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The Cothen hoard of porcupine sceattas and Merovingian deniers

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On a rainy day in October 2011 two metal detectorists, Kees Leenheer and Johan Koning, decided to try their luck on a newly cleared maize-field near Cothen, in the Big Rivers region, in the vicinity of Wijk-bij-Duurstede. Previously they had found some Roman material in a nearby field, and a few years earlier a triangular bronzework from a scabbard, dating from the 6th-8th century.

The field lies 150 to 200 m south of the Old Kromme Rijn, and is probably located between an old bend and the present channel of the river. In the sandy clay they detected several small coins, scattered over an area of 15-20 m^2. At a depth of 20-25 cm two lumps of clay containing coins were found. On one of these lumps a woven pattern was visible, possibly the remains of a textile bag (Leenheer & Koning 2013). No other artefacts were found. We suppose that the coins were buried in one bag, and were dispersed by ploughing.

Thanks to the finders, the hoard was reported to the Geldmuseum and the Provincial Archaeological Service of Utrecht. The coins were cleaned by experts from Archeoplan. In total 71 well-preserved small silver coins had been recovered.

Problems of interpretation raised by the unique character of the hoard

The hoard comprised 62 porcupine/standard sceattas and nine Merovingian deniers. If they had been simply one more hoard consisting mainly of porcupine sceattas, to add to the series of hoards and site finds from the Big Rivers region – Remmerden, De Meern, Maurik, Rijswijk, and of course Wijk-bij-Duurstede – they would have been very welcome. But they are far more intriguing and puzzling than that. In various ways, which we shall examine in detail below, the Cothen hoard does not conform to the regional currency. It would seem to have arrived to the vicinity of Dorestad from elsewhere, and to reflect the currency of some other region.

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At least six of the Merovingian deniers were minted at Metz. Could that be where the hoard originated? The association of Merovingian coins predominantly from a particular district in what is essentially a 'porcupine' (Series E) hoard is without parallel among hoards of similar dates from the Netherlands, although there is a wide range of single finds of Merovingian deniers from Domburg (Op den Velde & Klaassen 2004). It seems that the Cothen hoard has some connection with Metz or its region, but possibly – as we shall argue below – at one remove.

Equally unusual is that 90 percent of the coins in the hoard have test-cuts across the raised parts of the design. This is a phenomenon not otherwise known from Metz, but which is well known from the Föhr hoard, from an island of northern Friesland, and also from a small group of Wodan/monster sceattas from Jutland (Bendixen 1981: 99; Hatz 2001). It is characteristic of the widespread peck-marking of later Anglo-Saxon and German coins in Scandinavia. Nothing of the sort has ever been reported among porcupine sceattas found in the Netherlands, nor in England.

Thirdly, the porcupine sceattas in the Cothen hoard are nearly all significantly lighter in weight than they should be, if they had been drawn from the general currency of the Big Rivers region (or from Friesland). There is detailed evidence, set out below, to suggest that this is because they were struck to a lower weight-standard, rather than having suffered weightloss in some other way.

Allied to this observation, the design varieties of most of the Cothen porcupines also speak against their having been withdrawn from the money circulating in the Big Rivers region. The locally minted secondary-phase sub-varieties b-d, namely those with a ToT/ \ related design, make up an unusually low percentage of the hoard.

Although at first glance the individual porcupine/standard sceattas in the Cothen hoard can be assigned to one or another of the secondary-phase subgroups, on closer inspection one comes to appreciate that there are design irregularities and that these attributions are merely the best one can do, using the existing scheme of classification (Metcalf & Op den Velde 2009: 37-51). The Cothen coins could be imitating the designs of various full-weight subvarieties. To assign a specimen to the category which it most closely resembles is not a proof that it is from the same mint-workshop, or even that the dies were cut by the same die-cutter. And sub-variety k (the bulk of the hoard) is in any case designated as a large, miscellaneous residue of hardly classifiable coins. Even among these *desperanda* comprising sub-variety k, very few die-links or close parallels with Cothen porcupines have been noticed.

In short, one's first impression is that the coins in the Cothen hoard are not matched among hoards and stray finds which include porcupines, whether from

the Netherlands or from England. Their origin is a mystery. We need not doubt that the hoard had been carried to the vicinity of Dorestad from from where? The Cothen porcupines are from many different dies, and statistical estimation based on the proportion of duplicates would suggest that they reflect a considerably larger parent population. Was there, then, a region which had its own substantial mint(s), producing on a lower weight-standard? It would have to be outside the Netherlands, and there is no sign that it is to be found anywhere in England.
Because the porcupine component of the Cothen hoard is so problematic, let us begin by looking at the Merovingian coins, which are at least straightforwardly what they seem to be: they do not raise such difficult questions of their official or imitative character.

The Merovingian deniers in the Cothen hoard

The main group of deniers in the Cothen hoard, with a large letter D as their obverse type, fall within a longer series of similar varieties, which is very plausibly assigned to the city of Metz. The Cothen specimens all belong towards the end of the series, which suggests that they are probably a chronologically compact group. Although they do not amount to a large enough sample for that conclusion to be statistically secure, we imagine that they were obtained by the owner of the hoard in Metz or its immediate region, rather than gathered here and there from what was circulating in Domburg or elsewhere in the Low Countries. In order to substantiate this impression, it is worth looking at the Metz type more generally.
The Merovingian denier of De Belfort type 2963-2982, 6280 is not a rare type. The Cothen hoard contains six specimens. The coins are very crudely made. The obverse shows a large D, the reverse the monogram ME, or a degraded version of it. The monogram on the reverse is understood as a reference to the city of Metz. Several specimens have been found in the city of Metz itself. Some more are from the département of Meuse, not far away; and there are a couple from Namur (Vanhoudt 1988: 76). De Belfort supposed that the D indicates Dagobert II or III (711-715), perhaps also Thierry III (720-737) whose name is spelled Dietricks in Austrasia (De Belfort 1892-1895: 365). There are also 10th century coins of Metz with the name Deodoricvs.
The attribution to Metz is nowadays generally accepted (Wendling 1979). Whether the D originally stood for Dagobertus, Deodericus, or simply Denier (Grierson & Blackburn 1986: 500) or something else, perhaps a shield, remains to be determined.

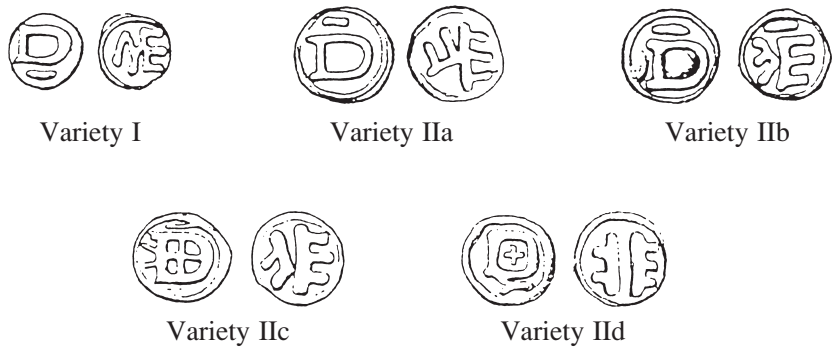


Fig. 1. Varieties of the deniers of Metz.

Variety I. This series starts with coins on a small flan (*c*. 9 mm), with a relatively high weight (average 1.30 g). Under the D there is a line. The monogram is clearly ME. This initial type was already present in the Saint-Pierre-les-Étieux hoard (*t.p.q*. 710). The only coin of this variety that has been metallurgically examined was found to have a silver content of 92% (Grierson & Blackburn 1986: 500).

In the Merovingian realm silver deniers of two different weights were in circulation, largely in different parts of the country, the lighter weights predominated in the south (Provence). Both weight standards were loosely controlled (Lafaurie 1961: 259). The deniers in the Cothen hoard conform to the general weight pattern in Neustria and Austrasia.

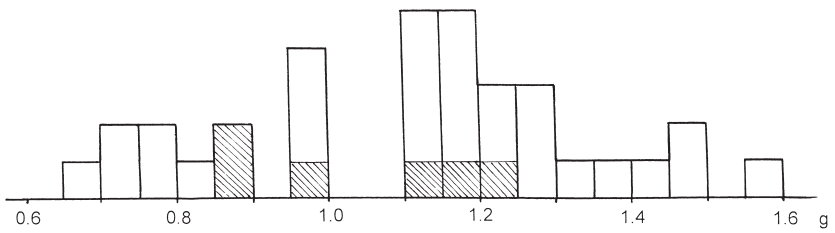


Fig. 2. The weight histogram of the Metz deniers, Cothen specimens are shaded.

Variety II has a diameter of 12-13 mm, and a variable weight (0.70-1.59 g). The letter D is preserved, the line is under or above the letter. Six out of 48 documented pieces are reported to be of copper, apparently the cores of silver plated contemporary forgeries.

In Variety IIa, the M of the monogram is shaped like a U slanting to the left. In Variety IIb the M is changed into an F upside down on its side. On Variety IIc a cross is added within the letter D. In this sub-variety, in many instances the line under or above the D resembles a fish (see Cothen Nos. 4-6). In Variety IId the letter M of the monogram is further degraded into a vertical line with two projections to the left.

Nice-Cimiez hoard

Remmerden hoard

Fig. 3. Two possibly local imitations of Metz deniers.

Two specimens with a D on the obverse, but a reverse with a crude head facing right (Nice-Cimiez hoard) in one, and another with an archer-like figure (Remmerden hoard (*t.p.q. c*. 710-715) do not fit into the classification scheme, and are perhaps local imitations. Their small module and the *t.p.q.* of the Remmerden hoard suggest an earlier production date. Variety I obviously represents the initial issue, which started already before 710.
The distribution of finds supports the attribution to Metz, and they have also been found in Namur, near Domburg, and in the Big Rivers region of the Netherlands, but until now no finds in Friesland, England or Germany are known. The absence of die-duplicates and die-linked specimens indicates a substantial production of these deniers. The deniers of Metz in the Cothen hoard are a stylistically – and no doubt, chronologically – compact group, comprising a IIb/IIc mule, three specimens of IIc, and two of IId.

Cothen hoard

De Belfort 5667

Fig. 4. Cothen hoard No 7 and a related denier.

An undescribed but possibly related type in the Cothen hoard (No 7), given the bold style, has a monogram with a large letter A on the obverse, and two curved lines on the other side. There is a denier type attributed to Metz with a

large letter A and on the other side the monogram ME (De Belfort 5667). The denier in the Cothen hoard could perhaps be seen as a blundered version of this type.

De Belfort 5724 De Belfort 5730 De Belfort 5727

Fig. 5. Unattributed deniers of types De Belfort 5724, 5727, and 5730.

The Cothen hoard includes two deniers of type De Belfort 5724. Their place of production is unknown. There is a find of this type at Domburg (No 920). One side depicts a cross standing in a semicircle ending in two scrolls. A very similar pattern is seen on Merovingian deniers with on the other side a head facing left or right (De Belfort 5723, 5726-30, listed under "monnaies indéterminées"). Several of these deniers have been found in Rouen (Lafaurie & Pilet-Lemière 2003).

The sceattas in the Cothen hoard

Most of the coins in the Cothen hoard are porcupine/standard sceattas, the most plentiful of all sceatta types. For a long time their origin remained elusive. Until the second half of the 20th century the dominant view was that they were minted in England. The bewildering number of varieties were once interpreted as the currency of various regions. Gradually it became clear that most 'porcupines' were struck in the territory of the present-day Netherlands. The main varieties are better understood as the issues struck during successive phases: primary phase 695-*c*. 720; secondary phase *c*. 720-*c*. 740; tertiary phase *c*. 745-800? (Metcalf & Op den Velde 2009-2010). The Cothen coins are exclusively of secondary-phase varieties.

There are more than 1,900 porcupine sceattas dating from the secondary phase available for study. Based on similarity of style – the regular combination of a distinctive obverse design with a distinctive reverse, and the use of the same style and ornamentation in the reverse margins – they were divided into ten sub-varieties (Metcalf & Op den Velde 2009-2010: 37-51). Their status and chronological ordering are conjectural. Moreover, these sub-varieties are contaminated by imitations bearing a close resemblance to the original designs.

Alternatively, coins considered as imitative might be regular issues from late in the secondary phase, when the standards of composition of the designs had declined.

The majority of the secondary phase 'porcupines' fall into two main stylistic categories with differing weight standards (Metcalf & Op den Velde 2009-2010: 148-155). The stray find distribution of these samples in the Netherlands reveals a clear regional contrast (Table I below). It is very plausible that during the secondary phase two major production centres operated in the Netherlands. The largest was in the Big Rivers region, most likely at the important commercial centre Dorestad and/or at Domburg (sub-varieties b-c), and there was another one in the Frisian *terpen* area, perhaps in or near Wijnaldum (sub-varieties e-h). These two minting regions used each their own characteristic designs. The coins from the south have a ToT/ \ reverse, those from Friesland characteristically show a 'mixed grill' of symbols. The square outline of the standard is often misunderstood by the die-cutters, and is placed diagonally, so, thus, in this way the design is viewed as diamond-shaped with the cross above. It is not surprising that such a popular coin type with a very wide circulation, and an easy-to-copy design, was imitated (sub-varieties d, i, and k). Sub-variety d comprises imitations of the official southern types of sub-varieties b-c with a ToT/ \ reverse, while sub-variety i are imitations of the Frisian official types with a 'mixed grill' reverse. Sub-variety k is a large dust-bin group of imitations with untidy and very variable designs. Within the groups of official secondary-phase sceattas (sub-varieties b-c, e-h) there are numerous die-duplicates and die-linked coins, and also many coins struck with closely similar but non-identical dies. This point to a well organized large scale production and a relatively high average output from each pair of dies. Die-duplication is far more scarce within the imitative sub-groups, implying that many die pairs were only used to produce a relatively limited number of coins.

The total volume of the porcupine sceattas, based on an estimate of the number of dies used to produce them, and on an average output of 10,000 coins per reverse die, is 55 million coins (Metcalf & Op den Velde 2009-2010: 112-124). The number of what seem to be unofficial imitative coins, recognizable by stylistic analysis, is *c*. 30% of the total. These copies, mainly from the secondary phase, are not necessarily fraudulent. Their silver content is not strikingly inferior, and the average weights are between those of the two main groups of secondary phase 'porcupines'. The find pattern of the various samples of unofficial issues suggests that many were produced in the vicinity of the main mint-places, but some also from further away. Some small groups of imitative porcupines seem to be English, and the characteristic design was imitated on types that are certainly English. We suppose that a flourishing

economy and booming international trade in the first half of the 8th century caused an urgent need for more currency, and that the insufficient production capacity of the main mints was supplied by private minting.

Distinctive characteristics of the 'porcupine' sceattas in the Cothen hoard

As compared to other hoards containing porcupine sceattas the Cothen hoard is in several respects exceptional. The difference will be discussed in some detail, beginning with the metrology of the Cothen sceattas, followed by a discussion of the sub-varieties represented, and the obverse/reverse design combinations, and finally the test-cuts which are seen on most of the specimens.

The weights of the 'porcupine' sceattas in the Cothen hoard

The Cothen hoard is exceptional in its metrology. The 'porcupines' are on average much lighter in weight that the regular secondary-phase issues of sub-varieties a-c, e-g. Few of either category are represented in the hoard. Whereas sub-varieties b-d peak at around 1.13 g, and sub-varieties e-g at 1.23 g, the bulk of the Cothen coins generate a pronounced peak at about 0.82 g (Fig. 6), or roughly a third less. This substantial difference seems to be due almost entirely to the use of thinner flans. This peak represents about 50 out of the 62 'porcupines' in the hoard. There are interesting differences in the histograms of weights of the various hoards and site-finds of secondary-phase porcupines from the Netherlands, some of which fall away from the averages of 1.13 g or 1.23 g just mentioned. The Domburg site-finds, in particular, include a long tail of specimens which are severely depleted in weight. Various theoretical reasons have been discussed. One is that certain types of soil are hostile to the coins, leading to corrosion and leaching. That is almost certainly the major factor at Domburg, because the coins were exposed for a long time to seawater. The sandy clay in which the Cothen coins were found, clustered together, should not have been so hostile. Another possibility is that the owners of hoards practiced selection, choosing to retain either heavier or lighter coins – which will generate misleading histograms. Selection of light coins in order to assemble the Cothen hoard can be ruled out, on the grounds that very few of the regular coins of sub-varieties a-g weighed as little as 0.82 g, and the owner would have had to reject at least 95 percent of the coins passing through his hands. A third and more likely explanation is that the Cothen coins may, for

the most part, be imitations, which have not lost weight to any significant extent since they were minted, but which were struck to a standard of *c*. 0.82 g or a little more. That could have happened somewhere outside the territory under Merovingian control, where *c*. l.3 g was the accepted standard, or alternatively it might represent the deliberate minting of light coins (within Merovingian territory) destined for local use or export to a particular region where they were acceptable or even preferred. There are technical reasons to judge that the coins were indeed originally minted at a much lower weight standard.

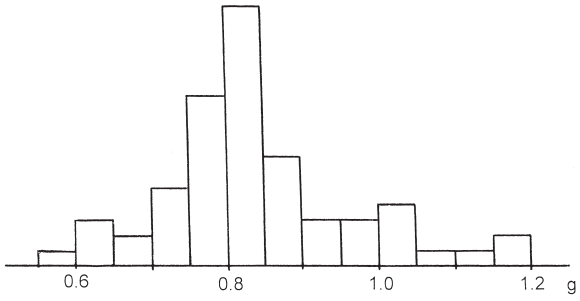


Fig. 6. The weight histogram of the porcupine/standard sceattas in the Cothen hoard.

Specifically, a histogram of their weights (Fig. 6) reveals a sharp peak. This is incompatible with their having originally been a third heavier, because weight-loss on this scale almost inevitably leads to a flattening of the original peak. Moreover, the hoard contained ten specimens weighing over 0.95 g, some at least of which are of varieties that could belong to regular issues. The dividing line of 0.95 g excludes most of the specimens in the peaks seen in fig. 6. If loss of weight through leaching were the cause, some of these ten coins ought not to have survived in the condition in which we see them. The soil conditions for all the coins in the hoard were presumably very much the same, and especially so for those in the two lumps. Three of these heavier coins are so closely similar in style to the light-weight coinage that we can say categorically that they belong with it. Their heavier weight is merely because of slack control in the mintworkshop (Cothen Nos 21, 31, 33, 38, and perhaps 49 and 62). Finally, the idea of a (drastic) decline in weight at the end of the secondary phase would be very difficult to accommodate with the evidence of other hoards terminating late in that phase. And the tertiary phase which followed is, at best, generally on a weight-standard not much different from the secondary phase. In short, imitative minting seems to be easily the most persuasive explanation for what we see in the Cothen hoard. The minting was on a considerable scale,

as we may judge from the scarcity of die-links among the coins in question, and it was conducted on what looks like a deliberate, carefully adjusted weight-standard. That raises the new and unexpected question where such minting might have taken place, a problem that is clearly important for the monetary history of the porcupines.

The sub-varieties of the porcupine/standard sceattas in the Cothen hoard

Another way in which the Cothen hoard is, if not unique, certainly very different from all the other hoards of similar date from the Netherlands is in the narrow range of formal varieties of which it is made up. Most hoards contain a mixture of porcupines from the two main minting regions, namely the Big Rivers region (sub-varieties b-c) and Friesland (sub-varieties e-h). At most 11 out of 62 (18 percent) of the Cothen porcupines have designs based on, or related to ToT/ \, and all of them would have to be assigned to sub-variety d, not b-c; 18 percent is unusually low, as may be judged from Table I.

Table I. Stray-finds distribution of the secondary-phase 'porcupine' main official varieties in the Netherlands, and their distribution in hoards.

	N	ToT/ \	'mixed grill'
Friesland (north)	33	42%	58%
Big Rivers region (south)	21	67%	33%
Domburg area (south)	130	63%	37%
Kloster Barthe hoard	494	47%	53%
Lutje-Saaksum hoard	10	60%	40%
De Meern hoard	71	63%	37%
Woodham Walter hoard	9	66%	34%
Francheschi parcel	14	50%	50%

N indicates the number of secondary-phase porcupines belonging to the sub-varieties b-c, e- h

The Kloster Barthe hoard from northern Germany has a north-south ratio comparable to Friesland, and that is the place where it was most likely assembled (Op den Velde & Bärenfänger 2013). The Lutje-Saaksum hoard, although much smaller, but found in a northern province of the Netherlands, has nevertheless a southern complexion. The only English hoard with a useful number of secondary phase porcupine sceattas, at Woodham Walter (Gannon 2013), has a division of the sub-types comparable to the Big Rivers region and Domburg. This is no surprise, because the majority of the cur-

rency that flowed from the Low Countries to England was shipped from Domburg.

However, this method, the comparison of the north-south ratio, fails entirely with the Cothen hoard. In it there are several specimens which look, at first glance, as if they belong to one of the sub-varieties with official issues, as defined in the Corpus. On closer inspection, however, they raise doubts because they do not conform properly to the usual details of the sub-variety. For example, the marginal ornaments on the reverse may be inappropriate. Taken together with the low weights of the coins, their style and detail push us towards the conclusion that they are imitative (and not specially minted to a lower standard, in the regular mints). There are no coins which truly belong to the sub-varieties b, e, f, g, and h, mainly the imitative sub-varieties d, i, and k are represented. Although we have listed Nos. 10-13 as sub-variety c, they lack the crosslets in the reverse margin, centrally on each side of the square. These are a feature of sub-varieties b and c, and their absence suggest that the Nos. 10-13 are copies. Note that the Nos. 17, 29, and 38 do have crosslets on the reverse, but the obverse design of these specimens is certainly imitative. The accuracy of copying is usually very good.

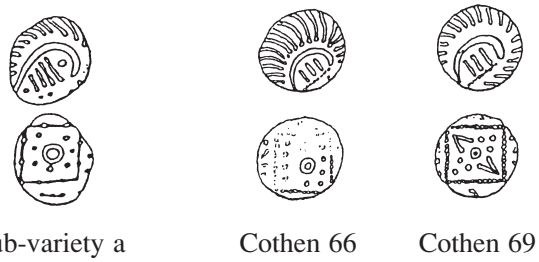


Fig. 7. A pair of sceattas from the Cothen hoard with a similar obverse design, but a reverse design resembling sub-variety a.

Moreover, we find in the Cothen hoard several pairs or groups where the obverse dies are stylistically alike, and doubtless the work of the same die-cutter, coupled with reverses which belong to, or rather which copy, quite different sub-varieties. For example, No 66 copies sub-variety a (characterized by a series of dots within the reverse standard), while No 69 would be assigned to sub-variety k, yet the obverses are probably by the same hand. No clearer proof could appear, that the coins in question are imitative, even though the reverse

dies, taken on their own, would not have aroused any immediate suspicion of being imitative.

Cothen 44 Cothen 43 Cothen 46

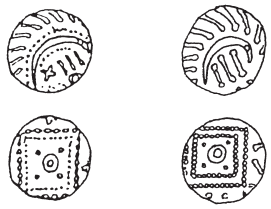
Fig. 8. Three sceattas from the Cothen hoard with a similar obverse design, but unrelated reverses.

An even more striking example: Nos 43 and 44 are from the same obverse die, but the associated reverses are of the Friesland and the Big Rivers category respectively; and No 46, from a very similar obverse, has a completely different reverse again. This irregular coupling of designs is a classic symptom of uncontrolled mint-activity in the seventh to eighth centuries. Note that the copyist was familiar with both northern and the southern designs. This is in no way surprising, since northern and southern coins mingled freely together in the currency throughout the Netherlands. So far as we can see, there was no advantage to the copyist in copying one rather than the other.

As mentioned above, various sub-groups in the Corpus are completely absent, as regards specimens correct in all details. That is certainly true of sub-groups b and c, which are defined by the ornaments in the margins of the reverse, and are easily identifiable. Sub-group d is apparently represented by 11 specimens. They would have to be classified as belonging with d, according to the Corpus. But d is an omnibus category, for whatever is left over, and it should not be assumed to demonstrate the origin of a coin in the Big Rivers region. The Cothen specimens often copy the ToT/ \ design of sub-varieties b and c neatly, and are convincing from a stylistic point of view, but that was, after all, not difficult for a die-cutter to do. The border ornaments on the reverses are wrong, and in short, there is no positive reason to state that they originated in the Big Rivers region. And the low weights are a reason to doubt whether they would have been acceptable currency there. That the Cothen hoard lacks any component demonstrably from the Big Rivers region (even though it was found there), is indeed very unusual.

Similarly the Friesland sub-variety f, which routinely has its recognizable snout on the obverse, is definitely absent. Sub-varieties e and g, with their distinctive diamond-shape alignment, and a crosslet at the 12 o'clock position within the diamond, are almost absent, although the die-cutter obviously knew about them, for one specimen is at first sight a good candidate (Cothen No 44 illustrated above); however, the reverse border ornaments are wrong.

A couple of specimens with a double square (Cothen Nos 30-31) are at first glance candidates to be listed as sub-variety e (Corpus 1761-1792), but on closer inspection, their obverses are faulty: they should have had XII or XIII beneath the spine. And on the reverse the inner square should be more lightly engraved than the outer one − which it is not.



Corpus 1761 Cothen 30

Fig. 9. Coins with a double square on the reverse.

The chronological order of the production of the ten secondary-phase porcupine sub-varieties is rather unclear. Only the small sub-variety a seems to be transitional between the primary and secondary phase. The coins from the large official mints (sub-varieties b-c and e-h) are already represented in hoards and gravefinds from around 720. There are no good arguments to suppose that the imitative issues are of later date.

In the study of the porcupine sceattas published in 2009-2010 a small group of secondary-phase imitative porcupine sceattas was tentatively attributed to northern France or Belgium (Corpus 2354-2374, 2378-2379), taking account of stray finds from Cambrai, Namur and Rouen (a region with very few finds of secondary-phase porcupine sceattas). These coins have very variable but distinctive patterns within the standard on the reverse. The square of the standard is outlined by unusually numerous tightly-packed dots. Many of the symbols within the square have striking extensions.

Cambrai Corpus 2360 | Namur Corpus 2370 | Namur Corpus 2370 | Cothen 37 | Cothen 49

Fig. 10. The group of imitative porcupine sceattas tentatively attributed to northern France or Belgium.

The distinctive reverses are copied quite convincingly on Cothen Nos. 25, 34, 37, 48-52. But the obverses are wrong. The porcupine should have a snout, enclosing either one or three dots, as Corpus 2354-2374, 2378-2379 regularly do. The distinctive reverses make up a larger share of the hoard than they do in the Corpus. Seven of the Cothen coins have a snout (Nos. 14-18, 23-24) but a quite different reverse design. There need to be little doubt that these specimens are by a single die-cutter, who felt free to vary the formal details of the reverse design at whim. The average weight of this group in the Corpus is 0.80 g. Many, if not all of the sceattas in the Cothen hoard have similar characteristics, and are probably from the same mint, and the average weight of the Cothen porcupines is 0.82 g. Furthermore, both groups share a paucity of die-duplication.

Fig. 11. Group Cothen Nos 55-64.

It is a similar story with Cothen 55-64, all with the same diagonally arranged pattern on the reverse. This group is over-represented in the hoard – which perhaps says something about what was available locally in the region where these copies were made. Their average weight is 0.82 g, and they include two-die-linked pairs.

Test-cuts

Fig. 12. Enlarged photograph of a sceat with a test-cut, indicated by an arrow.

Virtually all the coins (66 out of 72) can be seen, thanks to the expert cleaning, to have one or sometimes more cuts on the face. That is true both for the porcupines, and for the Merovingian deniers. The specimens which definitely or probably lack a test-cut (Nos. 3, 25, 30, 53, 55, 66) are not of different subvarieties from the rest of the hoard. This phenomenon is known from North Friesland and Jutland, but it has hardly been observed among many hundreds of porcupines anywhere in the Netherlands, nor in England or France. The Cothen coins have been chopped with a knife-blade held horizontally, doubtless in order to test the quality of the alloy and to make sure that they were not plated forgeries. On the porcupines, the test-cut is routinely on the obverse, on the raised part of the spine. Whoever did the testing, carefully placed each coin the right way up. The coins of Metz are rather more variable in that respect, but they also were carefully tested in the same way. However, non-Cothen specimens of Metz, published in the literature generally, have not been reported with test-cuts. That seems to rule out the Metz region as the place where testing was practised. Several deniers of Metz, reported in the literature, are silver-plated forgeries. Many of the coins in the hoard from the North Frisian island of Föhr (off the west coast of Jutland) are similarly tested with a cut, including those from a variety of Merovingian mints (Hatz 2001), but the porcupines excavated at Ribe, so far as their condition allows us to say, are not. From the excavations at near-by Dankirke there are some cut-marked sceattas, which (just because they were nicked) are thought to be possibly from a small hoard (Bendixen 1981: 99). Both the Föhr and the Dankirke coins could in principle

have been assembled in some other place from where they were concealed, as is also true, of course, of the Cothen hoard. Nevertheless, it is reasonable to suppose that test-cutting was a northern phenomenon, and presumably with the same sort of political and social context as the very widespread peck-marking of Viking Age coins found in Scandinavia. That perhaps implies that it was an inhabitant of the northern lands who made the test-cuts. However, it is also possible that a distrustful Frankish or Frisian merchant, afraid to receive silver plated copper forgeries, tested all coins before accepting them. In any case it is possible that the Cothen hoard is a sum of money that has been carried back from perhaps Jutland, where the coins had been in commercial use (as witnessed by the test-cutting). If they had indeed arrived in the North, had they circulated there for any length of time before they were carried back to the neighbourhood of Wijk-bij-Duurstede? The associated Merovingian coins might seem to suggest not. There are nine of them, of which six are of a type which belongs to Metz. These will surely have stayed together in the North and will therefore perhaps not have been there for long. But unfortunately, even though they travelled back to the Netherlands together with the porcupines, it does not follow that they had been carried out together. They may have been, or they may not. We can imagine a narrative in which a merchant setting out from the Metz region travelled to the North, but it was not necessarily the same man who carried these coins back to the vicinity of Wijk-bij-Duurstede. If the owner hoped to spend this sum of money in the Big Rivers region, it would presumably have been by weight, not by tale. Or maybe the coins belonged to a merchant en route to Jutland, wanting to keep away from problems with his money in a foreign country.

Conclusions

"When" and "where" are crucial questions for the numismatist. The good preservation of the coins in the Cothen hoard suggests that they had not been in circulation for a long period. They could be from the beginning years (*c*. 720) as well as from the final years of the secondary phase (*c*. 740). The absence of the initial high weight deniers of Metz is a negative argument, but points to the later years (> 730).

The place of production is conjectural; but the presence of six deniers from Metz, and a certain stylistic resemblance to a group of porcupine sceattas tentatively attributed to northern France, suggests this territory as place of production. If this is true, it implies that northern France was a territory, although under Merovingian hegemony, where sceattas played a role in the monetary circulation, and were even produced there in some quantity.

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PLATE 1

MEROVINGIAN DENIERS

No	Mass	Metz, Type De Belfort	NUMIS
1	0.96	2968 variety IIb/IIc	1103948
2	0.89	2977 variety IIc	1103950
3	0.89	2977 variety IIc	1103951
4	1.19	2977 variety IIc	1103947
5	1.20	2974 variety IId	1103952
6	1.12	2974 variety IId	1103949
7	1.12	unattributed, Metz?	1103946
8	0.83	unattributed, 5724	1103944
9	1.12	unattributed, 5724	1103945

PORCUPINE/STANDARD TYPE SCEATTAS, SERIES E

		Sub-variety	NUMIS
10	0.80	c, broken	1103994
11	0.79	c	1104001
12	0.82	c	1103989

PLATE 2

No	Mass g	Sub-variety	NUMIS
13	0.80	c	1103996
14	0.77	d	1103972
15	0.84	d	1103975
16	0.82	d	1120759
17	0.93	d	1103971
18	1.00	d	1103973
19	0.99	d	1104011
	obv. = Corpus 1552 (Hallum hoard)		
20	0.74	d	1103991
21	1.18	d	1103982
22	0.85	d	1103962
23	0.85	k	1103974
24	0.65	k	1103976

PLATE 3

No	Mass g	Sub-variety	NUMIS
25	0.81	k	1103969
26	0.88	k	1104009
27	0.81	k	1103968
28	0.87	k	1103963
29	0.85	k	1104006
30	0.78	k	1103997
31	1.14	k	1103993
	obv. = 32		
32	0.92		1103959
	obv. = 31		
33	1.15	k	1103979
34	0.57	k	1104008
35	0.82	k	1103953
36	0.78	k	1103970
	obv. and rev. = Corpus 2389(Katwijk)		

PLATE 4

No	Mass g	Sub-variety	NUMIS
37	0.80	k	1103999
	obv. = Corpus 2354 (found in England?)		
38	1.07	k	1104002
39	0.76	k	1103965
40	0.80	k	1103961
41	0.84	k	1103958
42	0.82	k	1104007
43	0.70	k	1104003
	obv. = 44		
44	0.83	i	1104004
	obv.= 43		
45	0.85	k	1103985
46	0.78	k	1103984
47	0.80	k	1103981
48	0.77	k	1103980
	obv. and rev. = Corpus 2356 (no provenance)		

PLATE 5

No	Mass g	Sub-variety	NUMIS
49	1.04	k	1103998
50	0.85	k	1104010
51	0.83	k	1104005
52	0.84	k	1104000
53	0.70	k	1103990
54	0.70	k	1103956
55	0.81	k	1103988
	obv. and rev. = 56		
56	0.78	i	1104013
	obv. and rev. = 55		
57	0.82	k	1103987
58	0.82	k	1103957
59	0.61	k	1103992
	obv. = 60		
60	1.02	k	1103960
	obv. = 59		

PLATE 6

No	Mass g	Sub-variety	NUMIS
61	0.96	k	1103964
62	1.05	k	1103966
63	0.62	k	1104012
64	0.72	k	1103986
65	0.81	k	1103995
66	0.73	k	1103955
67	0.60	k	1103967
68	0.69	i	1103983
69	0.98	k	1103954
70	0.77	k	1103978
71	0.92	k	1103977

Plate 1. The Cothen hoard (200% enlarged).

Plate 2. The Cothen hoard (200% enlarged).

Plate 3. The Cothen hoard (200% enlarged).

Plate 4. The Cothen hoard (200% enlarged).

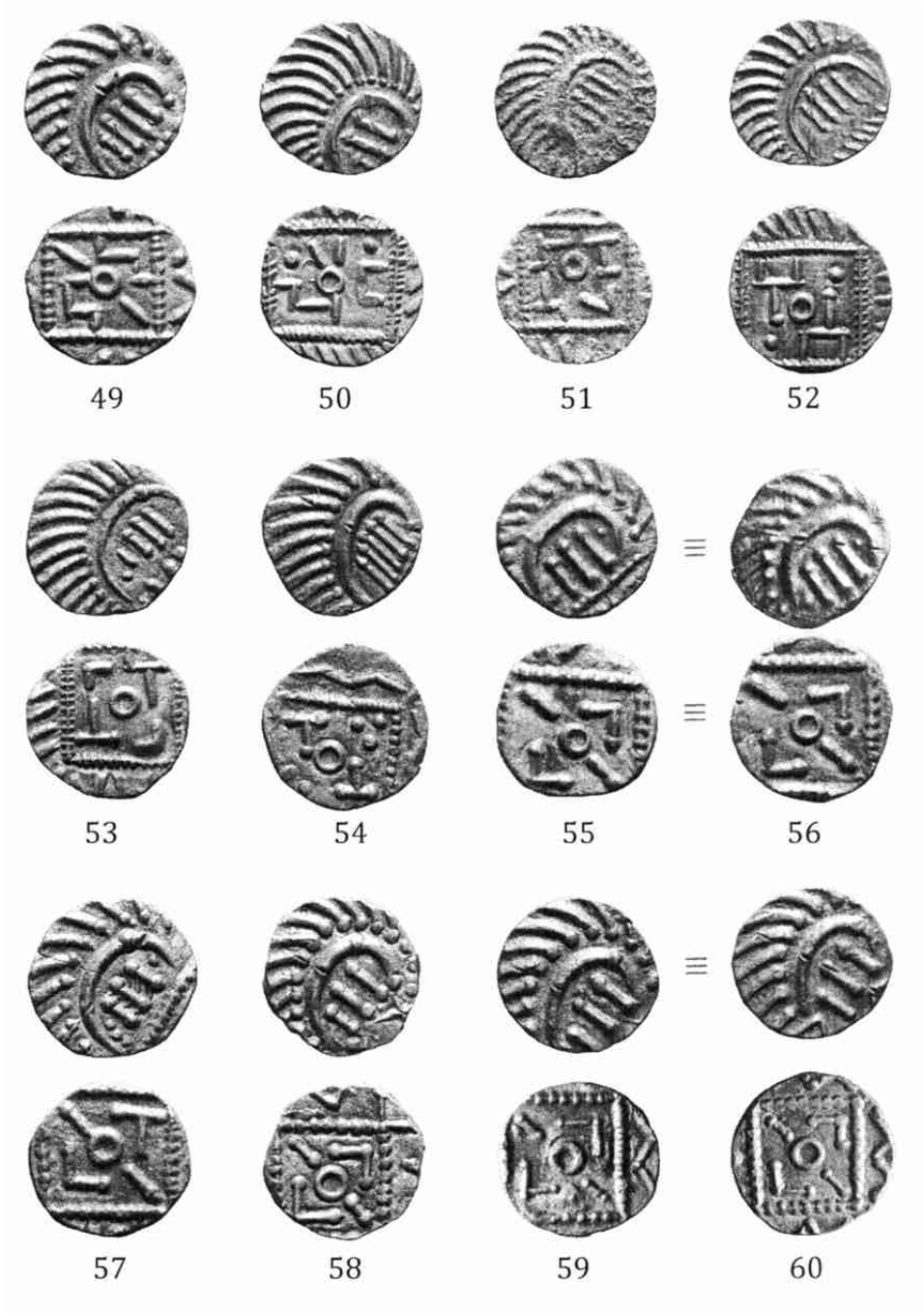

Plate 5. The Cothen hoard (200% enlarged).

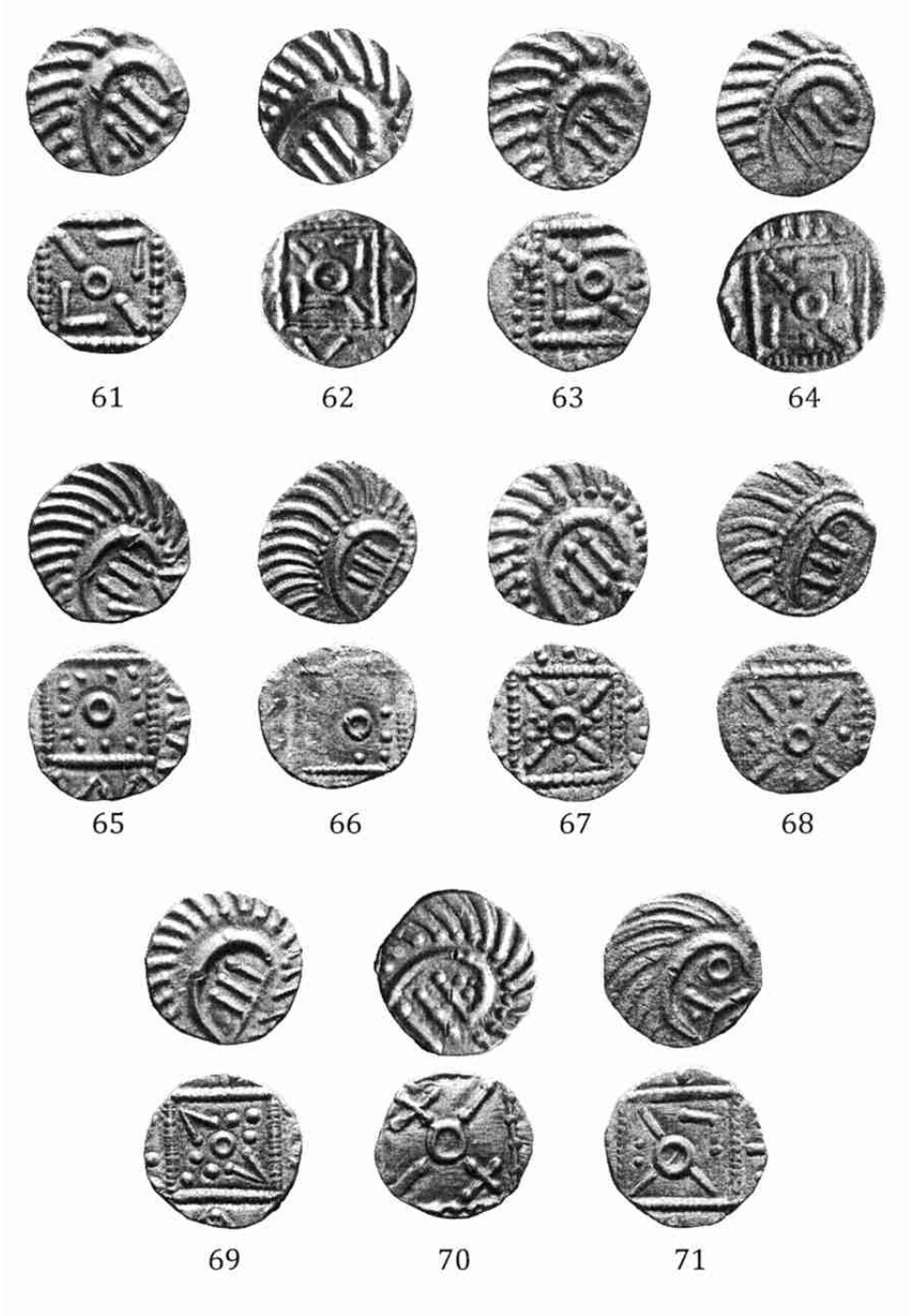

Plate 6. The Cothen hoard (200% enlarged)

Samenvattingen

Erika Manders

De keizer en het goddelijke

De 'Constantijnse wende' numismatisch onderzocht

In 312 versloeg Constantijn de Grote zijn rivaal Maxentius bij de Milvische brug. Hij droeg zijn overwinning op aan de christelijke god en werd zo de eerste Romeinse keizer die zich openlijk met het christendom associeerde. In de moderne literatuur wordt deze gebeurtenis veelvuldig als een omslagpunt in de geschiedenis gepresenteerd en wordt de nadruk vooral op verandering gelegd. In dit artikel wordt nader onderzocht of het wel gerechtvaardigd is om de associatie van Constantijn met de christelijke god als een breuk met de Romeinse traditie te zien. Door te kijken naar de manier waarop zijn keizerlijke voorgangers zich verbonden met het goddelijke op hun munten in de eeuw voordat Constantijn aan de macht kwam, kunnen continuïteit en verandering met betrekking tot Constantijns religieuze keuze in kaart gebracht worden. Een tweeledige ontwikkeling is zichtbaar: in de derde (en begin van de vierde) eeuw nam de associatie van keizers met goden toe en steeds vaker werd één god in het bijzonder uitverkoren om te waken over de keizer en zijn Rijk. Hoewel de keuze voor de christelijke god een noviteit was, paste Constantijns associatie met deze godheid perfect binnen eerdere tradities.

Michael Metcalf and Wybrand Op den Velde

The Cothen hoard of porcupine sceattas and Merovingian deniers

In 2011 is bij Cothen (Utrecht) een muntschat van 62 stekelvarken/standaard-sceatta's en negen Merovingische deniers gevonden. Deze vondst is in meerdere opzichten uitzonderlijk. De stekelvarkensceattas zijn op een lage gewichtsstandaard geslagen. Zij behoren tot de niet officiële subvarianten. De meeste muntjes hebben een insnijding om het zilvergehalte te testen. Dit komt bij andere Nederlandse en Engelse vondsten nauwelijks voor. De muntschat is waarschijnlijk omstreeks 730-740 verborgen. De aanwezigheid van zes deniers van Metz en stekelvarken/standaard-sceatta's met stijlkenmerken, die overeenkomen met een groep die mogelijk in Noord-Frankrijk of België is geslagen, kan wijzen op dit gebied als de plaats van aanmaak. Dit leidt tot de veronderstelling dat stekelvarken/standaard-sceatta's een rol speelden in de monetaire circulatie in het noordoosten van het Merovingische rijk. Daarentegen zouden de insnijdingen er op kunnen wijzen dat de muntschat bijeen gebracht is in Noord-Duitsland of Scandinavië.

Jos Benders, Willem van den Nieuwenhof, Theo Nissen en Ronald Wientjes

De muntslag van de stad Roermond, 1486-1489

In 1486 kreeg de stad Roermond toestemming om halve stuivers te laten slaan. Hoewel Van der Chijs dit al in 1853 vermeldde, is altijd onzeker gebleven of de stad dit privilege heeft gebruikt. Aan de hand van gepubliceerde en ongepubliceerde archivalia wordt ingegaan op deze muntslag en de verantwoordelijke muntmeester. Tevens wordt het type geïdentificeerd.

Emile Haanen

Bijdragen aan de muntgeschiedenis van de heerlijkheid en het graafschap Horn (± 1270-1567)

Buiten het 19de-eeuwse encyclopedische werk van Van der Chijs en de catalogus *Monnaies seigneuriales Mosanes* van Lucas uit 1982 is over de muntslag van de heerlijkheid en het graafschap Horn slechts fragmentarisch geschreven. Raadpleging van onbekende en minder bekende bronnen en literatuur heeft intussen nieuw en aanvullend materiaal naar boven gebracht. In het eerste deel van dit artikel staan de middeleeuwen centraal: er wordt afscheid genomen van de achterhaalde chronologie van de heren van Horn. Verder zijn een viertal bijzondere groepen munten besproken. Aangetoond wordt dat enkele typen niet aan de heerlijkheid mogen worden toegeschreven. Onopgelost blijft het vraagstuk welke munten aan Dirk van Horne, heer van Perwijs, en welke aan Dirk-Loef kunnen worden toegewezen. De bronnen laten zich hierover tot op heden niet uit. In ieder geval moet in de periode van hun bestuur substantieel zijn gemunt.

In het tweede deel komt de periode van graaf Philips van Montmorency (1541-1568) aan de orde. Hij heeft het in 1562 door de Rooms-Duitse keizer aan hem toegekende muntprivilege slechts kort mogen uitoefenen. De munten voldeden vanaf het eerste ogenblik niet aan de gestelde Rijksnormen, waardoor in 1566 suspendering volgde. Naast een beschrijving van de geslagen munttypen worden de lotgevallen van de muntactiviteiten en muntmeester Van Lommel uitgebreid behandeld. Opmerkelijk is de ‘vrij gemakkelijke’ wijze van verwerving van het muntprivilege ondanks de heersende muntchaos en de vele keizerlijke pogingen deze op te heffen. Een zekere onduidelijkheid bestaat of Philips’ populaire munten na diens dood in 1568 niet door eigentijdse hagemunten vervalst zijn. Latere initiatieven door de opvolgers van Philips van Montmorency om de muntslag in het graafschap te hervatten zijn onbekend.

Anna C. Koldeweij

Stempelsnijder en zilversmid Juriaan Pool (ca. 1618-1669).

Een Poolse immigrant in een Amsterdams zilversmedennetwerk

Stempelsnijder en zilversmid Juriaan Pool (ca. 1618-1669) vestigde zich begin jaren vijftig van de zeventiende eeuw vanuit Silezië in Amsterdam. Hij trouwde daar in 1651 met de uit Moers afkomstige Margareta Schots, met wie hij negen kinderen kreeg. In 1652 werd Pool poorter van de stad, waarna hij zich aansloot bij het goud- en zilversmedengilde. Van toen af mocht hij het beroep van zilversmid officieel uitoefenen en integreerde hij snel als ambachtsman in het zeventiende-eeuwse Amsterdam. Pool lijkt een breed netwerk binnen de stad te hebben opgebouwd: hij kreeg opdrachten, werkte met sommige collegae samen en leidde verschillende leerlingen op. Vijf leerlingcontracten bleven bewaard in de notariële archieven van Amsterdam. Nicolaas Mensma, Boudewijn Sijmens, Jan François van Peperzeele, Eide Andeles I en Jean Ailkens van Driel waren allen in de leer bij Pool tussen 1658 en 1666. Het artikel bediscussieert ook de mogelijke leermeester van Pool zelf.

De boedelinventaris die werd opgesteld na het overlijden van Juriaan Pool in 1669 bevat veel informatie over zowel de precieze beroepsuitoefening, als over de kennissenkring van de zilversmid. Pool was hoofdzakelijk stempelsnijder, maar vervaardigde ook ciseleerwerk. Zijn tot op heden bekende oeuvre bestaat uit vijftien verschillende slagpenningen, drie plaquettes en een beker, alle door hem gesigneerd met naam of initialen, maar een meesterteken is van hem (nog) onbekend. De meeste stempels lijkt Pool in opdracht te hebben gesneden. De afslag ervan werd vervolgens door andere zilversmeden verzorgd. In 1666 kreeg Pool van keurvorst Frederik-Willem I van Brandenburg de opdracht om stempels voor dertien Kleefse munten te vervaardigen die hopelijk in de toekomst geïdentificeerd kunnen worden.

Summaries

Erika Manders

The emperor and the divine;

The 'Constantinian turn' from a numismatic perspective

In the year 312, the Roman emperor Constantine the Great gained a glorious victory over his rival Maxentius at the Milvian Bridge. Constantine ascribed his victory to the Christian god and became the first Roman emperor who openly associated himself with the Christian religion. In modern literature, Constantine's triumph is frequently labeled a historic turning point and emphasis has mainly been put on change. This article investigates whether it is justified to consider Constantine's association with the Christian god as a break with Roman tradition. By examining the way in which Constantine's imperial predecessors associated themselves with the divine on their coins in the century before Constantine came to power, continuity and change regarding this emperor's religious choice can be put in perspective. A dual development becomes visible: in the third and beginning of the fourth centuries imperial association with the divine increased, and emperors more frequently selected one particular god as their deity – protector. Whereas Constantine's choice for the Christian god was a novelty, the emperor's association with this deity fits perfectly within earlier traditions.

Michael Metcalf and Wybrand Op den Velde

The Cothen hoard of porcupine sceattas and Merovingian deniers

In 2011 metal detectorists discovered a hoard of 62 porcupine/standard sceattas and nine Merovingian deniers near Cothen (Utrecht). In several respects this find is exceptional. The porcupine sceattas have been struck on a low weight standard. They belong to imitative sub-varieties. Most of the coins have a test-cut, which is something almost unknown in the Netherlands and England.

The hoard was most likely concealed around 730-740. The presence of six deniers from Metz, and stylistic resemblances to a group of porcupine sceattas tentatively attributed to northern France or Belgium point to this region as the possible place of production. This would indicate that porcupine sceattas played a role in the monetary circulation of the north-eastern Merovingian lands. The test-cuts, however, could indicate that the hoard has originally been formed in Northern Germany or Scandinavia.

Jos Benders, Willem van den Nieuwenhof, Theo Nissen en Ronald Wientjes

The coinage of the city of Roermond, 1486-1489

In 1486, the city of Roermond obtained permission to coin half stuivers. This privilege was already known to Van der Chijs (1853), but hitherto it was not known whether or not the city had actually used it. Based on published and unpublished archival data, we prove that the privilege has indeed been used and who was the mint master responsible. In addition, we identify the type.

Emile Haanen

Contributions to the monetary history of the lordship and county of Horn (± 1270-1567)

Apart from the 19th century encyclopaedic work by P.O. van der Chijs and the catalogue *Monnaies seigneuriales Mosanes* from 1982 by P. Lucas the coinage of the lordship and county of Horn has only been treated fragmentarily. Since then, the study of unknown and less-known sources and literature has revealed new and additional information. The first part of this article focuses on the Middle Ages. The outdated chronology of the lords is abandoned and four particular groups of coins are discussed in detail. It is shown that some coin types cannot be attributed to Horn. The attribution of currencies to either Dirk of Horne, lord of Perwijs, or to Dirk-Loef remains unresolved, as the source materials so far have not revealed anything conclusive. In any case, minting of coin during their government must have been substantial.

The second part addresses the period of Philips of Montmorency, count of Horn (1541-1568). Authorized by the Roman-German emperor in 1562, he only minted for a short time. From the beginning in 1562 onward the output of the Mint did not comply with the mint ordinances of the Empire and suspension followed already in 1566. The details of this and the story of mint master Van Lommel are described, as are the issued coin types. Considering the emperor's attempts to resolve the prevailing monetary disorder, the fairly easy acquisition of the mint concession is remarkable. It is unclear whether the popular coins of Philips have been imitated elsewhere after his death in 1568 or not. Of new initiatives by the successors of Philips of Montmorency to resume mintage in the county nothing is known.

Anna C. Koldeweij

Die cutter and silversmith Juriaan Pool (c. 1618-1669).

A Polish immigrant in an Amsterdam silversmiths network

Die cutter and silversmith Juriaan Pool (c. 1618-1669) came from Silesia to Amsterdam, where he settled in the early 1650s. In 1651 he married Margareta Schots, originally from Moers, with whom he got nine children. The next year he became *poorter* (citizen) of Amsterdam and so he was allowed to become a member of the gold- and silversmiths guild. From then on he was able to officially work as a silversmith and could integrate quite well as a craftsman in seventeenth-century Amsterdam. Pool seems to have developed a wide network within the city; acquiring commissions, working with colleagues and training a number of apprentices. Five contracts are still in the Amsterdam City Archives. Nicolaas Mensma, Boudewijn Sijmens, Jan François van Peperzeele, Eide Andeles I and Jean Ailkens van Driel all studied with Pool between 1658 and 1666. This article also discusses the possible master to whom Pool himself was apprenticed. The inventory of Pool's estate, compiled after he died in 1669, holds much information on his acquaintances and his working methods. Pool was mainly a die cutter, but he also chased and embossed. His currently known oeuvre consists of fifteen different struck medals, three plaquettes and a beaker. All of these objects were signed by Pool with his name or initials, but his maker's mark has not (yet) been identified. Most of the dies made by Pool seem to have been made in commission, while the medals were subsequently produced by other silversmiths. In 1666 Pool was commissioned by Frederick William I, Elector of Brandenburg, to cut dies for thirteen coins for the city of Kleve. These are still to be identified, hopefully in the near future.

Over de auteurs

Jos Benders (1965) is als gasthoogleraar verbonden aan het Centrum voor Sociologisch Onderzoek van de Katholieke Universiteit Leuven. Als numismaat is hij geïnteresseerd in de laatmiddeleeuwse muntslag van de Lage Landen, en vooral van Gelre en Brabant. Op het raakvlak van numismatiek en zijn eigenlijke vakgebied 'Sociologie van Arbeid en Organisatie' verricht hij momenteel een studie naar de loopbanen van de Gelderse middeleeuwse muntmeesters. Hij is voorzitter van de Commissie van Redactie van het JMP.

Emile Haanen (1947-2014) studeerde aan de Universiteit van Amsterdam algemene politieke en sociale wetenschappen met als afstudeerrichting doctrinegeschiedenis. Vervolgens was hij lange tijd werkzaam in het hoger beroepsonderwijs als docent geschiedenis en documentaire informatiekunde. Vanaf 1986 publiceerde hij op basis van archiefonderzoek een vijfentwintigtal artikelen over de geschiedenis van het Land van Weert veelal geplaatst binnen een nationale of internationale context. Hij was redactievoorzitter van *De Maasgouw: Limburgs tijdschrift voor geschiedenis en archeologie* en voorzitter van de Stichting Historisch Onderzoek Weert (*www.showeert.nl*).

Anna C. Koldeweij (1989) studeerde kunstgeschiedenis aan de Radboud Universiteit te Nijmegen. Dit sloot zij in 2012 cum laude af met een masterscriptie over de Amsterdamse portretschilder Juriaan Pool (1666-1745). Sindsdien werkt ze aan verschillende projecten in musea en doet zij onderzoek op het gebied van de schilderkunst en kunstnijverheid, met name zilver uit de Hollandse Gouden Eeuw.

Erika Manders (1980) is als postdoc verbonden aan de Georg-August-Universität Göttingen en doet onderzoek naar continuïteit en verandering in de Romeinse keizerlijke ideologie in de derde en vierde eeuw. In 2011 ontving zij de H.E. van Gelder onderzoeksbeurs van het Geldmuseum Utrecht. De resultaten van het onderzoek dat zij in dit kader uitvoerde, presenteerde zij in de Van Gelderlezing 2012 ("De keizer en het goddelijke: macht en religie van Commodus tot Constantijn") waarvan dit artikel een uitvloeisel vormt.

Michael Metcalf (1933) is emeritus hoogleraar numismatiek. In 1962 werd hij benoemd in het Ashmolean Museum in Oxford, waar hij de middeleeuwse muntcollectie beheerde. Hij publiceerde diverse boeken en ruim honderd artikelen

over numismatiek en de Europese monetaire geschiedenis. Hij is erelid van het Koninklijk Nederlands Genootschap voor Munt- en Penningkunde. Zie *JMP* 97 (2010) 398.

Willem van den Nieuwenhof (1960) studeerde economie in Tilburg, waar hij in de jaren tachtig ook actief was als universitair docent. Op dit moment is hij werkzaam als *director of human resources* bij een vooraanstaand industrieel concern. Daarnaast is hij bestuurder bij enkele pensioenfondsen. Hij schreef een groot aantal (korte) numismatische artikelen, vooral voor *De Beeldenaar*. Vaak wordt daarin één tot dan onbeschreven munt (of variant) uit de Nederlanden gepresenteerd. Willem is lid van de redactie van De Beeldenaar en was bestuurslid van het KNGMP en de Numismatische Kring Brabant.

Theo Nissen (1945), werkzaam geweest in diverse managementfuncties binnen de accountancy en de ICT, is reeds 35 jaren actief op het terrein van de numismatiek. Zijn aandacht is gericht op de West-Europese geschiedenis van het munt- en geldwezen tot en met de 16e eeuw. Hij vervulde verschillende bestuursfuncties bij verenigingen en instellingen. Momenteel maakt hij deel uit van de Commissie van Redactie van het JMP en verricht hij vrijwilligerswerk bij de afdeling BAM van de gemeente ‘s-Hertogenbosch. Op zijn naam staan enkele publicaties en lezingen.

Wybrand Op den Velde (1941) studeerde medicijnen en specialiseerde tot psychiater. Hij publiceerde in samenwerking met prof. D.M. Metcalf diverse studies over sceattas. Hij is erelid van het Koninklijk Nederlands Genootschap voor Munt- en Penningkunde. Zie ook *JMP* 93-94 (2006-2007) 1-4.

Ronald Wientjes (1952) studeerde middeleeuwse geschiedenis aan de Radboud Universiteit Nijmegen. Hij deed historisch onderzoek naar verschillende archeologische vindplaatsen, onder meer in Kerk-Avezaath, Tiel, Geldermalsen en Arnhem. Ook publiceerde hij enkele artikelen op het gebied van de numismatiek in *De Beeldenaar*. Momenteel is hij werkzaam bij het Gelders Archief. Hier heeft hij meegewerkt aan de transcriptie van *De stadsrekening van Arnhem over 1455* en de *Rekening van Arnd van Boechop, overste rentmeester van het land Gelre, 1424/ 1425*, die op de website van het Gelders Archief staan.