingenious and gallant attempt, however, was once made¹ to derive the dragons from the horse of the fourth-century *Fel. Temp.* (legionary and horseman) type, but this derivation completely failed to take into consideration the ancestry and background of Early English coin art, for Roman influence, even when the influence of the classical renaissance of eighth-century Carolingian France was at its height, was small and unimportant.

It is possible to distinguish two main stylistic divisions of the Dragon types, plain and ornamented, which in their turn may be still further sub-divided.

1. *Plain*

(a) *Frisian*. The first style we shall call the "Frisian" from the fact that it is represented exclusively by *B.M.C.* type 31, which turns up only in isolated examples in this country but in considerable quantities in Holland, so that we may infer that it is Frisian in origin. The obverse has a wild and hirsute facing head (generally known as the Wodan-head, but probably derived from the bust of Christ on Byzantine gold via such pieces as *B.M.C.* types 29a (**Pl. III, 18**) and 30a (**Pl. V, 17**), and the reverse dragon is a thin, scraggy monster which faces right on the better-style examples (**Pl. I, 1**) and left on those of cruder execution (**Pl. I, 3**). This led Baldwin Brown to suggest, with reason, that the latter are copies of the former.² The dragon usually has a trifurcate tail, in or near its mouth, and a long crest ending in either a pellet or a triangle of pellets. In one coin from Hallum, Holland, the tail ends in a square (**Pl. I, 2**). Most of the better examples have attempts to represent the eye—a feature which is absent in all but a few of the cruder specimens. The extremities usually have three claws, turned upwards on the foreleg and downwards on the hindleg. What appears to be the final stage in the local (Frisian) imitations of this type is exemplified in certain coins from the Terwispel hoard (**Pl. I, 4**), on which a labyrinth of lines, only vaguely resembling a dragon, suggests extreme disintegration and degeneration produced by constant copying over a period of years.

Although type 31 circulated but rarely in this country, its popularity on the Continent is shown by the fact that it was widely imitated as late as (possibly) the tenth and eleventh centuries in the Baltic region, as is suggested by a hoard found at Birka (Sweden).³ Another late copy may probably be seen in the small copper piece of only 4.7 gr. (0.3 gm.) (**Pl. I, 5**), which is said to have been found in northern Germany together with a similar piece of *B.M.C.* type 5.

(b) *Early Canterbury Style*. The second style is represented by one of the British Museum examples of type 23a with the London reverse

¹ By Mr. F. S. Salisbury in *N.C.* 1927, pp. 119–20.

² *The Arts in Early England*, iii (London, 1915), p. 90.

³ Le Gentilhomme, *La Circulation des sceattas*, in *Mélanges de numismatique mérovingienne* (Paris, 1940), p. 79.

of a man holding a staff and a cross (Pl. I, 6). It bears a very close resemblance to certain motifs in the mid-eighth-century Canterbury Psalter¹ with its new-style "portrait" animal, imported from France and used in conjunction with north-country Ribbon Style or, occasionally, long-snouted beasts and "interlaced" birds. The psalter in fact exhibits an early hybrid form of the Canterbury Style, which we shall meet later in the more mature Canterbury Gospels. This similarity between the psalter and the sceatta does not, of course, necessarily imply that the latter originated in Kent, although the cross-Channel influence is obvious in both cases.

2. Ornamented

(a) *With pellets only.* All the types of this sub-group are connected with either the Standard Series or the London Series. The reverse of type 23a var. has a man holding a bow and a cross; that of the mule 23a/51, a standard; those of 41a, 41b, and the 41b/41a mule, two men with crosses; and that of the mule 41b/23e, a man holding two crosses. The styles of the types vary considerably and even the pellet-ornamentation shows numerous varieties. The major differences are seen in the presence or absence of a crest and in the position of the tail and foreleg (Pl. I, 7-14).

(b) *With pellets and bristles.* Other coins of 23a, type 40 and the uncatalogued head in cable-dragon type in the Ashmolean and Hunterian Museums are similar to the style of types 41a and 41b in the last sub-group except for two details: the dragons' bodies are less angular and the bristles under the belly are represented.

The dragons of 23a and 40 (Pl. I, 15, 16) present a pleasing variation by having the foreleg curved upwards behind the neck, while on the head in cable pieces (Pl. I, 17, 18) it touches the throat.

This sub-group also contains four types which exhibit remarkable stylistic differences. Type 43 (*rev.* interlaced tetragram, not unlike the rather more complex interlace on the Acca and Abercorn crosses)² has a dragon with closed jaws like a duck's bill and an upward-curving foreleg (Pl. I, 19). Its style is so completely different from that of English sceattas in general that it may well be continental—or, if produced here, the work of either a foreign engraver or of a very individualistic artist indeed. The reverse of the standard-dragon sceatta in Norwich Museum (Pl. I, 20) shows a very similar beast, except that the body is thinner. The head and eye are shown as a large annulet enclosing a pellet: a forked line and a curved line ending in a pellet sprout from the head to do service as the jaws and crest respectively (as on type 43). A coin of identical style came from Hallum (*obv.* bust with cross) but here the eye is absent and the jaws are composed of a single line (Pl. I, 21). Finally, in the Grantley sale

¹ Sir Thomas Kendrick, *Anglo-Saxon Art to A.D. 900* (London, 1938), pp. 160-1, Pl. LXV. The Canterbury portrait-style is distinguished by its neatness and the small frames enclosing the animals, which are entirely free from vine-scrolls or interlace.

² *Ibid.*, Pls. XLIX and L.

was a curious piece of type 41a, the odd stylized dragon of which completely baffles description (Pl. I, 22). It may possibly be an archaism, for its style resembles to some extent the Teutonic "Helmet" Style (the name by which Kendrick has designated the typically English version of Salin's Scandinavian "Style I"), although the creature is without the so-called "helmet". By the eighth century this style had been obsolete for at least two centuries, but there is no adequate reason why an engraver, for reasons best known to himself, should not have copied an idiom which was popular with his ancestors of the fifth and sixth centuries.

THE WOLF TYPES

The Constantinian Wolf and Twins type of the *Urbs Roma* issue (Pl. I, 23) seems to have been responsible for the reverse of the rare sceatta, *B.M.C.* type 7 (*obv.* bird on vine). If, as seems likely, this reverse was the parent of a sequence of Wolf types, it is the first sequence in the Animal Series for us to consider. This derivation, however, is reserved for discussion in a later context (pp. 17-18, below) when it will be more apposite.

1. *Wolf and Twins*. As a design the sceattas' version of the wolf and twins (*B.M.C.* type 7, *rev.*) (Pl. I, 24) was not very successful and the other Wolf types have far greater artistic merit. The crude bristly body, skull-like head, and bony legs of the wolf give it the appearance of a skeleton and the two squatting armless twins resemble sometimes monkeys and sometimes chickens. When we come to deal with the obverse amongst the Bird types we shall immediately be struck by its different treatment, so different as to make it seem impossible that it could have been produced by the same artist.

2. *Curved*. Types 32a and 32b and the Hunterian wolf-standard coin present the first six stages of the sequence. With the exception of the Hunterian coin, they are all connected by the obverse bust with the London Series.

(i) What appear to be the earliest coins of type 32a and of the sequence show a wolf with a curved back, very short forelegs, and a long curved tongue, occasionally ending in a triangle of pellets (Pl. I, 25). Usually the wolf faces right, as on type 7, but on one coin (Pl. I, 26) it is to the left, and the general impression is that this type is a copy of the more normal representation (Pl. I, 25). Next the hindlegs vanish (Pl. I, 27) and on the Hunterian coin both pairs of legs and the tongue have gone, leaving the curved bristly body with a tail ending in a cross (Pl. I, 28). A coin from Domburg is the next in sequence (Pl. II, 1), the wolf, again with a tongue, having a two-dimensional body with bristles. This is followed by a piece, formerly in the Carlyon-Britton collection (Pl. II, 2), on which the type is to left and the back has become a curved line ending in a circle of pellets which encloses the whole composition. The next coin (Pl. II, 3) again shows the type to left, but here the bristles have given place to a "torque" of pellets, which has been formed by placing the emphasis on the pellet-circle of

the last coin rather than on the body-bristles; a second torque, ending in a barbed arrow-head (? a bird's head), encloses the wolf-headed torque. The next stage in this evolutionary process is seen on two coins in the British Museum (one, **Pl. II, 4**, from Whitby), on which the second torque, still barbed, has become the long curved tongue. The remaining coins of type 32*a* (**Pl. II, 5, 6**) and those of 32*b* (**Pl. II, 7**) show a plain wolf-torque, usually curved to right but sometimes to left. A parallel type is seen in the uncatalogued pieces with two bird-torques circling round each other (**Pl. III, 28**).

3. *Profile heads*

(ii) The modification of the Wolf types is continued in type 33 (**Pl. II, 8–11**). Here the emphasis shifts from the pellet-circle to the head, although some of the pellets still occasionally remain in the field. The majority of the coins of this type are more florid and picturesque than those of 32*a* and 32*b*, and the modifications which the artist has made in the long tongue—sometimes knotted, sometimes forked—serve to vary the composition. In most cases the bristles of the neck are indicated by a dog-tooth pattern.

4. *Whorls*

(iii) A whorl of three (**Pl. II, 12–15**) or four (**Pl. II, 16**) wolves' heads completes the evolution of the wolf-derivatives. Here we may see examples of a favourite device of the Early English die-sinker, whereby the original composition is repeated and made to revolve about an axis. The pellets of the torques have now become the wolves' tongues springing from a central pellet. A coin from Whitby (**Pl. II, 15**) combines the wolf-whorl of type 48 with the face-in-shield of 49,¹ thus linking both types chronologically.

5. *Facing head*. A coin found near Marlborough (**Pl. II, 17**) has on the obverse an animal's head facing in a double circle. The neck, seen on the left of the type, is delineated with lines and pellets, and that feature and the ears are so similar to those of many of the Wolf types that there is little doubt that the animal was intended for a wolf. If so, it is the only one which does not fit into the sequence just described. However, as we shall see, the style of both obverse and reverse is palpably eighth-century, so that the piece may be contemporary with the later versions of 32*a* and with 32*b* and 33 (cf. **Pl. I, 25–27; II, 1–11**). What appears to be a similar head is linked on a coin in Mr. Fred Baldwin's collection with a man with crosses reverse (type 23*e*), but the obverse is too worn for any conclusions to be drawn from it.

THE CENTAUR TYPE

Another type derived from a Roman prototype was the centaur of B.M.C. type 47. The prototype was probably the centaur of one of the legionary coins of Carausius (**Pl. II, 18**), but the artist has

¹ See p. 19, below.

shown his native ingenuity by changing the sex to female (PI. II, 19). The two objects apparently sprouting from the shoulders are undoubtedly palm-branches, the usual attributes of the representations of this type on Roman coins, although Keary in the *British Museum Catalogue* mistook them for wings. Like the wolf and twins of type 7 (PI. I, 24), this composition, although derived from a classical original, is by no means in the classical tradition, as are so many of the early "Romanized" obverse busts: the possibility is that the type is one of the few which was inspired by the influence of the Carolingian renaissance of the eighth century—a question which we shall consider more fully in the section on dating.

The centaur-motif was not popular with Anglo-Saxon artists. It appears only once on sceattas and, so far as I can discover, only once more elsewhere—on the very much later cross-shaft from Nunburnholme, Yorks., dated by Collingwood to (probably) the early eleventh century.

THE HOUND TYPES

As a contrast to the Wolf and Centaur types, which were derived from Roman originals, the Hound types are purely English in origin. There are two groups—the "London-connected" type (i.e. with a London-style bust on the obverse) of a hound running past a tree, and the Canterbury Style of the reverse of the Marlborough coin, the obverse of which was described in the final section of the Wolf types (section 5).

I. *With tree*

The reverse of *B.M.C.* type 42 (*obv.* London-style bust with bird, cross, or branch) (PI. II, 20–23) is a good example of naturalism mingled with stylization of which the Saxon artists were at times capable. It shows a hound, head turned back, running left past a tree, while a variant of the type has the hound standing in front of a very stylized tree (PI. II, 24). I am indebted to Mr. R. H. Dolley for the interesting suggestion that this variant may be intended to represent the Agnus Dei, and it must be admitted that it has a marked similarity (with the exception of a tree for the cross)¹ to the Agnus Dei on a penny of Aethelred II, "the Unready".

The hounds vary considerably in style, sometimes having recognizably canine features, sometimes having a bird-like head and beak. Occasionally, like the animals and birds of the "inhabited vines" of the sculptures and the bird on vine and bird and branch sceatta types, it bites at the tree. The trees also vary but they all conform to the same general pattern of a vertical trunk with several branches, each ending in a pellet or a triangle of three pellets. There are two exceptions. A coin in the Hunterian Museum shows a tree, with a small square root and an offshoot, blossoming at the top in three leaf-shaped

¹ I understand that certain continental Agnus Dei compositions are actually shown with a tree instead of a cross.

buds,¹ and the variant (Pl. II, 24) has the tree, with an H-shaped trunk, diagonally across the flan. There seems to be no connexion between the reverse varieties and the two main obverse variations of a bust with a bird on the shoulder and a bust holding a cross.

The reverse of type 42 is also used as an obverse with a curious wheel-pattern reverse, which may be a very late and stylized version of the Standard type or a purely conventional design; in either case, it is the product of a very individualistic artist (Pl. II, 25).

2. *Early Canterbury Style*

We have met the Early Canterbury Style before in the section on the Dragon types, and it is seen again on the reverse of the coin from Marlborough with *obv.* wolf's head facing (Pl. II, 17). Its type is similar in style to the Dragon type but the animal is apparently intended for a hound and may be compared with one or two of the hounds of type 42. The Canterbury portrait-style of the coin is brought out by its neatness, the curled tail and naturalistic head and body, and the circle of pellets forming the frame which contains the composition. The type is finished off by being partly surrounded by a line of pellets. It is, in fact, one of the very few sceattas which bear any really close stylistic affinity with one of the three main styles into which other branches of Saxon art may be divided.

THE BIRD TYPES

This group is by far the largest and most complex of all the Animal Series. In the larger Dragon group we discovered no more than three main styles and in the even larger Wolf group only two, one of which comprised a whole type-sequence, from the original wolf and twins (if it is the prototype) to a whorl of wolves' heads. The Bird types, however, can be divided into no fewer than five main classes and are particularly rich in parallels with other branches of art, no less than three types resembling the motifs of contemporary manuscripts and sculptured crosses and four being similar to the design on an earlier bronze ornament.

I. *On vine*

Type 7 with the wolf and twins reverse (Pl. I, 24) is one of the most problematical and controversial of all the sceatta-types. Its obverse, a bird perched on a vine, is a pleasing composition, delicately engraved and giving scope for that love of symmetry which the Saxon artist had in full measure. The bird is seen from the top, legs apart, head to the right, on two vine-branches, at one of which it is usually pecking; the body is normally heart-shaped and on one piece the tiny tail-feathers are carefully delineated.

What is the origin of the type? The inhabited vine-scroll was a

¹ One of the B.M. specimens of type 42, provenance Southampton, has a similar branch with leaf-shaped buds in front of the obverse bust instead of a cross or a bird (Pl. II, 23).

favourite composition with Saxon artists but more in other spheres of art than on coins, the small dimensions of which would naturally permit only a very limited representation indeed. It is seen on several Northumbrian crosses, notably those at Ruthwell and Bewcastle, dated by Kendrick to the end of the seventh century and to c. 700 respectively, and on the shaft from Easby, Yorks. (early ninth century) in the Victoria and Albert Museum. The St. Andrew Auckland cross (second half of the eighth century) and the ninth-century Morham cross have the same motif but in a more stylized form. Similar types are found on Merovingian tremisses struck at Cahors in the sixth and seventh centuries,¹ one of which shows two birds flanking a central vine-branch and the other a bird standing right pecking at a vine. Brøndstedt² considers that as the latest date for the wolf and twins of type 7 is the mid-seventh century, the bird on vine obverse could not have been borrowed from the Northumbrian cross motifs but was derived from Merovingian coins such as these two of Cahors, from which Baldwin Brown also derives it.³ This hypothesis is open to criticism. (i) The wolf and twins type must be later than the mid-seventh century, to which Brøndstedt assigns it, since it is very likely that c. 650 is the starting-date of the sceattas, the earliest of which were in a "Romanized" style, quite different from the purely Saxon style of type 7. (ii) The bird on vine is *exactly* paralleled in the inhabited vine motifs of the crosses, whereas the Merovingian tremisses have only a *similar* design. (iii) The probable date of the crosses by no means excludes the possibility of a connexion between the motifs of both crosses and sceattas, as will be shown when we come to consider the dating of the type in a subsequent section. The conclusion therefore is either that the motifs of both crosses and sceattas were cognate with each other or that the sceatta type, in spite of its southern English (probably Kentish) origin, was borrowed from the crosses, just as the stepped cross of *B.M.C.* type 53 (Pl. V, 13) and the various "Celtic cross" types seem to have been borrowed from contemporary jewellery.

2. *Ornamented*

(a) *With pellets*. Six uncatalogued types and certain examples of *B.M.C.* type 44 constitute this sub-group, three with an unidentified beast on the other side, the others with *obv.* bust with cross; *rev.* man with crosses; and *obv.* two busts with a long cross between (as type 37 (section 2 (e), below)) respectively.

(i) The first type shows a bird, on one specimen crested, with its tail surrounded by pellets, a series of pellets in front of its neck, and a trefoil ornament above (Pl. II, 26). The neck pellets may be the remains of a branch (cp. the bird and branch type, section 2(b),

¹ Prou, *Les Monnaies mérovingiennes de la Bibliothèque Nationale* (Paris, 1892), nos. 1921, 1922, and Pl. II, 6, 7.

² *Early English Ornament*, translated by Albany F. Major (London and Copenhagen, 1924), sect. i, pts. 1 and 2, pp. 96-97.

³ *Op. cit.*, p. 92.

below). Nothing more can be said on this type and we shall reserve fuller discussion for its more important and interesting obverse.¹

(ii) The second type is represented by two coins, on both of which a scraggy-bodied bird is seen, varied on one (in the Hunterian) by the wing ending in a cross (Pl. II, 27). The other piece (from Cambridge) (Pl. II, 28) has, in addition to the pellets, a triangular ornament above the head. The Hunterian specimen is interesting in view of the similarity of its bird to the pair of birds on a hinged handle of cast and gilded bronze from Wangford, Suffolk,² but this similarity can be no more than a coincidence, as the handle has been dated to before 500, at least two centuries earlier than the sceattas.

(iii, iv) The third and fourth types may be considered together (Pl. II, 29, 30). The birds, with curved wing and trifurcate tail, also bear a remarkable similarity to those on the Wangford handle. The bust with cross and man with crosses which appear on the other sides of these coins are London types but not in the London style.

(v) Pl. III, 1 shows a plump bird with a looped wing and straight tail pecking at two pellets in the field, probably the remains of the grapes of the original inhabited vines on the earlier Northumbrian crosses.

(vi) A simplified and partly disintegrated bird, standing right, head left, with a trefoil above, forms the reverse of several rare pieces, one of which (Pl. III, 2) comes from Richborough, with *obv.* two busts and cross (as type 37; cp. Pl. III, 10). It is interesting in that it is a second reverse for the derivative of type 36 (section 2(d), below) instead of the more usual whorl.

(b) *With branch.* B.M.C. type 44 (Pl. III, 3, 4) is the only type of this sub-group. The obverse shows a plump-bodied bird with curved wing and trifurcate tail pecking at a forked branch: the reverse, which we shall consider later, is an uncertain animal of similar style. There can be little doubt that the branch is the remains of the vine from which, in the northern sculptures of the later eighth century, the animal or bird was completely divorced.

(c) *With pellets and crosses.* Two other coins of the bird-beast type (section 2(a) (ii) above) have two crosses in the field as well as pellets. Both the obverse and the reverse of the first piece are remarkably neat for this type, although both animals are completely stylized (Pl. III, 5). The bird on the second piece is not only stylized but also simplified to a degree: its wing ends in a cross and the tail, separated from the thin body, consists of two curved lines terminating in pellets (Pl. III, 6).

Type 35 (Pl. III, 7) begins another sequence. The bird has a cross before it, four pellets above it, and a small pellet beneath each claw. In appearance it is even closer to the birds on the Wangford handle than are the previous pieces, but here again this similarity can be no more than a coincidence.

(d) *Two birds with cross.* Type 35 shows the bird to left. Type 36

¹ See pp. 13-14, below.

² Baldwin Brown, *op. cit.*, p. 105, Pl. ix. 1.

(Pl. III, 8, 9) has two birds, a small one above a larger one, to right, and seems to be a duplicated derivative from the former type. The birds themselves are cruder in style than that of 35 and approximate very closely (one specimen in the Hunterian Museum almost exactly) to the stylized birds of the bird-beast type of sub-group (a).

(e) *Whorl of four birds*. In type 37 (Pl. III, 10) the two birds of 36 are themselves duplicated into a whorl of four birds, each completely simplified and stylized and springing from the cross, which is now the central part of the composition.¹ The result is both pleasing and effective and the new design not only exemplifies the tendency towards revolving motifs, which was one of the most successful characteristics of Saxon art, but also shows the love of symmetry and the delight which the designers of the sceattas took in varying and modifying a dull and unpleasing design and creating from it a delicate and charming composition. This type is connected with the Wolf types by a mule 37/32a (two busts—wolf-torque) formerly in the Carlyon-Britton collection.

3. "Torqued" and derivatives

(a) *With pellets*. Of the two types which constitute this sub-group, one is connected with the Standard Series and the other, in its best-style specimens only, with the London Series. Type 46 (Pl. III, 11) shows on the obverse a simplified bird, head turned back, standing in a broken "torque" of pellets. It is a not very inspiring type and would lack any interest but for the reverse, which connects it with the late variations of the Standard Series.²

The obverse of type 38 (Pl. III, 12-14) has a bust with a cross in a torque (in one instance in a cable border as well and in another with letters around). The reverse shows a bird in a similar torque, partially or totally encircled by pellets. This composition is also found as an obverse in conjunction with a purely Merovingian cross *ancrée* reverse (Pl. III, 15), from which we may suspect it to be of Merovingian origin.

(b) *With pellets and branch*. One of the specimens of type 38 (Pl. III, 16), with a far more naturalistic bird than appears on any of the others, is the Hunterian coin which alone constitutes this sub-group. The bifurcate branch in front of the bird suggests the bird and branch types with London connexions (section 4(b)) and the obverse bust is one of the very few of this type which is drawn in the London style. Even so, there is no reason to think that the type as a whole originated at London, or for that matter is of English origin, since the similarity of style may be no more than a coincidence. Indeed, it must remain an open question at present as to whether the origin of type 38 is to be sought over here or on the other side of the Channel. The cross *ancrée* reverse of Pl. III, 15 seems to argue in favour of the latter

¹ The obverse bust of types 35 and 36 has also undergone duplication in the form of two busts face to face on either side of a central cross.

² *B.N.J.*, 1951, p. 258.

possibility, while the former is supported by two coins from Richborough (in the British Museum) struck from the same obverse and reverse dies, although the proximity of the site to France robs this evidence of much of its value. However, it is just possible that some were struck over here and were either English copies of a Merovingian prototype or the production of a Merovingian die-engraver in England.

(c) *On cross and in torque*. The starting-point for the third typological sequence is provided by the best-style examples of the twin types 27*a* and 27*b* (Pl. III, 20–27) with the reverse of a bird (? a dove) perched upon a cross—a motif which is also found, in varying degrees of crudeness, on the probably continental types 26, 29*a*, and 29*b* (Pl. III, 17–19). There seems to be little doubt that 27*a* and 27*b* are really two versions of the same type and that 27*b* was not derived from 27*a*, as is generally thought.¹ Indeed, 27*a* differs from 27*b* only in the addition of a cross before the face on the obverse: moreover, it is found in various styles, which correspond closely to those of 27*b* (cp. Pl. III, 20, 21 with III, 23, 25).

(i) In the best-style pieces of 27*b* (Pl. III, 22) the bird on cross is seen within a pellet-torque which ends in a bifurcate terminus (probably a stylized representation of a serpent's head): outside the torque is a "legend". The obverse head, often charmingly portrayed, is of pure Saxon work and is placed within a similar torque and surrounded by a similar "legend".

(ii) However, degeneration sets in (Pl. III, 23): the obverse head is replaced by a bust of less careful and intelligent workmanship and the torque becomes a mere circle of pellets. Occasionally the same fate befalls the reverse torque but normally it is there in its original shape. Very often pellets, annulets, crosses, and stars are indiscriminately used to fill up the empty spaces of the reverse design. Almost invariably the wing-feathers and/or tail-feathers are depicted rather carefully, and even on the more degraded examples the birds' bodies are solid and not just "lined-in", like some of those in sub-group (*d*), below.

(iii) The second stage of degeneration is seen in Pl. III, 24. The head reappears on the obverse, but it is quite different in style from the original head: it is larger and cruder and both "legend" and torque have now completely vanished. They still linger in the reverse composition, however, which has lost little of its original neatness and carefulness in execution.

(*d*) *On cross only*. (iv) The coins of this type (Pl. III, 25–27) reach the nadir of crudeness. The obverses are still the large and ungainly heads of the previous group, but the style of the reverses now falls into line with that of the obverses. The birds are usually simple, "lined-in" figures, leaf-shaped and with three tail-feathers, but in at least one instance (a coin from the Cimiez hoard, Pl. III, 27) the bird has disintegrated into a mere pattern of lines. The normal form of the bird is

¹ And as I thought (*B.N.J.*, 1950, p. 134), until a closer examination led me to the present conclusion.

almost identical with that of one of the birds decorating folio 139 of the Lindisfarne Gospels,¹ though the latter is rather neater and more naturalistic.

(e) *Two bird-headed torques*. Connected by their obverses with the last stage of type 27*b* are two uncatalogued coins in the British Museum and Hunterian Museum respectively (Pl. III, 28). The reverses, which show two bird-headed torques circling round each other, are typologically similar to the wolf-torques of 32*a*, with which they may be contemporary.

4. "Fantastic"

(a) *With pellets*. The name "fantastic bird" was that given in the *British Museum Catalogue* to the highly stylized bird which is seen on the obverse of *B.M.C.* 39 and on the reverse of *B.M.C.* 49 (Pl. IV, 1-4). These birds usually resemble starfishes, have thin bodies, and show a tendency to revolve. On type 49 they are nearly always crested and, indeed, with this crest and long thin neck the birds might almost be intended for cranes or herons. The field is decorated with pellets and either one or two annulets enclosing a pellet or a small cross with pellets (Pl. IV, 3), similar to the reverse type of *B.M.C.* 2*c* (Pl. V, 19-22).

Baldwin Brown² thought that these fantastic birds may have been derived from the whorl of wolves' heads via "a mere play of radiating lines" but confessed that he "has not found any sceattas which bear this out". This was a brilliant guess, fully in accordance with the tradition of the artists of the sceattas, but no more than that.

Type 39 has the purely London-type reverse of a "Celtic cross" and 49 has the face in shield obverse which, as we have seen elsewhere,³ may have been derived from the "Celtic cross" but is more likely to have been a completely original composition, since it is frequently found in Anglo-Saxon art—e.g. almost identical facing head on the Sutton Hoo whetstone (seventh century) and on the earlier shield from the same treasure.⁴

Types 39 and 49 begin our fourth and last sequence, in which the bird is seen to revolve until it nearly turns into a whorl.

(b) *With branch*. The first phases of this sequence appear when the original revolving tendency of the fantastic birds is heightened by the circular sweep of the branch, which now accompanies the birds, and the spiral (*B.M.C.* type 23*b*—Pl. IV, 5) or circle (*B.M.C.* type 23*c*—Pl. IV, 6) in the centre of the bodies. An interesting piece is the crested bird on a coin with a London bust obverse (Pl. IV, 8). Here the bird has partially disintegrated, the neck having been separated

¹ Kendrick, op. cit., Pl. xxxviii, 4.

² Op. cit., pp. 100-1.

³ *B.N.J.*, 1950, p. 134; 1951, p. 257.

⁴ R. L. S. Bruce-Mitford, *The Sutton Hoo Ship Burial*, in *P.S.A.I.*, xxv, 1949, Pls. I, vii. The design of a central boss surrounded by several other bosses was a very early Teutonic motif and may be seen on (for example) a late fifth-century bronze plaque from Rochester and on two probably fourth-century bronze plaques from Thorsberg Moss, Schleswig: Baldwin Brown, op. cit., p. 324, Pl. lxi.

from the body, though this lack of naturalism is offset by the very naturalistic tail-feathers. This coin appears to fall halfway between the birds of 23*b* and 23*c*, which have only a slight tendency to revolve, and that of 23*d*, which has almost turned into a whorl (Pl. IV, 9). The latter type is paralleled to a remarkable degree by a whorl pattern in the Canterbury Psalter (c. 750),¹ and is a good example of the occasional similarity of motifs on coins and on other branches of Saxon art.

Types 23*b* and 23*d* and the coin shown on Pl. IV, 8 are all connected with the London Series, the first two by their reverses and the last by its obverse. Type 23*c* also has a London reverse but it is not in the London idiom and unless, as seems likely, it is a *farouche* copy of 23*b*, its sole connexion with the London Series lies in a mule with *obv.* bird and branch and *rev.* "Celtic cross" (Pl. IV, 7).

5. *Plumed*

The "plumed bird" of *B.M.C.* type 6 (Pl. IV, 10–12) was not originally a bird at all but was derived from the degraded bust ("porcupine") obverses of *B.M.C.* types 4 and 5. It was formed by giving the central spine of the "porcupine" a head, legs, tail, and a certain thickness so that it developed into a bird-like motif. The field contains various objects—pellets, crosses, an annulet, and an annulet enclosing a pellet. It may well be that the type is continental in its origins (? a Frisian derivative of the English "porcupine" type), since no examples have yet been recorded from this country but only from Holland, France, and Germany.

UNCERTAIN ANIMAL TYPES

1. *Plain*

B.M.C. type 44 and two uncatalogued types constitute this subgroup, all with some form of unidentified animal and all in completely different styles.

(i) On type 44 a large animal is seen walking left (Pl. III, 3) or right (Pl. III, 4), its tongue hanging out of its open mouth; it is the proud possessor of a very fine curved tail ending in a leonine tuft and, indeed, it may have been intended for a lion.

(ii) The second type is interesting as the animal is a typical north-country beast with the "Anglian lock" of the legs, in this case formed by the intersection of the long and curving crest, passing behind the right foreleg and right hindleg and in front of the left foreleg and left hindleg (Pl. IV, 13). This coin (from the Carlyon-Britton sale, whence it passed into the cabinets of the late Mr. R. C. Lockett) was found near Carlisle and has on the obverse a facing bust. It was attributed in the Sale Catalogue to Archbishop Ecgerht of York, doubtless through an apparently mistaken impression that the bust was tonsured.

(iii) The third type, represented so far by two coins in the collec-

¹ Kendrick, *op. cit.*, Pl. LXV.

tions of Mr. F. Elmore Jones and Mr. Fred Baldwin respectively, shows a thin, ribbon-like animal with a crest and a long trifurcate tail curved in an "Anglian lock" over the left hindleg and under the right hindleg and the body (Pl. II, 26). On the Baldwin coin (the other specimen is too worn for such details to be made out) both obverse and reverse have a trefoil above the type, joining the tail of the obverse animal to the lower jaw. These coins are the only sceattas so far recorded which approximate in any way to the Ribbon Style of Anglo-Saxon art (to use Kendrick's term, which is more comprehensible to the layman than Salin's "Style II"). This style flourished in Kent and the south mainly in the fifth and sixth centuries, but a parallel form (Kendrick's "Anglian Development") appeared in eastern England in the sixth and seventh centuries, surviving into the eighth in Northumbrian Christian art. The coins, then, illustrate the survival of an obsolete art-style in a medium where it is not otherwise found. The possibility that they are of Northumbrian origin must not be altogether ruled out.

2. *Ornamented*

(a) *With pellets*. In this sub-group we find three different types of animals: (i) a long-necked creature with a crest, short dumpy body, and spidery legs; (ii) one with a curved back, long tail, and bifurcate tongue; and (iii) one with thin legs, ears, and curving tail, which has been described as a bear.

(i) The first type of animal is found on certain rare coins with *obv.* radiate bust with blundered runes, as *B.M.C.* type 2*b* (Pl. IV, 14), and on others with *obv.* bird (Pls. II, 27, 28; III, 5, 6). For the most part it is similar in style to those on the earliest Northumbrian "stycas" (cp. Pl. IV, 24-33) struck from the reign of Eadberht (737-58) to that of Aelfwald I (779-89), and these coins may well be of Northumbrian mintage, particularly as on at least two the familiar "Anglian lock" is seen.

(ii) The second type is that of one of *B.M.C.* type 45 with *rev.* spiral branch (Pl. IV, 15), which has its counterpart in the spiraliform volute on the staff of St. Luke in one of the folios of the mid-eighth-century St. Chad Gospels.¹ Little can be said about the obverse animal, a curious S-shaped monster, except that it is quite unlike any of the other sceatta beasts, the only one approximating to it in style being on another piece of the same type (Pl. IV, 20).

(iii) The coins with a "bear" reverse (for so we shall continue to call it for lack of a better name, though no conceivable stretch of imagination can ever make it resemble one) have the obverse of a crude bearded bust facing, which is certainly not of English style and which may well be continental (Pl. IV, 16-19). The reverses, too, are in an idiom not at all reconcilable with that of the productions of Anglo-Saxon artists. The "bears" are shown sometimes to left, sometimes to right, and as the latter representations are the less skil-

¹ Kendrick, *op. cit.*, Pl. LIII.

fully executed it may be conjectured that they are copies of the former. Different attitudes adopted by the animals vary the design considerably—drinking, biting the right forepaw, or stretching with arched back in a decidedly canine manner.¹

(b) *Winged, with pellets*. Another obverse of *B.M.C.* type 45 shows a beast, rather like a gryphon, with wings, spiral tongue, and short, curled tail (**Pl. IV, 20**).

(c) *Later Canterbury Style*. On certain pieces of type 44 (**Pl. III, 1**) and type 45 (**Pl. IV, 21, 22**) we come across small, neat portrait-animals² surrounded by pellets and enclosed in a circle. These animals, especially that shown on **Pl. IV, 21**, with its spiral tongue, bear some resemblance to the animals in roundels which decorate the Canon Tables of the early ninth-century Canterbury Gospels,³ except that the latter are encumbered by such unnecessary appendages as interlace at the ends of their ears or leaves and flowers growing from their tails. There can be little doubt that these coins have stylistic affinities with the Canterbury animals and they may be reasonably close to that manuscript in date. This, however, is a question which we must consider more fully in the section on dating.

(d) *Northumbrian*. The list of animal types on sceattas would not be complete without a description of the beasts on the early Northumbrian "stycas",⁴ which are, of course, datable by their obverse legends. It is probable that the styca animals are for the most part crude and not very naturalistic representations of horses, as the presence of conventionalized manes on the necks suggests. These are, however, invariably depicted with claws on each foot and, if we are correct in assuming their equine origin, it would appear that the artists knew little of the anatomy of their models.

The first Northumbrian king to use the animal reverse with an obverse bearing his own name (if we exclude the coins of Aldfrith, 685–705, which some numismatists regard with suspicion) was Eadberht (737–58). Types of a similar style were later employed by Alchred (765–74), during the first reign of Aethelred I (774–9), and by Aelfwald I (779–89). Subsequently we find the animal type revived, but in a very different style, by the moneyer Leofthegn, who struck for Aethelred II (841–9).

Aldfrith's animal (**Pl. IV, 23**) was a crude beast with an S-shaped body and trifurcate tail, quite different from those of his successors.

Eadberht's stycas, which are the least uncommon of all the early stycas, present a large variety of animals, but they all conform to the

¹ On two coins from the same dies in the Cimiez hoard. Baldwin Brown thinks that this type was a Teutonized version of type 31, but there is little in it which bears out such a hypothesis.

² I am indebted to Mrs. J. R. Pritchard for the interesting suggestion that the animal of type 45, no. 184 (**Pl. IV, 21**) and its die-link, no. 185, may be a young deer: the embryonic horns and kneeling posture certainly bear this out.

³ Kendrick, *op. cit.*, Pl. Lxvi, which illustrates the mature Canterbury style as distinct from the earlier hybrid style of the Canterbury Psalter (*ibid.*, Pl. Lxv).

⁴ We shall continue to give them their traditional name though, strictly speaking, they are sceattas.

same general form. Two ears and, usually, three bristles adorn their heads and necks and they are invariably depicted with long snouts. The tails, which are long, curved, and frequently barbed, sprout from the middle of the backs. The bodies are either long rectangles or lozenges, ending in a hindleg which is sometimes of normal length and sometimes unnaturally short. The claws are shown in the conventional manner as short lines; they vary in number between one and four. The animals are drawn either to right or to left, while the field is either plain or ornamented in a variety of ways (Pl. IV, 24-30).

Alchred's animals are similar in form to those of Eadberht, though a trifle cruder in execution. They are shown only to right and the only ornament in the field is a cross (Pl. IV, 31).

A similar beast is seen on the coin of Aethelred I (Pl. IV, 32), though the tail is different and the ornament is a trefoil, which was occasionally employed by Eadberht (Pl. IV, 26, 30).

Aelfwald I's reverses follow the same general pattern (Pl. IV, 33), but on the revival of the composition by Aethelred II a completely different style is seen (Pl. IV, 34). Here the animal turns its head back, its ears are no longer prominent, and the tail is very short and ends in a pellet, rather like the tail on the Carlisle animal (Pl. IV, 13). Altogether, the animal is far more naturalistic than are those of the earlier stycas, and it gives the impression that it is intended for a hunting dog.

Stylistic comparisons between the early stycas and the sceattas are few. The reverse of the Carlisle coin (Pl. IV, 13) and the obverses of the beast-bird sceattas (Pl. II, 26) bear no resemblance to the stycas, even though their style suggests northern mintage. Two sceatta types, however, are more readily compared—the bird-beast (Pl. II, 27, 28; III, 5, 6) and the Runic bust-animal (Pl. IV, 14). The first, apart from the "Anglian lock" of some of its creatures, occasionally shows the trifurcate tail of the Aldfrith coin, and the prominent beak-like jaws are also paralleled on stycas from Eadberht to Aelfwald I, while the lozenge-shaped body of Pl. III, 5 has its counterpart on certain of Eadberht's pieces. The trefoil on Pl. II, 26 and 28 is a noticeable feature on a few coins of Eadberht (Pl. IV, 26, 30), on the piece of Aethelred I (Pl. IV, 32) and on the Aethelred II coins (Pl. IV, 34). All other typical features of the stycas are absent from the sceattas.

DATING

Owing to the great diversity of types the arrangement adopted above is hardly suitable for dating purposes, for which the best arrangement would probably be to take first those groups which seem to fall into typological sequences, then those types connected with the Standard and London Series¹ which are not included in the fore-

¹ We must bear in mind that the dates which we assigned to these two series in a previous paper are but provisional and must not on any account be used as decisive evidence for dating the Animal Series.

going sequences, then the sceattas with animal types on both obverse and reverse, and finally all those types not hitherto considered.

I. Sequences

(a) *Wolf Types*. The similarity of the bird on vine obverse of *B.M.C.* type 7 (**PI. I, 24**) to the "inhabited vine" motifs on certain Northumbrian crosses, such as those at Ruthwell and Bewcastle, leads one to expect that this type may be dated either to the late seventh or to the late eighth century, since the crosses have been dated by Kendrick to the end of the seventh century and to *c.* 700 respectively, by Collingwood to about a century later, and by Baldwin Brown to the third quarter of the seventh century. Now the bird of type 7 has not the unnatural and barbaric appearance of the creatures on the St. Andrew Auckland and Morham crosses of about the end of the eighth century, but approximates in style to the "softer" Ruthwell and Bewcastle creatures, which therefore seem to be considerably earlier.¹ The tremisses of Cahors of the sixth and seventh centuries with a similar motif may have influenced the bird on vine type but the connexion was probably only very indirect. In point of fact, there are two possible datings for type 7, dependent upon whether or not we admit its reverse to be the ancestor of the Wolf types, 32*a*, 32*b*, 33, &c. If we do, then it can hardly have been influenced by the eighth-century Carolingian Renaissance, as then there would have been insufficient time for its development into the various Wolf types before the sceattas were superseded by pennies at the end of the century. Therefore we should perhaps place type 7, even though its treatment is "Saxonized" rather than "Romanized", before *c.* 700, at a time when Roman motifs were still popular. On the other hand, if we deny the connexion of the wolf and twins with the Wolf types, it could well be an eighth-century production. Personally I incline to the former hypothesis, having regard to the morphology of the Wolf types, as well as to the module and the style of type 7 (cp. the smaller modules and different style of the almost certainly middle to late eighth-century type 45). Still, perhaps it may be safer to leave the question open at present and say that the type may be dated to either the end of the seventh century (say *c.* 690) or to the mid-eighth.

The evolution of the Wolf types is seen in types 32*a*, 32*b*, and 33, with the Hunterian wolf-standard representing an intermediate stage (**Pls. I, 25-28; II, 1-11**). The sequence itself is clear enough, but it is by no means easy to date and no parallels from other branches of art are forthcoming. Similar though the wolf-torques of 32*a* and 32*b* and the profile heads of 33 are to the wolf's head on a stone from Stanwick Church, Yorks.,² the latter cannot be used for dating pur-

¹ In making this comparison it should be remembered that the sceattas are most unlikely to have originated in the same part of the country as the crosses, and it must be stressed that this stylistic comparison should not be taken as an argument in favour of a Northumbrian origin for the former. We must also bear in mind that, with few exceptions, the dates given to the crosses are still highly controversial and should not be used too decisively as date-evidence for the coins.

² Baldwin Brown, *op. cit.*, p. 105.

poses as it is at least a century too late. Our only clue lies in the connexions of these types with the Standard and London Series. Although such dating is purely provisional and even arbitrary, the London-style busts of these pieces, as we saw in a former publication,¹ may be placed in the early eighth century: similarly, the Hunterian coin with its late form of Standard reverse seems to fall *c.* 710. If, then, we postulate a date *c.* 710–20 for these Wolf types we may not be far wrong.

The Lindisfarne Gospels (*c.* 700) provide a parallel for the wolf-whorls of the final stage in the sequence (Pl. II, 12–16, 19) in the whorl of two animals' heads from folio 139,² which the Cimiez hoard, buried according to Le Gentilhomme in 737,³ contained an example of type 23*e* (*rev.* three-headed wolf-whorl). Moreover, since 23*e* and its variant (Pl. II, 12, 13) have London type reverses, they are "London-connected" types which seem to fall *c.* 720–30. Of type 47 (Pl. II, 16, 19) and its whorl of four heads, Baldwin Brown⁴ says that the reverse is "in an advanced state of morphological change" and that its obverse centaur seems undoubtedly to show the influence of the Carolingian Renaissance of classical art. It is not unlikely, therefore, that the four-headed whorl may fall rather later than the three-headed whorls of the other types and should perhaps be assigned to *c.* 730–40.

(*b*) *Bird and cross.* The bird and cross and its two derivatives (B.M.C. 35–37: Pl. III, 7–10) are even more difficult to date. Type 35 is similar in style to the birds on a gilt bronze handle from Wangford, Suffolk, but as Baldwin Brown dates this object to before 500,⁵ we shall have to turn to other evidence. This is again found in the Cimiez hoard of 737, which contained a coin of type 37. Now, as this type almost certainly represents the final stage in the modification of type 35, the whole sequence must therefore be prior to that date—probably earlier than *c.* 730, if allowances be made for time-lag in circulating and arriving at the place of burial in the south of France. At a rough guess it should perhaps be assigned to the first quarter of the eighth century, which dating fits in remarkably well with the evidence of the mule, 37/32*a*,⁶ since the wolf-torques have been already given to *c.* 710–20. The coins with the obverse of 37 and *rev.* very stylized and partly disintegrated bird (Pl. III, 2) tie up with this group and are contemporary with type 37.

(*c*) *Bird on cross.* Here again we have to rely upon the evidence of hoards. Type 27*b* (Pl. III, 22–27), in its later and cruder stages, was represented in both the Cimiez and the Hallum hoards, the latter provisionally dated to *c.* 740–50, from which it may be assumed that the twin-sequences of 27*a* and 27*b* are contemporary with the last group (types 35–37), i.e. about the first quarter of the eighth century.

¹ *B.N.J.*, 1951, p. 267.

² Kendrick, *op. cit.*, Pl. xxxviii, 4.

³ *Op. cit.*, p. 72.

⁴ *Op. cit.*, p. 87.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 111.

⁶ This coin was in the Carlyon-Britton sale (lot 169*c*), but I have been unable to trace its present whereabouts.

The best-style coins of this group, therefore, may be placed at *c.* 700,¹ and the crudest at *c.* 720. The cognate type with *rev.* two bird-headed torques (Pl. III, 28) has as its obverse a diademed head exactly the same as that on the latest specimens of 27*b* and so may be assigned to *c.* 720. It can also be connected by its reverse type with the wolf-torques of 32*a*, which we have already dated, on independent evidence, to the same period.

(*d*) *Fantastic birds.* The sequence, types 39, 40 → 23*b*, 23*c* → bust with ARIP → 23*d* (Pl. IV, 1–9), is quite clearly evolutionary. Type 39 is a “London-connected” type of (probably) the second quarter of the eighth century, as we saw in a former paper.² Although the obverse face of 49 is paralleled on two objects from the Sutton Hoo treasure, both are too early to assist us in the matter of dating this type. Types 23*b*, 23*d*, and the ARIP coin are also “London-connected” types, later both in their London connexions and in their Bird types than 39, while 23*c* seems to be a crude copy of a “London-connected” coin, probably 23*b*. It is, however, more definitely related to the London Series by the mule 23*c*/34 (Pl. IV, 7), which, as 34 has been already dated to the middle of the eighth century, suggests a similar date for 23*c*. The only other chronological evidence for this group is a motif from the Canterbury Psalter (*c.* 750) with whorls almost identical with the whorl-like bird of 23*d*.³ An approximate date for the sequence, then, may be during the second quarter of the eighth century, probably extending for 23*d* to *c.* 760 or 770. (I had already concluded that 49 and the wolf-whorls (for which see section (*a*), above) may be roughly contemporary when my conclusions were happily confirmed by the discovery in the British Museum trays of a mule from Whitby with *obv.* as type 49 and *rev.* three-headed wolf-whorl (Pl. II, 15)—an important coin which connects the two types chronologically.)

2. Types connected with the Standard Series

Of these the radiate bust-animal type (Pl. IV, 14), which is connected only indirectly with the Standards, seems to be the earliest. Its obverse is identical with those of *B.M.C.* type 2*b*, which we have already dated,⁴ to the period *c.* 665–85 or a little later, and its reverse has stylistic and typological affinities with the animals on the early stycas of Northumbria (Pl. IV, 24–33). It would appear, then, that this sceatta should be assigned a date just before or just after the turn of the eighth century.

Type 6 (Pl. IV, 10–12) we have already placed early in the eighth

¹ If so, the electrum coin in the Ashmolean Museum with the same types as the best-style 27*b* (assuming it is genuine, which there is no reason to doubt) is one of the very latest thrymsas, about a quarter of a century after the *Victoria Augg.* thrymsas, which we have hitherto regarded as the latest of the gold series. Alternatively, of course, 27*a* and 27*b* may be earlier than the dating which we have postulated here, but this is less likely.

² *B.N.J.*, 1951, p. 269.

³ Kendrick, *op. cit.*, Pl. LXV.

⁴ *B.N.J.*, 1951, p. 253.

century¹—say, *c.* 700–10—on the grounds that it represents a modification of the late seventh-century “porcupine” composition.

The mule 23a/51 (Pl. I, 8) should perhaps be placed slightly later than type 6 (? *c.* 720), even though the reverse of 51 is also found muled with a Runic (*Epa*) obverse of, probably, the 670's or 680's. The possibility is that 51, or at least the square with diagonals form of the standard, lasted from the end of the seventh century until well into the eighth. Be that as it may, the dating *c.* 720 for the 23a/51 mule would fit in quite well with that given to the “London-connected” obverse of 23a, which we shall consider in the next section.

To the decade 710–20 may also be assigned type 46 (Pl. III, 11) and the standard-dragon sceatta in Norwich Museum (Pl. I, 20), both of which show late variations of the standard motif. The Norwich coin is probably the later of the two.²

3. *Other types connected with the London Series*

One of the obverses of type 23a (Pl. I, 6) has distinct affinities with the Early Canterbury Style of the Canterbury Psalter (*c.* 750), while both type 23a as a whole and its variant (*rev.* man with bow and cross—Pl. I, 7) have connexions with the London Series of, probably, the second quarter of the eighth century. Although it is not easy to assign even approximate dates to the various “London-connected” types, it seems reasonable enough to place 23a, 23a var., 41a, and 41b to *c.* 720–30, while the cruder type 40 may well be a copy, either contemporary or slightly later, of 23a. The inclusion of type 41b in the Cimiez hoard confirms this suggested dating, as does the mule 41b/23e (Pl. I, 13), since we have already placed 23e in precisely the same decade. The former Grantley specimen of 41a with obverse similar to the Helmet Style of at least two centuries earlier (Pl. I, 22) must be an archaism.

Type 42 and its variant (Pl. II, 20–24) have London-style busts which may place them rather earlier than the last group, perhaps *c.* 700–10, but this is merely a suggestion based on the (probably) early eighth-century “London-connected” obverses. If the reverse of the hound-wheel sceatta (Pl. II, 25) is really one of the very stylized standards, which in a former paper we tentatively assigned to the early eighth century,³ our dating for type 42 is reasonable enough and this coin may possibly fall *c.* 710.

At some period between the dates of 23a and 42 may be placed type 38 and the uncatalogued head in cable-dragon, the neater and better-style examples of which (Pls. III, 13; I, 18) approximate in style to the London Series. The treatment of the obverse bust shows a slight falling off from the excellent productions of the early part of the century, while the dragons of the head in cable pieces are considerably more restrained in treatment than are those on the later

¹ *B.N.J.*, 1951, p. 257.

² For types 46, 51, and the Norwich coin, see *B.N.J.*, 1951, p. 258, and for the Norwich coin, see also *N.C.*, 1950, pp. 150–1.

³ *B.N.J.*, 1951, pp. 260–1.

coins, so that both types may possibly be given to *c.* 710–20. The bird in torque, identical with that of type 38, except that it is to the left, is also found as the obverse of a coin with *rev.* cross *ancrée* (Pl. III, 15),¹ which, if Merovingian, must have been struck before Pépin introduced his new *denier* *c.* 755.

4. Two-animal types

The next pieces which we must attempt to date are those which have animal types on both sides and which we have not yet considered. There are four types—*B.M.C.* type 44, the Marlborough wolf's-head-hound coin and two types with an uncertain animal on one side and a bird on the other.

The reverse animal of *B.M.C.* 44 (Pl. III, 3, 4) is very "Anglian" in character and shows strong affinities with the beasts on eighth-century Northumbrian crosses. We may be not far wrong, therefore, if we assign a date roughly in the middle of the same century for this type. On the other hand, Pl. III, 1 shows a reverse animal which is very much in the Later Canterbury idiom, as it bears a resemblance to the portrait-animals in the early-ninth-century Canterbury Gospels. It may be slightly later than Pl. III, 3, 4 and could be one of the latest of the sceatta series, probably falling within the third quarter of the eighth century. Until we know more about the distribution and migration tendencies of sceattas and until we are able to assign the different types to different parts of the country, the reasons why coins of the same type have affinities with both north-country art and with Kentish art must remain obscure: here we can only point out the fact that it is so without attempting an explanation.

The reverse of the Marlborough coin (Pl. II, 17) appears to be in the Early Canterbury Style as its type has affinities with the animals in the mid eighth-century Canterbury Psalter, with which, therefore, it may be contemporary.

Of the remaining two types the first (beast-bird: Pl. II, 26) is problematical. The obverse certainly bears a strong resemblance to the Ribbon Style animals (Salin's "Style II") of an earlier period. The type may be Northumbrian or, alternatively, if produced in the south, an archaism. The former possibly seems more likely and we may perhaps place it either *c.* 730, before the reign of Eadberht, the first Northumbrian king to strike in his own name, if we exclude Aldfrith, or *c.* 760, between the reigns of Eadberht and Alchred, during which time no coins bearing regal names are known.

The last type of this group is the bird-beast (Pls. II, 27, 28; III, 5, 6). The birds occasionally resemble those on the pre-500 Wangford handle but, as we have seen, this resemblance obviously cannot be used for dating purposes. The beasts, however, are often depicted with the "Anglian lock" of the eighth and ninth centuries and moreover sometimes have stylistic affinities with the animals on the early

¹ Prou, *Les Monnaies mérovingiennes de la Bibliothèque Nationale* (Paris, 1892), no. 2902.

Northumbrian stycas (737-89; cp. **PI. IV, 24-33**). Although these affinities are never very clear they are nevertheless present and indicate for this type a possible mid eighth-century date.

5. *Other Animal types*

Eight types remain to be considered—*B.M.C.* 31, 43, 45, and five uncatalogued types.

From the presence of the almost certainly Frisian type 31 (**PI. I, 1-5**) in the Hallum and Duurstede hoards, both of which have been dated to *c.* 740-50, we may assume that it was first produced *c.* 720 or earlier, while from the many degenerate copies which are known we may postulate for it a fairly long life, even taking into consideration the possibility that some of those copies were the contemporary work of inexperienced craftsmen. The final stage in its degeneration (apart from the imitations from Germany (**PI. I, 5**) and Sweden, of which the latter at least are considerably later than their prototypes) seems to be represented by certain of the coins in the Terwispel hoard (**PI. I, 4**). This hoard was found in 1863 with the drowned remains of an unfortunate traveller and from the very degenerate and chaotic types of many of its contents we may place its deposition considerably later than the hoards from Hallum and Duurstede.

Type 43 (**PI. I, 19**) may be assigned a very rough date from its reverse type, an interlaced tetragram. This composition is typical of the geometric style which was in common use from the middle of the eighth century. A similar feature occurs on the cross at Hexham, which commemorates Acca, Bishop of Hexham (709-32), who died in 740, and also on the Abercorn cross which Kendrick dates to the mid-eighth century but which Collingwood, in his *Northumbrian Crosses of the Pre-Norman Age*, prefers to place much later, in the tenth century. The impression which one gets from the style of this piece is that it falls in the second quarter of the eighth century.

Parallels for both style and type can be drawn from manuscripts in the case of *B.M.C.* 45 (**PI. IV, 15, 20-22**). The reverse spiral, ornamented with buds and leaves (? a form of the vine-pattern), has its counterpart in the Lichfield St. Chad Gospels of *c.* 750, the work of an Irish monk, for it is very like the spiraliform volute on the flowering staff of St. Luke.¹ Kendrick points out that such patterns first appeared in Anglo-Saxon art in the scroll-panel of the Bewcastle cross (*c.* 700) and that fifty years later, in the St. Chad Gospels, the pattern had become stiffened and wiry. The same stiffness is seen in the reverses of type 45, which may therefore fall closer in date to the later manuscript than to the earlier cross. The Canterbury Gospels of the early ninth century provide an even closer parallel to certain of the obverse animals of this type, which seem to be in the Later Canterbury Style. The sceatta series having come to an end before the opening of the ninth century, it is obvious that the coins must be the earlier, but

¹ Kendrick, *op. cit.*, Pl. LIII.

nevertheless it seems as if the engravers intended to draw their animals in the Canterbury idiom or at least were subject to the same outside influences from France as the illuminator of the manuscript. When all these things are considered, type 45 appears to fall in the third, or even the last, quarter of the eighth century.

The Carlisle coin (Pl. IV, 13), attributed in the Carlyon-Britton Sale Catalogue to Archbishop Ecgberht of York (734-66), shows a reverse beast of very definite eighth-century Anglian style with a "lock" formed by the long crest intertwined between the legs. Even though it may not be a coin of Ecgberht (whose coins bear the name of King Eadberht on the obverse and a man with crosses reverse), it may fairly be assigned a roughly contemporary date.

The pieces with *obv.* facing bust and *rev.* "bear" (Pl. IV, 16-19) are probably not English but continental: at any rate, their style does not appear to be that of an English engraver. They were represented in the Cimiez hoard (737) by two coins from identical dies and these pieces may therefore be placed to *c.* 730 at the latest. Various styles exist, however, some considerably better than others (one of the finest was said to have been found "near London" (Pl. IV, 16) and may therefore be a continental importation), and there is evidence that the type was copied to some extent, from which it may be inferred that it had a fairly long life. The Cimiez examples are of reasonably good style, so that the more degraded pieces, with the "bear" to right instead of to left, were perhaps struck at a subsequent date, probably about the middle of the century.

The bust with cross-dragon and the bust with cross-bird types (Pls. I, 21; II, 29) may be considered together, as the style of the obverses is identical. Unfortunately, little can be said about either. The bird is similar to those on the Wangford handle but, as we have seen, this cannot be used as a pointer. However, it is also similar to the birds of the bird-beast type which we have dated to *c.* 740-50. The fact that the coin with the dragon reverse came from Hallum in Holland¹ does not necessarily mean that the type was of Dutch origin, since the style of the obverse bust, although not very similar to other examples of Anglo-Saxon sceatta portraiture, is more in the English idiom than in the Frisian. Both these types may be placed tentatively in the mid eighth-century, perhaps in the same decade as the bird-beast type, but both dating and nationality are open to confirmation when further evidence is available.

Finally, there is the bird-man with crosses type (Pl. II, 30) which in spite of its London reverse is certainly not in the London style. The obverse birds resemble certain of the birds of the bird-beast type and those of the bust with cross-bird type, which we have dated to *c.* 740-50, but definite dating evidence is completely lacking.

¹ So far I have noted only one example of this type.

PROVENANCES (see Appx. II)¹

Unfortunately, few types in the Animal Series possess more than three recorded provenances each, as a glance at Appendix II will show. Those connected with the "London" sceattas seem to be centred upon London and the Thames Valley—see groups 1 (except type 7, which may be Kentish) and 6 (except type 38, which also comes from Kent—? a continental importation). Types 39 and 49 of group 4 are mainly from Hampshire and Dorset. Group 3 (type 27*b*) is chiefly Kentish, although examples also come from Holland and France. The only types connected with the Standard Series which have provenances are 6 and (probably) the standard-dragon sceatta in Norwich Museum: the former is not so far recorded from English sites but, as it possesses only four provenances with only one, two, or four examples from each, it is not safe to say that it is of exclusively continental manufacture. The Norwich Museum coin may have been found in Lincolnshire, but this is by no means certain. Of group 8, type 31 is definitely Frisian and comes mainly from Holland, while the Later Canterbury Style of certain pieces of type 45 suggests a Kentish origin, which is curiously supported by its single recorded site, Reculver. The remaining types are insufficiently recorded and, indeed, for the Animal types as a whole, few definite conclusions can be drawn.

METROLOGY AND FINENESS

Little can be obtained from a study of the weights of the Animal Series, owing to the comparatively few specimens in each type which are available for weighing. Except for *B.M.C.* 6, 27*b*, and 31, the maximum number of coins in any one type which have been weighed is nine. Any attempt to draw conclusions from metrology, therefore, would be futile.

II. THE ANGLO-MEROVINGIAN SERIES

With the Standard, London, and Animal Series we have dealt with the majority of sceattas, but there still remain the "Anglo-Merovingian" Series and the inevitable miscellanea. When we have considered these we shall have dealt, in this and the previous paper, with all the known types with the exception of those which, with a greater or lesser degree of certainty, belong to Frisia or Merovingian Gaul.

Only three types can be said to have been copied directly from Merovingian prototypes, if we exclude the obverse of type 3*a*, types 27*b* and 38 and the cross and pellets motif, the Frankish ancestry of which cannot be definitely established. These three types form the very small series which we have called the "Anglo-Merovingian".

¹ The English sites have been taken from a list compiled by Dr. C. H. V. Sutherland and published in *N.C.*, 1942, pp. 51–58.

CROSS ON STEPS TYPE

B.M.C. 24*b* (Pl. V, 1), with *obv.* helmeted head r. and *rev.* cross on steps, is an English copy of the Merovingian *B.M.C.* 24*a* of Auxerre (Pl. V, 24). Generally speaking the workmanship is poor: the legend, even when it can be read in its entirety—which is very seldom—is a conglomeration of blundered letters without any resemblance to the legends (*obv.* moneyer's name; *rev.* civic name, ANTIZIODER◊ CI) on the prototype. Moreover, the English artist has unsuccessfully attempted to improve upon his models by the curiously irrelevant addition of the inscription, $\begin{smallmatrix} \text{TO} \\ \text{A} \end{smallmatrix}$, which is normally found on the standards of *B.M.C.* type 2*a* and similar pieces and which here appears around the cross, being occasionally varied, either by inversion or by the replacement of the Is by annulets.

The date of the prototype is uncertain, but we can make a rough guess at the date of the copies. The $\begin{smallmatrix} \text{TO} \\ \text{A} \end{smallmatrix}$ inscription is apparently early, as we have seen,¹ and had degenerated into blundered letters or patterns probably soon after *c.* 700. Its presence on a copy of a Merovingian coin, therefore, may be very approximately dated to the beginning of the eighth century at the latest.

Only one piece has a recorded provenance, and that a very vague one—a coin, formerly in the Carlyon-Britton collection,² described as having been found in the Thames.

HALF-FIGURE TYPE

This most interesting and unusual piece (*B.M.C.* type 54) appears to have been derived from a Merovingian coin attributed to (?) Mar-seilles by Prou.³ The prototype has *obv.* full-length figure stg. facing, head r., holding two crosses, and *rev.* cross crosslet, annulet in centre, with rays (Pl. V, 2). On the copy (Pl. V, 3) the reverse has remained much the same, but the obverse has undergone a metamorphosis: the figure has been cut down to half-length and has been given two very large hands and a sort of headgear (probably intended for a helmet), crowned by an annulet, while each end of the cross-limbs has also acquired an annulet. The result is a striking composition of very individualistic style, quite without parallel amongst sceattas.

It is impossible to suggest a date for this piece unless the crosses with annulets can be linked chronologically with a similar design in the Standard Series (*obv.* runic bust: cp. also type 46, Pl. III, 11), which may have been in use *c.* 665–85. Perhaps we may tentatively assign type 54 to the end of the seventh century. No provenance is recorded.

HELMETED BUST TYPE⁴

The coins of this type are copied from imitations of a gold tremissis of Chalons-sur-Saône (Pl. V, 4) and appear mainly to be of Frankish

¹ *B.N.J.*, 1951, pp. 252, 260.

³ Prou, *op. cit.*, Pl. xxiv, 12.

² *Sale Catalogue*, lot 174*a*.

⁴ This type has already been described in my paper on the London Series, of which I then considered it to be a part.

origin—perhaps from Lorraine.¹ They are in various styles, some “Romanized”, others with a distinctly Frankish type of bust, but one has an obverse which is drawn in the Anglo-Saxon rather than in the French idiom, and this piece (Pl. V, 5), now in the Hunterian Museum, may well be an English copy of the Merovingian coins.

The French pieces are struck in both pale gold and silver and this fact in itself postulates for them a date well before the end of the seventh century. If we are right in assuming an English origin for the Hunter coin, it would be one of the earliest sceattas and may possibly be assigned to c. 660–70, or even slightly earlier.

Only one provenance, Colchester, has so far been recorded for one of the Frankish silver copies of reasonably good “Romanized” style. In all probability this piece was a continental importation, since what little evidence we have strongly suggests a French provenance for the others.

III. MISCELLANEOUS SCEATTAS

Apart from those types which are certainly or probably Frisian (Pl. V, 17–23) and Merovingian (Pl. V, 24–26), there are six “Miscellaneous” types and one variant, which cannot be fitted into the four main series.

“ROMANIZED” TYPES

Other than the “Romanized” types which have already been considered, *B.M.C.* type 1 and two of Peada’s issues remain for consideration here.

1. “*Victoria Augg.*”

Type 1 is copied from the *Victoria Augg.* solidi of the late fourth century (Pl. V, 6) and is actually a debased thrymsa, pieces of identical style and type existing also in pale gold. The obverse shows a diademed bust with remains of letters and the reverse a stylized representation of two Emperors with a Victory above. Little remains of the Emperors but their heads and a mere suggestion of drapery, while the Victory has become a sort of cherub, with exaggeratedly large wings composed of pellets, partly encircling the Emperors’ heads (Pl. V, 7).

The thrymsas have been dated by Sutherland² to the end of the gold series and in a previous paper I assigned them to c. 670.³ The sceattas may be given a roughly contemporary date, which is strikingly confirmed by the appearance in the Bordeaux hoard (dated by Le Gentilhomme to c. 680) of a Merovingian tremissis, struck at an uncertain mint by a moneyer Baudulf, which bears an identical copy of the *Victoria Augg.* reverse as an obverse type.⁴

¹ The whole group is in process of publication by Mr. R. H. Dolley of the Dept. of Coins and Medals, the British Museum.

² *Anglo-Saxon Gold Coinage*, p. 40.

³ *B.N.J.*, 1950, pp. 134, 142.

⁴ Le Gentilhomme, *op. cit.*, p. 68, fig. 3, and *R.N.*, 1936, p. 123, Pl. III, 49.

No provenances have been noted for the sceattas, and the thrymsas have been recorded only from Lymne, Reculver, Domburg, and an unspecified site in Lorraine.

2. *Peada*

The *Pada* coins with "Romanized" obverse—apart from those in the Standard Series—have two reverse types: (i) a cross, with an annulet in each angle, in a circle of pellets (Pl. V, 8), and (ii) the regal name in runes within a wreath of pellets (Pl. V, 10). Of these, the former is also found in copper (Pl. V, 9), probably the core of a contemporary forgery, and an almost identical type in pale gold, and the latter also exists in pale gold. The obverses are connected, typologically and perhaps chronologically, with *B.M.C.* type *2a* by the legend TIC, TIIIC, or ITIIIC before the face: the busts, however, are diademed and not radiate as on *2a*. The obverses of the sceattas with reverse (i) are shown to be copies of a Roman obverse by the blundered legend, such as ONV/AVNC in which the DN and AVG of the original are easily distinguishable.

Assuming that our identification of *Pada* with *Peada* of Mercia to be justified, we can date these coins to roughly the middle of the seventh century. In spite of the cross type, which need not be the Christian symbol but may be purely decorative, they could have been struck before his conversion to Christianity, while he was vassal-king of the Middle Angles (? 632–654) and not necessarily during his brief reign as King of Southern Mercia (654–6).

Only two provenances are recorded—Sarre, Kent, and Cimiez, France.

CROSS AND PELLETS TYPE

Although those sceattas with a runic legend (*Apa*) on the obverse and a cross and pellets reverse (Pl. V, 11) may be Frisian,¹ we shall describe them here since the *Apa* coins with the Standard reverse are generally regarded as having originated in this country. It must be remembered that many Runic coins may themselves be Frisian copies, particularly those with blundered obverse legends and/or of very crude style—such pieces often have continental provenances, moreover—but there is at present no certain way of differentiating the copies from their English prototypes.

The *Apa* coins with the cross and pellets reverse have a crudely executed obverse bust with badly formed runes. Very few are of good or even of fair style and the majority give the impression of being rather unintelligent copies. Occasionally the runes are retrograde, and one B.M. coin, while the bust is rather better drawn than usual, has coarse Runic letters which seem to be a blundered form of *Apa*. Another (*Carlyon-Britton Sale Catalogue*, lot 148a) lacks the initial A altogether. The reverses bear a pseudo-legend of random letters, mainly As and Vs, usually with an annulet at the bottom.

¹ Or, rather, copies of an English obverse combined with a native Frisian reverse.

Le Gentilhomme¹ noted that coins with this reverse are very common on the Continent and suggested that, while those with the Standard reverse belong to England, the cross and pellets is a Frisian type, probably emanating from the Frisian emporia on the northern coasts of Gaul. This is not unlikely, since no English provenances are recorded, only Domburg and Bais.

In attempting to assign dates, we have no certain pointers and can only say that our suggested dating for the rest of the Runic series—about 670's and 680's²—may hold good for these pieces.

DIADEMED HEADS

1. *B.M.C. Type 10 (Pl. V, 12)*

A crude bust, with *Apa* in runes before, constitutes the obverse of this type. The reverse, inscribed *ILV*, has an even cruder head which from its hirsute appearance seems to be transitional between the diademed heads of type 3a and the "porcupines" of types 4 and 5. If so, it supports the English theory³ that the latter were derived from 3a and not entirely from the wolf and twins of type 7 as continental numismatists aver.

Only one provenance has been noted and that a foreign one—Domburg in Holland. As far as the date is concerned we can only consider it to be contemporary with the other Runic coins.

2. *B.M.C. Type 53 (Pl. V, 13)*

The obverse of this type is identical with that of type 4 (the "porcupine"). The reverse is more interesting—a stepped cross in a circle of pellets, usually with pellets in its angles and/or on its limbs. The derivation is not far to seek for, as I have pointed out elsewhere,⁴ it seems to have been copied from contemporary cloisonné brooches.

This connexion may be thought to constitute a good criterion for dating but unfortunately the jewellery cannot be used for this purpose since its date is itself in dispute. However, there are two pointers—the obverse "porcupine" (provisionally dated to the last quarter of the seventh century from its occurrence on the coins of Aethelred of Mercia) and the incidence of type 53 in the Cimiez hoard of 737. Making allowances for time-lag in circulating and in arriving at the place of burial, we may say that *c.* 720 is the latest date for the production of this type in England.

Apart from Cimiez, the only other provenance so far noted is Domburg.

¹ Op. cit., pp. 74–75.

² *B.N.J.*, 1950, p. 254.

³ Nevertheless, Baldwin Brown (op. cit., p. 96), quoting the views of certain Dutch numismatists, states that type 10 militates against this theory, as no moneyer would use the degraded version (*rev.*) and naturalistic version (*obv.*) of the same head on the same coin. This is logical but it fails to take into consideration the essential part of the English theory—that the 'porcupines' were not derived from the *radiate* bust of the obverse of type 10 but from the *diademed* bust of 3a. In any case, our sceatta artists do not seem to have been bound by any strict rules of logic in their productions.

⁴ *B.N.J.*, 1951, p. 141.

3. *Aethelred*

The obverses of the coins which have this name in runes on the reverses conform to *B.M.C.* types 4 and 5. There are three known reverses—*Aethiliraed*, either normally or retrograde, in a triple circle of pellets (**Pl. V, 14**), *Aethiliraed* in a single circle of pellets (**Pl. V, 15**), and a slightly blundered form (*Aethilraed*, retrograde) in a crude square of pellets (**Pl. V, 16**) (not, incidentally, of the Standard form).

There seems to be no adequate reason to disassociate these coins from Aethelred II of Mercia (674–704). Unfortunately, no provenances are recorded.

FRISIAN AND MEROVINGIAN TYPES

Although no definite assertions can be made as to which of the *B.M.C.* types are of continental manufacture, we may say that types 2c (**Pl. V, 19–22**), 8, 31, and 50 (**Pl. V, 23**) are almost certainly Frisian (of these, type 8 has been considered among the Standard Series and 31 among the Animal Series), while 30a (**Pl. V, 17**) and 30b (**Pl. V, 18**) are very probably Frisian. The definitely Merovingian types are: 24a (Auxerre) (**Pl. V, 24**) and 28 (Poitiers, city) (**Pl. V, 25**), and the probably Merovingian are: 11, 25 (**Pl. V, 26**), 26, 29a, and 29b, of which type 11 has been described among the Standard Series and 26, 29a, and 29b among the Animal Series.

CONCLUSIONS

Where have our researches led us? It is hardly necessary to say that we have touched only the outer fringe of a vast subject and that very much more still remains completely hidden from our eyes. However, the darkness is not entirely unrelieved. We have discovered that sceatta designs, far from being the products of the whims of their engravers, fall into very definite patterns and can be divided into series. We have observed a chronological sequence in two of three series, and, in a third, various contacts with the other two as well as a few type-sequences of its own. We have assigned tentative dates to each type and have noted the important fact that the three largest series fall mainly within well-defined termini, the Standards, generally speaking, being the earliest, the Animals the latest, and the London coins the intermediate series. We have noted provenances, where available, and have formed some idea of the possible areas in which many of the types may have originated. Finally, we have tried to bring out parallels, where these exist, between the sceattas and other branches of art and to draw conclusions from them, wherever it may be logical to do so. We can only hope that we have shown the way to a better understanding of this obscure but fascinating—perhaps fascinating because it is so obscure—branch of our numismatic history.

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son of the Hunterian Museum, Glasgow; Mr. H. A. Seaby; and Dr. C. H. V. Sutherland of the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford.

The following abbreviations have been used:

- A.D.P.—A. D. Passmore collection.
 A.M.—Ashmolean Museum.
 B.A.S.—B. A. Seaby, Ltd.
 B.B.—Baldwin Brown: *The Arts in Early England*, iii, London, 1915.
 B.M.—British Museum.
 B.M.C.—*British Museum Catalogue*.
 B.N.—Bibliothèque Nationale.
 B.N.J.—*British Numismatic Journal*.
 C.B.S.C.—*Carlyon-Britton Sale Catalogue*, Sotheby, 17–21 Nov. 1913.
 Cohen—Cohen, *Monnaies frappées sous l'Empire romain* (3rd ed.), Paris, 1880–92.
 F.B.—Fred Baldwin collection.
 F.E.J.—F. Elmore Jones collection.
 G.S.C.—*Grantley Sale Catalogue*, Glendining, 27–28 Jan. 1944.
 H.M.—Hunterian Museum.
 H.M.L.—H. M. Lingford collection.
 M.M.—Middelburg Museum.
 M. & S.—Mattingly and Sydenham, *The Roman Imperial Coinage*, London, 1923–51.
 N.C.—*Numismatic Chronicle*.
 P.L.G.—P. Le Gentilhomme: *Mélanges de numismatique mérovingienne*, Paris, 1940.
 Prou—*Les Monnaies mérovingiennes de la Bibliothèque Nationale*, Paris, 1892.
 P.S.A.I.—*Proceedings of the Suffolk Institute of Archaeology and Natural History*.
 P.V.H.—Author's collection.
 R.B.N.—*Revue belge de numismatique*.
 R.C.L.—R. C. Lockett collection.
 R.N.—*Revue numismatique*.
 R.P.M.—Comdr. R. P. Mack collection.
 Ruding—Ruding: *Annals of the Coinage*, i (3rd ed.), London, 1840.

APPENDIX I

Index of Types

I. ANIMAL SERIES

A. *Dragon Types*

1. Plain: (a) "Frisian". 31.
 (b) Early Canterbury Style. 23a.
2. Ornamented: (a) With pellets only. 23a var., 23a/51 (mule), 41a, 41b, 41b/41a (mule), 41b/23e (mule).
 (b) With pellets and bristles. 23a, 40, head in cable—dragon, 43, standard—dragon, bust with cross—dragon, 41a.

B. *Wolf Types*

1. Wolf and Twins: 7 [rev.].
2. Curved: 32a, wolf—standard, 37/32a (mule), 32b.
3. Profile heads: 33.
4. Whorls: (a) three heads. 48, 49/48 (mule), 23e, 23e var.
 (b) four heads. 47 [rev.].
5. Facing head: Wolf's head—hound [obv.], (?) wolf's head—man with crosses.

C. *Centaur Types*: 47 [obv.].

D. *Hound Types*

1. With tree: 42, 42 var.
2. Early Canterbury Style: Wolf's head—hound [rev.].

E. *Bird Types*

1. On vine: 7 [obv.].
2. Ornamented: (a) With pellets only. Beast—bird [rev.], bird—beast [obv.], bust with cross—bird, bird—man with crosses, 44 var. [obv.], two busts with cross—bird.
 (b) With branch. 44 [obv.].
 (c) With pellets and crosses. Bird—beast [obv.], 35.
 (d) Two birds with cross, 36.
 (e) Whorl. 37.
3. Torqued and derivatives: (a) With pellets. 46, 38.
 (b) With pellets and branch. 38.
 (c) On cross and in torque. 26, 29a, 29b, 27a, 27b.
 (d) On cross only. 27b.
 (e) Two bird-headed torques. Head—two bird torques.
4. "Fantastic": (a) With pellets. 39, 49.
 (b) With branch. 23b, 23c, bust with ARIP—bird and branch, 23d.
5. Plumed: 6.

F. *Uncertain Animal Types*

1. Plain: 44 [rev.], facing bust—animal, beast—bird [obv.].
2. Ornamented: (a) With pellets. "Runic" bust—animal, 45, facing head—"bear".
 (b) Winged, with pellets. 45.
 (c) Later Canterbury Style. 44 [rev.], 44 var. [rev.], 45.
 (d) Northumbrian. Aldfrith, Eadberht, Alchred, Aethelred I, Aelfwald I, Aethelred II.

II. "ANGLO-MEROVINGIAN" SERIES

- A. *Cross on Steps Type*: 24b.
- B. *Half-figure Type*: 54.
- C. *Helmeted Bust Type*: Helmeted bust—small cross.

III. MISCELLANEOUS SCEATTAS

- A. "Romanized" Types
 1. "Victoria Augg.", 1.
 2. Peada.

- B. *Cross and pellets*: Runic (Apa).

C. *Diademed Heads*

1. Type 10.
2. Type 53.
3. Aethelred II.

IV. FRISIAN TYPES

A. *Wodan-head Types*

1. "Two-men" reverse: 30a, 30b.
2. "Dragon" reverse: 31.

B. *Radiate Bust Types*

"Cross and pellets" reverse: 2c, 50.

C. *Standard Types*

4. "Standard" reverse: 8.

V. MEROVINGIAN TYPES

- A. *Auxerre*: 24a.
 B. *Poitiers (city)*: 28.
 C. *Uncertain mints*: 11, 25, 26, 29a, 29b.

APPENDIX II

Provenances

I. ANIMAL SERIES

1. *Wolf and Twins and derivatives*

7. Bitterne (Hants.), Richborough (Kent), Meols (Lancs.).
 32a. Southampton (Hants.), The Thames, Whitby (Yorks.), Domburg (Holland).
 33. The Thames.
 48. Southampton.
 49/48. Whitby.
 47. The Thames.
 23e. Malton Farm (Cambs.), The Thames.
 23e var. Cimiez (France).

2. *Bird and Cross and derivatives*

35. Dorchester (Oxon.), York.
 35 (? or 36). York.
 37. Woodbridge (Suffolk), Cimiez.
 Two busts with cross—bird. Richborough.

3. *Bird on Cross*

26. Broadstairs (Kent), Reculver (Kent).
 27a. Broadstairs.
 27b. Southend (Essex), Southampton, Barham (Kent), Birchington (Kent), Milton (Kent), Ozingell (Kent), Reculver, Brentford (Middlesex), Ilchester (Somt.), Woodbridge (Suffolk), Bais (France), Cimiez, Plassac (France), St. Pierre-les-Etieux (France), Domburg, Hallum (Holland), Utrecht (Holland).
 27b (? or 26). Sandy (Beds.), Breach Down (Kent), Broadstairs, Farningham (Kent).

4. *Fantastic Bird*

39. Bitterne, Southampton, The Thames.
 ? 39. Whitby.
 49. Dorchester (Dorset), Southampton.
 23b. Dorchester (Oxon.).

5. *"Standard-connected"*

6. Cimiez, Domburg, Hallum, Eltville (Germany).
 Standard—dragon. ? Long Sutton (Lincs.).

6. *"London-connected"*

- 23a. The Thames.
 23a var. Dorchester (Oxon.).
 38. Reculver, Richborough.
 40. Hemel Hempsted (Herts.), Framlingham (Suffolk), Whitby.
 40 (? or 41b). Dorchester (Oxon.).
 ? 41a. Saxby (Lincs.), Marlborough (Wilts.).
 41b. Richborough, The Thames, ? Norwich (Norfolk), Cimiez.
 42. Southampton, Reculver, near Oxford.

7. *Two-animal*

- 44. Cambridge, near Cambridge, Reculver, Richborough, Whitby.
- 44 var. Cambridge, near Cambridge, Chichester (Sussex).
- Wolf's head—hound. Near Marlborough.
- Bird—beast. Cambridge.

8. *Miscellaneous*

- 31. Hitchin (Herts.), Cimiez, Domburg, Duurstede (Holland), Hallum, Terwispel (Holland), Krinkberg (Germany).
- 45. Reculver.
- Facing head—animal. Near Carlisle (Cumberland).
- Facing bust—"bear". Near London, Cimiez.
- Bust with cross—dragon. Hallum.
- Bird—man with crosses. Middelburg.

II. "ANGLO-MEROVINGIAN" SERIES

1. *Cross on Steps Type*

- 24b. The Thames.

3. *Helmeted Bust Types*

- Helmeted bust—small cross. Colchester.

III. MISCELLANEOUS SCEATTAS

1. *"Romanized" Types*

- Peada. Sarre (Kent), Cimiez.

2. *Cross and Pellets Type*

- Runic. Domburg, Bais.

3. *Diademed Heads*

- 10. Domburg.
- 53. Domburg, Cimiez.

FRISIAN TYPES (*B.M.C.*)

3. *Cross and Pellets Reverse*

- 2c. Dunstable (Beds.), Domburg, Bais, Cimiez, Plassac.

4. *Standard Reverse*

- 8. Domburg, Bais, Cimiez.

MEROVINGIAN TYPES (*B.M.C.*)

3. *Uncertain Mints*

- II. Cimiez.

APPENDIX III

It may be of use to students of sceattas if we append a rough chronological list. Dates are, of course, merely suggestive, for as yet finality is quite out of the question. The following are based mainly on our conclusions in this paper and its two predecessors, although it must be admitted that in a few cases the dates given below do not coincide with those given in the first paper, "Saxon Sceattas and their Problems" (*B.N.J.*, 1950, pp. 129-54), which, as we saw at the time, was merely a tentative effort to prepare the ground for future research.

Peada.	c. 632-54 or c. 654-6	27a (late forms), 27b (late	c. 710-20
Helmeted bust—small cross.	c. 660-70	forms), 32a (late forms), 32b,	
2a.	c. 660-70	33, 38, 46, head in cable—	
Rev. TOT II (2b, Runic, Runic		dragon, head—two bird	
vars., 4, 5); Rev. Geometric	c. 665-85	torques.	
(Runic, Runic vars., Runic/			
51); 10.		25, 26, 28, 29b.	? c. 710-20
Rev. blundered letters (2b,	c. 665-85	15a, 15a var., 15b, 15b vars. (i)	c. 710-50
Runic, Runic vars., 4, 4 var.,	or	and (ii), 16, 17, 18, 19, 20,	
5); 2c, 50.	c. 680-90	20 var./18, 21, 22, two men	
1.	c. 670	with cross—rosettes, bust	
3a, radiate head with letters—	c. 670-80	with rosettes—men with cross.	
standard.		24a, 24b, 52.	? c. 710-50
Aethelred.	c. 674-704	23a/51, 37/32a, standard—	c. 720
Radiate head with ? sceptre—		dragon.	
standard.	c. 680	23a, 23a var., 23e, 23e var., 41a,	c. 720-30
53.	c. 680? (before 720)	41b, 41b/23e, 41b/41a, ? wolf's	
30a.	c. 680-90	head—man with crosses.	
3b; Rev. geometric (4, 5); 8.	c. 680-700	40.	c. 720-30 or c. 730
7.	c. 690 (or c. 750?)	Facing bust—"bear"	c. 720-50
12, 12 var., 13, 14, 30b/8.	c. 690-700	31.	c. 720-? 800: 11th century
54.	? c. 690-700	12/34, 23b, 23c, 23c/34, 34, 39,	c. 725-50
9, 9 var., 30b, 5/41b, 12/5	c. 690-710	43, 48, 49, bust with ARIP	
Radiate bust with blundered	c. 695-705	—bird, 49/48.	
runes—animal.		Beast—bird.	c. 730 (or c. 760)
27a (early forms), 27b (early	c. 700-10	47.	c. 730-40
forms), 32a (early forms), 42,		Bird—beast, bust with cross—	c. 740-60
42 var.		dragon, bust with cross—bird.	
11, 24a, 24b, 29a, 51, standard ?	c. 700-10	44, facing bust—animal, wolf's	c. 750
—standard.		head—hound, bird—man	
35, 36, 37, two busts with cross	c. 700-25	with crosses.	
—bird.		23d.	c. 750-70
Wolf—standard, hound—	c. 710	44 var.	c. 750-75
wheel.		45.	c. 750-90

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

(Ref. nos. after nos. in plate are to *B.M.C.* types)

I. ANIMAL SERIES

A. DRAGON TYPES

- | | | |
|--------|-------------------------------------|---|
| Pl. I. | 1. 31 (rev. r.). | B.M. <i>B.M.C.</i> , no. 147. |
| | 2. 31 (rev. l.: square-ended tail). | Hallum <i>R.B.N.</i> 1870, Pl. D. 25. |
| | 3. 31 (rev. l.). | P.V.H. As <i>B.M.C.</i> , no. 148. |
| | 4. 31 (rev. disintegrating). | Terwispe. <i>R.B.N.</i> 1870, Pl. D. |
| | 5. 31 (small copper flan). | "N. Germany". B.M. <i>B.M.C.</i> , no. 148 var. |
| | 6. 23a. | B.M. <i>B.M.C.</i> , no. 111. |

7. 23a var. *Dorchester (Oxon.)*. A.M. { *N.C.* 1841/2, p. 32, no. 4.
R.B.N. 1870, p. 117. F.E.J.
8. 23a/51 (mule). B.M. *B.M.C.*, no. 173.
9. 41a. B.M. *B.M.C.*, no. 175.
10. 41b (obv. l.). B.M. *B.M.C.*, no. 176.
11. 41b (obv. r.). P.V.H. As *B.M.C.*, no. 178.
12. 41b (obv. l.). *Whitby*. B.M.
13. 41b/23e (mule). R.P.M. *L.S.C.*, lot 194.
14. 41b/41a (mule). B.M. *B.M.C.*, no. 112.
15. 23a. B.M. *B.M.C.*, no. 171.
16. 40. H.M. *Ruding*, Pl. 1. 27.
17. Head in cable—dragon (rev. l.). A.M.
18. Head in cable—dragon (rev. r.). B.M. *B.M.C.*, no. 182.
19. 43. B.M. *B.M.C.*, no. 182.
20. Standard—dragon. ? *Long Sutton (Lincs.)*. *Norwich Mus.* *N.C.* 1950,
pp. 150-1.
21. Bust with cross—dragon. *Hallum*. *Leeuwarden* (*R.B.N.*, 1870, Pl. D. 31.
Mus. { *B.B.*, Pl. iv. 9.
22. 41a (obv. "Helmet Style"). R.C.L. *G.S.C.*, lot 719.

B. WOLF TYPES

- Pl. I. 23. Constantinian Æ 3: *Urbs Roma* (Prototype).
B.M. *Cohen*, vii (*Urbs Roma*), no. 17.
24. 7. B.M. *B.M.C.*, no. 77.
25. 32a (rev. r. forelegs and hindlegs visible). B.M. *B.M.C.*, no. 151.
26. 32a (rev. l. forelegs and hindlegs visible). B.M. *B.M.C.*, no. 152.
27. 32a (rev. forelegs only). B.M. *B.M.C.*, no. 153.
28. Wolf—standard (obv. wolf without legs). H.M. { *Ruding*, Pl. 1. 19.
{ *B.B.*, Pl. vii. 8 (obv.).
Pl. II. 1. 32a (rev. wolf without legs). *Domburg* *R.B.N.*, 1870, p. 117
{ *B.B.*, Pl. viii. 3.
2. 32a (rev. wolf, without legs, in pellets-circle). { *C.B.S.C.* lot 168(a).
3. 32a (rev. wolf-torque and bird-torque). B.M. *B.M.C.*, no. 154.
4. 32a (rev. wolf-torque with tongue derived from bird-torque).
Whitby. B.M. *B.M.C.*, no. 154 var.
5. 32a (rev. wolf-torque r.). B.M. *B.M.C.*, no. 155.
6. 32a (rev. wolf-torque l.). { *B.B.*, Pl. viii. 4.
{ *C.B.S.C.*, lot 167(a).
7. 32b. B.M. *B.M.C.*, no. 156.
8. 33 (rev. r. florid style: plain tongue). B.M. *B.M.C.*, no. 157.
9. 33 (rev. r. knotted tongue). B.M. *B.M.C.*, no. 158.
10. 33 (rev. l. forked tongue). B.M. *B.M.C.*, no. 160.
11. 33 (rev. l. plain style). H.M. *Ruding*, Pl. 1. 32.
12. 23e. B.M. *B.M.C.*, no. 117.
13. 23e var. *Cimiez*. B.N. P.L.G., Pl. vi. 75.
14. 48. B.M. *B.M.C.*, no. 191.
15. 49/48 (mule). *Whitby*. B.M.
16. 47. B.M. *B.M.C.*, no. 189.
17. Wolf's head—hound. *Near Marlborough*. A.D.P. *G.S.C.*, lot 715.

C. CENTAUR TYPE

- Pl. II. 18. *Carausius, antoninianus*, rev. LEG II PARTH (Prototype).
B.M. *M. & S.* v (2), nos. 61 sqq.
19. 47. P.V.H. As *B.M.C.*, no. 189.

F. UNCERTAIN ANIMAL TYPES

- Pl. IV. 13. Facing bust—animal. Near Carlisle. R.C.L. {C.B.S.C., lot 175.
B.B., Pl. v, 7.
P.V.H.
14. Bust with blundered runes—animal. P.V.H.
15. 45 (*obv.* S-shaped animal with forked tongue). B.M. B.M.C., no. 186.
16. Facing bust—"bear" (*rev.* "bear" l. drinking). "Near London". R.C.L. G.S.C., lot 688.
17. Facing bust—"bear" (*rev.* "bear" l. biting r. forepaw) Ex-Grantley. B.B., Pl. v. 5.
18. Facing bust—"bear" (*rev.* "bear" l. with curved back). Cimiez. B.N. P.L.G., Pl. vi. 71.
19. Facing bust—"bear" (*rev.* r.). H.M. Ruding, Pl. I. 26.
20. 45 (*obv.* winged beast). B.M. B.M.C., no. 187.
21. 45 (*obv.* r.). B.M. B.M.C., no. 184.
22. 45 (*obv.* l.). H.M. Ruding, Pl. II. 3.
23. Northumbria: Aldfrith. B.M. B.M.C., no. 3.
24. Northumbria: Eadberht (*rev.* r. plain field). B.M. B.M.C., no. 10.
25. Northumbria: Eadberht (*rev.* r. pellets in field). B.M. B.M.C., no. 9.
26. Northumbria: Eadberht (*rev.* r. trefoil in field). B.M. B.M.C., no. 12.
27. Northumbria: Eadberht (*rev.* r. pellet in annulet, &c., in field). B.M. B.M.C., no. 7.
28. Northumbria: Eadberht (*rev.* l. plain field). B.M. B.M.C., no. 5.
29. Northumbria: Eadberht (*rev.* l. pellets in field). B.M. B.M.C., no. 10 var.
30. Northumbria: Eadberht (*rev.* l. trefoil in field). B.M. B.M.C., no. 10 var.
31. Northumbria: Alchred. B.M. B.M.C., no. 13.
32. Northumbria: Aethelred I. Ex-H.M.L. G.S.C., lot 766.
33. Northumbria: Aelfwald I. B.M. B.M.C., no. 16.
34. Northumbria: Aethelred II. B.M. B.M.C., no. 432.

II. ANGLO-MEROVINGIAN SERIES

- Pl. V. 1. 24b. B.M. B.M.C., no. 119.
2. ? Marseilles. B.N. Prou, Pl. xxiv. 12.
3. 54. B.M. B.M.C., no. 200.
4. Helmeted bust—small cross (*tremissis*). B.N. Prou, no. 2731.
5. Helmeted bust—small cross (*sceatta*). H.M.

III. MISCELLANEOUS SCEATTAS

6. Valentinian I, solidus (*rev.* VICTORIA AVGG, two Emperors seated facing), Treveri mint. B.M. Cohen, viii, nos. 43 sqq.
7. I. B.M. B.M.C., no. 9.
8. Mercia: Peada. B.M. B.M.C. (Mercia), no. 3.
9. Mercia: Peada (? copper core of contemporary forgery). B.M. As B.M.C. (Mercia), no. 3.
10. Mercia: Peada (*rev.* Pada within wreath). Cimiez. B.N. P.L.G., Pl. v. 2.
11. Runic (*Apa*). P.V.H. As B.M.C., no. 47.
12. 10. B.M. B.M.C., no. 86.
13. 53. B.M. B.M.C., no. 199.
14. Mercia: Aethelred. B.M. B.M.C. (Mercia), no. 4.
15. Mercia: Aethelred. B.M. B.M.C. (Mercia), no. 5.
16. Mercia: Aethelred. B.M. B.M.C. (Mercia), no. 6.

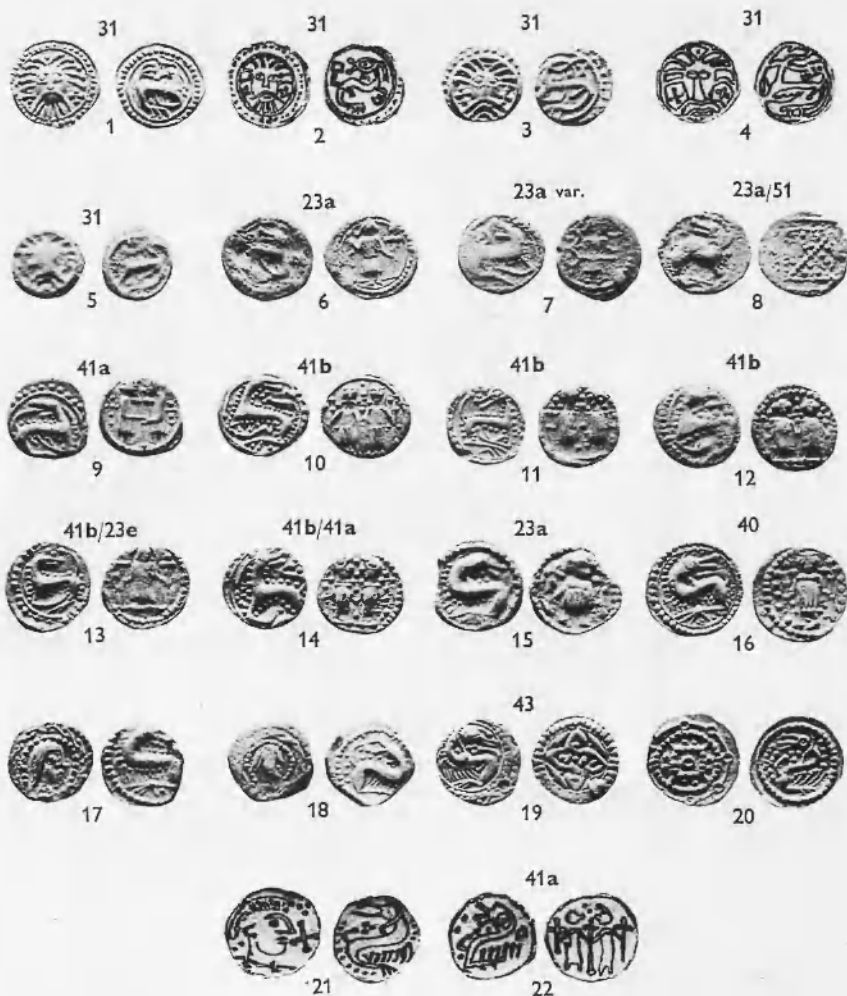
FRISIAN TYPES

17. 30a.	B.M. <i>B.M.C.</i> , no. 145.
18. 30b.	B.M. <i>B.M.C.</i> , no. 146.
19. 2c.	P.V.H. As <i>B.M.C.</i> , no. 28.
20. 2c.	B.M. <i>B.M.C.</i> , no. 28 var.
21. 2c (<i>obv.</i> l.)	P.V.H.
22. 2c (<i>obv.</i> l.).	B.M.
23. 50.	B.M. <i>B.M.C.</i> , no. 196.

MEROVINGIAN TYPES

24. 24a.	B.M. <i>B.M.C.</i> , no. 118.
25. 28.	B.M. <i>B.M.C.</i> , no. 142.
26. 25.	B.M. <i>B.M.C.</i> , no. 122.

ANIMAL SERIES:
 DRAGON TYPES:



WOLF TYPES:



WOLF TYPES (contd.)



CENTAUR TYPE:



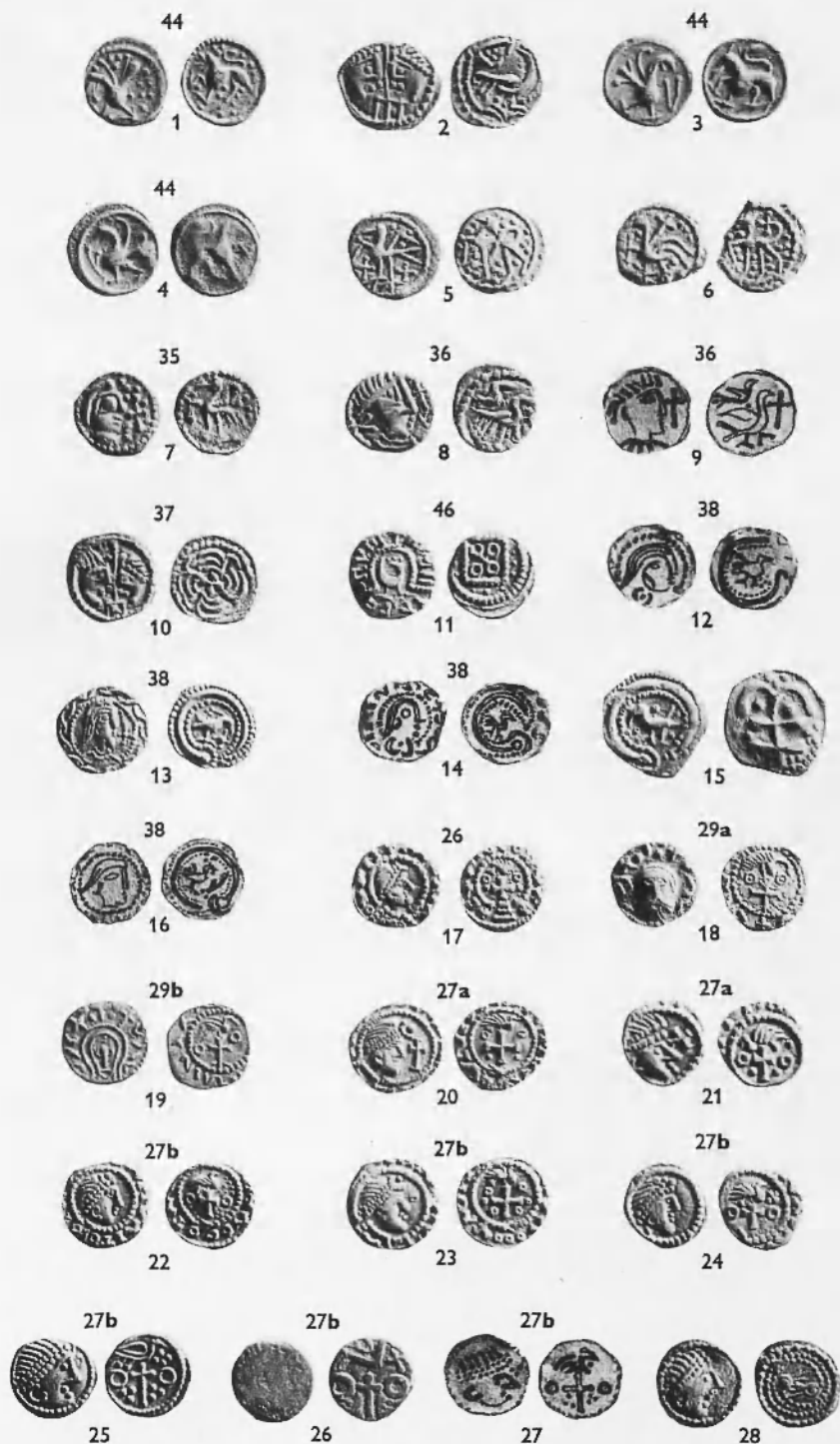
HOUND TYPES:



BIRD TYPES:



ANGLO-SAXON SCEATTAS
THE ANIMAL SERIES—II



ANGLO-SAXON SCEATTAS
THE ANIMAL SERIES—III

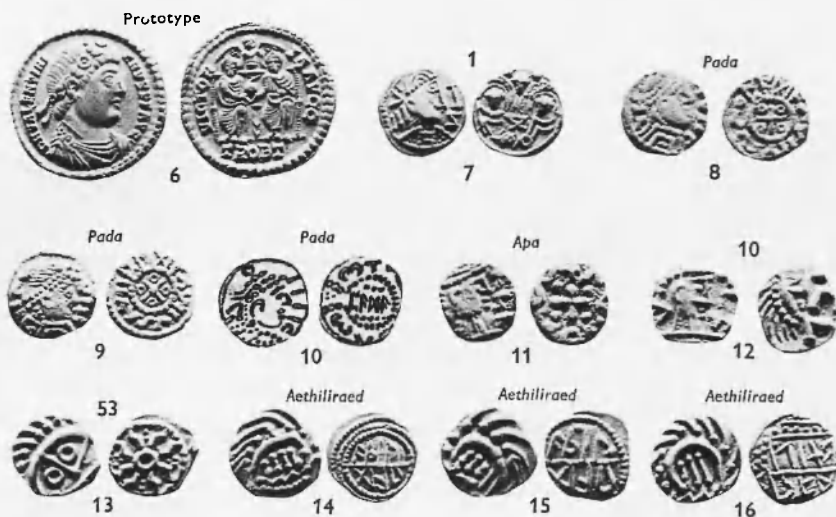


UNCERTAIN ANIMAL TYPES:





MISCELLANEOUS:



FRISIAN:



MEROVINGIAN:



SCEATTAS

THE "ANGLO-MEROVINGIAN" SERIES, MISCELLANEOUS, FRISIAN
AND MEROVINGIAN TYPES