THE CIRCULATION OF SCEATS IN MEROVINGIAN GAUL

By P. LE GENTILHOMME

In vol. xxiii (pp. 395 ff.) of the British Numismatic Journal there appeared an article by M. Le Gentilhomme, inspired by the Sutton Hoo find of coins, on the "Circulation of Merovingian Gold in England". A foreword to the paper stated that neither the fate nor the sympathies of the author were known. Readers will be pleased to hear that M. Le Gentilhomme is alive and well and back at work in the Cabinet des Médailles at the Bibliothèque Nationale. He spent two years in Germany as a prisoner of war. After his release he became a member of the resistance movement and was active in the liberation of Paris. Members will also be glad to know that the collections of the Bibliothèque Nationale are intact. They were removed to a place of safety and have not been touched by the Germans. The Council of the British Numismatic Society would like M. Le Gentilhomme to be aware of the wide satisfaction which this information has given in numismatic circles in this country. They hope that contact between numismatists here and in France will speedily be resumed, and on a larger scale than before.

The following article, translated by the Editor from the Revue numismatique of 1938, and reproduced by kind permission of M. Le Gentilhomme, forms an interesting corollary to his former article. Analogous studies on the Anglo-Saxon coinage written since 1938 include those of the late Sir Arthur Evans and of Dr. C. H. V. Sutherland (Numismatic Chronicle, 1942, pp. 19 ff., 42 ff.).

The researches of Colonel Belaiew\(^1\) have recently thrown new light on the Frisian origin of several series of Anglo-Saxon silver coins, or at least coins hitherto considered to be Anglo-Saxon. The work of Sir John Evans\(^2\) and Mlle de Man\(^3\) had already done much to advance the study of these pieces. The present moment seems therefore favourable for a systematic examination of the sceattas which appear most frequently in finds of coins in all parts of Merovingian Gaul.

These pieces are little known in France; their rough appearance, their irregular weight, their incoherent inscriptions, or even the total absence of legends, generally cause them to be neglected by numismatists and metrologists alike. The purpose of the present treatise will be to sum up the present state of our knowledge of sceattas, and

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\(^2\) Evans (Sir John), "On a Small Hoard of Saxon Sceattas found near Cambridge", Num. Chron., 1894, pp. 18–28.

\(^3\) Man (Marie de), "Sceattas anglo-saxons inédits ou peu connus", Tijdschrift van het nederlandsch Genootschap voor Munt- en Penninghunde, Amsterdam, 1895, pp. 117–46; "Que sait-on de la plage de Dombourg?" ibid., 1899; "Considérations sur trois sceattas anglo-saxons identiques ...", ibid., 1904; Catalogus der numismatische Verzameling van het zeewachts Genootschap der Wetenschappen, Middelburg, 1907, 387 pp.; "Over eenige te Domburg gevonden merkwaardige Munten", Jaarboek voor Munt- en Penninghunde, Amsterdam, 1926, pp. 1–25, Pl. 1.
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at the same time to advance that knowledge in the light of the various series whose circulation is revealed by an analysis of hoards in Merovingian Gaul.

It was only at the end of the sixth century, and especially at the beginning of the seventh, that the Anglo-Saxons, following the example of the Franks, issued pieces of one-third of a solidus, or thrymsas, which were copied, more or less freely, from Roman prototypes of the fourth and fifth centuries. These pieces, when not entirely uninscribed, are characterized by their barbarous and usually undecipherable legends, generally consisting of symmetrical groups of letters or strokes. A thrymsa (Fig. 1) copied from a bronze coin of Licinius seems to be the prototype of a whole series of degenerate pieces of the type known as the Standard,¹ as we shall presently see. Fairly common in England (nine specimens appeared in the Crondall² find), this tremissis (or third-solidus) is rarer on the Continent. There are, in addition, imitations of a type of solidus of Valentinian,³ themselves copied in London by the usurper Magnus Maximus. A specimen was found in Lorraine⁴ and passed into the Robert collection (Fig. 2).

The Anglo-Saxon type with two busts crowned by a figure of Victory is also that of a tremissis of pale gold formerly discovered at Fontenay-le-Comte by MM. Fillon and de Rochebrune;⁵ it is also that of a similar

¹ The type of the Standard doubtless derives from the vexillum on coins of the Constantines with the votive inscription, but must have been influenced by the evolution and degradation of the consecration altar type on the coins of Claudius Gothicus, as shown on the miniini found, e.g., at Richborough. Cf. Numismatic Notes and Monographs of the American Numismatic Society, no. 80.
² I give here a drawing of a thrymsa preserved in the Cabinet des Médailles. Two varieties of this species, from the Crondall find, are engraved in the Numismatic Chronicle, 1843–4, on the plates illustrating Akerman’s article, pp. 171–82. The reverse legend seems to be a degenerate form of DN·LCINI·AVGVST ...
³ British Museum Catalogue: Anglo-Saxon Series (by Keary), I, London, 1887, p. 2 (this catalogue is still the most complete that has been published of the sceat series); Brooke (George C.), English Coins, Methuen, London, 1932, pp. 1–12 (an excellent account); Oman (Charles), The Coinage of England, Oxford, 1931, pp. 1–13.
⁴ A drawing is preserved in the papers of Anatole de Barthélémy in the Archives of the Cabinet des Médailles, vol. iii, fol. 282, no. 3299. An identical piece was found at Domburg (Zeeland). Cf. Macaré (C. A. Rethaan), Tweede Verhandeling over de big Domburg gevonden Munten, Middelburg, 1856, Pl. ii, no. 4.
⁵ Fillon et de Rochebrune, Poitou et Vendée, Fontenay, 1861, p. 19.
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piece in electrum (Fig. 3), recorded by me in the Bordeaux find,¹ which was buried about the year 680. However, the other side of these coins shows a purely Merovingian type and the name of the moneyer Baudulfus. Now it was in Aquitaine that the two known specimens of this tremissis were discovered, and the nature of their metal and their hybrid character fit in with a period of transition. This leads me to suggest the possible existence of Anglo-Saxon or Frisian trading in this region, as well as of its activity at this time when gold was gradually being replaced by silver in currency. At the end of the seventh century, while the Mediterranean was becoming increasingly a Moslem lake, the West, impoverished by the collapse of the Empire, and the destruction wrought by the barbaric kingdoms, found itself reduced to a narrow economy which was most unfavourable to the extensive trade which once flourished under the Pax Romana. That peace had been guaranteed by the army and navy, which were maintained at vast expense by means of the gold levied by the Treasury and which now disappeared, carried off in the turmoil with the registers of the land-survey.

Among the Franks, as among the Visigoths of Spain, the striking of the gold solidus was practically abandoned for that of the third-solidus as early as the time of Justinian. The rare thrymsas issued by the Frisians and the Anglo-Saxons as early as the middle of the seventh century were replaced by deniers of mere silver: the sceattas. This silver coinage was itself preceded by a mixed coinage, of silver more or less alloyed with gold. And in these three phases of the Nordic coinage the type often remains identical.²

The same evolution, produced by the same economic conditions and influenced by the example of the sceattas, can, moreover, be discerned in Merovingian Gaul. In the Bordeaux find, besides the piece of Baudulfus mentioned above, were two tremisses issued at Port-Saint-Père, also of electrum, as well as a third-solidus struck at Rouen, and another anonymous piece of the Royal treasury. The influence of the Nordic peoples shows, therefore, in the ports of Gaul a tendency to establish a silver currency from about the year 680.³ Even at Marseilles, where relations with the East had caused the striking of gold solidi to persist longer than elsewhere, the metal of these pieces from the reign of Sigibert III (633–55) was extremely debased, and the majority of them are of such pale gold that it may often be confused with silver. The debasement of the gold currency and its rarity explain the growing popularity of the silver coins. The preference for the silver standard, better adapted than gold for the modest purchases of a community tied to a narrow economic system, seems, moreover, traditional among the barbarians. The Germans of the time of Tacitus already prized the old Republican denarii, including the serrati, at a time when the imperial coinage was able to supply them with excellent

¹ Le Gentilhomme (Pierre), “Trouvaille de monnaies d’or des Mérovingiens et des Wisigoths, faite à Bordeaux en 1803”, Revue numismatique, 1936, pp. 87–133.
² Brooke, op. cit., p. 5.
³ Le Gentilhomme, op. cit., p. 17.
pieces in both gold and silver. The tomb of Childeric, the father of Clovis, still contained denarii of the Republic and Early Empire, mingled with Byzantine solidi. The Roman merchants were able to manage without a regular gold coinage until the last days of the Republic: silver was sufficient as a medium of exchange; still more easily at the close of the Merovingian period was it to prove adequate for the needs of the travelling pedlars who were for the most part of Frisian origin.

The Frisians,¹ who had given their name to the North Sea, occupied the shores of the Low Countries, between the mouths of the Escaut and the Eider. The Frisian merchants supplied, in addition to the most varied products, chiefly cloths, *pallia frisonica*, the future cloths of Flanders, famous for their durability and fine colours rather than their luxuriousness. Einhart remarks that it was these cloths which clad the Franks, his ancestors. Frisian cloth was, moreover, all that Charlemagne was to be able to offer to the Caliph Haroun-al-Raschid. Frisian trade had spread along the coasts of the Baltic, of the North or Frisian Sea, of the Channel, and of the Atlantic. From the time of Dagobert, Frisians visited the fairs of Saint-Denis, where they bartered their merchandise for the spices of the Syrians and the Jews. In England, their activity in London and York is mentioned in the life of St. Ludger, and in the poems of Alcuin. At the end of the seventh century the Frisians profited by the dearth of Oriental goods, and drained the western markets, bringing with them the money which was so convenient for their homely wares—the Anglo-Saxon sceattas.

Among all the Nordic races this word, in Anglo-Saxon *sceat* (plural *sceattas*), in old Frisian *skat*, in German *schatz*, in old Swedish *skat*, in old Russian *skot*, means treasure or riches, and so by extension the coin which is the standard of them. The code of Aethelberht of Kent (c. 601–4) lays down a table of equivalents: 1 sceat equals 1/20 of a solidus (shilling), but as happens in the majority of these texts, built up and adopted as they have been by successive generations, this must be regarded as an interpolation, for no sceat seems to me to be earlier than 650. About the year 500 Beowulf uses the word *sceattas*, but in the sense of treasure, and the book of the Sagas employs the word *skat* to indicate the wealth represented by Frisian cloth, a standard which, in the barter of the Nordic races, corresponds to livestock, the *pecunia* of the Latin, which Russians regarded as “live money”: *skot jivotny.*²

A study of the hoards buried in Gaul in the first half of the eighth century clearly shows the importance of the activity of these Frisian merchants in France.

At Saint-Pierre-des-Etieux (Cher),³ a find made in 1882 consisted

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³ Buhot de Kersers describes this find in his *Bulletin numismatique, Mémoires de la Société des Antiquaires du Centre*, vol. xi, 1884, pp. 280 ff.
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of 11 sceattas together with a total of 96 deniers of Bourges, Paris, Rouen, Le Mans, Poitiers, and Marseilles, and a tremissis of pale gold, of Banassac. At Plassac, in Gironde, out of a hoard of 170 deniers, a third of which consisted of pieces struck at the mint of Poitiers or of Poitevin copies, the sceattas, 12 in all, appeared in the same proportion to the deniers of Rouen, Paris, and Marseilles. At Bais (Ille-et-Vilaine) in a hoard of 400 deniers, about 30 sceattas were identified by Maurice Prou, the remainder being deniers divided, in order of decreasing preponderance, between Paris, Rouen, Rennes, Orleans, Marseilles, Sens, Chalon, Le Mans, Limoges, &c. This hoard must have been buried at a date more recent than that of Plassac; this is proved by the more complete Poitevin series of the already Carolingian type (deniers of Betto). In the great hoard of Cimiez (Alpes Maritimes), the deniers of Marseilles, whether anonymous (200 specimens) or bearing the names of the patricians Antenor (5 specimens), Ansedert (65 specimens), Nemphidius (1,200 specimens), and Antenor II (102 specimens), were found in such large proportions that we may conjecture with Morel Fatio that this hoard was accumulated in the great port of Provence. Yet nearly 80 sceattas have been identified out of the 300 pieces struck outside Marseilles (chiefly in the valley of the Rhône, in Auvergne, in Paris, and in Chalon). This last hoard seems to have been buried even later than that of Bais, for the Poitevin series is swollen by deniers of Audolenus and Audoramus. The patricians of Marseilles of the first half of the eighth century are represented in the find as well as the bishops of Clermont, Norbert, Procolus, and Bubus; the hoard was doubtless buried in 737, the year of the destruction of Cimiez by the Lombards.

I will now proceed to summarize the different series of sceattas:

I. The coins which in style show the least departure from their Roman prototypes, and which seem for that very reason to have served as a model for the commonest of subsequent degenerative types, have been attributed to the Mercian king Peada (656–7). This attribution, now disputed, is based on the interpretation of the runes ΠΑΔΑ (Pada) which form the legend on the reverse of these sceattas. On the more elegant of these pieces, which, as Brooke has rightly remarked, seem to retain a certain percentage of gold in their composition, is found, on the reverse, the Roman type described as the “Standard”, with the inscription ΤΟΤ, already encountered on the thrymsas imitated from the bronze coins of Licinius. The votive

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1 An article by the Marquis de Lagrange who acquired the hoard was published in the Revue numismatique, 1851, p. 19. The article has no scientific value. See Catalogue des monnaies antiques et modernes de feu M. le Marquis de [Lagrange]. Paris, Rollin and Feuardent, Numismatists, Meetings of 19 and 20 Feb. 1877, also Registre des acquisitions du Cabinet des Médailles, register K, nos. 2010 ff, 20 Mar. 1877.
3 Morel Fatio (Arnold), Catalogue raisonné de la collection de deniers mérovingiens des VIIe et VIIIe siècles de la trouvaille de Cimiez, Paris, 1890.
4 Brooke, op. cit., p. 7.
inscription, more or less corrupt, and placed in a beaded square, is
perhaps the commonest type found on sceattas. But, to return to
the pieces of Peada, who can have reigned for barely two years, these
are of very varied types. On certain varieties the inscription $T^O_T$
is replaced by the runes $[N\times N$ (Pada) arranged either in a beaded
square, or in a filleted wreath, likewise beaded. On others again the
votive inscription is replaced by a cross with annulets in the angles,
surrounded by a legend within beaded circles. The Cimiez hoard
included three varieties of these coins (Pl. III, 1, 2, and 4) which
are scarcely ever found except in England.

II. The type of the Standard as it appears on the first variety of
sceattas of Peada, that is the beaded square flanked by groups of
pellets, is also that of a series of sceattas, fairly common in Kent, on
which the effigy on the obverse is a radiate bust with the inscription
$T\mathbf{I}C/A$. This name is found appended to a charter of Ecgbert, king
of Kent, about the year 780. It is therefore probable that it is that
of the moneyer, and that the moneyer, like his namesake on the charter,
lived in Kent. The hoards of Cimiez and Bais (Pl. III, 5 and 6) have
each furnished a specimen of this coinage which is rare on the Con­
tinent, though several examples have been recovered at Domburg
in Zeeland.

III. The radiate bust on these pieces is still the type of a very
abundant series of increasingly coarse imitations, on which the bust
is accompanied by the runic letters EPA, APA, which are in turn
degraded to a pseudo-inscription consisting of parallel strokes. Al­
though these pieces have been tentatively assigned to a brother of
Penda, king of Mercia, perhaps Eoba or Epa, this style is so degenerate
that there is little doubt that these names are merely those of moneyers.
On the reverse the Anglo-Saxon Standard type persists (Fig. 4) on a
few rare sceattas found at Saint-Pierre-des-Étieux (Belfort 5809) and
on the sea-shore at Domburg (Belfort 5810), but on the majority of
the pieces found on the Continent the Standard is replaced by the
Merovingian type of the cross with a pellet in each of the four angles.

1 In an earlier article ("Notes de numismatique mérovingienne", Revue numismatique,
1937, p. 81), I called the attention of English numismatists to a series of coins in which the
style of the bust recalls that of the best sceattas of Peada. All the characteristics of these
pieces, starting with the uncertainty of writers as to the nature of their metallic composition,
whether gold, electrum, or silver, show them to be sceattas. I have compared the legends
on these coins with those on the sceattas of the type showing a bird perching on a cross.
On the reverse of several pieces of this series the cross is placed between the letters $C \Lambda$,
borrowed doubtless from the Merovingian coins of Chalon-sur-Saône. The coin which I
have published came from a find at Rouen.

2 Roach Smith, Collectanea, 1848, p. 7.

3 Man (Marie de), Catalogus, p. 254.
Mlle de Man records 82 specimens of the latter variety of sceattas in the Middelburg Museum, 30 in the Boogaert collection, and another 60 in her own, figures which show the abundance of this currency in Domburg. At Saint-Pierre-des-Etieux (Belfort 5806), at Plassac (Pl. III, 7), at Cimiez (Pl. III, 8 and 9), and especially at Bais (Pl. III, 10–23), these pieces have likewise been found. Whereas the coins with the radiate bust and the Standard type, which are rare on the Continent, seem to be of English origin, the series with the radiate bust and the cross and four pellets should doubtless, as Mlle de Man had suggested, be restored to the inhabitants of Frisia, and perhaps even to their trading settlements on the borders of Merovingian Gaul. In the last days of the Frankish coinage the type with the radiate bust was, in fact, especially popular in Orleans, and even more so in Poitiers, where on certain deniers this radiate bust was degraded into formations of pellets (Prou 2253), approximating to the Anglo-Saxon Standard type (Fig. 5). This type was so widely adopted in Gaul that on the deniers of Rennes it reappears to form a surrounding framework for the initial letter R of their town (Pl. III, 40). Other sceattas of a hybrid character combine the Standard type with that of the cross and four pellets. They were perhaps struck on the Continent, for they are found at Saint-Pierre-des-Etieux (Belfort 5823), at Plassac, at Cimiez (Pl. IV, 53, 54), and at Bais (Pl. IV, 56), as well as at Domburg (Belfort 5826). The legends on these pieces are barbarous. Sometimes, as on certain Merovingian deniers, the cross seems to be placed upon the letter A. Another sceat, from Cimiez (Pl. IV, 55), combines the Standard type with a cruciform motif which recalls also sceattas on the obverse of which is a figure holding two crosses, and some anonymous pieces of Marseilles with the letter M or the monogram of Roboam.

IV. Much the commonest class of sceattas is the uninscribed "Wolf-Standard" type, consisting, through a series of degradations, of a bust with bristling hair on the obverse, and, on the reverse, of a beaded square in which appear the most fantastic deformations of the inscription VOT. The style of the earlier pieces on which traces of the legend remain is also such that Keary wondered if it were not Merovingian (Pl. III, 24).

A parallel series places the Christian emblem of the cross before the bust. Four specimens of these coins come likewise from Cimiez.

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1 Man (Marie de), "Que sait-on de la plage de Dombourg?", op. cit., p. 99.
2 B.M.C., Pl. IV, no. 20; Morel Fatio, Pl. II, nos. 36 and 37.
(Pl. III, 25-8); another, preserved in the Boulogne Museum, was found at Etaples.¹ Seven similar pieces, found at Domburg, have been placed in the collection of the Middelburg Museum (Belfort 5828). But presently the head degenerates into a mysterious animal with bristling fur in which earlier writers vainly strove to see either a wolf, or else a crayfish, an insect, or even a galley. The Cimiez hoard (Pl. III, 29-32) and the Bais hoard (Pl. III, 34-8) furnished a large number of these sceattas, specimens of which have been found at Nantes,² at Rennes,³ and even at Wiesbaden.⁴ The type is connected with that of the radiate bust with runic inscription; the connexion is revealed by a hybrid sceat in the Stephanik collection (Fig. 6), published in 1895 by Mlle de Man (cf. Belfort 5861).⁵

Another variety of sceattas of the Wolf-Standard type shows the same original head with bristling hair, but the features are replaced by a pseudo-inscription as upon the sceattas of Ethelred (675-94), an isolated example (Fig. 7) of which was found at Domburg,⁶ and on a sceat found at Hallum (Fig. 8), showing on the obverse the legend **LVNDONIA** surrounding a diademed bust.⁷ At Rouen at Saint-Pierre-des-Étieux (Belfort 5836), at Bais, and especially at Cimiez, this type was abundantly represented (Pl. III, 41-2; Pl. IV, 43-52).

The same find at Cimiez shows another and more curious deformation of these "Wolf-Standard" sceattas: on these pieces the bristling head becomes a bird (Pl. IV, 57-62).

On the sea-shore at Domburg⁸ nearly 500 Wolf-Standard sceattas have been picked up: in 1899 the Middelburg Museum possessed 190 specimens, the Man collection 148, and the Boogaert collection 50. In Frisia⁹ seven-eighths of the Franeker find (410 coins) consisted of

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¹ Roach Smith, Collectanea, 1852, p. 168, Pl. xliv, fig. 5.
² Catalogue du Musée archéologique de Nantes, no. 779.
³ Le Gentilhomme, "Notes de numismatique mérovingienne", Revue numismatique, 1937, p. 82.
⁴ Revue de la numismatique belge, 1880, p. 136.
⁵ A specimen of this sceat found on the beach at Domburg was published in 1838 by C. A. Rethaan Macaré, Verhandeling over de bij Domburg gefondene ..., Munten, Pl. II, no. 40.
⁶ Man (Marie de), "Que sait-on de la plage de Dombourg?", op. cit., p. 101, Pl. vi, no. 4.
⁷ Dirks (J.), "Les Anglo-Saxons et leurs petits deniers dits sceattas", Revue de la numismatique belge, 1870, Pl. c, no. 14.
⁸ Man (Marie de), "Que sait-on de la plage de Dombourg?", op. cit., p. 101.
⁹ Dirks (J.), "Les Anglo-Saxons et leurs petits deniers...", op. cit., passim.
this type, the remaining one-eighth being deniers with David's Seal (the Héristal type). In the Hallum find (251 coins) one-ninth consisted of these David's Seal pieces, one-ninth only was of the Wolf-Standard type, and the remainder of the hoard consisted of sceattas of the Wodan-Monster type.

The Wolf-Standard sceattas, like the sceattas with radiate bust and runic inscription, and those with the cross and four pellets, clearly demonstrate the commercial activity of the Frisians on the Continent, where these coins were probably struck in greater abundance than in England, though their types are properly Anglo-Saxon.

V. The various developments of the human head have brought us to the "Bird" type. The Anglo-Saxon die designers seem to have been rather fond of drawing birds; such creatures appear in a rotating cruciform motif on the reverse of a sceat on the obverse of which appear two busts face to face separated by a cross. This is a somewhat rare piece, though a specimen was found at Cimiez (Pl. IV, 63).

A bird perching on a cross between two annulets forms the main type of a series of sceattas of which four specimens were found at Cimiez (Pl. IV, 64-6), at Bais (Pl. IV, 67, 68), at Plassac (Pl. IV, 69), at Saint-Pierre-des-Etieux, and of course in Zeeland and in Frisia, at Domburg (4 specimens in the Middelburg Museum, 6 in the Man collection) and at Hallum (a single specimen in this find). One of these sceattas has recently been found at Utrecht. These pieces, rare in Frisia, are common in England, especially in Kent. On the obverse, the diademed head in a beaded circle is characterized like the majority of its fellow Anglo-Saxon pieces by the bristling hair indicated by strokes and pellets. The legends are undecipherable. The presence of these pieces in hoards found in France would suggest Anglo-Saxon rather than Frisian influence.

VI. This observation applies to other sceattas which are rather rare on the Continent; they show the fantastic monster, guardian of legendary treasures, combined with an obverse whereon two figures are depicted holding a cross, a type borrowed from the coins of the Emperor Heraclius (610–41), or from their Frankish imitations. One of these pieces comes from the Cimiez hoard (Pl. IV, 70).

At Cimiez again (Pl. IV, 71-4) and at Duurstede were found uninscribed sceattas of the type of Wodan's head and the dragon's

1 Dirks, op. cit., Pl. D, no. 18.
3 Thus in a barrow on Breach Downs, near Barham, three sceattas of the Bird type were found with two coins with the name of Tica (Roach Smith, Collectanea, 1848, Pl. vi, 11–15). Roach Smith also records a small hoard found in the isle of Thanet, at Birchington, which included a sceat of the Bird-on-Cross type (Pl. xxir, 2), one with the king's bust and the runes Epa and on the reverse the Standard type (no. 3), and two sceattas with the radiate bust and the cross and four pellets (nos. 4 and 5). The presence of these two latter pieces shows that the distribution of these sceattas is not limited to the Continent, and that though rather rare in England, these pieces were admitted into circulation, side by side with sceattas with the radiate bust and the Standard.
4 Dirks, op. cit., Pl. E, no. d.
which have their origin in Scytho-Siberian art; in these Colonel Belaiiew recognizes a bear. The number of pieces of this type found in Frisia—the Ter-wispel find consisted exclusively of this series—have reasonably led the Russian scholar to suggest a Frisian origin for these sceattas. The absence of these coins in the Frisian find of Franeker, and their appearance in France only in the Cimiez find, incline me to regard this series as one of the latest. Moreover, in the tenth and eleventh centuries imitations of the sceattas of this type were still in circulation in Birka, on Lake Malar, in the remotest part of the Baltic. Lastly, it may be noted that a considerable proportion of these pieces found at Domburg were struck on copper flans.1

On an Anglo-Saxon sceat found at Cimiez (Pl. IV, 75) appears a figure with a halo holding two crosses, a Roman type imitated from a bronze coin of the Emperor Phocas (602-10), especially common on the sceattas issued from London; the reverse shows an ornamental type whose dominant motif conveys the illusion of motion with three dolphins2 rotating in a whorl reminiscent of the ancient Oriental triquetra.

VII. Finally a very large series of sceattas3 shows the evolution, under the skies of Provence, of a degraded type of Frisian origin comparable to that formed by the so-called Wolf-Standard type both in England and on the Continent. The head which adorns the obverse of these pieces is first a radiate one, then appears with bristling hair terminating in pellets, and finally becomes a crescent and even a ship whose masts may be regarded as formed by the cross placed before the original bust. On the reverse, the field surrounded by a beaded circle is adorned with a long cross fitchy placed upon steps; the cross appears as an inverted omega-like arch between the symbols V/II, which sometimes degenerate into mere strokes (Pl. IV, 76-84). There may have been, according to the theory of Mlle de Man,4 some influence from the number on the siliqua, V/II, which appears also on Provencal third-solidi, especially those of Marseilles. This later type appears again on the deniers of Charlemagne struck at Marseilles, as Morel Fatio has pointed out. That the symbols V/II or II/V are more likely to be a degradation of M/A (Massalia) is apparent when we find one specimen which shows the symbols V/II and the very open arch of the omega divided into two letters S as upon the Carolingian coin. If the sceat was not itself struck at Marseilles, it must at least have provided the type of the first Carolingian coin of this town. Now the Cimiez hoard shows that this piece was fairly common in Provence, for 23 specimens are described in the catalogue of Morel Fatio. These deniers, like the majority of sceattas, are uninscribed. Nevertheless

1 Mlle de Man in her article "Que sait-on de la plage de Dombourg?" already quoted, notes at the Middelburg Museum 32 pieces of silver and 16 of copper; in the Boogaert collection, 14 specimens; and in her own collection, 22 pieces of silver and 17 of copper. Cf. Catalogus, op. cit. (by the same author), pp. 277-9.

2 Keary and several other writers see three wolves’ heads with tongues converging towards the centre of the coin. B.M.C., p. 13. Cf. Brooke, p. 9, no. 23.


4 Man (Marie de), Jaarboek . . ., 1926, Pl. 1, no. 16, pp. 23 and 24.
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A specimen from the Cimiez find shows traces of an inscription DICIO or BICIO (Pl. IV, 84). Two of these coins were found at Bais (nos. 320 and 321), and two more at Saint-Pierre-des-Etieux (nos. 24 and 25). I am the more inclined to attribute these sceattas to Marseilles since they occur seldom in England or at Domburg.

The observations which I have here made on the distribution of sceattas in Merovingian Gaul tend to confirm the results of the researches of Colonel Belaiew. From his conclusions it appears probable that at the end of the seventh century, when gold began to disappear from circulation, the Frisians made copies in silver of the early types of Anglo-Saxon thrymous and circulated them along all their trade routes. These sceattas were in the course of time copied in England and on the Continent, but Frisia remained their main source of issue and circulation, as the Frisian finds show.

But the proportion of sceattas found in Merovingian Gaul is sufficient to justify the supposition that numerous Frisian trading settlements existed from which were issued in France either sceattas or deniers imitated from them, as in Brittany, Aquitaine, and Provence. We are also now in a position to indicate more precisely the chronology of the issue of these sceattas, these anonymous pieces, forming a true international currency, which only made their appearance in France at the end of the seventh century, and remained in circulation during the entire first half of the eighth. I propose to fix the years between 680 and 700 as the date when, following the example of the thrymous which had been reduced to mere sceattas, the Merovingian gold tremisses disappeared and were replaced by the silver pieces.

CATALOGUE OF SCEATTAS
Illustrated on Plates III and IV

I. Peada

1. Barbarous legend: ₰[T]AO/012NO. Bust to r. in helmet and cuirass.
R. Barbarous legend: ₰[N][N]. In the centre, in a beaded square TOT/XX.
Cimiez, 334.

2. Barbarous legend: I... O///IIC. Same type of bust, of more degraded style.
R. Barbarous legend: ₰[N]... ÂTM. In a beaded wreath ₰[N][N].
Cimiez, 333.

3. Barbarous legend: ONV/AVNC. Same degraded style of bust; head diademmed.
R. ₰[N][N] AVNAV\-AV. Cross with 4 annulets in a beaded circle.
Original collection of the Cabinet des Médailles.

Cimiez, 335.

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1. Man (Marie de). Jaarboek ..., 1936, Pl. i, no. 16, pp. 23 and 24.
II. TICA

5. . . . TIC/o/0Ao. Radiate bust to r.
R. Barbarous legend: AT+. . . . In a beaded square TOT/II.
Cimiez, 317.

6. Variety of the preceding.
Bais, 308.

Cf. B.M.C., type 2a, Pl. 1, 5.

III. Runes APA or EPA or pseudo-legends

7. Radiate bust to r.; runic characters in front, behind, A.

3. R. +INOVIVI. Cross and 4 pellets.
Plassac, 243 (K. 2035).

Cimiez, 318.

9. Variety of 8. On reverse, +IVΛΟΛVI.
Cimiez, 318.

Bais, 317.

11. Variety. On reverse, +·ΜΟΜ.
Bais, 317.

12. Variety. In front of bust, ΙΙΙΙ. On reverse, + . . . VΛV.
Bais, 312.

Bais, 313.

Bais, 314.

15. Variety.
Bais, 314.

Bais, 314.

17. Variety.
Bais, 315.

18. Variety, bust to l., completely degraded. On reverse, +VOV.
Bais, 315.

19. Radiate bust to l. In front uncertain marks.
R. +ΛVΛΟΛΛΛ. Cross and 4 pellets.
Bais, 316.

20. Radiate bust to r. In front, runes ΡΡΡ (Apa).
R. +ΛVΝΟΛΛΛ. Cross and 4 pellets.
Bais, 317.

Bais, 317.

22. Variety, completely degraded bust. In front, ΡΡΡ; behind, Α. On reverse,
ΟΧΝ·I·Λ·V . . .
Bais, 317.

23. Radiate bust to r. In front, retrograde runes ΪΑΓ, behind, Λ.Α. O.
Bais, 318.

IV. WOLF-STANDARD Series

(a) 24. Coarse bust to r.; in front, an annulet; a cross on the forehead.
R. ··ΙΟΙΟΟΟΟΟΙΛΛ. Beaded square with diagonal cross, with 3 pellets in each angle.
Cimiez, 320.

25. Diademed bust to r. in a beaded circle; in front, a cross.
R. Beaded square with central annulet with 3 crosslets and a group of 3 pellets.
Cimiez, 329.
26. Variety: cross Calvary before the bust; on reverse central annulet-with-pellet, flanked by 4 pellets and 4 crosslets. In lieu of legend, a cross between 4 pellets •• + ••, on each side of the square.

*Cimiez, 319.*

*[R. Wt. 1.11 gm.]

*Cf. B.M.C., type 3a, Pl. II, 1.*

27. Variety.

*Cimiez, 319.*

28. Variety without cross on obverse, degraded bust, pellets in field.

*Cimiez, 319.*

*[R. Wt. 1.2 gm.]

29. Bust transformed into a beast with bristling fur.

R. Beaded square; in the centre, votive inscription of which remain only central O and vague marks.

*Cimiez, 321.*

*[R. Wt. 1.21 gm.]

*Cf. B.M.C., type 4, Pl. II, 4 and 5.*

30. Variety.

*Cimiez, 321.*

31. Variety.

*Cimiez, 321.*

32. Variety.

*Cimiez, 321.*

33. Variety.

*Cimiez, 323.*

34. Variety.

*Bais, 309.*

35. Variety.

*Bais, 309.*

36. Variety.

*Bais, 309.*

37. Variety.

*Bais, 309.*

38. Variety.

*Bais, 309.*

Sometimes the beaded square is replaced by a cruciform design:

39. Variety of 29 on obverse.

R. In a beaded circle, cruciform design with annulet-with-pellet in centre as on most of the preceding. The annulet must be a relic of the votive inscription.

*Cimiez, 39.*

*[R. Wt. 1.23 gm.]

*Cf. B.M.C., type 53, Pl. IV, 19.*

40. Monstrous head to l. in a beaded circle.

R. V V [V V]. The letter R and several pellets in a beaded border.

*Cabinet des Médailles (ex Ponton d’Amécourt collection).*  

*[R. Wt. 1.3 gm.]

This piece demonstrates how the Standard type passed into currency on the Continent and how the sceattas may be confused with the Frankish deniers. The specimen here illustrated may be compared with a variety occurring in the Rouen find and noticed in my Notes de numismatique mérovingienne, p. 81, no. 20, Pl. IV, no. 21. Two analogous varieties were found in the Bais hoard (nos. 56 and 57 in the catalogue), which would tend to confirm the attribution of these pieces to Rennes, an attribution based not unreasonably on a comparison between these coins and a triens of Rennes (Belfort, 3736), on which the field on the reverse is occupied by the letter R followed by two pellets.

(d) 41. Head with bristling hair, the face composed of strokes forming pseudo-inscription.

R. In a beaded circle, a beaded square with TOT/II; above the square, a cross.

*Cimiez, 322.*

*[R. Wt. 1.91 gm.]

*Cf. B.M.C., type 5, Pl. II, 6 and 7.*
42. Variety, on reverse, in the field four I.
   *Cimiez*, 322.  
   *R.*  Wt. 1·05 gm.

43. Variety, letters of the inscription in square variously scattered.
   *Cimiez*, 322.  
   *R.*  Wt. 0·82 gm.

44. Variety.
   *Cimiez*, 322.  
   *R.*  Wt. 0·89 gm.

45. Variety, with inscription TOT/VX.
   *Cimiez*, 322.  
   *R.*  Wt. 0·85 gm.

46. Variety.
   *Cimiez*, 322.  
   *R.*  Wt. 1·14 gm.

47. Variety, with inscription TOT/LX.
   *Cimiez*, 322.  
   *R.*  Wt. 1·34 gm.

48. Variety, of coarser style, with inscription O/V/TL.
   *Bais*, 309.  
   *R.*  Wt. 1·12 gm.

49. Variety, on reverse, around central annulet two crosslets, and two crescents with pellets.
   *Cimiez*, 322.  
   *R.*  Wt. 1·22 gm.

50. Variety, on reverse beaded square within a second square containing annulet and 4 pellets.
   *Cimiez*, 322.  
   *R.*  Wt. 1·25 gm.

51. Variety.
   *Cimiez*, 322.  
   *R.*  Wt. 1·13 gm.

52. Variety, on reverse, annulet in beaded square with four Λ.
   *Cimiez*, 322.  
   *R.*  Wt. 0·95 gm.

This variety of the Standard type is repeated on a piece belonging to a muled series in which the obverse type (cross and 4 pellets, sometimes standing upon Λ) seems to be of Merovingian origin.

53. Traces of a legend ... OV ... Cross and 4 pellets.
   *R.*  Beaded square containing annulet with four Λ.
   *Cimiez*, 324.  
   *R.*  Wt. 1·3 gm.

With this piece I connect the following:

54. Uninscribed variety, cross placed upon Λ.
   *R.*  Central annulet becomes a wheel, between 4 strokes parallel to the sides of the beaded square.
   *Cimiez*, 324.  
   *R.*  Wt. 1·28 gm.

55. Floral cruciform design, the stamens surrounded by a pseudo-legend formed of letters Χ and Υ symmetrically arranged.
   *R.*  Square, in the centre an annulet with two dots and four Υ.
   *Cimiez*, 322.  
   *R.*  Wt. 0·95 gm.

56. ΒV ... Crosslet; below, in exergue, Λ.  
   *R.*  Beaded square, in the centre, an annulet with four Λ.
   *Bais*, 310.  
   *R.*  Wt. 1·1 gm.

(e) 57. On obverse, the bristling bust has become a bird. Beneath the head a pellet.
   *R.*  Beaded square with inscription TOT/II.
   *Cimiez*, 323.  
   *R.*  Wt. 1·05 gm.

Cf. *B.M.C.*, type 6, Pl. II, 8.

58. Variety, below bird’s head, a crosslet. Around the central annulet in beaded square four letters Χ separated by pellets.
   *Cimiez*, 323.  
   *R.*  Wt. 1·26 gm.

59. Variety, below bird’s head, annulet-with-pellet.
   *Cimiez*, 323.  
   *R.*  Wt. 1·04 gm.

60. Variety, below bird’s head, a crosslet. Around the central annulet in beaded square, four strokes and two groups of three pellets.
   *Cimiez*, 323.  
   *R.*  Wt. 1·25 gm.

61. Variety, below bird’s head, annulet with pellet; on reverse, central annulet
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62. Variety, on reverse, annulets in each corner separated by groups of three pellets.  
Cimiez, 323.  
A. Wt. 0·14 gm.

V. BIRD TYPE

(a) 63. Two busts face to face, separated by long cross calvary with forked base.  
R. Cruciform design in which four birds are rotating clockwise, around four pellets placed crosswise.  
Cimiez, 329.  
A. Wt. 0·78 gm.  
Cf. B.M.C., type 37, pl. iii, 28 and 29.

(b) 64. Diadem head to r. with bristling hair, in a beaded circle (sometimes appearing as a serpent devouring its tail).  
R. Bird upon a crosslet with annulets on three of its arms; around, a beaded circle.  
Cimiez, 326.  
A. Wt. 1·25 gm.  
Cf. B.M.C., type 27b, pl. iii, 11 and 12.

65. Variety. On reverse, bird perched on long cross fitchy, with annulets at sides; in the field, three pellets.  
Cimiez, 323.  
A. Wt. 0·92 gm.

66. Variety. In front of head, to r., three pellets.  
Cimiez, 323.  
A. Wt. 1·3 gm.

67. Variety with traces of legend on both sides of coin; the bird perched on a crosslet between two annulets, a pellet beneath the bird’s neck.  
Bais, 319.  
A. Wt. 1·25 gm.

68. Variety. Below bird’s neck, four pellets.  
Bais, 319.  
A. Wt. 1·29 gm.

69. Variety. Below bird’s neck, three pellets.  
Plascac, 375.  
A. Wt. 1·29 gm.

VI. WODAN-MONSTER TYPE

(a) 70. Two figures each holding a cross, in a beaded circle.  
R. Fantastic creature to l., looking back, in a beaded circle.  
Cimiez, 330.  
A. Wt. 1·27 gm.

(b) 71. Radiate head of Wodan facing, with beard and moustache; in field, three pellets.  
R. In a beaded circle, fantastic beast (bear) walking l., in field, several pellets.  
Cimiez, 328.  
A. Wt. 1·37 gm.

72. Variety.  
Cimiez, 328.  
A. Wt. 1·32 gm.  
This variety does not appear in B.M.C.  
Cf. Ruding, Pl. i, 26, and Mlle de Man, Tijdschr., 1895, pl. i, 13 and 14.

73. Head of Wodan facing, bristling hair and beard, three annulets in field.  
R. In a plain circle surrounded by a beaded circle, a monster moving to l., but looking back.  
Cimiez, 327.  
Bilton. Wt. 1·03 gm.

74. Variety with two crosslets in field on obverse.  
Cimiez, 327.  
Bilton. Wt. 1·14 gm.  
Cf. B.M.C., type 31, pl. iii, 18 (type of the Hallum and Ter-wispel finds).

(c) 75. Facing figure holding two crosses; in field, to l., a flower.  
R. Triquetra formed of three monstrous heads or perhaps three dolphins.  
Cimiez, 325.  
A. Wt. 0·69 gm.

VII. Type with V/H

76. Radiate head to l.; in front, a cross.
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R. Two-barred cross placed on steps; at sides V/II. The upper bar of cross forms an inverted omega (Ω).

*Original collection, Cabinet des Médailles.*

77. Variety of coarser style, hair formed by strokes and pellets.
*Cimiez, pl. vi, 108.*

78. Variety of preceding, head to r. On reverse V/II. Saint-Remy-de-Provence (coll. Rolland).

79. Variety of careless style.
*Cimiez, pl. vi, 105.*

80. Variety.
*Cimiez, pl. vi, 106.*

81. Variety.
*Cimiez, pl. vi, 109 (var.).

82. Variety with, on reverse, I/I. Cimiez, pl. vi, 112 (var.).

83. Variety.
*Cimiez, pl. vi, 114 (var.).

84. Variety with, on obverse, traces of legend . . . IClO.
*Cimiez, pl. vi, 118.*

R. Wt. 1·2 gm.

R. Wt. 1·3 gm.

R. Wt. not given

R. Wt. 0·92 gm.

R. Wt. 0·94 gm.

R. Wt. 1·12 gm.

R. Wt. 0·88 gm.

R. Wt. 1·11 gm.

R. Wt. 1·24 gm.

N.B.—Unless otherwise stated, all the sceattas described above are in the Cabinet des Médailles of the Bibliothèque Nationale.
The Circulation of Merovingian gold coins in England.

In the South-East of England, in Kent, at Sasse for example, Byzantine imitations, particularly those issued by the mints of Provence at Arles and especially Marseilles, appear frequently in finds. But coins issued after the reign of Clovis II (613-28) are rare; it would seem that trade with Mediterranean ports was unusually restricted. At the time of Dagobert (628-38) and Clotho II (638-56) numerous isolated finds reveal the fresh activity of the Austrasian mints of the valleys of the Moselle and Meuse - Metz, Nancy, Verdun and Reims - at the same time as that of the Paris mint. The Mediterranean centre of trade loses the role of prime importance which it played in Roman times. The economic revival, which is revealed at that time in Merovingian Gaul by the multiplication of rural mints and the innumerable monastic foundations, is undoubtedly the cause.

Two important finds deserve to be commented upon for the light which they throw on the history of trade between Merovingian Gaul and England towards the middle of the 7th century. The first discovery was made on the 9th August 1939 at Sutton Hoo, near Ipswich, in the county of Suffolk.
The Anglo-French press was very concerned as to the question of ownership of this treasure which successful digging in a tumulus, up to then untouched, had brought to light. Thanks to the courtesy of Mr. Derek Allen, attached to the Numismatic Department of the British Museum, I have been able to obtain a certain amount of information about the find - the latter entering the British Museum only to disappear at once into a safe until the end of hostilities. With the remains of a boat were found funeral furnishings of the greatest magnificence; several silver dishes of which one bore the stamp of the Emperor Anastasia, two bracelets, the buckle of a belt and the clasps of a purse in enamel and gold. The purse had been full, since forty coins or monetary discs were collected. Now, these coins are exclusively Thuringian. The find consists of coins issued by the following mints: Dijon and Troyon on the Rhein, Andernach on the Rhein, Paris, Troyes, Chartres, and Laon, in the valleys of the Seine and Oise, Angers in the Loire valley, Banassac in Gévaudan, Rosay and Bordeaux, whose port was the great market of the cities of Aquitanie; the Rhône Valley cities
The find made in Autumn 1828 at Crondall (Hants), a little to the west of Aldershot, is not well known, being still in Hampshire, jealously guarded in a private collection, that of Lord Grantham. About a score of Merovingian coins from Nepal, Nassau, Neuvy, Paris, Rodez, Chalon, Quaentovic and Amiens mingled with about eighty Anglo-Saxon or Frisian coins are evidence of close commercial intercourse with the continent. The Merovingian coins of this treasure go back in the same way to the reign of Clovis II: witness the "tricins" of Eligius of Paris, of Sigechramnus, attached to the School in the reign of this king at Amiens, and that of Chalon, with the cross on two degrees and a globe, a type characteristic of the second quarter of the 7th century. But the Anglo-Saxon coins already eliminate the Merovingian monetary values. The Byzantine imitations and the products of the mints of Provence, with the exception of a barbarous "tricins" of Phocas, have ceased to circulate. On the other hand, there appear nine "thrymsas" with the votive inscription which later becomes the model for the familiar type of "scæaltas" with the standard, twenty-one "thrymsas" with barbarous breast and trident.
of Sion, Valence and Arles as well as the neighbouring city of Uzès, la Trémoïlle, Usson and Montignac in Poitou and Limousin, are equally represented. The activity of these last mints and the presence of the so-called anchor-cross on the coins of Saint Étienne of Bordeaux, of the abbey of la Trémoïlle of the treasury and on certain indeterminate coins, indicate the reign of Clovis II (638-653). characterised exactly by the distribution of the rural mints and the inclination for this type of cross. About ten coins could not be identified; also, as often happens the find contains three monetary discs not minted. It should be noted that the "triens" of the mints of Provence, although furnishing a slight contribution had been already a long time in circulation; these were indeed the coins of Maurice Tiberius (582-602). It is certainly difficult to assess the exact date of the burial of the treasure. For my part, I am inclined to think that it was during the first part of the reign of Clovis II since the type of anchor-cross does not yet predominate on the coins issued in Neustrie and Aquitaine.
six "thrymases" with the head and the name of London, 
eight coins with bust between two palms; 
one coin of the type AUDVALD REGES; one 
Frisian coin attributed by old writers, sometimes 
to Lyon and sometimes to Canterbury; a certain 
number of indeterminate coins and finally 
three monetary discs not minted as at Sutton Hoo.
The disappearance of the coins of Provence, the 
appearance of frequent Anglo-Saxon values, 
the new and great activity of the port of Antiqua 
represented by seven coins from the mint of Dutta 
lead us to believe that the Merovingian coins 
were buried at a period considerably later than 
the issue of the majority of them; towards 
the end or even some years after the death of 
Clovis II.

The discovery of 1939 suggests that until about 
650 the monetary circulation in England consisted of 
coins at first exclusively byzantine and from Provence, 
giving place afterwards to issues from the mints 
of the different divisions of the "Regnum Francorum." 
Some little time after 650, but only then, the 
Merovingian coinage was submerged by the wave of 
Anglo-Saxon coins, issued principally in Kent and 
the counties south of the Thames. The proposition 
affirming the existence of "thrymases" at an earlier 
date than 650 does not seem acceptable to me,
for if the Thracian coins and their most
barbarous imitations were circulating North of the
Thames there was no reason to disparage
the "thrymecos" and to oppose their appearance.
If they are not represented in a find as plentiful
as that of Sutton Hoo, it is because they did
not yet exist. Far from burying in the tumulus
coins which were old and no longer in circulation, they
left in the dead man's purse some discs which
were not yet minted and the only money in
circulation at that time is the Thracian currency.
SCEATS FOUND IN FRANCE
(By courtesy, from the Revue numismatique, 1938)

Plate III
SCEATS FOUND IN FRANCE
(By courtesy, from the *Revue numismatique*, 1938)